LONDON LABOUR

AND THE

LONDON POOR;

A

CYCLOPÆDIA OF THE CONDITION AND EARNINGS

OF

THOSE THAT *WILL* WORK,
THOSE THAT *CANNOT* WORK, AND
THOSE THAT *WILL NOT* WORK.

BY HENRY MAYHEW.

VOL. I.

THE LONDON STREET-FOLK.

BOOK THE FIRST.

LONDON:
OFFICE, 16, UPPER WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND.

1851.

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PREFACE.

THE present volume is the first of an intended series, which it is hoped will form, when complete, a cyclopædia of the industry, the want, and the vice of the great Metropolis.

It is believed that the book is curious for many reasons :

It surely may be considered curious as being the first attempt to publish the history of a people, from the lips of the people themselves—giving a literal description of their labour, their earnings, their trials, and their sufferings, in their own "unvarnished" language; and to pourtray the condition of their homes and their families by personal observation of the places, and direct communion with the individuals.

It may be considered curious also as being the first commission of inquiry into the state of the people, undertaken by a private individual, and the first "blue book" ever published in twopenny numbers.

It is curious, moreover, as supplying information concerning a large body of persons, of whom the public had less knowledge than of the most distant tribes of the earth—the government population returns not even numbering them among the inhabitants of the kingdom ; and as adducing facts so extraordinary, that the traveller in the undiscovered country of the poor must, like Bruce, until his stories are corroborated by after investigators, be content to lie under the imputation of telling such tales, as travellers are generally supposed to delight in.

Be the faults of the present volume what they may, assuredly they are rather short-comings than exaggerations, for in every instance the author and his coadjutors have sought to understate, and most assuredly never to exceed the truth. For the omissions, the author would merely remind the reader of the entire novelty of the task—there being no other similar work in the language by which to guide or check his inquiries. When the following leaves are turned over, and the two or three pages of information derived from books contrasted with the hundreds of pages of facts obtained by positive observation and investigation, surely some allowance will be made for the details which may still be left for others to supply. Within the last two years some thousands of the humbler classes of society must have been seen and visited with the especial view of noticing their condition and learning their histories ; and it is but right that the truthfulness of the poor generally should be made known ; for though checks have been usually adopted, the people have been mostly found to be astonishingly correct in their statements,—so much so indeed, that the attempts at deception are certainly the exceptions rather than the rule. Those persons who, from an ignorance of the simplicity of the honest poor, might be inclined to think otherwise, have, in order

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to be convinced of the justice of the above remarks, only to consult the details given in the present volume, and to perceive the extraordinary agreement in the statements of all the vast number of individuals who have been seen at different times, and who cannot possibly have been supposed to have been acting in concert.

The larger statistics, such as those of the quantities of fish and fruit, &c., sold in London, have been collected from tradesmen connected with the several markets, or from the wholesale merchants belonging to the trade specified—gentlemen to whose courtesy and co-operation I am indebted for much valuable information, and whose names, were I at liberty to publish them, would be an indisputable guarantee for the facts advanced. The other statistics have been obtained in the same manner—the best authorities having been invariably consulted on the subject treated of.

It is right that I should make special mention of the assistance I have received in the compilation of the present volume from Mr. HENRY WOOD and Mr. RICHARD KNIGHT (late of the City Mission), gentlemen who have been engaged with me from nearly the commencement of my inquiries, and to whose hearty co-operation both myself and the public are indebted for a large increase of knowledge. Mr. Wood, indeed, has contributed so large a proportion of the contents of the present volume that he may fairly be considered as one of its authors.

The subject of the Street-Folk will still require another volume, in order to complete it in that comprehensive manner in which I am desirous of executing the modern history of this and every other portion of the people. There still remain —the *Street-Buyers*, the *Street-Finders*, the *Street-Performers*, the *Street-Artizans*, and the *Street-Labourers*, to be done, among the several classes of street-people; and the *Street Jews*, the *Street Italians and Foreigners*, and the *Street Mechanics*, to be treated of as varieties of the order. The present volume refers more particularly to the *Street-Sellers*, and includes special accounts of the *Costermongers* and the *Patterers* (the two broadly-marked varieties of street tradesmen), the *Street Irish*, the *Female Street-Sellers*, and the *Children Street-Sellers* of the metropolis.

My earnest hope is that the book may serve to give the rich a more intimate knowledge of the sufferings, and the frequent heroism under those sufferings, of the poor—that it may teach those who are beyond temptation to look with charity on the frailties of their less fortunate brethren—and cause those who are in "high places," and those of whom much is expected, to bestir themselves to improve the condition of a class of people whose misery, ignorance, and vice, amidst all the immense wealth and great knowledge of "the first city in the world," is, to say the very least, a national disgrace to us.

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO DOUGLAS JERROLD, WHOM, KNOWING MOST INTIMATELY, THE AUTHOR HAS LEARNT TO LOVE AND HONOUR MOST PROFOUNDLY.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

London Costermonger	Page	13
The Coster Girl	,,	37
The Oyster Stall	,,	49
The Orange Mart (Duke's Place)	,,	73
The Irish Street-Seller	,,	97
The Wall-Flower Girl	,,	127
The Groundsell Man	,,	147
The Baked Potatoe Man	,,	167
The Coffee Stall	To face page	184
Coster Boy and Girl "Tossing the Pieman"	,,	196
Doctor Bokanky, the Street-Herbalist	,,	206
The Long Song Seller	,,	222
Illustrations of Street Art, No. I.	,,	224
,, ,, No. II.	,,	238
The Hindoo Tract Seller	,,	242
The "Kitchen," Fox Court	,,	251
Illustrations of Street Art, No. III.	,,	278
The Book Auctioneer	,,	296
The Street-Seller of Nutmeg-Graters	,,	330
The Street-Seller of Dog-Collars	,,	360
The Street-Seller of Crockeryware	,,	366
The Blind Boot-Lace Seller	,,	406
The Street-Seller of Grease-Removing Composition	,,	428
The Lucifer-Match Girl	,,	432
The Street-Seller of Walking-Sticks	,,	438
The Street-Seller of Rhubarb and Spice	,,	452
The Street-Seller of Combs	,,	458
Portrait of Mr. Mayhew	To face the Title Page	

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INDEX.

Arts (fine), street-sellers of, 301; capital and income of, 306
Art (street), 301
Author and poet (street), experience of, 279
Ballad minstrelsy in the streets, ancient and modern, 273
Ballads (street) on a subject, 275
Back numbers, street sale of, 289
Beggar street-sellers, 363
—— statement of a, 414
Beetle wafers, street-sellers of, 435
Billingsgate, description of, 64
—— market, quantity and weight of fish sold in, 63
Blacking and black-lead, street-sellers of, 425
Blind street-seller of boot-laces, 395
—— female street-seller of small wares, 393
—— street seller of tailors' needles, 340
—— boot-lace seller, life of, 405
Book auctioneers (street), 296
Booksellers (street), 292
—— experience of, 294
Books sold in the streets, character of, 293
—— (memorandum) and almanacks, street sale of, 271
—— (pocket) and diaries, street sale of, 271
—— (song), street sale of, 298
—— (children's), street sale of, 298
—— (guide), street sale of, 299
—— (account), street sale of, 299
Boot and stay-laces, street-sellers of, 391
Boys of the costermongers and their "bunse," 33
Braces, belts, hose, trowser-straps, and waistcoats, street-sellers of, 389
Bread, street sale of, 178
Broadsheets, street sellers of, 280
Buns (hot-cross and Chelsea), street-sellers of, 201
Butter, cheese, and eggs, 129
Cake, street-sellers of, 199
Cakes and tarts, street-sellers of, 198
Cards (engraved), street-sellers of, 266
—— (gelatine), street-sellers of, 266
—— (playing), street-sellers of, 266
—— (race) and lists of races, street-sellers of, 265
—— (short-hand), street-sellers of, 261
Card-counters, medals, &c., street-sellers of, 349
Cats' and dogs'-meat, street-sellers of, 181
Cement for glass and china, street-sellers of, 429
Chaunters, experience of, 226
Cheap John, or street hansellers, 326
—— life of a, 336
Chemical articles of manufacture, street-sellers of, 425
Chickweed and groundsell, street-sellers of, 153
Children in low lodging-houses, 257
—— causes which influence them to take to a street career, 472
—— as street-sellers sent out by parents 479
Christmasing, Laurel, ivy, holly, and mistletoe, street-sellers of, 141
Cigar lights or fuzees, street-sellers of, 433
Cigars, street-sellers of, 441
"Cocks," &c., 238
Coffee-stall keepers, 183
Comic exhibitions, magical delusions, &c., street-sellers of, 286
Conundrums, street-sellers of, 285
Conveyances of costermongers and other street-folk, 26
Corn-salve, street-sellers of, 428
Costermongers, ancient calling of, 7
—— and other street-folk, number of, 4
—— capital of, 29
—— capital and income of, 55
—— children, education of, 24
—— cries, rounds, and days of, 52
—— diet and drink of, 52
—— donkeys of, 29
—— dress of, 51
—— earnings of, 54
—— education of, 35
—— gambling of, 16
—— habits and amusements of, 11
—— homes of, 47
—— honesty of, 26
—— juvenile trading of, 35
—— language of, 23
—— literature of, 25
—— markets and trade rights of, 58
—— marriage and concubinage of, 20
—— nicknames of, 24
—— obsolete cries of, 8
—— politics of, 20
—— providence and improvidence of, 56
Costermongers, raffles of, 58
—— religion of, 21
—— removal from streets of, 59
—— tricks of, 61
—— uneducated state of, 22
Costermongering mechanics, 7
Costermongers and thieves, 46
—— in bad weather and during the cholera, 57
—— on their country rounds, 53
—— the more provident, 46
—— economically considered, 8
Coster boy, hired, 481
Coster girls, 43
—— girl, life of a, 45
—— lad, life of a, 39
—— education of, 35
Cough-drops and medical confectionery, street-sellers of, 205
Country lodging-houses, 423
Crackers and detonating balls, street-sellers of, 430
Crippled seller of nutmeg-graters, 329
Crockery and glass-ware, street-sellers of, 365
Covent-garden market, 81
Curds and whey, street sale of, 192
Cutlery, street-sellers of, 338
Death and fire hunters, 228
Dog collars, street-sellers of, 358
Dog-collar seller, life of a, 359
Dolls, street-sellers of, 445
Drinkables, street sale of, 183
Duffers, or hawkers of pretended smuggled goods, 383
Eatables and drinkables, street-sellers of, 258
—— capital and income of, street-sellers of, 208
—— sums spent yearly upon, 212
Elder wine (hot), street-sellers of, 189
Engravings in umbrellas, street-sellers of, 362
Female street-sellers, localities in which they reside, 461
—— education, state of, 462
—— diet of, 462
Fish, kind and quality of sold in London, 61
—— season of the costermongers, 63
—— annually sold in the streets of London, gross value of, 77
—— ("dry") selling in the street, 77
—— fruit, and vegetables, stationary street-sellers of, 96
—— street-sellers of, 61
Flower-girls (London), 134
—— girls, life of, 136
—— roots, shrubs, and trees, quantity sold in the streets, 130
Flowers, buyers of those sold in the streets, 130
—— (cut and in pots), trees, shrubs, roots, seeds, and branches, street-sellers of, 130
—— in pots, roots, street-sale of, 137
—— "cut," quantity of sold in streets, 137
—— trees, shrubs, table showing quantity of sold wholesale at markets and retail in the streets, 131
Flower-girls, two orphan, 135
Fly-papers, street-sellers of, 435
Forestalling markets and Billingsgate bummarees, 67
French polish, sellers of, 427
Fried fish, sellers of, 165
—— preparation of, 165
—— seller, experience and customers of, 169
Fruit (green) selling in the streets, 83
—— stall-keepers, 99
—— and vegetable season of costermongers, 81
—— and vegetables sold annually in London streets, gross value of, 95
—— street-sellers of, 79
—— kind and quantity of sold in the London streets, 79
—— (home-grown), quantity sold in metropolitan markets, and proportion sold retail in streets, 80
—— foreign, 81
—— "dry," 81
"Gallows" literature of the streets, 280
Game, rabbits, and poultry, sold in the streets, 121
—— hawker, experience of, 124
Ginger-beer seller, experience of, 189
—— sherbet, and lemonade, street-sale of, 186
Ginger-bread nuts, street-sellers of, 199
Grease-removing compositions, street-sellers of, 427
Green stuff, street-sellers of, 145
Gutta-percha heads, street-sellers of, 434
Haberdashery swag-shops, 373
Ham-sandwich seller, experience of, 177
—— street-sellers of, 177
Hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen, 374
Hawking butcher, experience of, 176

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INDEX.

Hot eels and pea-soup man, experience of, 162
—— green-pea seller, experience of, 180
—— green-peas, street-sellers of, 180
"House of Lords," a street-sellers' defunct club, 364
Ices and ice-creams, street-sellers of, 206
Indecent (sham) street-trade, 240
Irish, causes which made them turn costermongers, 105
—— lodging-houses for immigrants, 111.
—— "refuse" sellers, 117
—— street diet, drink, and expense of living among, 113
—— education, literature, amusements, and politics of, 108
—— how they displanted the street Jews in the orange trade, 106
—— houses of, 109
—— history of some of the sellers, 115
—— religion of, 107
—— resources of as regards stock, money, sickness, burials, &c., 114
—— (street), 104
Irishwoman street-seller, an, 465
Jewellery street-sellers, 346
Lace, street-sellers of, 386
—— maker's appeal, 364
Lavender, street sale of, 137
Literature, street-sellers of, 306
—— capital and income of, 306
London, children street-sellers of, 468
Lot sellers, 447
Low lodging-houses of London, 251, 407
—— of the country, 258
—— filth, dishonesty, and immorality of, 254
Lucifer matches, street-sellers of, 431
Manufactured articles, street-sellers of, 323
—— capital and income of, 485
—— in metal, street-sellers of, 324
Manuscript and other music, 305
Markets (the London street) on a Saturday night, 9
—— on a Sunday morning, 10
May, palm, &c., street sale of, 143
Mechanic's wife, a street-seller, 464
Milk selling in St. James's-park, 191
—— street sale of, 192
Miscellaneous manufactured articles, street-sellers of, 436
Muffin and crumpet selling in the streets, 202
Newspapers, books, &c., sale of at railway stations, 291
Nut selling in streets, 89
Orphan girl, life of, 483
—— boy street-seller, 482
Onion selling in the streets, 93
Orange and lemon selling in the streets, 87
—— and nut market, 86
Oyster selling in the streets, 75
Packman, statement of a, 379
Packmen or hawkers of soft wares, 377
Pastry and confectionary, street-sellers of, 195
Patterers, abodes, tricks, marriage, and characteristics of the different grades of, 243
—— benefit society of, 242
—— former and present state of, 215
—— habits, opinions, morals, and religion of, 217
—— (running), 221
—— experience of, 222
—— recent experience of, 224
—— (standing), 232
—— experience of, 234
Pattering class, epitome of, 309
Pea-soup and hot eels, street-sellers of, 160
Pedlar jeweller, 347
"Penny gaff," 40
Peppermint water, street sale of, 191
Periodicals, pamphlets, tracts, books, &c., street-sellers of, 289
—— on the steamboats and steamboat piers, sale of, 290
Periwinkle selling in the streets, 76
Pickpocket, statement of a young, 410
Pictures in frames, street selling of, 304
Pieman, street, 195
"Pinners up," or wall song sellers, 272
Pipes, street-sellers of, 440
Plantain sellers, 158
Play-bills, street sellers of, 287
Plum "duff" or dough, street-sellers of, 197
Poets and authors, street, 278
Poison for rats, 450
Political litanies, dialogues, &c., 236
Pot-herbs and celery, 94
Potatoes (baked), street-trade in, 173
Poultry and game, street purchasers of, 123
—— hawkers, statement of two, 125
—— (live and dead), game, rabbits, butter, cheese, and eggs, street-sellers of, 120
—— live, and game, street sale of, 126
Prostitute, statement of a, 412
Public-house hawkers of metal spoons, 344
Publishers and authors of street literature, 220
Puddings (boiled), street-seller of, 197
Rabbit-selling in the streets, 129
Razor-paste, street-sellers of, 429
Reduced gentlewoman and a reduced tradesman, as street-sellers of stationery, 269
Religious tract-sellers, 241
Rhubarb and spice, street-sellers of, 452
Rice milk, street-sellers of, 193
Rings and sovereigns for wagers, street-sellers of, 351
Roasted chestnuts and apples, 90
Roulette-boxes, street-sellers of, 449
Runaway street-boys, two, 483
"Screevers," or writers of begging letters and petitions, 311
Second editions, sellers of, 230
Seeds, sale of, 139
Sheeps'-trotter seller, statement of a, 171
Sheeps'-trotters, street-sellers of, 170
—— preparation of, and quantity sold, 170
Shell-fish sellers in the streets, 69
Shrimp selling, 72
Single woman street-seller, a, 463
"Slang" weights and measures, 32
Small ware, street sellers of, 385
Smithfield races, 27
Snuff-boxes, street-sellers of, 440
Song sellers (long), 221
Songs, street-sellers of, 272
Spar, china ornaments, and stone fruit, street-sellers of, 370
Spectacle and eye-glasses, street-sellers of, 444
Sponge, street-sellers of, 442
Sprat selling in the streets, 69
Stationery, literature, and fine arts, street-seller of, 213
—— street-sellers of, 267, 306
Stationers (street), and street card sellers, 261
—— experience of, 267
—— capital and income of, 306
Stalls (street), character of, 99
—— number of, 96
Sticks (walking), street-sellers of, 437
"Strawing," 239
Street children, amusements of, 476
—— clothing of, 476
—— diet of, 475
—— dwelling-places of, 475
—— education of, 472
—— morals, religion, opinions of, 474
—— propensities of, 477
Street-folk in general and costermongers in particular, varieties of, 6
Street-seller, "neglected" child, 480
Street-sellers, public meeting of, 102
Swag-barrowmen, 447
Swag-shops of the metropolis, 333
Sweet-stuff, street-sellers and customers of, 204
—— street sale of, 203
Table-covers (japanned), street-sellers of, 388
Tally packmen, 380
Tea, hawking of, 455
Textile fabrics, street-sellers of, 372
Thieves, meeting of, 418
Tinware, street-sellers of, 354
—— seller, life of, 355
Tobacco-boxes, street-sellers of, 440
Tools, street-sellers of, 361
Trees and shrubs, street sale of, 133
Trotting or hawking butchers, 175
Turf cutting and selling, 155
—— cutter, experience and customers of, 157
Vegetables, street sale of, 91
—— aristocratic sale of, 92
"Vic" gallery, 18
Wandering tribes of this country, 1
—— in general, 2
Wash-leathers, street-sellers of, 443
Waste newspapers at Billingsgate, sale of, 290
Watches (children's gilt), street-sellers of, 353
Water-cress selling in Farringdon-market, 145
Water-cresses, table showing the quantity sold wholesale at "green markets," and retail in the streets, 152
—— street-sellers of, 149
Water-cress girl, 151
Water-carriers, 194
Whelks (pickled), street-sellers of, 163
—— purchasers of, 165
Whips, street-sellers of, 438
Widow, street-seller, a, 467
Women street-sellers, 457

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LONDON LABOUR

AND

THE LONDON POOR.

THE STREET-FOLK.

Of Wandering Tribes in General.

Of the thousand millions of human beings that are said to constitute the population of the entire globe, there are—socially, morally, and perhaps even physically considered—but two distinct and broadly marked races, viz., the wanderers and the settlers—the vagabond and the citizen—the nomadic and the civilized tribes. Between these two extremes, however, ethnologists recognize a mediate variety, partaking of the attributes of both. There is not only the race of hunters and manufacturers—those who live by shooting and fishing, and those who live by producing—but, say they, there are also the herdsmen, or those who live by tending and feeding, what they consume.

Each of these classes has its peculiar and distinctive physical as well as moral characteristics. "There are in mankind," says Dr. Pritchard, "three principal varieties in the form of the head and other physical characters. Among the rudest tribes of men—the hunters and savage inhabitants of forests, dependent for their supply of food on the accidental produce of the soil and the chase—a form of head is prevalent which is mostly distinguished by the term "*prognathous*," indicating a prolongation or extension forward of the jaws. A second shape of the head belongs principally to such races as wander with their herds and flocks over vast plains; these nations have broad lozenge-shaped faces (owing to the great development of the cheek bones), and pyramidal skulls. The most civilized races, on the other hand—those who live by the arts of cultivated life,—have a shape of the head which differs from both of those above mentioned. The characteristic form of the skull among these nations may be termed oval or elliptical."

These three forms of head, however, clearly admit of being reduced to two broadly-marked varieties, according as the bones of the face or those of the skull are more highly developed. A greater relative development of the jaws and cheek bones, says the author of the "Natural History of Man," indicates a more ample extension of the organs subservient to sensation and the animal faculties. Such a configuration is adapted to the wandering tribes; whereas, the greater relative development of the bones of the skull—indicating as it does a greater expansion of the brain, and consequently of the intellectual faculties—is especially adapted to the civilized races or settlers, who depend mainly on their knowledge of the powers and properties of things for the necessaries and comforts of life.

Moreover it would appear, that not only are all races divisible into wanderers and settlers, but that each civilized or settled tribe has generally some wandering horde intermingled with, and in a measure preying upon, it.

According to Dr. Andrew Smith, who has recently made extensive observations in South Africa, almost every tribe of people who have submitted themselves to social laws, recognizing the rights of property and reciprocal social duties, and thus acquiring wealth and forming themselves into a respectable caste, are surrounded by hordes of vagabonds and outcasts from their own community. Such are the Bushmen and *Sonquas* of the Hottentot race—the term "*sonqua*" meaning literally *pauper*. But a similar condition in society produces similar results in regard to other races; and the Kafirs have their Bushmen as well as the Hottentots—these are called *Fingoes*—a word signifying wanderers, beggars, or outcasts. The Lappes seem to have borne a somewhat similar relation to the Finns; that is to say, they appear to have been a wild and predatory tribe who sought the desert like the Arabian Bedouins, while the Finns cultivated the soil like the industrious Fellahs.

But a phenomenon still more deserving of

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notice, is the difference of speech between the Bushmen and the Hottentots. The people of some hordes, Dr. Andrew Smith assures us, vary their speech designedly, and adopt new words, with the intent of rendering their ideas unintelligible to all but the members of their own community. For this last custom a peculiar name exists, which is called "*cuze-cat*." This is considered as greatly advantageous in assisting concealment of their designs.

Here, then, we have a series of facts of the utmost social importance. (1) There are two distinct races of men, viz.: — the wandering and the civilized tribes; (2) to each of these tribes a different form of head is peculiar, the wandering races being remarkable for the development of the bones of the face, as the jaws, cheek-bones, &c., and the civilized for the development of those of the head; (3) to each civilized tribe there is generally a wandering horde attached; (4) such wandering hordes have frequently a different language from the more civilized portion of the community, and that adopted with the intent of concealing their designs and exploits from them.

It is curious that no one has as yet applied the above facts to the explanation of certain anomalies in the present state of society among ourselves. That we, like the Kafirs, Fellahs, and Finns, are surrounded by wandering hordes —the "Sonquas" and the "Fingoes" of this country—paupers, beggars, and outcasts, possessing nothing but what they acquire by depredation from the industrious, provident, and civilized portion of the community;—that the heads of these nomades are remarkable for the greater development of the jaws and cheekbones rather than those of the head;—and that they have a secret language of their own—an English "*cuze-cat*" or "slang" as it is called—for the concealment of their designs: these are points of coincidence so striking that, when placed before the mind, make us marvel that the analogy should have remained thus long unnoticed.

The resemblance once discovered, however, becomes of great service in enabling us to use the moral characteristics of the nomade races of other countries, as a means of comprehending the more readily those of the vagabonds and outcasts of our own. Let us therefore, before entering upon the subject in hand, briefly run over the distinctive, moral, and intellectual features of the wandering tribes in general.

The nomad then is distinguished from the civilized man by his repugnance to regular and continuous labour—by his want of providence in laying up a store for the future—by his inability to perceive consequences ever so slightly removed from immediate apprehension —by his passion for stupefying herbs and roots, and, when possible, for intoxicating fermented liquors—by his extraordinary powers of enduring privation—by his comparative insensibility to pain—by an immoderate love of gaming, frequently risking his own personal liberty upon a single cast—by his love of libidinous dances—by the pleasure he experiences in witnessing the suffering of sentient creatures—by his delight in warfare and all perilous sports—by his desire for vengeance—by the looseness of his notions as to property—by the absence of chastity among his women, and his disregard of female honour—and lastly, by his vague sense of religion—his rude idea of a Creator, and utter absence of all appreciation of the mercy of the Divine Spirit.

Srange to say, despite its privations, its dangers, and its hardships, those who have once adopted the savage and wandering mode of life, rarely abandon it. There are countless examples of white men adopting all the usages of the Indian hunter, but there is scarcely one example of the Indian hunter or trapper adopting the steady and regular habits of civilized life; indeed, the various missionaries who have visited nomade races have found their labours utterly unavailing, so long as a wandering life continued, and have succeeded in bestowing the elements of civilization, only on those compelled by circumstances to adopt a settled habitation.

Of the Wandering Tribes of this Country.

The nomadic races of England are of many distinct kinds—from the habitual vagrant—half-beggar, half-thief—sleeping in barns, tents, and casual wards—to the mechanic on tramp, obtaining his bed and supper from the trade societies in the different towns, on his way to seek work. Between these two extremes there are several mediate varieties — consisting of pedlars, showmen, harvest-men, and all that large class who live by either selling, showing, or doing something through the country. These are, so to speak, the rural nomads—not confining their wanderings to any one particular locality, but ranging often from one end of the land to the other. Besides these, there are the urban and suburban wanderers, or those who follow some itinerant occupation in and round about the large towns. Such are, in the metropolis more particularly, the pickpockets — the beggars — the prostitutes — the street-sellers—the street-performers—the cabmen—the coachmen—the watermen—the sailors and such like. In each of these classes—according as they partake more or less of the purely vagabond, doing nothing whatsoever for their living, but moving from place to place preying upon the earnings of the more industrious portion of the community, so will the attributes of the nomade tribes be found to be more or less marked in them. Whether it be that in the mere act of wandering, there is a greater determination of blood to the surface of the body, and consequently a less quantity sent to the brain, the muscles being thus nourished at the expense of the mind, I leave physiologists to say. But certainly be the physical cause what it may, we must all allow that in each of the classes above-mentioned, there is

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a greater development of the animal than of the intellectual or moral nature of man, and that they are all more or less distinguished for their high cheek-bones and protruding jaws—for their use of a slang language—for their lax ideas of property—for their general improvidence—their repugnance to continuous labour—their disregard of female honour—their love of cruelty—their pugnacity—and their utter want of religion.

Of the London Street-folk.

Those who obtain their living in the streets of the metropolis are a very large and varied class; indeed, the means resorted to in order "to pick up a crust," as the people call it, in the public thoroughfares (and such in many instances it *literally* is,) are so multifarious that the mind is long baffled in its attempts to reduce them to scientific order or classification.

It would appear, however, that the street-people may be all arranged under six distinct genera or kinds.

These are severally:

I. Street-sellers.
II. Street-buyers.
III. Street-Finders.
IV. Street-Performers, Artists, and Showmen.
V. Street-Artizans, or Working Pedlars; and
VI. Street-Labourers.

The first of these divisions—the Street-Sellers—includes many varieties; viz.—

1. *The Street-sellers of Fish, &c.*—"wet," "dry," and shell-fish—and poultry, game, and cheese.

2. *The Street-sellers of Vegetables*, fruit (both "green" and "dry"), flowers, trees, shrubs, seeds, and roots, and "green stuff" (as water-cresses, chickweed and grun'sel, and turf).

3. *The Street-sellers of Eatables and Drinkables*,—including the vendors of fried fish, hot eels, pickled whelks, sheep's trotters, ham sandwiches, peas'-soup, hot green peas, penny pies, plum "duff," meat-puddings, baked potatoes, spice-cakes, muffins and crumpets, Chelsea buns, sweetmeats, brandy-balls, cough drops, and cat and dog's meat—such constituting the principal eatables sold in the street; while under the head of street-drinkables may be specified tea and coffee, ginger-beer, lemonade, hot wine, new milk from the cow, asses milk, curds and whey, and occasionally water.

4. *The Street-sellers of Stationery, Literature, and the Fine Arts*—among whom are comprised the flying stationers, or standing and running patterers; the long-song-sellers; the wall-song-sellers (or "pinners-up," as they are technically termed); the ballad sellers; the vendors of play-bills, second editions of newspapers, back numbers of periodicals and old books, almanacks, pocket books, memorandum books, note paper, sealing-wax, pens, pencils, stenographic cards, valentines, engravings, manuscript music, images, and gelatine poetry cards.

5. *The Street-sellers of Manufactured Articles*, which class comprises a large number of individuals, as, (*a*) the vendors of chemical articles of manufacture—viz., blacking, lucifers, corn-salves, grease-removing compositions, plating-balls, poison for rats, crackers, detonating-balls, and cigar-lights. (*b*) The vendors of metal articles of manufacture—razors and pen-knives, tea-trays, dog-collars, and key-rings, hardware, bird-cages, small coins, medals, jewellery, tin-ware, tools, card-counters, red-herring-toasters, trivets, gridirons, and Dutch ovens. (*c*) The vendors of china and stone articles of manufacture—as cups and saucers, jugs, vases, chimney ornaments, and stone fruit. (*d*) The vendors of linen, cotton, and silken articles of manufacture—as sheeting, table-covers, cotton, tapes and thread, boot and stay-laces, haberdashery, pretended smuggled goods, shirt-buttons, etc., etc.; and (*e*) the vendors of miscellaneous articles of manufacture—as cigars, pipes, and snuff-boxes, spectacles, combs, "lots," rhubarb, sponges, wash-leather, paper-hangings, dolls, Bristol toys, sawdust, and pin-cushions.

6. *The Street-sellers of Second-hand Articles*, of whom there are again four separate classes; as (*a*) those who sell old metal articles—viz. old knives and forks, keys, tin-ware, tools, and marine stores generally; (*b*) those who sell old linen articles—as old sheeting for towels; (*c*) those who sell old glass and crockery—including bottles, old pans and pitchers, old looking glasses, &c.; and (*d*) those who sell old miscellaneous articles—as old shoes, old clothes, old saucepan lids, &c., &c.

7. *The Street-sellers of Live Animals*—including the dealers in dogs, squirrels, birds, gold and silver fish, and tortoises.

8. *The Street-sellers of Mineral Productions and Curiosities*—as red and white sand, silver sand, coals, coke, salt, spar ornaments, and shells.

These, so far as my experience goes, exhaust the whole class of street-sellers, and they appear to constitute nearly three-fourths of the entire number of individuals obtaining a subsistence in the streets of London.

The next class are the Street-Buyers, under which denomination come the purchasers of hare-skins, old clothes, old umbrellas, bottles, glass, broken metal, rags, waste paper, and dripping.

After these we have the Street-Finders, or those who, as I said before, literally "pick up" their living in the public thoroughfares. They are the "pure" pickers, or those who live by gathering dogs'-dung; the cigar-end finders, or "hard-ups," as they are called, who collect the refuse pieces of smoked cigars from the gutters, and having dried them, sell them as tobacco to the very poor; the dredgermen or coal-finders; the mud-larks, the bone-grubbers; and the sewer-hunters.

Under the fourth division, or that of the Street-Performers, Artists, and Showmen, are likewise many distinct callings.

1. *The Street-Performers*, who admit of being classified into (*a*) mountebanks—or those who enact puppet-shows, as Punch and Judy, the fan-

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toccini, and the Chinese shades. (*b*) The street-performers of feats of strength and dexterity—as "acrobats" or posturers, "equilibrists" or balancers, stiff and bending tumblers, jugglers, conjurors, sword-swallowers, "salamanders" or fire-eaters, swordsmen, etc. (*c*) The street-performers with trained animals—as dancing dogs, performing monkeys, trained birds and mice, cats and hares, sapient pigs, dancing bears, and tame camels. (*d*) The street-actors—as clowns, "Billy Barlows," "Jim Crows," and others.

2. *The Street Showmen*, including shows of (*a*) extraordinary persons—as giants, dwarfs, Albinoes, spotted boys, and pig-faced ladies. (*b*) Extraordinary animals—as alligators, calves, horses and pigs with six legs or two heads, industrious fleas, and happy families. (*c*) Philosophic instruments—as the microscope, telescope, thaumascope. (*d*) Measuring-machines—as weighing, lifting, measuring, and striking machines; and (*e*) miscellaneous shows—such as peep-shows, glass ships, mechanical figures, wax-work shows, pugilistic shows, and fortune-telling apparatus.

3. *The Street-Artists*—as black profile-cutters, blind paper-cutters, "screevers" or draughtsmen in coloured chalks on the pavement, writers without hands, and readers without eyes.

4. *The Street Dancers*—as street Scotch girls, sailors, slack and tight rope dancers, dancers on stilts, and comic dancers.

5. *The Street Musicians*—as the street bands (English and German), players of the guitar, harp, bagpipes, hurdy-gurdy, dulcimer, musical bells, cornet, tom-tom, &c.

6. *The Street Singers*, as the singers of glees, ballads, comic songs, nigger melodies, psalms, serenaders, reciters, and improvisatori.

7. *The Proprietors of Street Games*, as swings, highflyers, roundabouts, puff-and-darts, rifle shooting, down the dolly, spin-'em-rounds, prick the garter, thimble-rig, etc.

Then comes the Fifth Division of the Street-Folk, viz., the STREET-ARTIZANS, or WORKING PEDLARS;

These may be severally arranged into three distinct groups—(1) Those who *make* things in the streets; (2) Those who *mend* things in the streets; and (3) Those who *make* things *at home* and *sell* them in the *streets*.

1. Of *those who make things in the streets* there are the following varieties: (*a*) the metal workers—such as toasting-fork makers, pin makers, engravers, tobacco-stopper makers. (*b*) The textile-workers—stocking-weavers, cabbage-net makers, night-cap knitters, doll-dress knitters. (*c*) The miscellaneous workers,—the wooden spoon makers, the leather brace and garter makers, the printers, and the glass-blowers.

2. *Those who mend things in the streets*, consist of broken china and glass menders, clock menders, umbrella menders, kettle menders, chair menders, grease removers, hat cleaners, razor and knife grinders, glaziers, travelling bell hangers, and knife cleaners.

3. *Those who make things at home and sell them in the streets*, are (*a*) the wood workers—as the makers of clothes-pegs, clothes-props, skewers, needle-cases, foot-stools and clothes-horses, chairs and tables, tea-caddies, writing-desks, drawers, work-boxes, dressing-cases, pails and tubs. (*b*) The trunk, hat, and bonnet-box makers, and the cane and rush basket makers. (*c*) The toy makers—such as Chinese roarers, children's windmills, flying birds and fishes, feathered cocks, black velvet cats and sweeps, paper houses, cardboard carriages, little copper pans and kettles, tiny tin fireplaces, children's watches, Dutch dolls, buy-a-brooms, and gutta-percha heads. (*d*) The apparel makers—viz., the makers of women's caps, boys and men's cloth caps, night-caps, straw bonnets, children's dresses, watch-pockets, bonnet shapes, silk bonnets, and gaiters. (*e*) The metal workers,—as the makers of fire-guards, bird-cages, the wire workers. (*f*) The miscellaneous workers—or makers of ornaments for stoves, chimney ornaments, artificial flowers in pots and in nose-gays, plaster-of-Paris night-shades, brooms, brushes, mats, rugs, hearthstones, firewood, rush matting, and hassocks.

Of the last division, or STREET-LABOURERS, there are four classes:

1. *The Cleansers*—such as scavengers, night-men, flushermen, chimney-sweeps, dustmen, crossing-sweepers, "street-orderlies," labourers to sweeping-machines and to watering-carts.

2. *The Lighters and Waterers*—or the turn-cocks and the lamplighters.

3. *The Street-Advertisers*—viz., the bill-stickers, bill-deliverers, boardmen, men to advertising vans, and wall and pavement stencillers.

4. *The Street-Servants*—as horse holders, link-men, coach-hirers, street-porters, shoe-blacks.

OF THE NUMBER OF COSTERMONGERS AND OTHER STREET-FOLK.

THE number of costermongers,—that it is to say, of those street-sellers attending the London "green" and "fish markets,"—appears to be, from the best data at my command, now 30,000 men, women, and children. The census of 1841 gives only 2,045 "hawkers, hucksters, and pedlars," in the metropolis, and no costermongers or street-sellers, or street-performers at all. This number is absurdly small, and its absurdity is accounted for by the fact that not one in twenty of the costermongers, or of the people with whom they lodged, troubled themselves to fill up the census returns—the majority of them being unable to read and write, and others distrustful of the purpose for which the returns were wanted.

The costermongering class extends itself yearly; and it is computed that for the last five years it has increased considerably faster than the general metropolitan population. This increase is derived partly from *all* the children of costermongers following the father's trade, but chiefly from working men, such as the servants of greengrocers or of innkeepers, when out of

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employ, "taking to a coster's barrow" for a livelihood; and the same being done by mechanics and labourers out of work. At the time of the famine in Ireland, it is calculated, that the number of Irish obtaining a living in the London streets must have been at least doubled.

The great discrepancy between the government returns and the accounts of the costermongers themselves, concerning the number of people obtaining a living by the sale of fish, fruit, and vegetables, in the streets of London, caused me to institute an inquiry at the several metropolitan markets concerning the number of street-sellers attending them: the following is the result:

During the summer months and fruit season, the average number of costermongers attending Covent-garden market is about 2,500 per market-day. In the strawberry season there are nearly double as many, there being, at that time, a large number of Jews who come to buy; during that period, on a Saturday morning, from the commencement to the close of the market, as many as 4,000 costers have been reckoned purchasing at Covent-garden. Through the winter season, however, the number of costermongers does not exceed upon the average 1,000 per market morning. About one-tenth of the fruit and vegetables of the least expensive kind sold at this market is purchased by the costers. Some of the better class of costers, who have their regular customers, are very particular as to the quality of the articles they buy; but others are not so particular; so long as they can get things cheap, I am informed, they do not care much about the quality. The Irish more especially look out for damaged articles, which they buy at a low price. One of my informants told me that the costers were the best customers to the growers, inasmuch as when the market is flagging on account of the weather, they (the costers) wait and make their purchases. On other occasions, such as fine mornings, the costers purchase as early as others. There is no trust given to them—to use the words of one of my informants, they are such slippery customers; here to-day and gone to-morrow.

At Leadenhall market, during the winter months, there are from 70 to 100 costermongers general attendants; but during the summer not much more than one-half that number make their appearance. Their purchases consist of warren-rabbits, poultry, and game, of which about one-eighth of the whole amount brought to this market is bought by them. When the market is slack, and during the summer, when there is "no great call" for game, etc., the costers attending Leadenhall-market turn their hand to crockery, fruit, and fish.

The costermongers frequenting Spitalfields-market average all the year through from 700 to 1,000 each market-day. They come from all parts, as far as Edmonton, Edgeware, and Tottenham; Highgate, Hampstead, and even from Greenwich and Lewisham. Full one-third of the produce of this market is purchased by them.

The number of costermongers attending the Borough-market is about 250 during the fruit season, after which time they decrease to about 200 per market morning. About one-sixth of the produce that comes into this market is purchased by the costermongers. One gentleman informed me, that the salesmen might shut up their shops were it not for these men. "In fact," said another, "I don't know what would become of the fruit without them."

The costers at Billingsgate-market, daily, number from 3,000 to 4,000 in winter, and about 2,500 in summer. A leading salesman told me that he would rather have an order from a costermonger than a fishmonger; for the one paid ready money, while the other required credit. The same gentleman assured me, that the costermongers bought excellent fish, and that very largely. They themselves aver that they purchase half the fish brought to Billingsgate—some fish trades being entirely in their hands. I ascertained, however, from the authorities at Billingsgate, and from experienced salesmen, that of the quantity of fish conveyed to that great mart, the costermongers bought one-third; another third was sent into the country; and another disposed of to the fishmongers, and to such hotel-keepers, or other large purchasers, as resorted to Billingsgate.

The salesmen at the several markets all agreed in stating that no trust was given to the costermongers. "Trust them!" exclaimed one, "O, certainly, as far as I can see them."

Now, adding the above figures together, we have the subjoined sum for the gross number of

COSTERMONGERS ATTENDING THE LONDON MARKETS.

Billingsgate-market	3,500
Covent-garden	4,000
Spitalfields	1,000
Borough	250
Leadenhall	100
	9,350

Besides these, I am credibly informed, that it may be assumed there are full 1,000 men who are unable to attend market, owing to the dissipation of the previous night; another 1,000 are absent owing to their having "stock on hand," and so requiring no fresh purchases; and further, it may be estimated that there are at least 2,000 boys in London at work for costers, at half profits, and who consequently have no occasion to visit the markets. Hence, putting these numbers together, we arrive at the conclusion that there are in London upwards of 13,000 street-sellers, dealing in fish, fruit, vegetables, game, and poultry alone. To be on the safe side, however, let us assume the number of London costermongers to be 12,000, and that one-half of these are married and have two children (which from all accounts appears to be about the proportion); and then we have 30,000 for the

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sum total of men, women, and children dependent on "costermongering" for their subsistence.

Large as this number may seem, still I am satisfied it is rather within than beyond the truth. In order to convince myself of its accuracy, I caused it to be checked in several ways. In the first place, a survey was made as to the number of stalls in the streets of London—forty-six miles of the principal thoroughfares were travelled over, and an account taken of the "standings." Thus it was found that there were upon an average upwards of fourteen stalls to the mile, of which five-sixths were fish and fruit-stalls. Now, according to the Metropolitan Police Returns, there are 2,000 miles of street throughout London, and calculating that the stalls through the whole of the metropolis run upon an average only four to the mile, we shall thus find that there are 8,000 stalls altogether in London; of these we may reckon that at least 6,000 are fish and fruit-stalls. I am informed, on the best authority, that twice as many costers "go rounds" as have standings; hence we come to the conclusion that there are 18,000 itinerant and stationary street-sellers of fish, vegetables, and fruit, in the metropolis; and reckoning the same proportion of wives and children as before, we have thus 45,000 men, women, and children, obtaining a living in this manner. Further, "to make assurance doubly sure," the street-markets throughout London were severally visited, and the number of street-sellers at each taken down on the spot. These gave a grand total of 3,801, of which number two-thirds were dealers in fish, fruit, and vegetables; and reckoning that twice as many costers again were on their rounds, we thus make the total number of London costermongers to be 11,403, or calculating men, women, and children, 34,209. It would appear, therefore, that if we estimate the gross number of individuals subsisting on the sale of fish, fruit, and vegetables, in the streets of London, at between thirty and forty thousand, we shall not be very wide of the truth.

But, great as is this number, still the costermongers are only a portion of the street-folk. Besides these, there are, as we have seen, many other large classes obtaining their livelihood in the streets. The street musicians, for instance, are said to number 1,000, and the old clothesmen the same. There are supposed to be at the least 500 sellers of water-cresses; 200 coffee-stalls; 300 cats-meat men; 250 ballad-singers; 200 play-bill sellers; from 800 to 1,000 bone-grubbers and mud-larks; 1,000 crossing-sweepers; another thousand chimney-sweeps, and the same number of turncocks and lamp-lighters; all of whom, together with the street-performers and showmen, tinkers, chair, umbrella, and clock-menders, sellers of bonnet-boxes, toys, stationery, songs, last dying-speeches, tubs, pails, mats, crockery, blacking, lucifers, corn-salves, clothes-pegs, brooms, sweetmeats, razors, dog-collars, dogs, birds, coals, sand,—scavengers, dustmen, and others, make up, it may be fairly assumed, full thirty thousand adults, so that, reckoning men, women, and children, we may truly say that there are upwards of fifty thousand individuals, or about a fortieth-part of the entire population of the metropolis getting their living in the streets.

Now of all modes of obtaining subsistence, that of street-selling is the most precarious. Continued wet weather deprives those who depend for their bread upon the number of people frequenting the public thoroughfares of all means of living; and it is painful to think of the hundreds belonging to this class in the the metropolis who are reduced to starvation by three or four days successive rain. Moreover, in the winter, the street-sellers of fruit and vegetables are cut off from the ordinary means of gaining their livelihood, and, consequently, they have to suffer the greatest privations at a time when the severity of the season demands the greatest amount of physical comforts. To expect that the increased earnings of the summer should be put aside as a provision against the deficiencies of the winter, is to expect that a precarious occupation should beget provident habits, which is against the nature of things, for it is always in those callings which are the most uncertain, that the greatest amount of improvidence and intemperance are found to exist. It is not the well-fed man, be it observed, but the starving one that is in danger of surfeiting himself.

Moreover, when the religious, moral, and intellectual degradation of the great majority of these fifty thousand people is impressed upon us, it becomes positively appalling to contemplate the vast amount of vice, ignorance and want, existing in these days in the very heart of our land. The public have but to read the following plain unvarnished account of the habits, amusements, dealings, education, politics, and religion of the London costermongers in the nineteenth century, and then to say whether they think it safe—even if it be thought fit—to allow men, women, and children to continue in such a state.

Of the Varieties of Street-folk in general, and Costermongers in particular.

Among the street-folk there are many distinct characters of people—people differing as widely from each in tastes, habits, thoughts and creed, as one nation from another. Of these the costermongers form by far the largest and certainly the mostly broadly marked class. They appear to be a distinct race—perhaps, originally, of Irish extraction—seldom associating with any other of the street-folks, and being all known to each other. The "patterers," or the men who cry the last dying-speeches, &c. in the street, and those who help off their wares by long harrangues in the public thoroughfares, are again a separate class. These, to use their own term, are "the aristocracy of the street-sellers," despising the costers for

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their ignorance, and boasting that they live by their intellect. The public, they say, do not expect to receive from them an equivalent for their money — they pay to hear them talk. Compared with the costermongers, the patterers are generally an educated class, and among them are some classical scholars, one clergyman, and many sons of gentlemen. They appear to be the counterparts of the old mountebanks or street-doctors. As a body they seem far less improvable than the costers, being more "knowing" and less impulsive. The street-performers differ again from those; these appear to possess many of the characteristics of the lower class of actors, viz., a strong desire to excite admiration, an indisposition to pursue any settled occupation, a love of the tap-room, though more for the society and display than for the drink connected with it, a great fondness for finery and predilection for the performance of dexterous or dangerous feats. Then there are the street mechanics, or artizans—quiet, melancholy, struggling men, who, unable to find any regular employment at their own trade, have made up a few things, and taken to hawk them in the streets, as the last shift of independence. Another distinct class of street-folk are the blind people (mostly musicians in a rude way), who, after the loss of their eyesight, have sought to keep themselves from the workhouse by some little excuse for alms-seeking. These, so far as my experience goes, appear to be a far more deserving class than is usually supposed—their affliction, in most cases, seems to have chastened them and to have given a peculiar religious cast to their thoughts.

Such are the several varieties of street-folk, intellectually considered—looked at in a national point of view, they likewise include many distinct people. Among them are to be found the Irish fruit-sellers; the Jew clothesmen; the Italian organ boys, French singing women, the German brass bands, the Dutch buy-a-broom girls, the Highland bagpipe players, and the Indian crossing-sweepers—all of whom I here shall treat of in due order.

The costermongering class or order has also its many varieties. These appear to be in the following proportions:—One-half of the entire class are costermongers proper, that is to say, the calling with them is hereditary, and perhaps has been so for many generations; while the other half is composed of three-eighths Irish, and one-eighth mechanics, tradesmen, and Jews.

Under the term "costermonger" is here included only such "street-sellers" as deal in fish, fruit, and vegetables, purchasing their goods at the wholesale "green" and fish markets. Of these some carry on their business at the same stationary stall or "standing" in the street, while others go on "rounds." The itinerant costermongers, as contradistinguished from the stationary street-fishmongers and greengrocers, have in many instances regular rounds, which they go daily, and which extend from two to ten miles. The longest are those which embrace a suburban part; the shortest are through streets thickly peopled by the poor, where duly to "work" a single street consumes, in some instances, an hour. There are also "chance" rounds. Men "working" these carry their wares to any part in which they hope to find customers. The costermongers, moreover, diversify their labours by occasionally going on a country round, travelling on these excursions, in all directions, from thirty to ninety and even a hundred miles from the metropolis. Some, again, confine their callings chiefly to the neighbouring races and fairs.

Of all the characteristics attending these diversities of traders, I shall treat severally. I may here premise, that the regular or "thorough-bred costermongers," repudiate the numerous persons who sell only nuts or oranges in the streets, whether at a fixed stall, or any given locality, or who hawk them through the thoroughfares or parks. They repudiate also a number of Jews, who confine their street-trading to the sale of "coker-nuts" on Sundays, vended from large barrows. Nor do they rank with themselves the individuals who sell tea and coffee in the streets, or such condiments as peas-soup, sweetmeats, spice-cakes, and the like; those articles not being purchased at the markets. I often heard all such classes called "the illegitimates."

Of Costermongering Mechanics.

"From the numbers of mechanics," said one smart costermonger to me, "that I know of in my own district, I should say there's now more than 1,000 costers in London that were once mechanics or labourers. They are driven to it as a last resource, when they can't get work at their trade. They don't do well, at least four out of five, or three out of four don't. They're not up to the dodges of the business. They go to market with fear, and don't know how to venture a bargain if one offers. They're inferior salesmen too, and if they have fish left that won't keep, it's a dead loss to them, for they aren't up to the trick of selling it cheap at a distance where the coster ain't known; or of quitting it to another, for candle-light sale, cheap, to the Irish or to the 'lushingtons,' that haven't a proper taste for fish. Some of those poor fellows lose every penny. They're mostly middle-aged when they begin costering. They'll generally commence with oranges or herrings. We pity them. We say, 'Poor fellows! they'll find it out by-and-bye.' It's awful to see some poor women, too, trying to pick up a living in the streets by selling nuts or oranges. It's awful to see them, for they can't set about it right; besides that, there's too many before they start. They don't find a living, *it's only another way of starving*."

Ancient Calling of Costermongers.

The earliest record of London cries is, according to Mr. Charles Knight, in Lydgate's poem of "London Lyckpeny," which is as old as the days of Henry V., or about 430

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years back. Among Lydgate's cries are enumerated "Strawberries ripe and cherries in the rise;" the *rise* being a twig to which the cherries were tied, as at present. Lydgate, however, only indicates costermongers, but does not mention them by name.

It is not my intention, as my inquiries are directed to the *present* condition of the costermongers, to dwell on this part of the question, but some historical notice of so numerous a body is indispensable. I shall confine myself therefore to show from the elder dramatists, how the costermongers flourished in the days of Elizabeth and James I.

"Virtue," says Shakespeare, "is of so little regard in these *coster-monger times*, that true valour is turned bear-herd." Costermonger times are as old as any trading times of which our history tells; indeed, the stationary costermonger of our own day is a legitimate descendant of the tradesmen of the olden time, who stood by their shops with their open casements, loudly inviting buyers by praises of their wares, and by direct questions of "What d'ye buy? What d'ye lack?"

Ben Jonson makes his *Morose*, who hated all noises, and sought for a silent wife, enter "upon divers treaties with the fish-wives and orange-women," to moderate their clamour; but *Morose*, above all other noisy people, "cannot endure a costard-monger; he swoons if he hear one."

In Ford's "Sun's Darling" I find the following: "Upon my life he means to turn costermonger, and is projecting how to forestall the market. I shall cry pippins rarely."

In Beaumont and Fletcher's "Scornful Lady" is the following:

"Pray, sister, do not laugh; you'll anger him,
And then he'll rail like a rude costermonger."

Dr. Johnson, gives the derivation of costardmonger (the orthography he uses), as derived from the sale of apples or costards, "round and bulky like the head;" and he cites Burton as an authority: "Many country vicars," writes Burton, "are driven to shifts, and if our great patrons hold us to such conditions, they will make us *costard-mongers*, graziers, or sell ale."

"The costard-monger," says Mr. Charles Knight, in his "London," "was originally an apple-seller, whence his name, and, from the mention of him in the old dramatists, he appears to have been frequently an Irishman."

In Ireland the word "costermonger" is almost unknown.

Of the Obsolete Cries of the Costermongers.

A brief account of the cries once prevalent among the street-sellers will show somewhat significantly the change in the diet or regalements of those who purchase their food in the street. Some of the articles are not vended in the public thoroughfares now, while others are still sold, but in different forms.

"Hot sheep's feet," for instance, were cried in the streets in the time of Henry V.; they are now sold *cold*, at the doors of the lower-priced theatres, and at the larger public-houses. Among the street cries, the following were common prior to the wars of the Roses: "Ribs of beef,"—"Hot peascod,"—and "Pepper and saffron." These certainly indicate a different street diet from that of the present time.

The following are more modern, running from Elizabeth's days down to our own. "Pippins," and, in the times of Charles II., and subsequently, oranges were sometimes cried as "Orange pips,"—"Fair lemons and oranges; oranges and citrons,"—"New Wall-fleet oysters," ["*fresh*" fish was formerly cried as "new,"]—"New-river water," [I may here mention that water-carriers still ply their trade in parts of Hampstead,]—"Rosemary and lavender,"—"Small coals," [a cry rendered almost poetical by the character, career, and pitiful end, through a practical joke, of Tom Britton, the "small-coal man,"]—"Pretty pins, pretty women,"—"Lilly-white vinegar,"—"Hot wardens" (pears)—"Hot codlings,"—and lastly the greasy-looking beverage which Charles Lamb's experience of London at early morning satisfied him was of all preparations the most grateful to the stomach of the then existing climbing-boys—viz., "Sa-loop." I may state, for the information of my younger readers, that saloop (spelt also "salep" and "salop") was prepared, as a powder, from the root of the *Orchis mascula*, or Red-handed Orchis, a plant which grows luxuriantly in our meadows and pastures, flowering in the spring, though never cultivated to any extent in this country; that required for the purposes of commerce was imported from India. The saloop-stalls were superseded by the modern coffee-stalls.

There were many other cries, now obsolete, but what I have cited were the most common.

Of the Costermongers "Economically" Considered.

Political economy teaches us that, between the two great classes of producers and consumers, stand the distributors—or dealers—saving time, trouble, and inconvenience to, the one in disposing of, and to the other in purchasing, their commodities.

But the distributor was not always a part and parcel of the economical arrangements of the State. In olden times, the producer and consumer were brought into immediate contact, at markets and fairs, holden at certain intervals. The inconvenience of this mode of operation, however, was soon felt; and the pedlar, or wandering distributor, sprang up as a means of carrying the commodities to those who were unable to attend the public markets at the appointed time. Still the pedlar or wandering distributor was not without *his* disadvantages. He only came at certain periods, and commodities were occasionally required in the interim. Hence the shopkeeper, or stationary distributor, was called into existence, so that the consumer might obtain any commodity of the producer at

any time he pleased. Hence we see that the pedlar is the primitive tradesman, and that the one is contradistinguished from the other by the fact, that the pedlar carries the goods to the consumer, whereas, in the case of the shopkeeper, the consumer goes after the goods. In country districts, remote from towns and villages, the pedlar is not yet wholly superseded; "but a dealer who has a fixed abode, and fixed customers, is so much more to be depended on," says Mr. Stewart Mill, "that consumers prefer resorting to him if he is conveniently accessible, and dealers, therefore, find their advantage in establishing themselves in every locality where there are sufficient customers near at hand to afford them a remuneration." Hence the pedlar is now chiefly confined to the poorer districts, and is consequently distinguished from the stationary tradesman by the character and means of his customers, as well as by the amount of capital and extent of his dealings. The shopkeeper supplies principally the noblemen and gentry with the necessaries and luxuries of life, but the pedlar or hawker is the purveyor in general to the poor. He brings the greengrocery, the fruit, the fish, the water-cresses, the shrimps, the pies and puddings, the sweetmeats, the pine-apples, the stationery, the linendrapery, and the jewellery, such as it is, to the very door of the working classes; indeed, the poor man's food and clothing are mainly supplied to him in this manner. Hence the class of travelling tradesmen are important, not only as forming a large portion of the poor themselves, but as being the persons through whom the working people obtain a considerable part of their provisions and raiment.

But the itinerant tradesman or street-seller is still further distinguished from the regular fixed dealer—the *stall*keeper from the *shop*keeper—the *street*-wareman from the ware*house*man, by the arts they respectively employ to attract custom. The street-seller cries his goods aloud at the head of his barrow; the enterprising tradesman distributes bills at the door of his shop. The one appeals to the ear, the other to the eye. The cutting costermonger has a drum and two boys to excite attention to his stock; the spirited shopkeeper has a column of advertisements in the morning newspapers. They are but different means of attaining the same end.

The London Street Markets on a Saturday Night.

The street sellers are to be seen in the greatest numbers at the London street markets on a Saturday night. Here, and in the shops immediately adjoining, the working-classes generally purchase their Sunday's dinner; and after pay-time on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, the crowd in the New-cut, and the Brill in particular, is almost impassable. Indeed, the scene in these parts has more of the character of a fair than a market. There are hundreds of stalls, and every stall has its one or two lights; either it is illuminated by the intense white light of the new self-generating gas-lamp, or else it is brightened up by the red smoky flame of the old-fashioned grease lamp. One man shows off his yellow haddock with a candle stuck in a bundle of firewood; his neighbour makes a candlestick of a huge turnip, and the tallow gutters over its sides; whilst the boy shouting "Eight a penny, stunning pears!" has rolled his dip in a thick coat of brown paper, that flares away with the candle. Some stalls are crimson with the fire shining through the holes beneath the baked chestnut stove; others have handsome octohedral lamps, while a few have a candle shining through a sieve: these, with the sparkling ground-glass globes of the tea-dealers' shops, and the butchers' gaslights streaming and fluttering in the wind, like flags of flame, pour forth such a flood of light, that at a distance the atmosphere immediately above the spot is as lurid as if the street were on fire.

The pavement and the road are crowded with purchasers and street-sellers. The housewife in her thick shawl, with the market-basket on her arm, walks slowly on, stopping now to look at the stall of caps, and now to cheapen a bunch of greens. Little boys, holding three or four onions in their hand, creep between the people, wriggling their way through every interstice, and asking for custom in whining tones, as if seeking charity. Then the tumult of the thousand different cries of the eager dealers, all shouting at the top of their voices, at one and the same time, is almost bewildering. "So-old again," roars one. "Chestnuts all 'ot, a penny a score," bawls another. "An 'aypenny a skin, blacking," squeaks a boy. "Buy, buy, buy, buy, buy—bu-u-uy!" cries the butcher. "Half-quire of paper for a penny," bellows the street stationer. "An 'aypenny a lot ing-uns." "Twopence a pound grapes." "Three a penny Yarmouth bloaters." "Who'll buy a bonnet for fourpence?" "Pick 'em out cheap here! three pair for a halfpenny, bootlaces." "Now's your time! beautiful whelks, a penny a lot." "Here's ha'p'orths," shouts the perambulating confectioner. "Come and look at 'em! here's toasters!" bellows one with a Yarmouth bloater stuck on a toasting-fork. "Penny a lot, fine russets," calls the apple woman: and so the Babel goes on.

One man stands with his red-edged mats hanging over his back and chest, like a herald's coat; and the girl with her basket of walnuts lifts her brown-stained fingers to her mouth, as she screams, "Fine warnuts! sixteen a penny, fine war-r-nuts." A bootmaker, to "ensure custom," has illuminated his shop-front with a line of gas, and in its full glare stands a blind beggar, his eyes turned up so as to show only "the whites," and mumbling some begging rhymes, that are drowned in the shrill notes of the bamboo-flute-player next to him. The boy's sharp cry, the woman's cracked voice, the gruff, hoarse shout of the man, are all mingled together. Sometimes an Irish-

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man is heard with his "fine ating apples;" or else the jingling music of an unseen organ breaks out, as the trio of street singers rest between the verses.

Then the sights, as you elbow your way through the crowd, are equally multifarious. Here is a stall glittering with new tin saucepans; there another, bright with its blue and yellow crockery, and sparkling with white glass. Now you come to a row of old shoes arranged along the pavement; now to a stand of gaudy tea-trays; then to a shop with red handkerchiefs and blue checked shirts, fluttering backwards and forwards, and a counter built up outside on the kerb, behind which are boys beseeching custom. At the door of a tea-shop, with its hundred white globes of light, stands a man delivering bills, thanking the public for past favours, and "defying competition." Here, alongside the road, are some half-dozen headless tailors' dummies, dressed in Chesterfields and fustian jackets, each labelled, "Look at the prices," or "Observe the quality." After this is a butcher's shop, crimson and white with meat piled up to the first-floor, in front of which the butcher himself, in his blue coat, walks up and down, sharpening his knife on the steel that hangs to his waist. A little further on stands the clean family, begging; the father with his head down as if in shame, and a box of lucifers held forth in his hand—the boys in newly-washed pinafores, and the tidily got-up mother with a child at her breast. This stall is green and white with bunches of turnips—that red with apples, the next yellow with onions, and another purple with pickling cabbages. One minute you pass a man with an umbrella turned inside up and full of prints; the next, you hear one with a peepshow of Mazeppa, and Paul Jones the pirate, describing the pictures to the boys looking in at the little round windows. Then is heard the sharp snap of the percussion-cap from the crowd of lads firing at the target for nuts; and the moment afterwards, you see either a black man half-clad in white, and shivering in the cold with tracts in his hand, or else you hear the sounds of music from "Frazier's Circus," on the other side of the road, and the man outside the door of the penny concert, beseeching you to "Be in time—be in time!" as Mr. Somebody is just about to sing his favourite song of the "Knife Grinder." Such, indeed, is the riot, the struggle, and the scramble for a living, that the confusion and uproar of the New-cut on Saturday night have a bewildering and saddening effect upon the thoughtful mind.

Each salesman tries his utmost to sell his wares, tempting the passers-by with his bargains. The boy with his stock of herbs offers "a double 'andful of fine parsley for a penny;" the man with the donkey-cart filled with turnips has three lads to shout for him to their utmost, with their "Ho! ho! hi-i-i! What do you think of this here? A penny a bunch—hurrah for free trade! *Here's* your turnips!" Until it is seen and heard, we have no sense of the scramble that is going on throughout London for a living. The same scene takes place at the Brill—the same in Leather-lane—the same in Tottenham-court-road—the same in Whitecross-street; go to whatever corner of the metropolis you please, either on a Saturday night or a Sunday morning, and there is the same shouting and the same struggling to get the penny profit out of the poor man's Sunday's dinner.

Since the above description was written, the New Cut has lost much of its noisy and brilliant glory. In consequence of a New Police regulation, "stands" or "pitches" have been forbidden, and each coster, on a market night, is now obliged, under pain of the lock-up house, to carry his tray, or keep moving with his barrow. The gay stalls have been replaced by deal boards, some sodden with wet fish, others stained purple with blackberries, or brown with walnut-peel; and the bright lamps are almost totally superseded by the dim, guttering candle. Even if the pole under the tray or "shallow" is seen resting on the ground, the policeman on duty is obliged to interfere.

The mob of purchasers has diminished one-half; and instead of the road being filled with customers and trucks, the pavement and kerb-stones are scarcely crowded.

THE SUNDAY MORNING MARKETS.

NEARLY every poor man's market does its Sunday trade. For a few hours on the Sabbath morning, the noise, bustle, and scramble of the Saturday night are repeated, and but for this opportunity many a poor family would pass a dinnerless Sunday. The system of paying the mechanic late on the Saturday night—and more particularly of paying a man his wages in a public-house—when he is tired with his day's work, lures him to the tavern, and there the hours fly quickly enough beside the warm tap-room fire, so that by the time the wife comes for her husband's wages, she finds a large portion of them gone in drink, and the streets half cleared, so that the Sunday market is the only chance of getting the Sunday's dinner.

Of all these Sunday-morning markets, the Brill, perhaps, furnishes the busiest scene; so that it may be taken as a type of the whole.

The streets in the neighbourhood are quiet and empty. The shops are closed with their different-coloured shutters, and the people round about are dressed in the shiney cloth of the holiday suit. There are no "cabs," and but few omnibuses to disturb the rest, and men walk in the road as safely as on the footpath.

As you enter the Brill the market sounds are scarcely heard. But at each step the low hum grows gradually into the noisy shouting, until at last the different cries become distinct, and the hubbub, din, and confusion of a thousand voices bellowing at once again fill the air. The road and footpath are crowded, as on the over-night; the men are standing in groups, smoking and talking; whilst the women run

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to and fro, some with the white round turnips showing out of their filled aprons, others with cabbages under their arms, and a piece of red meat dangling from their hands. Only a few of the shops are closed, but the butcher's and the coal-shed are filled with customers, and from the door of the shut-up baker's, the women come streaming forth with bags of flour in their hands, while men sally from the halfpenny barber's smoothing their clean-shaved chins. Walnuts, blacking, apples, onions, braces, combs, turnips, herrings, pens, and corn-plaster, are all bellowed out at the same time. Labourers and mechanics, still unshorn and undressed, hang about with their hands in their pockets, some with their pet terriers under their arms. The pavement is green with the refuse leaves of vegetables, and round a cabbage-barrow the women stand turning over the bunches, as the man shouts, "Where you like, only a penny." Boys are running home with the breakfast herring held in a piece of paper, and the side-pocket of the apple-man's stuff coat hangs down with the weight of the halfpence stored within it. Presently the tolling of the neighbouring church bells breaks forth. Then the bustle doubles itself, the cries grow louder, the confusion greater. Women run about and push their way through the throng, scolding the saunterers, for in half an hour the market will close. In a little time the butcher puts up his shutters, and leaves the door still open; the policemen in their clean gloves come round and drive the street-sellers before them, and as the clock strikes eleven the market finishes, and the Sunday's rest begins.

The following is a list of the street-markets, and the number of costers usually attending :—

MARKETS ON THE SURREY SIDE.

Market	No.	Market	No.
New-cut, Lambeth . .	300	Bermondsey	107
Lambeth-walk	104	Union-street, Borough	29
Walworth-road	22	Great Suffolk-street .	46
Camberwell	15	Blackfriars-road . . .	58
Newington	45		
Kent-street, Borough	38		664

MARKETS ON THE MIDDLESEX SIDE.

Market	No.	Market	No.
Brill and Chapel-st., Somers' Town . .	300	Leather-lane	150
		St. John's-street . . .	47
Camden Town	50	Old-street (St. Luke's)	46
Hampstead-rd. and Tottenham-ct.-rd.	333	Whitecross - street, Cripplegate	150
St. George's Market, Oxford-street . .	177	Islington	79
		City-road	49
Marylebone	37	Shoreditch	100
Edgeware-road	78	Bethnal-green	100
Crawford-street	145	Whitechapel	258
Knightsbridge	46	Mile End	105
Pimlico	32	Commercial-rd. (East)	114
Tothill-st. & Broad-way, Westminster	119	Limehouse	88
		Ratcliffe Highway . .	122
Drury-lane	22	Rosemary-lane	119
Clare-street	139		
Exmouth-street and Aylesbury-street, Clerkenwell . . .	142		3137

We find, from the foregoing list of markets, held in the various thoroughfares of the metropolis, that there are 10 on the Surrey side and 27 on the Middlesex side of the Thames. The total number of hucksters attending these markets is 3801, giving an average of 102 to each market.

Habits and Amusements of Costermongers.

I find it impossible to separate these two headings; for the habits of the costermonger are not domestic. His busy life is past in the markets or the streets, and as his leisure is devoted to the beer-shop, the dancing-room, or the theatre, we must look for his habits to his demeanour at those places. Home has few attractions to a man whose life is a street-life. Even those who are influenced by family ties and affections, prefer to "home"—indeed that word is rarely mentioned among them — the conversation, warmth, and merriment of the beer-shop, where they can take their ease among their "mates." Excitement or amusement are indispensable to uneducated men. Of beer-shops resorted to by costermongers, and principally supported by them, it is computed that there are 400 in London.

Those who meet first in the beer-shop talk over the state of trade and of the markets, while the later comers enter at once into what may be styled the serious business of the evening—amusement.

Business topics are discussed in a most peculiar style. One man takes the pipe from his mouth and says, "Bill made a doogheno hit this morning." "Jem," says another, to a man just entering, "you'll stand a top o' reeb?" "On," answers Jem, "I've had a trosseno tol, and have been doing dab." For an explanation of what may be obscure in this dialogue, I must refer my readers to my remarks concerning the language of the class. If any strangers are present, the conversation is still further clothed in slang, so as to be unintelligible even to the partially initiated. The evident puzzlement of any listener is of course gratifying to the costermonger's vanity, for he feels that he possesses a knowledge peculiarly his own.

Among the in-door amusements of the costermonger is card-playing, at which many of them are adepts. The usual games are all-fours, all-fives, cribbage, and put. Whist is known to a few, but is never played, being considered dull and slow. Of short whist they have not heard; "but," said one, whom I questioned on the subject, "if it's come into fashion, it'll soon be among us." The play is usually for beer, but the game is rendered exciting by bets both among the players and the lookers-on. "I'll back Jem for a yanepatine," says one. "Jack for a gen," cries another. A penny is the lowest sum laid, and five shillings generally the highest, but a shilling is not often exceeded. "We play fair among ourselves," said a costermonger to me—"aye, fairer than the aristocrats—but we'll take in anybody else." Where it is known that the landlord will not supply cards, "a sporting coster" carries a pack or two with him. The cards played with have rarely been stamped;

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they are generally dirty, and sometimes almost illegible, from long handling and spilled beer. Some men will sit patiently for hours at these games, and they watch the dealing round of the dingy cards intently, and without the attempt—common among politer gamesters—to appear indifferent, though they bear their losses well. In a full room of card-players, the groups are all shrouded in tobacco-smoke, and from them are heard constant sounds—according to the games they are engaged in—of "I'm low, and Ped's high." "Tip and me's game." "Fifteen four and a flush of five." I may remark it is curious that costermongers, who can neither read nor write, and who have no knowledge of the multiplication table, are skilful in all the intricacies and calculations of cribbage. There is not much quarrelling over the cards, unless strangers play with them, and then the costermongers all take part one with another, fairly or unfairly.

It has been said that there is a close resemblance between many of the characteristics of a very high class, socially, and a very low class. Those who remember the disclosures on a trial a few years back, as to how men of rank and wealth passed their leisure in card-playing—many of their lives being one continued leisure—can judge how far the analogy holds when the card-passion of the costermongers is described.

"Shove-halfpenny" is another game played by them; so is "Three up." Three halfpennies are thrown up, and when they fall all "heads" or all "tails," it is a mark; and the man who gets the greatest number of marks out of a given amount—three, or five, or more—wins. "Three-up" is played fairly among the costermongers; but is most frequently resorted to when strangers are present to "make a pitch,"—which is, in plain words, to cheat any stranger who is rash enough to bet upon them. "This is the way, sir," said an adept to me; "bless you, I can make them fall as I please. If I'm playing with Jo, and a stranger bets with Jo, why, of course, I make Jo win." This adept illustrated his skill to me by throwing up three halfpennies, and, five times out of six, they fell upon the floor, whether he threw them nearly to the ceiling or merely to his shoulder, all heads or all tails. The halfpence were the proper current coins—indeed, they were my own; and the result is gained by a peculiar position of the coins on the fingers, and a peculiar jerk in the throwing. There was an amusing manifestation of the pride of art in the way in which my obliging informant displayed his skill.

"Skittles" is another favourite amusement, and the costermongers class themselves among the best players in London. The game is always for beer, but betting goes on.

A fondness for "sparring" and "boxing" lingers among the rude members of some classes of the working men, such as the tanners. With the great majority of the costermongers this fondness is still as dominant as it was among the "higher classes," when boxers were the pets of princes and nobles. The sparring among the costers is not for money, but for beer and "a lark"—a convenient word covering much mischief. Two out of every ten landlords, whose houses are patronised by these lovers of "the art of self-defence," supply gloves. Some charge *2d.* a night for their use; others only *1d.* The sparring seldom continues long, sometimes not above a quarter of an hour; for the costermongers, though excited for a while, weary of sports in which they cannot personally participate, and in the beer-shops only two spar at a time, though fifty or sixty may be present. The shortness of the duration of this pastime may be one reason why it seldom leads to quarrelling. The stake is usually a "top of reeb," and the winner is the man who gives the first "noser;" a *bloody* nose however is required to show that the blow was veritably a noser. The costermongers boast of their skill in pugilism as well as at skittles. "We are all handy with our fists," said one man, "and are matches, aye, and more than matches, for anybody but reg'lar boxers. We've stuck to the ring, too, and gone reg'lar to the fights, more than any other men."

"Twopenny-hops" are much resorted to by the costermongers, men and women, boys and girls. At these dances decorum is sometimes, but not often, violated. "The women," I was told by one man, "doesn't show their necks as I've seen the ladies do in them there pictures of high life in the shop-winders, or on the stage. Their Sunday gowns, which is their dancing gowns, ain't made that way." At these "hops" the clog-hornpipe is often danced, and sometimes a collection is made to ensure the performance of a first-rate professor of that dance; sometimes, and more frequently, it is volunteered gratuitously. The other dances are jigs, "flash jigs"—hornpipes in fetters—a dance rendered popular by the success of the acted "Jack Sheppard"—polkas, and country-dances, the last-mentioned being generally demanded by the women. Waltzes are as yet unknown to them. Sometimes they do the "pipe-dance." For this a number of tobacco-pipes, about a dozen, are laid close together on the floor, and the dancer places the toe of his boot between the different pipes, keeping time with the music. Two of the pipes are arranged as a cross, and the toe has to be inserted between each of the angles, without breaking them. The numbers present at these "hops" vary from 30 to 100 of both sexes, their ages being from 14 to 45, and the female sex being slightly predominant as to the proportion of those in attendance. At these "hops" there is nothing of the leisurely style of dancing—half a glide and half a skip—but vigorous, laborious capering. The hours are from half-past eight to twelve, sometimes to one or two in the morning, and never later than two, as the costermongers are early risers. There is sometimes a good deal of drinking; some of the young girls being often pressed to drink, and frequently yielding to the temptation. From *1l.* to *7l.* is spent in drink at a hop; the youngest men or lads present spend the most, especially in that act of costermonger

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THE LONDON COSTERMONGER.

"Here Pertaters! Kearots aud Turnups! Fine Brockello-o-o!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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politeness—"treating the gals." The music is always a fiddle, sometimes with the addition of a harp and a cornopean. The band is provided by the costermongers, to whom the assembly is confined; but during the present and the last year, when the costers' earnings have been less than the average, the landlord has provided the harp, whenever that instrument has added to the charms of the fiddle. Of one use to which these "hops" are put I have given an account, under the head of "Marriage."

The other amusements of this class of the community are the theatre and the penny concert, and their visits are almost entirely confined to the galleries of the theatres on the Surrey-side—the Surrey, the Victoria, the Bower Saloon, and (but less frequently) Astley's. Three times a week is an average attendance at theatres and dances by the more prosperous costermongers. The most intelligent man I met with among them gave me the following account. He classes himself with the many, but his tastes are really those of an educated man:—"Love and murder suits us best, sir; but within these few years I think there's a great deal more liking for deep tragedies among us. They set men a thinking; but then we all consider them too long. Of *Hamlet* we can make neither end nor side; and nine out of ten of us—ay, far more than that—would like it to be confined to the ghost scenes, and the funeral, and the killing off at the last. *Macbeth* would be better liked, if it was only the witches and the fighting. The high words in a tragedy we call jaw-breakers, and say we can't tumble to that barrikin. We always stay to the last, because we've paid for it all, or very few costers would see a tragedy out if any money was returned to those leaving after two or three acts. We are fond of music. Nigger music was very much liked among us, but it's stale now. Flash songs are liked, and sailors' songs, and patriotic songs. Most costers—indeed, I can't call to mind an exception—listen very quietly to songs that they don't in the least understand. We have among us translations of the patriotic French songs. 'Mourir pour la patrie' is very popular, and so is the 'Marseillaise.' A song to take hold of us must have a good chorus." "They like something, sir, that is worth hearing," said one of my informants, "such as the 'Soldier's Dream,' 'The Dream of Napoleon,' or 'I 'ad a dream—an 'appy dream.'"

The songs in ridicule of Marshal Haynau, and in laudation of Barclay and Perkin's draymen, were and are very popular among the costers; but none are more popular than Paul Jones—"A noble commander, Paul Jones was his name." Among them the chorus of "Britons never shall be slaves," is often rendered "Britons always shall be slaves." The most popular of all songs with the class, however, is "Duck-legged Dick," of which I give the first verse.

"Duck-legged Dick had a donkey,
And his lush loved much for to swill,
One day he got rather lumpy,
And got sent seven days to the mill.
His donkey was taken to the green-yard,
A fate which he never deserved.
Oh! it was such a regular mean yard,
That alas! the poor moke got starved.
Oh! bad luck can't be prevented,
Fortune she smiles or she frowns,
He's best off that's contented,
To mix, sirs, the ups and the downs."

Their sports, are enjoyed the more, if they are dangerous and require both courage and dexterity to succeed in them. They prefer, if crossing a bridge, to climb over the parapet, and walk along on the stone coping. When a house is building, rows of coster lads will climb up the long ladders, leaning against the unslated roof, and then slide down again, each one resting on the other's shoulders. A peep show with a battle scene is sure of its coster audience, and a favourite pastime is fighting with cheap theatrical swords. They are, however, true to each other, and should a coster, who is the hero of his court, fall ill and go to a hospital, the whole of the inhabitants of his quarter will visit him on the Sunday, and take him presents of various articles so that "he may live well."

Among the men, rat-killing is a favourite sport. They will enter an old stable, fasten the door and then turn out the rats. Or they will find out some unfrequented yard, and at night time build up a pit with apple-case boards, and lighting up their lamps, enjoy the sport. Nearly every coster is fond of dogs. Some fancy them greatly, and are proud of making them fight. If when out working, they see a handsome stray, whether he is a "toy" or "sporting" dog, they whip him up—many of the class not being *very* particular whether the animals are stray or not.

Their dog fights are both cruel and frequent. It is not uncommon to see a lad walking with the trembling legs of a dog shivering under a bloody handkerchief, that covers the bitten and wounded body of an animal that has been figuring at some "match." These fights take place on the sly—the tap-room or back-yard of a beer-shop, being generally chosen for the purpose. A few men are let into the secret, and they attend to bet upon the winner, the police being carefully kept from the spot.

Pigeons are "fancied" to a large extent, and are kept in lath cages on the roofs of the houses. The lads look upon a visit to the Red-house, Battersea, where the pigeon-shooting takes place, as a great treat. They stand without the hoarding that encloses the ground, and watch for the wounded pigeons to fall, when a violent scramble takes place among them, each bird being valued at 3*d*. or 4*d*. So popular has this sport become, that some boys take dogs with them trained to retrieve the birds, and two Lambeth costers attend regularly after their morning's work with their guns, to shoot those that escape the 'shots' within.

A good pugilist is looked up to with great admiration by the costers, and fighting is considered to be a necessary part of a boy's education. Among them cowardice in any shape is despised

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as being degrading and loathsome, indeed the man who would avoid a fight, is scouted by the whole of the court he lives in. Hence it is important for a lad and even a girl to know how to "work their fists well"—as expert boxing is called among them. If a coster man or woman is struck they are obliged to fight. When a quarrel takes place between two boys, a ring is formed, and the men urge them on to have it out, for they hold that it is a wrong thing to stop a battle, as it causes bad blood for life; whereas, if the lads fight it out they shake hands and forget all about it. Everybody practises fighting, and the man who has the largest and hardest muscle is spoken of in terms of the highest commendation. It is often said in admiration of such a man that "he could muzzle half a dozen bobbies before breakfast."

To serve out a policeman is the bravest act by which a costermonger can distinguish himself. Some lads have been imprisoned upwards of a dozen times for this offence; and are consequently looked upon by their companions as martyrs. When they leave prison for such an act, a subscription is often got up for their benefit. In their continual warfare with the force, they resemble many savage nations, from the cunning and treachery they use. The lads endeavour to take the unsuspecting "crusher" by surprise, and often crouch at the entrance of a court until a policeman passes, when a stone or a brick is hurled at him, and the youngster immediately disappears. Their love of revenge too, is extreme — their hatred being in no way mitigated by time; they will wait for months, following a policeman who has offended or wronged them, anxiously looking out for an opportunity of paying back the injury. One boy, I was told, vowed vengeance against a member of the force, and for six months never allowed the man to escape his notice. At length, one night, he saw the policeman in a row outside a public-house, and running into the crowd kicked him savagely, shouting at the same time: "Now, you b——, I've got you at last." When the boy heard that his persecutor was injured for life, his joy was very great, and he declared the twelvemonth's imprisonment he was sentenced to for the offence to be "dirt cheap." The whole of the court where the lad resided sympathized with the boy, and vowed to a man, that had he escaped, they would have subscribed a pad or two of dry herrings, to send him into the country until the affair had blown over, for he had shown himself a "plucky one."

It is called "plucky" to bear pain without complaining. To flinch from expected suffering is scorned, and he who does so is sneered at and told to wear a gown, as being more fit to be a woman. To show a disregard for pain, a lad, when without money, will say to his pal, "Give us a penny, and you may have a punch at my nose." They also delight in tattooing their chests and arms with anchors, and figures of different kinds. During the whole of this painful operation, the boy will not flinch, but laugh and joke with his admiring companions, as if perfectly at ease.

Gambling of Costermongers.

It would be difficult to find in the whole of this numerous class, a youngster who is not—what may be safely called—a desperate gambler. At the age of fourteen this love of play first comes upon the lad, and from that time until he is thirty or so, not a Sunday passes but he is at his stand on the gambling ground. Even if he has no money to stake, he will loll away the morning looking on, and so borrow excitement from the successes of others. Every attempt made by the police, to check this ruinous system, has been unavailing, and has rather given a gloss of daring courage to the sport, that tends to render it doubly attractive.

If a costermonger has an hour to spare, his first thought is to gamble away the time. He does not care what he plays for, so long as he can have a chance of winning something. Whilst waiting for a market to open, his delight is to find out some pieman and toss him for his stock, though, by so doing, he risks his market-money and only chance of living, to win that which he will give away to the first friend he meets. For the whole week the boy will work untiringly, spurred on by the thought of the money to be won on the Sunday. Nothing will damp his ardour for gambling, the most continued ill-fortune making him even more reckless than if he were the luckiest man alive.

Many a lad who had gone down to the gambling ground, with a good warm coat upon his back and his pocket well filled from the Saturday night's market, will leave it at evening penniless and coatless, having lost all his earnings, stock-money, and the better part of his clothing. Some of the boys, when desperate with "bad luck," borrow to the utmost limit of their credit; then they mortgage their "king's-man" or neck-tie, and they will even change their cord trousers, if better than those of the winner, so as to have one more chance at the turn of fortune. The coldest winter's day will not stop the Sunday's gathering on the river-side, for the heat of play warms them in spite of the sharp wind blowing down the Thames. If the weather be wet, so that the half-pence stick to the ground, they find out some railway-arch or else a beer-shop, and having filled the tap-room with their numbers, they muffle the table with handkerchiefs, and play secretly. When the game is very exciting, they will even forget their hunger, and continue to gamble until it is too dark to see, before they think of eating. One man told me, that when he was working the races with lemonade, he had often seen in the centre of a group, composed of costers, thimble-riggers and showmen, as much as 100*l.* on the ground at one time, in gold and silver. A friend of his, who had gone down in company with him, with a pony-truck of toys,

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lost in less than an hour his earnings, truck, stock of goods, and great-coat. Vowing to have his revenge next time, he took his boy on his back, and started off on the tramp to London, there to borrow sufficient money to bring down a fresh lot of goods on the morrow, and then gamble away his earnings as before.

It is perfectly immaterial to the coster with whom he plays, whether it be a lad from the Lambeth potteries, or a thief from the Westminster slums. Very often, too, the gamblers of one costermonger district, will visit those of another, and work what is called "a plant" in this way. One of the visitors will go before hand, and, joining a group of gamblers, commence tossing. When sufficient time has elapsed to remove all suspicion of companionship, his mate will come up and commence betting on each of his pals' throws with those standing round. By a curious quickness of hand, a coster can make the toss tell favourably for his wagering friend, who meets him after the play is over in the evening, and shares the spoil.

The spots generally chosen for the Sunday's sport are in secret places, half-hidden from the eye of the passers, where a scout can give quick notice of the approach of the police: in the fields about King's-cross, or near any unfinished railway buildings. The Mint, St. George's-fields, Blackfriars'-road, Bethnal-green, and Marylebone, are all favourite resorts. Between Lambeth and Chelsea, the shingle on the left side of the Thames, is spotted with small rings of lads, half-hidden behind the barges. One boy (of the party) is always on the look out, and even if a stranger should advance, the cry is given of "Namous" or "Kool Eslop." Instantly the money is whipped-up and pocketed, and the boys stand chattering and laughing together. It is never difficult for a coster to find out where the gambling parties are, for he has only to stop the first lad he meets, and ask him where the "erht pu" or "three up" is going on, to discover their whereabouts.

If during the game a cry of "Police!" should be given by the looker-out, instantly a rush at the money is made by any one in the group, the costers preferring that a stranger should have the money rather than the policeman. There is also a custom among them, that the ruined player should be started again by a gift of *2d.* in every shilling lost, or, if the loss is heavy, a present of four or five shillings is made; neither is it considered at all dishonourable for the party winning to leave with the full bloom of success upon him.

That the description of one of these Sunday scenes might be more truthful, a visit was paid to a gambling-ring close to ——. Although not twenty yards distant from the steam-boat pier, yet the little party was so concealed among the the coal-barges, that not a head could be seen. The spot chosen was close to a small narrow court, leading from the street to the water-side, and here the lad on the look-out was stationed. There were about thirty young fellows, some tall strapping youths, in the costers' cable-cord costume,—others, mere boys, in rags, from the potteries, with their clothes stained with clay. The party was hidden from the river by the black dredger-boats on the beach; and it was so arranged, that should the alarm be given, they might leap into the coal-barges, and hide until the intruder had retired. Seated on some oars stretched across two craft, was a mortar-stained bricklayer, keeping a look-out towards the river, and acting as a sort of umpire in all disputes. The two that were tossing had been playing together since early morning; and it was easy to tell which was the loser, by the anxious-looking eye and compressed lip. He was quarrelsome too; and if the crowd pressed upon him, he would jerk his elbow back savagely, saying, "I wish to C——t you'd stand backer." The winner, a short man, in a mud-stained canvas jacket, and a week's yellow beard on his chin, never spake a word beyond his "heads," or "tails;" but his cheeks were red, and the pipe in his mouth was unlit, though he puffed at it.

In their hands they each held a long row of halfpence, extending to the wrist, and topped by shillings and half-crowns. Nearly every one round had coppers in his hands, and bets were made and taken as rapidly as they could be spoken. "I lost a sov. last night in less than no time," said one man, who, with his hands in his pockets, was looking on; "never mind—I musn't have no wenson this week, and try again next Sunday."

The boy who was losing was adopting every means to "bring back his luck again." Before crying, he would toss up a halfpenny three times, to see what he should call. At last, with an oath, he pushed aside the boys round him, and shifted his place, to see what that would do; it had a good effect, for he won toss after toss in a curiously fortunate way, and then it was strange to watch his mouth gradually relax and his brows unknit. His opponent was a little startled, and passing his fingers through his dusty hair, said, with a stupid laugh, "Well, I never see the likes." The betting also began to shift. "Sixpence Ned wins!" cried three or four; "Sixpence he loses!" answered another; "Done!" and up went the halfpence. "Half-a-crown Joe loses!"—"Here you are," answered Joe, but he lost again. "I'll try you a 'gen'" (shilling) said a coster; "And a 'rouf yenap'" (fourpence), added the other. "Say a 'exes'" (sixpence).—"Done!" and the betting continued, till the ground was spotted with silver and halfpence.

"That's ten bob he's won in five minutes," said Joe (the loser), looking round with a forced smile; but Ned (the winner) never spake a word, even when he gave any change to his antagonist; and if he took a bet, he only nodded to the one that offered it, and threw down his money. Once, when he picked up more than a sovereign from the ground, that he had won in one throw, a washed sweep, with a black rim round his neck, said, "There's a hog!" but

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there wasn't even a smile at the joke. At last Joe began to feel angry, and stamping his foot till the water squirted up from the beach, cried, "It's no use; luck's set in him—he'd muck a thousand!" and so he shifted his ground, and betted all round on the chance of better fortune attending the movement. He lost again, and some one bantering said, "You'll win the shine-rag, Joe," meaning that he would be "cracked up," or ruined, if he continued.

When one o'clock struck, a lad left, saying, he was "going to get an inside lining" (dinner). The sweep asked him what he was going to have. "A two-and-half plate, and a ha'p'orth of smash" (a plate of soup and a ha'p'orth of mashed potatoes), replied the lad, bounding into the court. Nobody else seemed to care for his dinner, for all stayed to watch the gamblers.

Every now and then some one would go up the court to see if the lad watching for the police was keeping a good look-out; but the boy never deserted his post, for fear of losing his threepence. If he had, such is the wish to protect the players felt by every lad, that even whilst at dinner, one of them, if he saw a policeman pass, would spring up and rush to the gambling ring to give notice.

When the tall youth, "Ned," had won nearly all the silver of the group, he suddenly jerked his gains into his coat-pocket, and saying, "I've done," walked off, and was out of sight in an instant. The surprise of the loser and all around was extreme. They looked at the court where he had disappeared, then at one another, and at last burst out into one expression of disgust. "There's a scurf!" said one; "He's a regular scab," cried another; and a coster declared that he was "a trossено, and no mistake." For although it is held to be fair for the winner to go whenever he wishes, yet such conduct is never relished by the losers.

It was then determined that "they would have him to rights" the next time he came to gamble; for every one would set at him, and win his money, and then "turn up," as he had done.

The party was then broken up, the players separating to wait for the new-comers that would be sure to pour in after dinner.

"Vic. Gallery."

On a good attractive night, the rush of costers to the threepenny gallery of the Coburg (better known as "the Vic") is peculiar and almost awful.

The long zig-zag staircase that leads to the pay box is crowded to suffocation at least an hour before the theatre is opened; but, on the occasion of a piece with a good murder in it, the crowd will frequently collect as early as three o'clock in the afternoon. Lads stand upon the broad wooden bannisters about 50 feet from the ground, and jump on each others' backs, or adopt any expedient they can think of to obtain a good place.

The walls of the well-staircase having a remarkably fine echo, and the wooden floor of the steps serving as a sounding board, the shouting, whistling, and quarrelling of the impatient young costers is increased tenfold. If, as sometimes happens, a song with a chorus is started, the ears positively ache with the din, and when the chant has finished it seems as though a sudden silence had fallen on the people. To the centre of the road, and all round the door, the mob is in a ferment of excitement, and no sooner is the money-taker at his post than the most frightful rush takes place, every one heaving with his shoulder at the back of the person immediately in front of him. The girls shriek, men shout, and a nervous fear is felt lest the massive staircase should fall in with the weight of the throng, as it lately did with the most terrible results. If a hat tumbles from the top of the staircase, a hundred hands snatch at it as it descends. When it is caught a voice roars above the tumult, "All right, Bill, I've got it"—for they all seem to know one another—"Keep us a pitch and I'll bring it."

To any one unaccustomed to be pressed flat it would be impossible to enter with the mob. To see the sight in the gallery it is better to wait until the first piece is over. The ham-sandwich men and pig-trotter women will give you notice when the time is come, for with the first clatter of the descending footsteps they commence their cries.

There are few grown-up men that go to the "Vic" gallery. The generality of the visitors are lads from about twelve to three-and-twenty, and though a few black-faced sweeps or whitey-brown dustmen may be among the throng, the gallery audience consists mainly of costermongers. Young girls, too, are very plentiful, only one-third of whom now take their babies, owing to the new regulation of charging half-price for infants. At the foot of the staircase stands a group of boys begging for the return checks, which they sell again for 1½*d.* or 1*d.*, according to the lateness of the hour.

At each step up the well-staircase the warmth and stench increase, until by the time one reaches the gallery doorway, a furnace-heat rushes out through the entrance that seems to force you backwards, whilst the odour positively prevents respiration. The mob on the landing, standing on tiptoe and closely wedged together, resists any civil attempt at gaining a glimpse of the stage, and yet a coster lad will rush up, elbow his way into the crowd, then jump up on to the shoulders of those before him, and suddenly disappear into the body of the gallery.

The gallery at "the Vic" is one of the largest in London. It will hold from 1500 to 2000 people, and runs back to so great a distance, that the end of it is lost in shadow, excepting where the little gas-jets, against the wall, light up the two or three faces around them. When the gallery is well packed, it is usual to see piles of boys on each others shoulders at the back, while on the partition

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boards, dividing off the slips, lads will pitch themselves, despite the spikes.

As you look up the vast slanting mass of heads from the upper boxes, each one appears on the move. The huge black heap, dotted with faces, and spotted with white shirt sleeves, almost pains the eye to look at, and should a clapping of hands commence, the twinkling nearly blinds you. It is the fashion with the mob to take off their coats; and the cross-braces on the backs of some, and the bare shoulders peeping out of the ragged shirts of others, are the only variety to be found. The bonnets of the "ladies" are hung over the iron railing in front, their numbers nearly hiding the panels, and one of the amusements of the lads in the back seats consists in pitching orange peel or nutshells into them, a good aim being rewarded with a shout of laughter.

When the orchestra begins playing, before "the gods" have settled into their seats, it is impossible to hear a note of music. The puffed-out cheeks of the trumpeters, and the raised drumsticks tell you that the overture has commenced, but no tune is to be heard. An occasional burst of the full band being caught by gushes, as if a high wind were raging. Recognitions take place every moment, and "Bill Smith" is called to in a loud voice from one side, and a shout in answer from the other asks "What's up?" Or family secrets are revealed, and "Bob Triller" is asked where "Sal" is, and replies amid a roar of laughter, that she is "a-larning the pynanney."

By-and-by a youngster, who has come in late, jumps up over the shoulders at the door, and doubling himself into a ball, rolls down over the heads in front, leaving a trail of commotion for each one as he passes aims a blow at the fellow. Presently a fight is sure to begin, and then every one rises from his seat whistling and shouting; three or four pairs of arms fall to, the audience waving their hands till the moving mass seems like microscopic eels in paste. But the commotion ceases suddenly on the rising of the curtain, and then the cries of "Silence!" "Ord-a-a-r!" "Ord-a-a-r!" make more noise than ever.

The "Vic" gallery is not to be moved by touching sentiment. They prefer vigorous exercise to any emotional speech. "The Child of the Storm's" declaration that she would share her father's "death or imprisonment as her duty," had no effect at all, compared with the split in the hornpipe. The shrill whistling and brayvos that followed the tar's performance showed how highly it was relished, and one "god" went so far as to ask "how it was done." The comic actor kicking a dozen Polish peasants was encored, but the grand banquet of the Czar of all the Russias only produced merriment, and a request that he would "give them a bit" was made directly the Emperor took the willow-patterned plate in his hand. All affecting situations were sure to be interrupted by cries of "orda-a-r;" and the lady begging for her father's life was told to "speak up old gal;" though when the heroine of the "dummestic dreamer" (as they call it) told the general of all the Cossack forces "not to be a fool," the uproar of approbation grew greater than ever,—and when the lady turned up her swan's-down cuffs, and seizing four Russian soldiers shook them successively by the collar, then the enthusiasm knew no bounds, and the cries of "Bray-vo Vincent! Go it my tulip!" resounded from every throat.

Altogether the gallery audience do not seem to be of a gentle nature. One poor little lad shouted out in a crying tone, "that he couldn't see," and instantly a dozen voices demanded "that he should be thrown over."

Whilst the pieces are going on, brown, flat bottles are frequently raised to the mouth, and between the acts a man with a tin can, glittering in the gas-light, goes round crying, "Port-a-a-a-r! who's for port-a-a-a-r." As the heat increased the faces grew bright red, every bonnet was taken off, and ladies could be seen wiping the perspiration from their cheeks with the play-bills.

No delay between the pieces will be allowed, and should the interval appear too long, some one will shout out—referring to the curtain—"Pull up that there winder blind!" or they will call to the orchestra, saying, "Now then you catgut-scrapers! Let's have a ha'purth of liveliness." Neither will they suffer a play to proceed until they have a good view of the stage, and "Higher the blue," is constantly shouted, when the sky is too low, or "Light up the moon," when the transparency is rather dim.

The dances and comic songs, between the pieces, are liked better than any thing else. A highland fling is certain to be repeated, and a stamping of feet will accompany the tune, and a shrill whistling, keep time through the entire performance.

But the grand hit of the evening is always when a song is sung to which the entire gallery can join in chorus. Then a deep silence prevails all through the stanzas. Should any burst in before his time, a shout of "orda-a-r" is raised, and the intruder put down by a thousand indignant cries. At the proper time, however, the throats of the mob burst forth in all their strength. The most deafening noise breaks out suddenly, while the cat-calls keep up the tune, and an imitation of a dozen Mr. Punches squeak out the words. Some actors at the minor theatres make a great point of this, and in the bill upon the night of my visit, under the title of "There's a good time coming, boys," there was printed, "assisted by the most numerous and effective chorus in the metropolis—" meaning the whole of the gallery. The singer himself started the mob, saying, "Now then, the Exeter Hall touch if you please gentlemen," and beat time with his hand, parodying M. Jullien with his *baton*. An "angcore" on such occasions is always

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demanded. and, despite a few murmurs of "change it to 'Duck-legged Dick,'" invariably insisted on.

The Politics of Costermongers.—Policemen.

The notion of the police is so intimately blended with what may be called the politics of the costermongers that I give them together.

The politics of these people are detailed in a few words—they are nearly all Chartists. "You might say, sir," remarked one of my informants, "that they *all* were Chartists, but as its better you should rather be under than over the mark, say *nearly* all." Their ignorance, and their being impulsive, makes them a dangerous class. I am assured that in every district where the costermongers are congregated, one or two of the body, more intelligent than the others, have great influence over them; and these leading men are all Chartists, and being industrious and not unprosperous persons, their pecuniary and intellectual superiority cause them to be regarded as oracles. One of these men said to me: "The costers think that working-men know best, and so they have confidence in us. I like to make men discontented, and I will make them discontented while the present system continues, because it's all for the middle and the moneyed classes, and nothing, in the way of rights, for the poor. People fancy when all's quiet that all's stagnating. Propagandism is going on for all that. It's when all's quiet that the seed's a growing. Republicans and Socialists are pressing their doctrines."

The costermongers have very vague notions of an aristocracy; they call the more prosperous of their own body "aristocrats." Their notions of an aristocracy of birth or wealth seem to be formed on their opinion of the rich, or reputed rich salesmen with whom they deal; and the result is anything but favourable to the nobility.

Concerning free-trade, nothing, I am told, can check the costermongers' fervour for a cheap loaf. A Chartist costermonger told me that he knew numbers of costers who were keen Chartists without understanding anything about the six points.

The costermongers frequently attend political meetings, going there in bodies of from six to twelve. Some of them, I learned, could not understand why Chartist leaders exhorted them to peace and quietness, when they might as well fight it out with the police at once. The costers boast, moreover, that they stick more together in any "row" than any other class. It is considered by them a reflection on the character of the thieves that they are seldom true to one another.

It is a matter of marvel to many of this class that people can live without working. The ignorant costers have no knowledge of "property," or "income," and conclude that the non-workers all live out of the taxes. Of the taxes generally they judge from their knowledge that tobacco, which they account a necessary of life, pays 3*s.* per lb. duty.

As regards the police, the hatred of a costermonger to a "peeler" is intense, and with their opinion of the police, all the more ignorant unite that of the governing power. "Can you wonder at it, sir," said a costermonger to me, "that I hate the police? They drive us about, we must move on, we can't stand here, and we can't pitch there. But if we're cracked up, that is if we're forced to go into the Union (I've known it both at Clerkenwell and the City of London workhouses,) why the parish gives us money to buy a barrow, or a shallow, or to hire them, and leave the house and start for ourselves: and what's the use of that, if the police won't let us sell our goods?—Which is right, the parish or the police?"

To thwart the police in any measure the costermongers readily aid one another. One very common procedure, if the policeman has seized a barrow, is to whip off a wheel, while the officers have gone for assistance; for a large and loaded barrow requires two men to convey it to the green-yard. This is done with great dexterity; and the next step is to dispose of the stock to any passing costers, or to any "standing" in the neighbourhood, and it is honestly accounted for. The policemen, on their return, find an empty, and unwheelable barrow, which they must carry off by main strength, amid the jeers of the populace.

I am assured that in case of a political riot every "coster" would seize his policeman.

Marriage and Concubinage of Costermongers.

Only one-tenth—at the outside one-tenth—of the couples living together and carrying on the costermongering trade, are married. In Clerkenwell parish, however, where the number of married couples is about a fifth of the whole, this difference is easily accounted for, as in Advent and Easter the incumbent of that parish marries poor couples without a fee. Of the rights of "legitimate" or "illegitimate" children the costermongers understand nothing, and account it a mere waste of money and time to go through the ceremony of wedlock when a pair can live together, and be quite as well regarded by their fellows, without it. The married women associate with the unmarried mothers of families without the slightest scruple. There is no honour attached to the marriage state, and no shame to concubinage. Neither are the unmarried women less faithful to their "partners" than the married; but I understand that, of the two classes, the unmarried betray the most jealousy.

As regards the fidelity of these women I was assured that, "in anything like good times," they were rigidly faithful to their husbands or paramours; but that, in the worst pinch of poverty, a departure from this fidelity—if it provided a few meals or a fire—was not considered at all heinous. An old costermonger, who had been mixed up with other callings, and whose

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prejudices were certainly not in favour of his present trade, said to me, "What I call the working girls, sir, are as industrious and as faithful a set as can well be. I'm satisfied that they're more faithful to their mates than other poor working women. I never knew one of these working girls do wrong that way. They're strong, hearty, healthy girls, and keep clean rooms. Why, there's numbers of men leave their stock-money with their women, just taking out two or three shillings to gamble with and get drunk upon. They sometimes take a little drop themselves, the women do, and get beaten by their husbands for it, and hardest beaten if the man's drunk himself. They're sometimes beaten for other things too, or for nothing at all. But they seem to like the men better for their beating them. I never could make that out." Notwithstanding this fidelity, it appears that the "larking and joking" of the young, and sometimes of the middle-aged people, among themselves, is anything but delicate. The unmarried separate as seldom as the married. The fidelity characterizing the women does not belong to the men.

The dancing-rooms are the places where matches are made up. There the boys go to look out for "mates," and sometimes a match is struck up the first night of meeting, and the couple live together forthwith. The girls at these dances are all the daughters of costermongers, or of persons pursuing some other course of street life. Unions take place when the lad is but 14. Two or three out of 100 have their female helpmates at that early age; but the female is generally a couple of years older than her partner. Nearly all the costermongers form such alliances as I have described, when both parties are under twenty. One reason why these alliances are contracted at early ages is, that when a boy has assisted his father, or any one engaging him, in the business of a costermonger, he knows that he can borrow money, and hire a shallow or a barrow—or he may have saved *5s.*—"and then if the father vexes him or snubs him," said one of my informants, "he'll tell his father to go to h—l, and he and his gal will start on their own account."

Most of the costermongers have numerous families, but not those who contract alliances very young. The women continue working down to the day of their confinement.

"Chance children," as they are called, or children unrecognised by any father, are rare among the young women of the costermongers.

Religion of Costermongers.

An intelligent and trustworthy man, until very recently actively engaged in costermongering, computed that not 3 in 100 costermongers had ever been in the interior of a church, or any place of worship, or knew what was meant by Christianity. The same person gave me the following account, which was confirmed by others:

"The costers have no religion at all, and very little notion, or none at all, of what religion or a future state is. Of all things they hate tracts. They hate them because the people leaving them never give them anything, and as they can't read the tract—not one in forty—they're vexed to be bothered with it. And really what is the use of giving people reading before you've taught them to read? Now, they respect the City Missionaries, because they read to them—and the costers will listen to reading when they don't understand it—and because they visit the sick, and sometimes give oranges and such like to them and the children. I've known a City Missionary buy a shilling's worth of oranges of a coster, and give them away to the sick and the children—most of them belonging to the costermongers—down the court, and that made him respected there. I think the City Missionaries have done good. But I'm satisfied that if the costers had to profess themselves of some religion to-morrow, they would all become Roman Catholics, every one of them. This is the reason:—London costers live very often in the same courts and streets as the poor Irish, and if the Irish are sick, be sure there comes to them the priest, the Sisters of Charity—they *are* good women—and some other ladies. Many a man that's not a Catholic, has rotted and died without any good person near him. Why, I lived a good while in Lambeth, and there wasn't one coster in 100, I'm satisfied, knew so much as the rector's name,—though Mr. Dalton's a very good man. But the reason I was telling you of, sir, is that the costers reckon *that* religion's the best that gives the most in charity, and they think the Catholics do this. I'm not a Catholic myself, but I believe every word of the Bible, and have the greater belief that it's the word of God because it teaches democracy. The Irish in the courts get sadly chaffed by the others about their priests,—but they'll die for the priest. Religion is a regular puzzle to the costers. They see people come out of church and chapel, and as they're mostly well dressed, and there's very few of their own sort among the church-goers, the costers somehow mix up being religious with being respectable, and so they have a queer sort of feeling about it. It's a mystery to them. It's shocking when you come to think of it. They'll listen to any preacher that goes among them; and then a few will say—I've heard it often—'A b—y fool, why don't he let people go to h-ll their own way?' There's another thing that makes the costers think so well of the Catholics. If a Catholic coster—there's only very few of them—is 'cracked up' (penniless), he's often started again, and the others have a notion that it's through some chapel-fund. I don't know whether it is so or not, but I know the cracked-up men are started again, if they're Catholics. It's still the stranger that the regular costermongers, who are nearly all Londoners, should have such respect for the Roman Catholics, when they have such a hatred of the Irish, whom they look upon as intruders and underminers."—"If a missionary came among

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us with plenty of money," said another costermonger, "he might make us all Christians or Turks, or anything he liked." Neither the Latter-day Saints, nor any similar sect, have made converts among the costermongers.

OF THE UNEDUCATED STATE OF COSTERMONGERS.

I HAVE stated elsewhere, that only about one in ten of the regular costermongers is able to read. The want of education among both men and women is deplorable, and I tested it in several instances. The following statement, however, from one of the body, is no more to be taken as representing the ignorance of the class generally, than are the clear and discriminating accounts I received from intelligent costermongers to be taken as representing the intelligence of the body.

The man with whom I conversed, and from whom I received the following statement, seemed about thirty. He was certainly not ill-looking, but with a heavy cast of countenance, his light blue eyes having little expression. His statements, or opinions, I need hardly explain, were given both spontaneously in the course of conversation, and in answer to my questions. I give them almost verbatim, omitting oaths and slang:

"Well, times is bad, sir," he said, "but it's a deadish time. I don't do so well at present as in middlish times, I think. When I served the Prince of Naples, not far from here (I presume that he alluded to the Prince of Capua), I did better and times was better. That was five years ago, but I can't say to a year or two. He was a good customer, and was wery fond of peaches. I used to sell them to him, at 12*s.* the plasket when they was new. The plasket held a dozen, and cost me 6*s.* at Covent-garden—more sometimes; but I didn't charge him more when they did. His footman was a black man, and a ignorant man quite, and his housekeeper was a Englishwoman. He was the Prince o' Naples, was my customer; but I don't know what he was like, for I never saw him. I've heard that he was the brother of the king of Naples. I can't say where Naples is, but if you was to ask at Euston-square, they'll tell you the fare there and the time to go it in. It may be in France for anything I know may Naples, or in Ireland. Why don't you ask at the square? I went to Croydon once by rail, and slept all the way without stirring, and so you may to Naples for anything I know. I never heard of the Pope being a neighbour of the King of Naples. Do you mean living next door to him? But I don't know nothing of the King of Naples, only the prince. I don't know what the Pope is. Is he any trade? It's nothing to me, when he's no customer of mine. I have nothing to say about nobody that ain't no customers. My crabs is caught in the sea, in course. I gets them at Billingsgate. I never saw the sea, but it's salt-water, I know. I can't say whereabouts it lays. I believe it's in the hands of the Billingsgate salesmen—all of it? I've heard of shipwrecks at sea, caused by drownding, in course. I never heard that the Prince of Naples was ever at sea. I like to talk about him, he was such a customer when he lived near here." (Here he repeated his account of the supply of peaches to his Royal Highness.) "I never was in France, no, sir, never. I don't know the way. Do you think I could do better there? I never was in the Republic there. What's it like? Bonaparte? O, yes; I've heard of him. He was at Waterloo. I didn't know he'd been alive now and in France, as you ask me about him. I don't think you're larking, sir. Did I hear of the French taking possession of Naples, and Bonaparte making his brother-in-law king? Well, I didn't, but it may be true, because I served the Prince of Naples, what *was* the brother of the king. I never heard whether the Prince was the king's older brother or his younger. I wish he may turn out his older if there's property coming to him, as the oldest has the first turn; at least so I've heard—first come, first served. I've worked the streets and the courts at all times. I've worked them by moonlight, but you couldn't see the moonlight where it was busy. I can't say how far the moon's off us. It's nothing to me, but I've seen it a good bit higher than St. Paul's. I don't know nothing about the sun. Why do you ask? It must be nearer than the moon for it's warmer,—and if they're both fire, that shows it. It's like the tap-room grate and that bit of a gas-light; to compare the two is. What was St. Paul's that the moon was above? A church, sir; so I've heard. I never was in a church. O, yes, I've heard of God; he made heaven and earth; I never heard of his making the sea; that's another thing, and you can best learn about that at Billingsgate. (He seemed to think that the sea was an appurtenance of Billingsgate.) Jesus Christ? Yes. I've heard of him. Our Redeemer? Well, I only wish I could redeem my Sunday togs from my uncle's."

Another costermonger, in answer to inquiries, said: "I 'spose you think us 'riginal coves that you ask. We're not like Methusalem, or some such swell's name, (I presume that Malthus was meant) as wanted to murder children afore they was born, as I once heerd lectured about—we're nothing like that."

Another on being questioned, and on being told that the information was wanted for the press, replied: "The press? I'll have nothing to say to it. We are oppressed enough already."

That a class numbering 30,000 should be permitted to remain in a state of almost brutish ignorance is a national disgrace. If the London costers belong especially to the "dangerous classes," the danger of such a body is assuredly an evil of our own creation; for the gratitude of the poor creatures to any one who seeks to give them the least knowledge is almost pathetic.

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Language of Costermongers.

The slang language of the costermongers is not very remarkable for originality of construction; it possesses no humour: but they boast that it is known only to themselves; it is far beyond the Irish, they say, and puzzles the Jews. The *root* of the costermonger tongue, so to speak, is to give the words spelt backward, or rather pronounced rudely backward,—for in my present chapter the language has, I believe, been reduced to orthography for the first time. With this backward pronunciation, which is very arbitrary, are mixed words reducible to no rule and seldom referrable to any origin, thus complicating the mystery of this unwritten tongue; while any syllable is added to a proper slang word, at the discretion of the speaker.

Slang is acquired very rapidly, and some costermongers will converse in it by the hour. The women use it sparingly; the girls more than the women; the men more than the girls; and the boys most of all. The most ignorant of all these classes deal most in slang and boast of their cleverness and proficiency in it. In their conversations among themselves, the following are invariably the terms used in money matters. A rude back-spelling may generally be traced:

Flatch	Halfpenny.
Yenep	Penny.
Owt-yenep	Twopence.
Erth-yenep	Threepence.
Rouf-yenep	Fourpence.
Ewif-yenep	Fivepence.
Exis-yenep	Sixpence.
Neves-yenep	Sevenpence.
Teaich-yenep	Eightpence.
Enine-yenep	Ninepence.
Net-yenep	Tenpence.
Leven	Elevenpence.
Gen	Twelvepence.
Yenep-flatch	Three half-pence.

and so on through the penny-halfpennies.

It was explained to me by a costermonger, who had introduced some new words into the slang, that "leven" was allowed so closely to resemble the proper word, because elevenpence was almost an unknown sum to costermongers, the transition—weights and measures notwithstanding—being immediate from 10*d.* to 1*s.*

"Gen" is a shilling and the numismatic sequence is pursued with the gens, as regards shillings, as with the "yeneps" as regards pence. The blending of the two is also according to the same system as "Owt-gen, teaich-yenep" two-and-eightpence. The exception to the uniformity of the "gen" enumeration is in the sum of 8*s.*, which instead of "teaich-gen" is "teaich-guy:" a deviation with ample precedents in all civilised tongues.

As regards the larger coins the translation into slang is not reducible into rule. The following are the costermonger coins of the higher value:

Couter	Sovereign.
Half-Couter, or *Net-gen*	Half-sovereign.
Ewif-gen	Crown.
Flatch-yneork	Half-crown.

The costermongers still further complicate their slang by a mode of multiplication. They thus say, "Erth Ewif-gens" or 3 times 5*s.*, which means of course 15*s.*

Speaking of this language, a costermonger said to me: "The Irish can't tumble to it anyhow; the Jews can tumble better, but we're *their* masters. Some of the young salesmen at Billingsgate understand us,—but only at Billingsgate; and they think they're uncommon clever, but they're not quite up to the mark. The police don't understand us at all. It would be a pity if they did."

I give a few more phrases:

A doogheno or dabheno?	Is it a good or bad market?
A regular trosseno	A regular bad one.
On	No.
Say	Yes.
Tumble to your barrikin	Understand you.
Top o' reeb	Pot of beer.
Doing dab	Doing badly.
Cool him	Look at him.

The latter phrase is used when one costermonger warns another of the approach of a policeman "who might order him to move on, or be otherwise unpleasant." "Cool" (look) is exclaimed, or "Cool him" (look at him). One costermonger told me as a great joke that a very stout policeman, who was then new to the duty, was when in a violent state of perspiration, much offended by a costermonger saying "Cool him."

Cool the esclop	Look at the police.
Cool the namesclop	Look at the policeman.
Cool ta the dillo nemo	Look at the old woman;

said of any woman, young or old, who, according to costermonger notions, is "giving herself airs."

This language seems confined, in its general use, to the immediate objects of the costermonger's care; but is, among the more acute members of the fraternity, greatly extended, and is capable of indefinite extension.

The costermongers oaths, I may conclude, are all in the vernacular; nor are any of the common salutes, such as "How d'you do?" or "Good-night" known to their slang.

Kennetseeno . . . . Stinking;
(applied principally to the quality of fish.)
Flatch kanurd . . Half-drunk.
Flash it . . . . . Show it;
(in cases of bargains offered.)
On doog . . . . . No good.

Cross chap	A thief.
Showfulls	Bad money;
(seldom in the hands of costermongers.)	
I'm on to the deb . .	I'm going to bed.
Do the tightner . .	Go to dinner.
Nommus	Be off.
Tol	Lot, Stock, or Share.

Many costermongers, "but principally—perhaps entirely,"—I was told, "those who had not been regular born and bred to the trade, but had taken to it when cracked up in their own," do not trouble themselves to acquire any knowledge of slang. It is not indispensable for the carrying on of their business; the grand object, however, seems to be, to shield their bargainings at market, or their conversation among themselves touching their day's work and profits, from the knowledge of any Irish or uninitiated fellow-traders.

The simple principle of costermonger slang—that of pronouncing backward, may cause its acquirement to be regarded by the educated as a matter of ease. But it is a curious fact that lads who become costermongers' boys, without previous association with the class, acquire a very ready command of the language, and this though they are not only unable to spell, but don't "know a letter in a book." I saw one lad, whose parents had, until five or six months back, resided in the country. The lad himself was fourteen; he told me he had not been "a costermongering" more than three months, and prided himself on his mastery over slang. To test his ability, I asked him the coster's word for "hippopotamus;" he answered, with tolerable readiness, "musatoppop." I then asked him for the like rendering of "equestrian" (one of Astley's bills having caught my eye). He replied, but not quite so readily, "nirtseque." The last test to which I subjected him was "good-naturedly;" and though I induced him to repeat the word twice, I could not, on any of the three renderings, distinguish any precise sound beyond an indistinct gabbling, concluded emphatically with "doog:"—"good" being a word with which all these traders are familiar. It must be remembered, that the words I demanded were remote from the young costermonger's vocabulary, if not from his understanding.

Before I left this boy, he poured forth a minute or more's gibberish, of which, from its rapid utterance, I could distinguish nothing; but I found from his after explanation, that it was a request to me to make a further purchase of his walnuts.

This slang is utterly devoid of any applicability to humour. It gives no new fact, or approach to a fact, for philologists. One superior genius among the costers, who has invented words for them, told me that he had no system for coining his term. He gave to the known words some terminating syllable, or, as he called it, "a new turn, just," to use his own words, "as if he chorussed them, with a tol-de-rol." The intelligence communicated in this slang is, in a great measure, communicated, as in other slang, as much by the inflection of the voice, the emphasis, the tone, the look, the shrug, the nod, the wink, as by the words spoken.

Of the Nicknames of Costermongers.

Like many rude, and almost all wandering communities, the costermongers, like the cabmen and pickpockets, are hardly ever known by their real names; even the honest men among them are distinguished by some strange appellation. Indeed, they are all known one to another by nicknames, which they acquire either by some mode of dress, some remark that has ensured costermonger applause, some peculiarity in trading, or some defect or singularly in personal appearance. Men are known as "Rotten Herrings," "Spuddy" (a seller of bad potatoes, until beaten by the Irish for his bad wares,) "Curly" (a man with a curly head), "Foreigner" (a man who had been in the Spanish-Legion), "Brassy" (a very saucy person), "Gaffy" (once a performer), "The One-eyed Buffer," "Jawbreaker," "Pine-apple Jack," "Cast-iron Poll" (her head having been struck with a pot without injury to her), "Whilky," "Blackwall Poll" (a woman generally having two black eyes), "Lushy Bet," "Dirty Sall" (the costermongers generally objecting to dirtywomen), and "Dancing Sue."

Of the Education of Costermongers' Children.

I have used the heading of "Education," but perhaps to say "non-education," would be more suitable. Very few indeed of the costermongers' children are sent even to the Ragged Schools; and if they are, from all I could learn, it is done more that the mother may be saved the trouble of tending them at home, than from any desire that the children shall acquire useful knowledge. Both boys and girls are sent out by their parents in the evening to sell nuts, oranges, &c., at the doors of the theatres, or in any public place, or "round the houses" (a stated circuit from their place of abode). This trade they pursue eagerly for the sake of "bunts," though some carry home the money they take, very honestly. The costermongers are kind to their children, "perhaps in a rough way, and the women make regular pets of them very often." One experienced man told me, that he had seen a poor costermonger's wife—one of the few who could read—instructing her children in reading; but such instances were very rare. The education of these children is such only as the streets afford; and the streets teach them, for the most part—and in greater or lesser degrees,—acuteness—a precocious acuteness—in all that concerns their immediate wants, business, or gratifications; a patient endurance of cold and hunger; a desire to obtain money without working for it; a craving for the excitement of gambling; an inordinate love of amusement; and an irrepressible repugnance to any settled in-door industry.

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The Literature of Costermongers.

We have now had an inkling of the London costermonger's notions upon politics and religion. We have seen the brutified state in which he is allowed by society to remain, though possessing the same faculties and susceptibilities as ourselves—the same power to perceive and admire the forms of truth, beauty, and goodness, as even the very highest in the state. We have witnessed how, instinct with all the elements of manhood and beasthood, the qualities of the beast are principally developed in him, while those of the man are stunted in their growth. It now remains for us to look into some other matters concerning this curious class of people, and, first, of their literature:

It may appear anomalous to speak of the literature of an uneducated body, but even the costermongers have their tastes for books. They are very fond of hearing any one read aloud to them, and listen very attentively. One man often reads the Sunday paper of the beer-shop to them, and on a fine summer's evening a costermonger, or any neighbour who has the advantage of being "a schollard," reads aloud to them in the courts they inhabit. What they love best to listen to—and, indeed, what they are most eager for—are Reynolds's periodicals, especially the "Mysteries of the Court." "They've got tired of Lloyd's blood-stained stories," said one man, who was in the habit of reading to them, "and I'm satisfied that, of all London, Reynolds is the most popular man among them. They stuck to him in Trafalgar-square, and would again. They all say he's 'a trump,' and Feargus O'Connor's another trump with them.'"

One intelligent man considered that the spirit of curiosity manifested by costermongers, as regards the information or excitement derived from hearing stories read, augured well for the improvability of the class.

Another intelligent costermonger, who had recently read some of the cheap periodicals to ten or twelve men, women, and boys, all costermongers, gave me an account of the comments made by his auditors. They had assembled, after their day's work or their rounds, for the purpose of hearing my informant read the last number of some of the penny publications.

"The costermongers," said my informant, "are very fond of illustrations. I have known a man, what couldn't read, buy a periodical what had an illustration, a little out of the common way perhaps, just that he might learn from some one, who *could* read, what it was all about. They have all heard of Cruikshank, and they think everything funny is by him—funny scenes in a play and all. His 'Bottle' was very much admired. I heard one man say it was very prime, and showed what 'lush' did, but I saw the same man," added my informant, "drunk three hours afterwards. Look you here, sir," he continued, turning over a periodical, for he had the number with him, "here's a portrait of 'Catherine of Russia.' 'Tell us all about her,' said one man to me last night; read it; what was she?' When I had read it," my informant continued, "another man, to whom I showed it, said, 'Don't the cove as did that know a deal?' for they fancy—at least, a many do—that one man writes a whole periodical, or a whole newspaper. Now here," proceeded my friend, "you see's an engraving of a man hung up, burning over a fire, and some costers would go mad if they couldn't learn what he'd been doing, who he was, and all about him. 'But about the picture?' they would say, and this is a very common question put by them whenever they see an engraving.

"Here's one of the passages that took their fancy wonderfully," my informant observed:

'With glowing cheeks, flashing eyes, and palpitating bosom, Venetia Trelawney rushed back into the refreshment-room, where she threw herself into one of the arm-chairs already noticed. But scarcely had she thus sunk down upon the flocculent cushion, when a sharp click, as of some mechanism giving way, met her ears; and at the same instant her wrists were caught in manacles which sprang out of the arms of the treacherous chair, while two steel bands started from the richly-carved back and grasped her shoulders. A shriek burst from her lips—she struggled violently, but all to no purpose: for she was a captive—and powerless!

'We should observe that the manacles and the steel bands which had thus fastened upon her, were covered with velvet, so that they inflicted no positive injury upon her, nor even produced the slightest abrasion of her fair and polished skin.'

Here all my audience," said the man to me, "broke out with—'Aye! that's the way the harristocrats hooks it. There's nothing o' that sort among us; the rich has all that barrikin to themselves.' 'Yes, that's the b—— way the taxes goes in,' shouted a woman.

"Anything about the police sets them a talking at once. This did when I read it:

'The Ebenezers still continued their fierce struggle, and, from the noise they made, seemed as if they were tearing each other to pieces, to the wild roar of a chorus of profane swearing. The alarm, as Bloomfield had predicted, was soon raised, and some two or three policemen, with their bull's-eyes, and still more effective truncheons, speedily restored order.'

'The blessed crushers is everywhere,' shouted one. 'I wish I'd been there to have had a shy at the eslops,' said another. And then a man sung out: 'O, don't I like the Bobbys?'

"If there's any foreign language which can't be explained, I've seen the costers," my informant went on, "annoyed at it—quite annoyed. Another time I read part of one of Lloyd's numbers to them—but they like something spicier. One article in them—here it is—finishes in this way:

"The social habits and costumes of the Magyar *noblesse* have almost all the characteristics of the corresponding class in Ireland. This word *noblesse* is one of wide signification in Hungary; and one may with great truth say of this strange nation, that '*qui n'est point noble n'est rien*.'"

'I can't tumble to that barrikin,' said a young fellow; 'it's a jaw-breaker. But if this here—what d' ye call it, you talk about—was like the Irish, why they was a rum lot.' 'Noblesse,' said a man that's considered a clever fellow, from having once learned his letters, though he can't

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read or write. 'Noblesse!' Blessed if I know what he's up to.' Here there was a regular laugh."

From other quarters I learned that some of the costermongers who were able to read, or loved to listen to reading, purchased their literature in a very commercial spirit, frequently buying the periodical which is the largest in size, because when "they've got the reading out of it," as they say, "it's worth a halfpenny for the barrow."

Tracts they will rarely listen to, but if any persevering man *will* read tracts, and state that he does it for their benefit and improvement, they listen without rudeness, though often with evident unwillingness. "Sermons or tracts," said one of their body to me, "gives them the 'orrors." Costermongers purchase, and not unfrequently, the first number of a penny periodical, "to see what it's like."

The tales of robbery and bloodshed, of heroic, eloquent, and gentlemanly highwaymen, or of gipsies turning out to be nobles, now interest the costermongers but little, although they found great delight in such stories a few years back. Works relating to Courts, potentates, or "harristocrats," are the most relished by these rude people.

Of the Honesty of Costermongers.

I heard on all hands that the costers never steal from one another, and never wink at any one stealing from a neighbouring stall. Any stall-keeper will leave his stall untended to get his dinner, his neighbour acting for him; sometimes he will leave it to enjoy a game at skittles. It was computed for me, that property worth 10,000*l.* belonging to costers is daily left exposed in the streets or at the markets, almost entirely unwatched, the policeman or market-keeper only passing at intervals. And yet thefts are rarely heard of, and when heard of are not attributable to costermongers, but to regular thieves. The way in which the sum of 10,000*l.* was arrived at, is this: "In Hooper-street, Lambeth," said my informant, "there are thirty barrows and carts exposed on an evening, left in the street, with nobody to see to them; left there all night. That is only one street. Each barrow and board would be worth, on the average, 2*l.* 5*s.*, and that would be 75*l.* In the other bye-streets and courts off the New-cut are six times as many, Hooper-street having the most. This would give 525*l.* in all, left unwatched of a night. There are, throughout London, twelve more districts besides the New-cut—at least twelve districts—and, calculating the same amount in these, we have, altogether, 6,300*l.* worth of barrows. Taking in other bye-streets, we may safely reckon it at 4,000 barrows; for the numbers I have given in the thirteen places are 2,520, and 1,480 added is moderate. At least half of those which are in use next day, are left unwatched; more, I have no doubt, but say half. The stock of these 2,000 will average 10*s.* each, or 1,000*l.*; and the barrows will be worth 4,500*l.*; in all 5,500*l.*, and the property exposed on the stalls and the markets will be double in amount, or 11,000*l.* in value, every day, but say 10,000*l.*

"Besides, sir," I was told, "the thieves won't rob the costers so often as they will the shopkeepers. It's easier to steal from a butcher's or bacon-seller's open window than from a costermonger's stall or barrow, because the shopkeeper's eye can't be always on his goods. But there's always some one to give an eye to a coster's property. At Billingsgate the thieves will rob the salesmen far readier than they will us. They know we'd take it out of them readier if they were caught. It's Lynch law with us. We never give them in charge."

The costermongers' boys will, I am informed, cheat their employers, but they do not steal from them. The costers' donkey stables have seldom either lock or latch, and sometimes oysters, and other things which the donkey will not molest, are left there, but are never stolen.

Of the Conveyances of the Costermongers and other Street-sellers.

We now come to consider the matters relating more particularly to the commercial life of the costermonger.

All who pass along the thoroughfares of the Metropolis, bestowing more than a cursory glance upon the many phases of its busy street life, must be struck with astonishment to observe the various modes of conveyance, used by those who resort to the public thoroughfares for a livelihood. From the more provident costermonger's pony and donkey cart, to the old rusty iron tray slung round the neck by the vendor of blacking, and down to the little grey-eyed Irish boy with his lucifer-matches, in the last remains of a willow hand-basket—the shape and variety of the means resorted to by the costermongers and other street-sellers, for carrying about their goods, are almost as manifold as the articles they vend.

The pony—or donkey—carts (and the latter is by far the more usual beast of draught), of the prosperous costermongers are of three kinds:—the first is of an oblong shape, with a rail behind, upon which is placed a tray filled with bunches of greens, turnips, celery, &c., whilst other commodities are laid in the bed of the cart. Another kind is the common square cart without springs, which is so constructed that the sides, as well as the front and back, will let down and form shelves whereon the stock may be arranged to advantage. The third sort of pony-cart is one of home manufacture, consisting of the framework of a body without sides, or front, or hind part. Sometimes a coster's barrow is formed into a donkey cart merely by fastening, with cord, two rough poles to the handles. All these several kinds of carts are used for the conveyance of either fruit, vegetables, or fish; but besides those, there is the salt and mustard vendor's cart, with and without the tilt or covering, and a square piece of tin (stuck into a block of salt), on which is

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painted "salt 3 lbs. a penny," and "mustard a penny an ounce" Then there is the poultry cart, with the wild-ducks, and rabbits dangling at its sides, and with two uprights and a cross-stick, upon which are suspended birds, &c., slung across in couples.

The above conveyances are all of small dimensions, the barrows being generally about five feet long and three wide, while the carts are mostly about four feet square.

Every kind of harness is used; some is well blacked and greased and glittering with brass, others are almost as grey with dust as the donkey itself. Some of the jackasses are gaudily caparisoned in an old carriage-harness, which fits it like a man's coat on a boy's back, while the plated silver ornaments are pink, with the copper showing through; others have rope traces and belly-bands, and not a few indulge in old cotton handkerchiefs for pads.

The next conveyance (which, indeed, is the most general) is the costermonger's hand-barrow. These are very light in their make, with springs terminating at the axle. Some have rails behind for the arrangement of their goods; others have not. Some have side rails, whilst others have only the frame-work. The shape of these barrows is oblong, and sloped from the hind-part towards the front; the bottom of the bed is not boarded, but consists of narrow strips of wood nailed athwart and across. When the coster is hawking his fish, or vending his green stuff, he provides himself with a wooden tray, which is placed upon his barrow. Those who cannot afford a tray get some pieces of board and fasten them together, these answering their purpose as well. Pine-apple and pine-apple rock barrows are not unfrequently seen with small bright coloured flags at the four corners, fluttering in the wind.

The knife-cleaner's barrow, which has lately appeared in the streets, must not be passed over here. It consists of a huge sentry-box, with a door, and is fixed upon two small wheels, being propelled in the same way as a wheel-barrow. In the interior is one of Kent's Patent Knife-cleaning Machines, worked by turning a handle. Then there are the cat and dog's-meat barrows. These, however, are merely common wheelbarrows, with a board in front and a ledge or shelf, formed by a piece of board nailed across the top of the barrow, to answer the purpose of a cutting-board. Lastly, there is the hearth-stone barrow, piled up with hearth-stone, Bath-brick, and lumps of whiting.

Another mode of conveying the goods through the streets, is by baskets of various kinds; as the sieve or head basket; the square and oval "shallow," fastened in front of the fruit-woman with a strap round the waist; the hand-basket; and the "prickle." The sieve, or head-basket, is a round willow basket, containing about one-third of a bushel. The square and oval shallows are willow baskets, about four inches deep, and thirty inches long, by eighteen broad. The hand-basket is the common oval basket, with a handle across to hang upon the arm; the latter are generally used by the Irish for onions and apples. The prickle is a brown willow basket, in which walnuts are imported into this country from the Continent; they are about thirty inches deep, and in bulk rather larger than a gallon measure; they are used only by the vendors of walnuts.

Such are the principal forms of the costermongers' conveyances; but besides carts, barrows, and baskets, there are many other means adopted by the London street-sellers for carrying their goods from one part of the metropolis to another. The principal of these are cans, trays, boxes, and poles.

The baked potato-cans sometimes are square and sometimes oval; they are made with and without legs, a lid fastened on with hinges, and have a small charcoal fire fixed at the bottom of the can, so as to keep the potatoes hot, while there is a pipe at top to let off the steam. On one side of the can is a little compartment for the salt, and another on the other side for the butter. The hot pie-can is a square tin can, standing upon four legs, with a door in front, and three partitions inside; a fire is kept in the bottom, and the pies arranged in order upon the iron plates or shelves. When the pies at the bottom are sufficiently hot they are taken out, and placed on the upper shelf, whilst those above are removed to the lower compartments, by which means all the pies are kept "hot and hot."

The muffin and crumpet-boy carries his articles in a basket, covered outside with oil-cloth and inside with green-baize, either at his back, or slung over his arm, and rings his bell as he walks.

The blacking boy, congreve-match and water-cress girl, use a rusty tray, spread over with their "goods," and suspended to the neck by a piece of string.

The vendors of corn-salve, plating balls, soap for removing grease spots, paper, steel pens, envelopes, &c., carry their commodities in front of them in boxes, suspended round the neck by a narrow leather strap.

Rabbits and game are sometimes carried in baskets, and at other times tied together and slung over a pole upon the shoulder. Hat and bonnet-boxes are likewise conveyed upon a pole.

Door-mats, baskets and "duffer's" packs, wood pails, brushes, brooms, clothes-props, clothes-lines and string, and grid-irons, Dutch-ovens, skewers and fire-shovels, are carried across the shoulder.

Of the "Smithfield Races."

Having set forth the costermonger's usual mode of conveying his goods through the streets of London, I shall now give the reader a description of the place and scene where and when he purchases his donkeys.

When a costermonger wishes to sell or buy a donkey, he goes to Smithfield-market on a Friday afternoon. On this day, between the hours of one and five, there is a kind of fair held,

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attended solely by costermongers, for whose convenience a long paved slip of ground, about eighty feet in length, has been set apart. The animals for sale are trotted up and down this—the "race-course," as it is called—and on each side of it stand the spectators and purchasers, crowding among the stalls of peas-soup, hot eels, and other street delicacies.

Every thing necessary for the starting of a costermonger's barrow can be had in Smithfield on a Friday,—from the barrow itself to the weights—from the donkey to the whip. The animals can be purchased at prices ranging from 5*s.* to 3*l.* On a brisk market-day as many as two hundred donkeys have been sold. The barrows for sale are kept apart from the steeds, but harness to any amount can be found everywhere, in all degrees of excellence, from the bright japanned cart saddle with its new red pads, to the old mouldy trace covered with buckle marks. Wheels of every size and colour, and springs in every stage of rust, are hawked about on all sides. To the usual noise and shouting of a Saturday night's market is added the shrill squealing of distant pigs, the lowing of the passing oxen, the bleating of sheep, and the braying of donkeys. The paved road all down the "race-course" is level and soft, with the mud trodden down between the stones. The policeman on duty there wears huge fishermen's or flushermen's boots, reaching to their thighs; and the trouser ends of the costers' corduroys are black and sodden with wet dirt. Every variety of odour fills the air; you pass from the stable smell that hangs about the donkeys, into an atmosphere of apples and fried fish, near the eating-stalls, while a few paces further on you are nearly choked with the stench of goats. The crowd of black hats, thickly dotted with red and yellow plush caps, reels about; and the "hi-hi-i-i" of the donkey-runners sounds on all sides. Sometimes a curly-headed bull, with a fierce red eye, on its way to or from the adjacent cattle-market, comes trotting down the road, making all the visitors rush suddenly to the railings, for fear—as a coster near me said—of "being taught the hornpipe."

The donkeys standing for sale are ranged in a long line on both sides of the "race-course," their white velvetty noses resting on the wooden rail they are tied to. Many of them wear their blinkers and head harness, and others are ornamented with ribbons, fastened in their halters. The lookers-on lean against this railing, and chat with the boys at the donkeys' heads, or with the men who stand behind them, and keep continually hitting and shouting at the poor still beasts to make them prance. Sometimes a party of two or three will be seen closely examining one of these "Jerusalem ponys," passing their hands down its legs, or looking quietly on, while the proprietor's ash stick descends on the patient brute's back, making a dull hollow sound. As you walk in front of the long line of donkeys, the lads seize the animals by their nostrils, and show their large teeth, asking if you "want a hass, sir," and all warranting the creature to be "five years old next buff-day." Dealers are quarrelling among themselves, downcrying each other's goods. "A hearty man," shouted one proprietor, pointing to his rival's stock, "could eat three sich donkeys as yourn at a meal."

One fellow, standing behind his steed, shouts as he strikes, "Here's the real Brittannia mettle;" whilst another asks, "Who's for the Pride of the Market?" and then proceeds to flip "the pride" with his whip, till she clears away the mob with her kickings. Here, standing by its mother, will be a shaggy little colt, with a group of ragged boys fondling it, and lifting it in their arms from the ground.

During all this the shouts of the drivers and runners fill the air, as they rush past each other n the race-course. Now a tall fellow, dragging a donkey after him, runs by crying, as he charges in amongst the mob, "Hulloa! Hulloa! hi! hi!" his mate, with his long coat-tails flying in the wind, hurrying after and roaring, between his blows, "Keem-up!"

On nearly every post are hung traces or bridles; and in one place, on the occasion of my visit, stood an old collar with a donkey nibbling at the straw that had burst out. Some of the lads, in smock-frocks, walk about with cart-saddles on their heads, and crowds gather round the trucks, piled up with a black heap of harness studded with brass. Those without trays have spread out old sacks on the ground, on which are laid axle-trees, bound-up springs, and battered carriage-lamps. There are plenty of rusty nails and iron bolts to be had, if a barrow should want mending; and if the handles are broken, an old cab-shaft can be bought cheap, to repair them.

In another "race-course," opposite to the donkeys,—the ponies are sold. These make a curious collection, each one showing what was his last master's whim. One has its legs and belly shorn of its hair, another has its mane and tail cut close, and some have switch tails, muddy at the end from their length. A big-hipped black nag, with red tinsel-like spots on its back, had its ears cut close, and another curly-haired brute that was wet and steaming with having been shown off, had two huge letters burnt into its hind-quarters. Here the clattering of the hoofs and the smacking of whips added to the din; and one poor brute, with red empty eye-holes, and carrying its head high up—as a blind man does—sent out showers of sparks from its hoofs as it spluttered over the stones, at each blow it received. Occasionally, in one part of the pony market, there may be seen a crowd gathered round a nag, that some one swears has been stolen from him.

Raised up over the heads of the mob are bundles of whips, and men push their way past, with their arms full of yellow-handled curry-combs; whilst, amongst other cries, is heard that of "Sticks ½*d.* each! sticks—real smarters." At one end of the market the barrows for sale

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are kept piled up one on another, or filled with old wheels, and some with white unpainted wood, showing where they have been repaired. Men are here seen thumping the wooden trays, and trying the strength of the springs by leaning on them; and here, too, stood, on the occasion of my visit, a ragged coster lad trying to sell his scales, now the cherry-season had past.

On all sides the refreshment-barrows are surrounded by customers. The whelk-man peppers his lots, and shouts, "A lumping penn'orth for a ha'penny;" and a lad in a smock-frock carries two full pails of milk, slopping it as he walks, and crying, "Ha'penny a mug-full, new milk from the ke-ow!" The only quiet people to be seen are round the peas-soup stall, with their cups in their hands; and there is a huge crowd covering in the hot-eel stand, with the steam rising up in the centre. Baskets of sliced cake, apples, nuts, and pine-apple rock, block up the pathway; and long wicker baskets of live fowls hem you in, round which are grouped the costers, handling and blowing apart the feathers on the breast.

Of the Donkeys of the Costermongers.

The costermongers almost universally treat their donkeys with kindness. Many a costermonger will resent the ill-treatment of a donkey, as he would a personal indignity. These animals are often not only favourites, but pets, having their share of the costermonger's dinner when bread forms a portion of it, or pudding, or anything suited to the palate of the brute. Those well-used, manifest fondness for their masters, and are easily manageable; it is, however, difficult to get an ass, whose master goes regular rounds, away from its stable for any second labour during the day, unless it has fed and slept in the interval. The usual fare of a donkey is a peck of chaff, which costs 1*d.*, a quart of oats and a quart of beans, each averaging 1½*d.*, and sometimes a pennyworth of hay, being an expenditure of 4*d.* or 5*d.* a day; but some give double this quantity in a prosperous time. Only one meal a day is given. Many costermongers told me, that their donkeys lived well when they themselves lived well.

"It's all nonsense to call donkeys stupid," said one costermonger to me; "them's stupid that calls them so: they're sensible. Not long since I worked Guildford with my donkey-cart and a boy. Jack (the donkey) was slow and heavy in coming back, until we got in sight of the lights at Vauxhall-gate, and then he trotted on like one o'clock, he did indeed! just as if he smelt it was London besides seeing it, and knew he was at home. He had a famous appetite in the country, and the fresh grass did him good. I gave a country lad 2*d.* to mind him in a green lane there. I wanted my own boy to do so, but he said, 'I'll see you further first.' A London boy hates being by himself in a lone country part. He's afraid of being burked; he is indeed. One can't quarrel with a lad when he's away with one in the country; he's very useful. I feed my donkey well. I sometimes give him a carrot for a luxury, but carrots are dear now. He's fond of mashed potatoes, and has many a good mash when I can buy them at 4lb. a penny."

"There was a friend of mine," said another man, "had great trouble about his donkey a few months back. I saw part of it, and knew all about it. He was doing a little work on a Sunday morning at Wandsworth, and the poor thing fell down dead. He was very fond of his donkey and kind to it, and the donkey was very fond of him. He thought he wouldn't leave the poor creature he'd had a good while, and had been out with in all weathers, by the road side; so he dropped all notion of doing business, and with help got the poor dead thing into his cart; its head lolloping over the end of the cart, and its poor eyes staring at nothing. He thought he'd drag it home and bury it somewheres. It wasn't for the value he dragged it, for what's a dead donkey worth? There was a few persons about him, and they was all quiet and seemed sorry for the poor fellow and for his donkey; but the church-bells struck up, and up came a 'crusher,' and took the man up, and next day he was fined 10*s.*, I can't exactly say for what. He never saw no more of the animal, and lost his stock as well as his donkey."

Of the Costermongers' Capital.

The costermongers, though living by buying and selling, are seldom or never capitalists. It is estimated that not more than one-fourth of the entire body trade upon their own property. Some borrow their stock money, others borrow the stock itself, others again borrow the donkey-carts, barrows, or baskets, in which their stock is carried round, whilst others borrow even the weights and measures by which it is meted out.

The reader, however uninformed he may be as to the price the poor usually have to pay for any loans they may require, doubtlessly need not be told that the remuneration exacted for the use of the above-named commodities is not merely confined to the legal 5*l.* per centum per annum; still many of even the most "knowing" will hardly be able to credit the fact that the ordinary rate of interest in the costermongers' money-market amounts to 20 per cent. per week, or no less than 1040*l.* a year, for every 100*l.* advanced.

But the iniquity of this usury in the present instance is felt, not so much by the costermongers themselves, as by the poor people whom they serve; for, of course, the enormous rate of interest must be paid out of the profits on the goods they sell, and consequently added to the price, so that coupling this overcharge with the customary short allowance—in either weight or measure, as the case may be—we can readily perceive how cruelly the poor are defrauded, and how they not only get often too little for what they do, but have as often to pay too much for what they buy.

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Premising thus much, I shall now proceed to describe the terms upon which the barrow, the cart, the basket, the weights, the measures, the stock-money, or the stock, is usually advanced to the needy costermongers by their more thrifty brethren.

The hire of a barrow is 3*d.* a day, or 1*s.* a week, for the six winter months; and 4*d.* a day, or 1*s.* 6*d.* a week, for the six summer months. Some are to be had rather lower in the summer, but never for less than 4*d.*—sometimes for not less than 6*d.* on a Saturday, when not unfrequently every barrow in London is hired. No security and no deposit is required, but the lender satisfies himself that the borrower is really what he represents himself to be. I am informed that 5,000 hired barrows are now in the hands of the London costermongers, at an average rental of 3*l.* 5*s.* each, or 16,250*l.* a year. One man lets out 120 yearly, at a return (dropping the 5*s.*) of 360*l.*; while the cost of a good barrow, new, is 2*l.* 12*s.*, and in the autumn and winter they may be bought new, or "as good as new," at 30*s.* each; so that reckoning each to cost this barrow-letter 2*l.* each, he receives 360*l.* rent or interest —exactly 150 per cent. per annum for property which originally cost but 240*l.*, and property which is still as good for the ensuing year's business as for the past. One man has rented a barrow for eight years, during which period he has paid 26*l.* for what in the first instance did not cost more than twice as many shillings, and which he must return if he discontinues its use. "I know men well to do," said an intelligent costermonger, "who have paid 1*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for a barrow for three, four, and five years; and they can't be made to understand that it's rather high rent for what might cost 40*s.* at first. They can't see they are losers. One barrow-lender sends his son out, mostly on a Sunday, collecting his rents (for barrows), but he's not a hard man." Some of the lenders complain that their customers pay them irregularly and cheat them often, and that in consequence they must charge high; while the "borrowers" declare that it is very seldom indeed that a man "shirks" the rent for his barrow, generally believing that he has made an advantageous bargain, and feeling the want of his vehicle, if he lose it temporarily. Let the lenders, however, be deceived by many, still, it is evident, that the rent charged for barrows is most exorbitant, by the fact, that all who take to the business become men of considerable property in a few years.

Donkey-carts are rarely hired. "If there's 2,000 donkey and pony-carts in London, more or less, not 200 of them's borrowed; but of barrows five to two is borrowed." A donkey-cart costs from 2*l.* to 10*l.*; 3*l.* 10*s.* being an average price. The hire is 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* a week. The harness costs 2*l.* 10*s.* new, but is bought, nineteen times out of twenty, second-hand, at from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.* The donkeys themselves are not let out on hire, though a costermonger may let out his donkey to another in the trade when he does not require its services; the usual sum paid for the hire of a donkey is 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* per week. The cost price of a pony varies from 5*l.* to 13*l.*; that of a donkey from 1*l.* to 3*l.* There may be six donkeys, or more, in costermonger use, to one pony. Some traffic almost weekly in these animals, liking the excitement of such business.

The repairs to barrows, carts, and harness are almost always effected by the costermongers themselves.

"Shallows" (baskets) which cost 1*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.*, are let out at 1*d.* a day; but not five in 100 of those in use are borrowed, as their low price places them at the costermonger's command. A pewter quart-pot, for measuring onions, &c., is let out at 2*d.* a day, its cost being 2*s.* Scales are 2*d.*, and a set of weights 1*d.* a day.

Another common mode of usury is in the lending of stock-money. This is lent by the costermongers who have saved the means for such use of their funds, and by beer-shop keepers. The money-lending costermongers are the most methodical in their usury—1,040*l.* per cent. per annum, as was before stated, being the rate of interest usually charged. It is seldom that a lower sum than 10*s.* is borrowed, and never a higher sum than 2*l.* When a stranger applies for a loan, the money-lender satisfies himself as I have described of the barrow-lender. He charges 2*d.* a day for a loan of 2*s.* 6*d.*; 3*d.* a day for 5*s.*; 6*d.* a day for 10*s.*; and 1*s.* a day for 1*l.* If the daily payments are rendered regularly, at a month's end the terms are reduced to 6*d.* a week for 5*s.*; 1*s.* for 10*s.*; and 2*s.* for 1*l.* "That's reckoned an extraordinary small interest," was said to me, "only 4*d.* a day for a pound." The average may be 3*s.* a week for the loan of 20*s.*; it being only to a few that a larger sum than 20*s.* is lent. "I paid 2*s.* a week for 1*l.* for a whole year," said one man, "or 5*l.* 4*s.* for the use of a pound, and then I was liable to repay the 1*l.*" The principal, however, is seldom repaid; nor does the lender seem to expect it, though he will occasionally demand it. One money-lender is considered to have a floating capital of 150*l.* invested in loans to costermongers. If he receive 2*s.* per week per 1*l.* for but twenty-six weeks in the year (and he often receives it for the fifty-two weeks)—his 150*l.* brings him in 390*l.* a year.

Sometimes a loan is effected only for a day, generally a Saturday, as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* being sometimes given for the use of 5*s.*; the 5*s.* being of course repaid in the evening.

The money-lenders are subject to at least twice the extent of loss to which the barrow-lender is exposed, as it is far oftener that money is squandered (on which of course no interest can be paid) than that a barrow is disposed of.

The money-lenders, (from the following statement, made to me by one who was in the habit of borrowing,) pursue their business in a not very dissimilar manner to that imputed to those who advance larger sums:—"If I want to borrow in a hurry," said my informant, "as I may

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hear of a good bargain, I run to my neighbour L——'s, and he first says he hasn't 20*s.* to lend, and his wife's by, and she says she hasn't 2*s.* in her pocket, and so I can't be accommodated. Then he says if I must have the money he'll have to pawn his watch,—or to borrow it of Mr. ——, (an innkeeper) who would charge a deal of interest, for he wasn't paid all he lent two months back, and 1*s.* would be expected to be spent in drink—though L—— don't drink—or he must try if his sister would trust him, but she was sick and wanted all her money—or perhaps his barrow-merchant would lend him 10*s.*, if he'd undertake to return 15*s.* at night; and it ends by my thinking I've done pretty well if I can get 1*l.* for 5*s.* interest, for a day's use of it."

The beer-shop keepers lend on far easier terms, perhaps at half the interest exacted by the others, and without any regular system of charges; but they look sharp after the repayment, and expect a considerable outlay in beer, and will only lend to good customers; they however have even lent money without interest.

"In the depth of last winter," said a man of good character to me, "I borrowed 5*s.* The beer-shop keeper wouldn't lend; he'll rather lend to men doing well and drinking. But I borrowed it at 6*d.* a day interest, and that 6*d.* a day I paid exactly four weeks, Sundays and all; and that was 15*s.* in thirty days for the use of 5*s.* I was half starving all the time, and then I had a slice of luck, and paid the 5*s.* back slap, and got out of it."

Many shopkeepers lend money to the stall-keepers, whom they know from standing near their premises, and that without interest. They generally lend, however, to the women, as they think the men want to get drunk with it. "Indeed, if it wasn't for the women," said a costermonger to me, "half of us might go to the Union."

Another mode of usurious lending or trading is, as I said before, to provide the costermonger—not with the stock-money—but with the stock itself. This mode also is highly profitable to the usurer, who is usually a costermonger, but sometimes a greengrocer. A stock of fruit, fish, or vegetables, with a barrow for its conveyance, is entrusted to a street-seller, the usual way being to "let him have a sovereign's worth." The value of this, however, at the market cost, rarely exceeds 14*s.*, still the man entrusted with it must carry 20*s.* to his creditor, or he will hardly be trusted a second time. The man who trades with the stock is not required to pay the 20*s.* on the first day of the transaction, as he may not have realised so much, but he must pay some of it, generally 10*s.*, and must pay the remainder the next day or the money-lender will decline any subsequent dealings.

It may be thought, as no security is given, and as the costermongering barrow, stock, or money-lender never goes to law for the recovery of any debt or goods, that the per centage is not so very exorbitant after all. But I ascertained that not once in twenty times was the money lender exposed to any loss by the non-payment of his usurious interest, while his profits are enormous. The borrower knows that if he fail in his payment, the lender will acquaint the other members of his fraternity, so that no future loan will be attainable, and the costermonger's business may be at an end. One borrower told me that the re-payment of his loan of 2*l.*, borrowed two years ago at 4*s.* a week, had this autumn been reduced to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week: "He's a decent man I pay now," he said; "he has twice forgiven me a month at a time when the weather was very bad and the times as bad as the weather. Before I borrowed of him I had dealings with ———. He *was* a scurf. If I missed a week, and told him I would make it up next week, 'That won't do,' he'd say, 'I'll turn you up. I'll take d——d good care to stop you. *I'll* have you to rights.' If I hadn't satisfied him, as I did at last, I could never have got credit again; never." I am informed that most of the money-lenders, if a man has paid for a year or so, will now "drop it for a month or so in a very hard-up time, and go on again." There is no I.O.U. or any memorandum given to the usurer. "There's never a slip of paper about it, sir," I was told.

I may add that a very intelligent man from whom I derived information, said to me concerning costermongers never going to law to recover money owing to them, nor indeed for any purpose: "If any one steals anything from me—and that, as far as I know, never happened but once in ten years—and I catch him, I take it out of him on the spot. I give him a jolly good hiding and there's an end of it. I know very well, sir, that costers are ignorant men, but in my opinion" (laughing) "our never going to law shows that in *that* point we are in advance of the aristocrats. I never heard of a coster in a law court, unless he was in trouble (charged with some offence)—for assaulting a crusher, or anybody he had quarrelled with, or something of that kind."

The barrow-lender, when not regularly paid, sends some one, or goes himself, and carries away the barrow.

My personal experience with this peculiar class justifies me in saying that they are far less dishonest than they are usually believed to be, and much more honest than their wandering habits, their want of education and "principle" would lead even the most charitable to suppose. Since I have exhibited an interest in the sufferings and privations of these neglected people, I have, as the reader may readily imagine, had many applications for assistance, and without vanity, I believe I may say, that as far as my limited resources would permit, I have striven to extricate the street-sellers from the grasp of the usurer. Some to whom I have *lent* small sums (for gifts only degrade struggling honest men into the apathy of beggars) have taken the money with many a protesta-

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tion that they would repay it in certain weekly instalments, which they themselves proposed, but still have never made their appearance before me a second time—it may be from dishonesty and it may be from inability and shame—others, however, and they are not a few, have religiously kept faith with me, calling punctually to pay back a sixpence or a shilling as the precariousness of their calling would permit, and doing this, though they knew that I abjured all claims upon them but through their honour, and was, indeed, in most cases, ignorant where to find them, even if my inclination led me to seek or enforce a return of the loan. One case of this kind shows so high a sense of honour among a class, generally considered to rank among the most dishonourable, that, even at the risk of being thought egotistical, I will mention it here:—"Two young men, street-sellers, called upon me and begged hard for the loan of a little stock-money. They made needle-cases and hawked them from door to door at the east end of the town, and had not the means of buying the wood. I agreed to let them have ten shillings between them; this they promised to repay at a shilling a week. They were utter strangers to me; nevertheless, at the end of the first week one shilling of the sum was duly returned. The second week, however, brought no shilling, nor did the third, nor the fourth, by which time I got to look upon the money as lost; but at the end of the fifth week one of the men called with his sixpence, and told me how he should have been with me before but his mate had promised each week to meet him with his sixpence, and each week disappointed him; so he had come on alone. I thanked him, and the next week he came again; so he did the next, and the next after that. On the latter occasion he told me that in five more weeks he should have paid off his half of the amount advanced, and that then, as he had come with the other man, he would begin paying off *his* share as well!"

Those who are unacquainted with the character of the people may feel inclined to doubt the trustworthiness of the class, but it is an extraordinary fact that but few of the costermongers fail to repay the money advanced to them, even at the present ruinous rate of interest. The poor, it is my belief, have not yet been sufficiently tried in this respect;—pawnbrokers, loan-offices, tally-shops, dolly-shops, are the only parties who will trust them—but, as a startling proof of the good faith of the humbler classes generally, it may be stated that Mrs. Chisholm (the lady who has exerted herself so benevolently in the cause of emigration) has lent out, at different times, as much as 160,000*l.* that has been entrusted to her for the use of the "lower orders," and that the whole of this large amount has been returned—*with the exception of* 12*l.*!

I myself have often given a sovereign to professed thieves to get "changed," and never knew one to make off with the money. Depend upon it, if we would really improve, we must begin by elevating instead of degrading.

Of the "Slang" Weights and Measures.

All counterfeit weights and measures, the costermongers call by the appropriate name of "slang." "There are not half so many slangs as there was eighteen months ago," said a 'general dealer' to me. "You see, sir, the letters in the *Morning Chronicle* set people a talking, and some altered their way of business. Some was very angry at what was said in the articles on the street-sellers, and swore that costers was gentlemen, and that they'd smash the men's noses that had told you, sir, if they knew who they were. There's plenty of costers wouldn't use slangs at all, if people would give a fair price; but you see the boys *will* try it on for their bunts, and how is a man to sell fine cherries at 4*d.* a pound that cost him 3½*d.*, when there's a kid alongside of him a selling his 'tol' at 2*d.* a pound, and singing it out as bold as brass? So the men slangs it, and cries '2*d.* a pound,' and gives half-pound, as the boy does; which brings it to the same thing. We doesn't 'dulterate our goods like the tradesmen—that is, the regular hands doesn't. It wouldn't be easy, as you say, to 'dulterate cabbages or oysters; but we deals fair to all that's fair to us,—and that's more than many a tradesman does, for all their juries."

The slang quart is a pint and a half. It is made precisely like the proper quart; and the maker, I was told, "knows well enough what it's for, as it's charged, new, 6*d.* more than a true quart measure; but it's nothing to him, as he says, what it's for, so long as he gets his price." The slang quart is let out at 2*d.* a day—1*d.* extra being charged "for the risk." The slang pint holds in some cases three-fourths of the just quantity, having a very thick bottom; others hold only half a pint, having a false bottom half-way up. These are used chiefly in measuring nuts, of which the proper quantity is hardly ever given to the purchaser; "but, then," it was often said, or implied to me, the "price is all the lower, and people just brings it on themselves, by wanting things for next to nothing; so it's all right; it's people's own faults." The hire of the slang pint is 2*d.* per day.

The scales used are almost all true, but the weights are often beaten out flat to look large, and are 4, 5, 6, or even 7 oz. deficient in a pound, and in the same relative proportion with other weights. The charge is 2*d.*, 3*d.*, and 4*d.* a day for a pair of scales and a set of slang weights.

The wooden measures—such as pecks, half pecks, and quarter pecks—are not let out slang, but the bottoms are taken out by the costers, and put in again half an inch or so higher up. "I call this," said a humorous dealer to me, "slop-work, or the cutting-system."

One candid costermonger expressed his perfect contempt of slangs, as fit only for bunglers, as *he* could always "work slang" with a true

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measure. "Why, I can cheat any man," he said. "I can manage to measure mussels so as you'd think you got a lot over, but there's a lot under measure, for I holds them up with my fingers and keep crying, 'Mussels! full measure, live mussels!' I can do the same with peas. I delight to do it with stingy aristocrats. We don't work slang in the City. People know what they're a buying on there. There's plenty of us would pay for an inspector of weights; I would. We might do fair without an inspector, and make as much if we only agreed one with another."

In conclusion, it is but just I should add that there seems to be a strong disposition on the part of the more enlightened of the class to adopt the use of fair weights and measures; and that even among the less scrupulous portion of the body, short allowance seems to be given chiefly from a desire to be *even* with a "scaly customer." The coster makes it a rule never to refuse an offer, and if people *will* give him less than what he considers his proper price, why—he gives them less than their proper quantity. As a proof of the growing honesty among this class, many of the better disposed have recently formed themselves into a society, the members of which are (one and all) pledged not only to deal fairly with their customers, but to compel all other street-sellers to do the same. With a view of distinguishing themselves to the public, they have come to the resolution of wearing a medal, on which shall be engraved a particular number, so that should any imposition be practised by any of their body, the public will have the opportunity of complaining to the Committee of the Association, and having the individual (if guilty) immediately expelled from the society.

Of Half Profits.

Besides the modes of trading on borrowed capital above described, there is still another means of obtaining stock prevalent among the London costermongers. It is a common practice with some of the more provident costermongers, who buy more largely—for the sake of buying cheaply—than is required for the supply of their own customers, to place goods in the hands of young men who are unable to buy goods on their own account, "on half profits," as it is called. The man adopting this means of doing a more extensive business, says to any poor fellow willing to work on those terms, "Here's a barrow of vegetables to carry round, and the profit on them will be 2*s.*; you sell them, and half is for yourself." The man sells them accordingly; if however he fail to realize the 2*s.* anticipated profit, his employer must still be paid 1*s.*, even if the "seller" prove that only 13*d.* was cleared; so that the costermonger capitalist, as he may be described, is always, to use the words of one of my informants, "on the profitable side of the hedge."

Boys are less frequently employed on half-profits than young men; and I am assured that instances of these young men wronging their employers are hardly ever known.

Of the Boys of the Costermongers, and their Bunts.

But there are still other "agents" among the costermongers, and these are the "boys" deputed to sell a man's goods for a certain sum, all over that amount being the boys' profit or "bunts." Almost every costermonger who trades through the streets with his barrow is accompanied by a boy. The ages of these lads vary from ten to sixteen, there are few above sixteen, for the lads think it is then high time for them to start on their own account. These boys are useful to the man in "calling," their shrill voices being often more audible than the loudest pitch of an adult's lungs. Many persons, moreover, I am assured, prefer buying of a boy, believing that if the lad did not succeed in selling his goods he would be knocked about when he got home; others think that they are safer in a boy's hands, and less likely to be cheated; these, however, are equally mistaken notions. The boys also are useful in pushing at the barrow, or in drawing it along by tugging at a rope in front. Some of them are the sons of the costermongers; some go round to the costermongers' abodes and say: "Will you want me to-morrow?" "Shall I come and give you a lift?" The parents of the lads thus at large are, when they *have* parents, either unable to support them, or, if able, prefer putting their money to other uses, (such as drinking); and so the lads have to look out for themselves, or, as they say, "pick up a few halfpence and a bit of grub as we can." Such lads, however, are the smallest class of costermongering youths; and are sometimes called "cas'alty boys," or "nippers."

The boys—and nearly the whole of them—soon become very quick, and grow masters of slang, in from six weeks to two or three months. "I suppose," said one man familiar with their character, "they'd learn French as soon, if they was thrown into the way of it. They must learn slang to live, and as they have to wait at markets every now and then, from one hour to six, they associate one with another and carry on conversations in slang about the "penny gaffs" (theatres), criticising the actors; or may be they toss the pieman, if they've got any ha'pence, or else they chaff the passers by. The older ones may talk about their sweethearts; but they always speak of them by the name of 'nammow' (girls).

"The boys are severe critics too (continued my informant) on dancing. I heard one say to another; 'What do you think of Johnny Millicent's new step?' for they always recognise a new step, or they discuss the female dancer's legs, and not very decently. At other times the boys discuss the merits or demerits of their masters, as to who feeds them best. I have heard one say, 'O, aint Bob stingy? We have bread and cheese!' Another added; '*We* have

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steak and beer, and I've the use of Bill's, (the master's) 'baccy box.'"

Some of these lads are paid by the day, generally from 2*d.* or 3*d.* and their food, and as much fruit as they think fit to eat, as by that they soon get sick of it. They generally carry home fruit in their pockets for their playmates, or brothers, or sisters; the costermongers allow this, if they are satisfied that the pocketing is not for sale. Some lads are engaged by the week, having from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, and their food when out with their employer. Their lodging is found only in a few cases, and then they sleep in the same room with their master and mistress. Of master or mistress, however, they never speak, but of Jack and Bet. They behave respectfully to the women, who are generally kind to them. They soon desert a very surly or stingy master; though such a fellow could get fifty boys next day if he wanted them, but not lads used to the trade, for to these he's well known by their talk one with another, and they soon tell a man his character very plainly—"*very* plainly indeed, sir, and to his face too," said one.

Some of these boys are well beaten by their employers; this they put up with readily enough, if they experience kindness at the hands of the man's wife; for, as I said before, parties that have never thought of marriage, if they live together, call one another husbands and wives.

In "working the country" these lads are put on the same footing as their masters, with whom they eat, drink, and sleep; but they do not gamble with them. A few, however, go out and tempt country boys to gamble, and—as an almost inevitable consequence—to lose. "Some of the boys," said one who had seen it often, "will keep a number of countrymen in a beer-shop in a roar for the hour, while the countrymen ply them with beer, and some of the street-lads can drink a good deal. I've known three bits of boys order a pot of beer each, one after the other, each paying his share, and a quartern of gin each after that—drunk neat; they don't understand water. Drink doesn't seem to affect them as it does men. I don't know why." "Some costermongers," said another informant, "have been known, when they've taken a fancy to a boy—I know of two—to dress him out like themselves, silk handkerchiefs and all; for if they didn't find them silk handkerchiefs, the boys would soon get them out of their '*bunts*.' They like silk handkerchiefs, for if they lose all their money gambling, they can then pledge their handkerchiefs."

I have mentioned the term "*bunts*." Bunts is the money made by the boys in this manner:—If a costermonger, after having sold a sufficiency, has 2*s.* or 3*s.* worth of goods left, and is anxious to get home, he says to the boy, "Work these streets, and bring me 2*s.* 6*d.* for the tol," (lot) which the costermonger knows by his eye—for he seldom measures or counts—is easily worth that money. The lad then proceeds to sell the things entrusted to him, and often shows great ingenuity in so doing. If, for instance, turnips be tied up in penny bunches, the lad will open some of them, so as to spread them out to nearly twice their previous size, and if any one ask if that be a penn'orth, he will say, "Here's a larger for 1½*d.*, marm," and so palm off a penny bunch at 1½*d.* Out of each bunch of onions he takes one or two, and makes an extra bunch. All that the lad can make in this way over the half-crown is his own, and called "bunts." Boys have made from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* "bunts," and this day after day. Many of them will, in the course of their traffic, beg old boots or shoes, if they meet with better sort of people, and so "work it to rights," as they call it among themselves; servants often give them cast-off clothes. It is seldom that a boy carries home less than the stipulated sum.

The above is what is understood as "fair bunts."

"Unfair bunts" is what the lad may make unknown to his master; as, if a customer call from the area for goods cried at 2*d.*, the lad may get 2½*d.*, by pretending what he had carried was a superior sort to that called at 2*d.*,—or by any similar trick.

"I have known some civil and industrious boys," said a costermonger to me, "get to save a few shillings, and in six months start with a shallow, and so rise to a donkey-cart. The greatest drawback to struggling boys is their sleeping in low lodging-houses, where they are frequently robbed, or trepanned to part with their money, or else they get corrupted."

Some men employ from four to twelve boys, sending them out with shallows and barrows, the boys bringing home the proceeds. The men who send lads out in this way, count the things, and can tell to a penny what can be realised on them. They neither pay nor treat the boys well, I am told, and are looked upon by the other costermongers as extortioners, or unfair dealers, making money by trading on poor lads' necessities, who serve them to avoid starvation. These men are called "Scurfs." If the boys working for them make bunts, or are suspected of making bunts, there is generally "a row" about it.

The bunts is for the most part the gambling money, as well as the money for the "penny gaff," the "twopenny hop," the tobacco, and the pudding money of the boys. "More would save their wages and their bunts," was said to me on good authority, "but they have no place to keep their money in, and don't understand anything about savings banks. Many of these lads are looked on with suspicion by the police, and treated like suspected folks; but in my opinion they are not thieves, or they wouldn't work so hard; for a thief's is a much easier life than a costermonger's."

When a boy begins business on his own account, or "sets up," as they call it, he purchases a shallow, which costs at least 1*s.*, and a half hundred of herrings, 1*s.* 6*d.* By the sale of the herrings he will clear 1*s.*, going the round he has been accustomed to, and then trade on the 2*s.* 6*d.* Or, if it be fruit time, he will trade in

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apples until master of 5*s*., and then "take to a barrow," at 3*d*. a day hire. By this system the ranks of the costermongers are not only recruited but increased. There is one grand characteristic of these lads; I heard on all hands they are, every one of them, what the costers call —"wide awake."

There are I am assured from 200 to 300 costers, who, in the busier times of the year, send out four youths or lads each on an average. The young men thus sent out generally live with the costermonger, paying 7*s*. a week for board, lodging and washing. These youths, I was told by one who knew them well, were people who "didn't care to work for themselves, because they couldn't keep their money together; it would soon all go; and they *must* keep it together for their masters. They are not fed badly, but then they make 'bunts' sometimes, and it goes for grub when they're out, so they eat less at home."

Of the Juvenile Trading of the Costermongers.

My inquiries among the costermongers induced one of their number to address me by letter. My correspondent—a well-informed and well-educated man—describes himself as "being one of those that have been unfortunately thrust into that precarious way of obtaining a living, not by choice but circumstances." The writer then proceeds to say: "No person but those actually connected with the streets can tell the exertion, anxiety, and difficulties we have to undergo; and I know for a fact it induces a great many to drink that would not do so, only to give them a stimulant to bear up against the troubles that they have to contend with; and so it ultimately becomes habitual. I could point out many instances of the kind. My chief object in addressing you is to give my humble suggestion as to the best means of alleviating our present position in society, and establishing us in the eyes of the public as a respectable body of men, honestly endeavouring to support our families, without becoming chargeable to the parish, and to show that we are not all the degraded class we are at present thought to be, subject to the derision of every passer by, and all looked upon as extortioners and the confederates of thieves. It is grievous to see children, as soon as they are able to speak, thrust into the streets to sell, and in many instances, I am sorry to state, to support their parents. Kind sir, picture to yourself a group of those children mixing together indiscriminately—the good with the bad—all uneducated—and without that parental care which is so essential for youth—and judge for yourself the result: the lads in some instances take to thieving, (this being easier for a living), and the girls to prostitution; and so they pass the greater part of their time in gaol, or get transported. Even those who are honestly disposed cannot have a chance of bettering their condition, in consequence of their being uneducated, so that they often turn out brutal husbands and bad fathers. Surely, sir, Government could abolish in a measure this juvenile trading, so conducive to crime and so injurious to the shopkeeper, who is highly rated. How is it possible, if children congregate around his door with the very articles he may deal in, that he can meet the demands for rates and taxes; whereas the educated man, brought by want to sell in the streets, would not do so, but keep himself apart from the shopkeeper, and not merit his enmity, and the interference of the police, which he necessarily claims. I have procured an existence (with a few years' exception) in the streets for the last twenty-five years as a general salesman of perishable and imperishable articles, and should be most happy to see anything done for the benefit of my class. This juvenile trading I consider the root of the evil; after the removal of this, the costermongers might, by classifying and co-operation, render themselves comparatively happy, in their position, and become acknowledged members of society."

Another costermonger, in conversing with me concerning these young traders, said, that many of them would ape the vices of men: mere urchins would simulate drunkenness, or boast, with many an exaggeration, of their drinking feats. They can get as much as they please at the public-houses; and this too, I may add, despite the 43rd clause in the Police Act, which enacts, that "every person, licensed to deal in exciseable liquors within the said (Metropolitan Police) District, who shall knowingly supply any sort of distilled exciseable liquor to be drunk upon the premises, to any boy or girl, apparently under the age of sixteen years, shall be liable to a penalty of not more than 20*s*.;" and upon a second conviction to 40*s*. penalty; and on a third to 5*l*.

Of the Education of the "Coster-Lads."

Among the costers the term education is (as I have already intimated) merely understood as meaning a complete knowledge of the art of "buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest." There are few lads whose training extends beyond this. The father is the tutor, who takes the boy to the different markets, instructs him in the art of buying, and when the youth is perfect on this point, the parent's duty is supposed to have been performed. Nearly all these boys are remarkable for their precocious sharpness. To use the words of one of the class, "these young ones are as sharp as terriers, and learns every dodge of business in less than half no time. There's one I knows about three feet high, that's up to the business as clever as a man of thirty. Though he's only twelve years old he'll chaff down a peeler so uncommon severe, that the only way to stop him is to take him in charge!"

It is idle to imagine that these lads, possessed of a mental acuteness almost wonderful, will not educate themselves in vice, if we neglect

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to train them to virtue. At their youthful age, the power of acquiring knowledge is the strongest, and some kind of education is continually going on. If they are not taught by others, they will form their own characters—developing habits of dissipation, and educing all the grossest passions of their natures, and learning to indulge in the gratification of every appetite without the least restraint.

As soon as a boy is old enough to shout well and loudly, his father takes him into the streets. Some of these youths are not above seven years of age, and it is calculated that not more than one in a hundred has ever been to a school of any kind. The boy walks with the barrow, or guides the donkey, shouting by turns with the father, who, when the goods are sold, will as a reward, let him ride home on the tray. The lad attends all markets with his father, who teaches him his business and shows him his tricks of trade; "for," said a costen, "a governor in our line leaves the knowledge of all his dodges to his son, jist as the rich coves do their tin."

The life of a coster-boy is a very hard one. In summer he will have to be up by four o'clock in the morning, and in winter he is never in bed after six. When he has returned from market, it is generally his duty to wash the goods and help dress the barrow. About nine he begins his day's work, shouting whilst the father pushes; and as very often the man has lost his voice, this share of the labour is left entirely to him. When a coster has regular customers, the vegetables or fish are all sold by twelve o'clock, and in many coster families the ¹ ` is then packed off with fruit to hawk in the streets. When the work is over, the father will perhaps take the boy to a public-house with him, and give him part of his beer. Sometimes a child of four or five is taken to the tap-room, especially if he be pretty and the father proud of him. "I have seen," said a coster to me, "a baby of five year old reeling drunk in a tap-room. His governor did it for the lark of the thing, to see him chuck hisself about—sillyfied like."

The love of gambling soon seizes upon the coster boy. Youths of about twelve or so will as soon as they can get away from work go to a public-house and play cribbage for pints of beer, or for a pint a corner. They generally continue playing till about midnight, and rarely—except on a Sunday—keep it up all night.

It ordinarily happens that when a lad is about thirteen, he quarrels with his father, and gets turned away from home. Then he is forced to start for himself. He knows where he can borrow stock-money and get his barrow, for he is as well acquainted with the markets as the oldest hand at the business, and children may often be seen in the streets under-selling their parents. "How's it possible," said a woman, "for people to live when there's their own son at the end of the court a-calling his goods as cheap again as we can afford to sell ourn."

If the boy is lucky in trade, his next want is to get a girl to keep home for him. I was assured, that it is not at all uncommon for a lad of fifteen to be living with a girl of the same age, as man and wife. It creates no disgust among his class, but seems rather to give him a position among such people. Their courtship does not take long when once the mate has been fixed upon. The girl is invited to "raffles," and treated to "twopenny hops," and half-pints of beer. Perhaps a silk neck handkerchief—a "King's-man" is given as a present; though some of the lads will, when the arrangement has been made, take the gift back again and wear it themselves. The boys are very jealous, and if once made angry behave with great brutality to the offending girl. A young fellow of about sixteen told me, as he seemed to grow angry at the very thought, "If I seed my gal a talking to another chap I'd fetch her sich a punch of the nose as should plaguy quick stop the whole business." Another lad informed me, with a knowing look, "that the gals—it was a rum thing now he come to think on it—axully liked a feller for walloping them. As long as the bruises hurted, she was always thinking on the cove as gived 'em her." After a time, if the girl continues faithful, the young coster may marry her; but this is rarely the case, and many live with their girls until they have grown to be men, or perhaps they may quarrel the very first year, and have a fight and part.

These boys hate any continuous work. So strong is this objection to continuity that they cannot even remain selling the same article for more than a week together. Moreover none of them can be got to keep stalls. They must be perpetually on the move—or to use their own words "they like a roving life." They all of them delight in dressing "flash" as they call it. If a "governor" was to try and "palm off" his old cord jacket upon the lad that worked with him, the boy wouldn't take it. "Its too big and seedy for me," he'd say, "and I aint going to have your leavings." They try to dress like the men, with large pockets in their cord jackets and plenty of them. Their trowsers too must fit tight at the knee, and their boots they like as good as possible. A good "King's-man," a plush skull cap, and a seam down the trowsers are the great points of ambition with the coster boys.

A lad about fourteen informed me that "brass buttons, like a huntman's, with foxes' heads on em, looked stunning flash, and the gals liked em." As for the hair, they say it ought to be long in front, and done in "figure-six" curls, or twisted back to the ear "Newgate-knocker style." "But the worst of hair is," they add, "that it is always getting cut off in quod, all along of muzzling the bobbies."

The whole of the coster-boys are fond of the good living. I was told that when a lad started in

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THE COSTER-GIRL.

"Apples! An 'aypenny a lot, Apples!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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for himself, he would for the first week or so live almost entirely on cakes and nuts. When settled in business they always manage to have what they call "a relish" for breakfast and tea, "a couple of herrings, or a bit of bacon, or what not." Many of them never dine excepting on the Sunday—the pony and donkey proprietors being the only costers whose incomes will permit them to indulge in a "fourpenny plate of meat at a cook's shop." The whole of the boys too are extremely fond of pudding, and should the "plum duff" at an eating-house contain an unusual quantity of plums, the news soon spreads, and the boys then endeavour to work that way so as to obtain a slice. While waiting for a market, the lads will very often spend a shilling in the cakes and three cornered puffs sold by the Jews. The owners toss for them, and so enable the young coster to indulge his two favourite passions at the same time—his love of pastry, and his love of gambling. The Jews crisp butter biscuits also rank very high with the boys, who declare that they "slip down like soapsuds down a gully hole." In fact it is curious to notice how perfectly unrestrained are the passions and appetites of these youths. The only thoughts that trouble them are for their girls, their eating and their gambling—beyond the love of self they have no tie that binds them to existence.

The Life of a Coster-Lad.

One lad that I spoke to gave me as much of his history as he could remember. He was a tall stout boy, about sixteen years old, with a face utterly vacant. His two heavy lead-coloured eyes stared unmeaningly at me, and, beyond a constant anxiety to keep his front lock curled on his cheek, he did not exhibit the slightest trace of feeling. He sank into his seat heavily and of a heap, and when once settled down he remained motionless, with his mouth open and his hands on his knees—almost as if paralyzed. He was dressed in all the slang beauty of his class, with a bright red handkerchief and unexceptionable boots.

"My father" he told me in a thick unimpassioned voice, "was a waggoner, and worked the country roads. There was two on us at home with mother, and we used to play along with the boys of our court, in Golding-lane, at buttons and marbles. I recollects nothing more than this—only the big boys used to cheat like bricks and thump us if we grumbled—that's all I recollects of my infancy, as you calls it. Father I've heard tell died when I was three and brother only a year old. It was worse luck for us!—Mother was so easy with us. I once went to school for a couple of weeks, but the cove used to fetch me a wipe over the knuckles with his stick, and as I wasn't going to stand that there, why you see I aint no great schollard. We did as we liked with mother, she was so precious easy, and I never learned anything but playing buttons and making leaden 'bonces,' that's all," (here the youth laughed slightly.) "Mother used to be up and out very early washing in families — anything for a living. She was a good mother to us. We was left at home with the key of the room and some bread and butter for dinner. Afore she got into work—and it was a goodish long time—we was shocking hard up, and she pawned nigh everything. Sometimes, when we had'nt no grub at all, the other lads, perhaps, would give us some of their bread and butter, but often our stomachs used to ache with the hunger, and we would cry when we was werry far gone. She used to be at work from six in the morning till ten o'clock at night, which was a long time for a child's belly to hold out again, and when it was dark we would go and lie down on the bed and try and sleep until she came home with the food. I was eight year old then.

"A man as know'd mother, said to her, 'Your boy's got nothing to do, let him come along with me and yarn a few ha'pence,' and so I became a coster. He gave me 4*d.* a morning and my breakfast. I worked with him about three year, until I learnt the markets, and then I and brother got baskets of our own, and used to keep mother. One day with another, the two on us together could make 2*s.* 6*d.* by selling greens of a morning, and going round to the publics with nuts of a evening, till about ten o'clock at night. Mother used to have a bit of fried meat or a stew ready for us when we got home, and by using up the stock as we couldn't sell, we used to manage pretty tidy. When I was fourteen I took up with a girl. She lived in the same house as we did, and I used to walk out of a night with her and give her half-pints of beer at the publics. She were about thirteen, and used to dress werry nice, though she weren't above middling pretty. Now I'm working for another man as gives me a shilling a week, victuals, washing, and lodging, just as if I was one of the family.

"On a Sunday I goes out selling, and all I yarns I keeps. As for going to church, why, I can't afford it,—besides, to tell the truth, I don't like it well enough. Plays, too, ain't in my line much; I'd sooner go to a dance—its more livelier. The 'penny gaffs' is rather more in my style; the songs are out and out, and makes our gals laugh. The smuttier the better, I thinks; bless you! the gals likes it as much as we do. If we lads ever has a quarrel, why, we fights for it. If I was to let a cove off once, he'd do it again; but I never give a lad a chance, so long as I can get anigh him. I never heard about Christianity; but if a cove was to fetch me a lick of the head, I'd give it him again, whether he was a big 'un or a little 'un. I'd precious soon see a henemy of mine shot afore I'd forgive him,—where's the use? Do I understand what behaving to your neighbour is?—In coorse I do. If a feller as lives next me wanted a basket of mine as I wasn't using, why, he might have it; if I was working it though, I'd see him further! I can under-

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stand that all as lives in a court is neighbours; but as for policemen, they're nothing to me, and I should like to pay 'em all off well. No; I never heerd about this here creation you speaks about. In coorse God Almighty made the world, and the poor bricklayers' labourers built the houses arterwards—that's *my* opinion; but I can't say, for I've never been in no schools, only always hard at work, and knows nothing about it. I have heerd a little about our Saviour,—they seem to say he were a goodish kind of a man; but if he says as how a cove's to forgive a feller as hits you, I should say he know'd nothing about it. In coorse the gals the lads goes and lives with thinks our walloping 'em wery cruel of us, but we don't. Why don't we?—why, because we don't. Before father died, I used sometimes to say my prayers, but after that mother was too busy getting a living to mind about my praying. Yes, I knows!—in the Lord's prayer they says, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgives them as trespasses agin us.' It's a very good thing, in coorse, but no costers can't do it."

Of the "Penny Gaff."

In many of the thoroughfares of London there are shops which have been turned into a kind of temporary theatre (admission one penny), where dancing and singing take place every night. Rude pictures of the performers are arranged outside, to give the front a gaudy and attractive look, and at night-time coloured lamps and transparencies are displayed to draw an audience. These places are called by the costers "Penny Gaffs;" and on a Monday night as many as six performances will take place, each one having its two hundred visitors.

It is impossible to contemplate the ignorance and immorality of so numerous a class as that of the costermongers, without wishing to discover the cause of their degradation. Let any one curious on this point visit one of these penny shows, and he will wonder that *any* trace of virtue and honesty should remain among the people. Here the stage, instead of being the means for illustrating a moral precept, is turned into a platform to teach the cruelest debauchery. The audience is usually composed of children so young, that these dens become the school-rooms where the guiding morals of a life are picked up; and so precocious are the little things, that the girl of nine will, from constant attendance at such places, have learnt to understand the filthiest sayings, and laugh at them as loudly as the grown-up lads around her. What notions can the young female form of marriage and chastity, when the penny theatre rings with applause at the performance of a scene whose sole point turns upon the pantomimic imitation of the unrestrained indulgence of the most corrupt appetites of our nature? How can the lad learn to check his hot passions and think honesty and virtue admirable, when the shouts around him impart a glory to a descriptive song so painfully corrupt, that it can only have been made tolerable by the most habitual excess? The men who preside over these infamous places know too well the failings of their audiences. They know that these poor children require no nicely-turned joke to make the evening pass merrily, and that the filth they utter needs no double meaning to veil its obscenity. The show that will provide the most unrestrained debauchery will have the most crowded benches; and to gain this point, things are acted and spoken that it is criminal even to allude to.

Not wishing to believe in the description which some of the more intelligent of the costermongers had given of these places, it was thought better to visit one of them, so that all exaggeration might be avoided. One of the least offensive of the exhibitions was fixed upon.

The "penny gaff" chosen was situated in a broad street near Smithfield; and for a great distance off, the jingling sound of music was heard, and the gas-light streamed out into the thick night air as from a dark lantern, glittering on the windows of the houses opposite, and lighting up the faces of the mob in the road, as on an illumination night. The front of a large shop had been entirely removed, and the entrance was decorated with paintings of the "comic singers," in their most "humourous" attitudes. On a table against the wall was perched the band, playing what the costers call "dancing tunes" with great effect, for the hole at the money-taker's box was blocked up with hands tendering the penny. The crowd without was so numerous, that a policeman was in attendance to preserve order, and push the boys off the pavement—the music having the effect of drawing them insensibly towards the festooned green-baize curtain.

The shop itself had been turned into a waiting-room, and was crowded even to the top of the stairs leading to the gallery on the first floor. The ceiling of this "lobby" was painted blue, and spotted with whitewash clouds, to represent the heavens; the boards of the trap-door, and the laths that showed through the holes in the plaster, being all of the same colour. A notice was here posted, over the canvass door leading into the theatre, to the effect that "Ladies and Gentlemen to the front places must pay Twopence."

The visitors, with a few exceptions, were all boys and girls, whose ages seemed to vary from eight to twenty years. Some of the girls—though their figures showed them to be mere children—were dressed in showy cotton-velvet polkas, and wore dowdy feathers in their crushed bonnets. They stood laughing and joking with the lads, in an unconcerned, impudent manner, that was almost appalling. Some of them, when tired of waiting, chose their partners, and commenced dancing grotesquely, to the admiration of the lookers-on, who expressed their approbation in obscene terms, that, far from disgusting the poor little women, were received as compliments, and acknowledged with smiles and coarse repartees. The boys clustered together, smoking their

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pipes, and laughing at each other's anecdotes, or else jingling halfpence in time with the tune, while they whistled an accompaniment to it. Presently one of the performers, with a gilt crown on his well greased locks, descended from the staircase, his fleshings covered by a dingy dressing-gown, and mixed with the mob, shaking hands with old acquaintances. The "comic singer," too, made his appearance among the throng—the huge bow to his cravat, which nearly covered his waistcoat, and the red end to his nose, exciting neither merriment nor surprise.

To discover the kind of entertainment, a lad near me and my companion was asked "if there was any flash dancing." With a knowing wink the boy answered, "Lots! show their legs and all, prime!" and immediately the boy followed up his information by a request for a "yennep" to get a "tib of occabot." After waiting in the lobby some considerable time, the performance inside was concluded, and the audience came pouring out through the canvass door. As they had to pass singly, I noticed them particularly. Above three-fourths of them were women and girls, the rest consisting chiefly of mere boys—for out of about two hundred persons I counted only eighteen men. Forward they came, bringing an overpowering stench with them, laughing and yelling as they pushed their way through the waiting-room. One woman carrying a sickly child with a bulging forehead, was reeling drunk, the saliva running down her mouth as she stared about her with a heavy fixed eye. Two boys were pushing her from side to side, while the poor infant slept, breathing heavily, as if stupified, through the din. Lads jumping on girls' shoulders, and girls laughing hysterically from being tickled by the youths behind them, every one shouting and jumping, presented a mad scene of frightful enjoyment.

When these had left, a rush for places by those in waiting began, that set at defiance the blows and strugglings of a lady in spangles who endeavoured to preserve order and take the checks. As time was a great object with the proprietor, the entertainment within began directly the first seat was taken, so that the lads without, rendered furious by the rattling of the piano within, made the canvass partition bulge in and out, with the strugglings of those seeking admission, like a sail in a flagging wind.

To form the theatre, the first floor had been removed; the whitewashed beams however still stretched from wall to wall. The lower room had evidently been the warehouse, while the upper apartment had been the sitting-room, for the paper was still on the walls. A gallery, with a canvass front, had been hurriedly built up, and it was so fragile that the boards bent under the weight of those above. The bricks in the warehouse were smeared over with red paint, and had a few black curtains daubed upon them. The coster-youths require no very great scenic embellishment, and indeed the stage—which was about eight feet square—could admit of none. Two jets of gas, like those outside a butcher's shop, were placed on each side of the proscenium, and proved very handy for the gentlemen whose pipes required lighting. The band inside the "theatre" could not compare with the band without. An old grand piano, whose canvass-covered top extended the entire length of the stage, sent forth its wiry notes under the be-ringed fingers of a "professor Wilkinsini," while another professional, with his head resting on his violin, played vigorously, as he stared unconcernedly at the noisy audience.

Singing and dancing formed the whole of the hours' performance, and, of the two, the singing was preferred. A young girl, of about fourteen years of age, danced with more energy than grace, and seemed to be well-known to the spectators, who cheered her on by her Christian name. When the dance was concluded, the proprietor of the establishment threw down a penny from the gallery, in the hopes that others might be moved to similar acts of generosity; but no one followed up the offering, so the young lady hunted after the money and departed. The "comic singer," in a battered hat and the huge bow to his cravat, was received with deafening shouts. Several songs were named by the costers, but the "funny gentleman" merely requested them "to hold their jaws," and putting on a "knowing" look, sang a song, the whole point of which consisted in the mere utterance of some filthy word at the end of each stanza. Nothing, however, could have been more successful. The lads stamped their feet with delight; the girls screamed with enjoyment. Once or twice a young shrill laugh would anticipate the fun—as if the words were well known—or the boys would forestall the point by shouting it out before the proper time. When the song was ended the house was in a delirium of applause. The canvass front to the gallery was beaten with sticks, drum-like, and sent down showers of white powder on the heads in the pit. Another song followed, and the actor knowing on what his success depended, lost no opportunity of increasing his laurels. The most obscene thoughts, the most disgusting scenes were coolly described, making a poor child near me wipe away the tears that rolled down her eyes with the enjoyment of the poison. There were three or four of these songs sung in the course of the evening, each one being encored, and then changed. One written about "Pine-apple rock," was the grand treat of the night, and offered greater scope to the rhyming powers of the author than any of the others. In this, not a single chance had been missed; ingenuity had been exerted to its utmost lest an obscene thought should be passed by, and it was absolutely awful to behold the relish with which the young ones jumped to the hideous meaning of the verses.

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There was one scene yet to come, that was perfect in its wickedness. A ballet began between a man dressed up as a woman, and a country clown. The most disgusting attitudes were struck, the most immoral acts represented, without one dissenting voice. If there had been any feat of agility, any grimacing, or, in fact, anything with which the laughter of the uneducated classes is usually associated, the applause might have been accounted for; but here were two ruffians degrading themselves each time they stirred a limb, and forcing into the brains of the childish audience before them thoughts that must embitter a lifetime, and descend from father to child like some bodily infirmity.

When I had left, I spoke to a better class costermonger on this saddening subject. "Well, sir, it is frightful," he said, "but the boys *will* have their amusements. If their amusements is bad they don't care; they only wants to laugh, and this here kind of work does it. Give 'em better singing and better dancing, and they'd go, if the price was as cheap as this is. I've seen, when a decent concert was given at a penny, as many as four thousand costers present, behaving themselves as quietly and decently as possible. Their wives and children was with 'em, and no audience was better conducted. It's all stuff talking about them preferring this sort of thing. Give 'em good things at the same price, and I *know* they will like the good, better than the bad."

My own experience with this neglected class goes to prove, that if we would really lift them out of the moral mire in which they are wallowing, the first step must be to provide them with *wholesome* amusements. The misfortune, however, is, that when we seek to elevate the character of the people, we give them such mere dry abstract truths and dogmas to digest, that the uneducated mind turns with abhorrence from them. We forget how we ourselves were originally won by our *emotions* to the consideration of such subjects. We do not remember how our own tastes have been formed, nor do we, in our zeal, stay to reflect how the tastes of a people generally are created; and, consequently, we cannot perceive that a habit of enjoying any matter whatsoever can only be induced in the mind by linking with it some æsthetic affection. The heart is the mainspring of the intellect, and the feelings the real educers and educators of the thoughts. As games with the young destroy the fatigue of muscular exercise, so do the sympathies stir the mind to action without any sense of effort. It is because "serious" people generally object to enlist the emotions in the education of the poor, and look upon the delight which arises in the mind from the mere perception of the beauty of sound, motion, form, and colour—or from the apt association of harmonious or incongruous ideas—or from the sympathetic operation of the affections; it is because, I say, the zealous portion of society look upon these matters as "*vanity*," that the amusements of the working-classes are left to venal traders to provide. Hence, in the low-priced entertainments which necessarily appeal to the poorer, and, therefore, to the least educated of the people, the proprietors, instead of trying to develop in them the purer sources of delight, seek only to gratify their audience in the coarsest manner, by appealing to their most brutal appetites. And thus the emotions, which the great Architect of the human mind gave us as the means of quickening our imaginations and refining our sentiments, are made the instruments of crushing every operation of the intellect and debasing our natures. It is idle and unfeeling to believe that the great majority of a people whose days are passed in excessive toil, and whose homes are mostly of an uninviting character, will forego *all* amusements, and consent to pass their evenings by their *no* firesides, reading tracts or singing hymns. It is folly to fancy that the mind, spent with the irksomeness of compelled labour, and depressed, perhaps, with the struggle to live by that labour after all, will not, when the work is over, seek out some place where at least it can forget its troubles or fatigues in the temporary pleasure begotten by some mental or physical stimulant. It is because we, as it were, strive to make true knowledge and true beauty as forbidding as possible to the uneducated and unrefined, that they fly to their penny gaffs, their twopenny-hops, their beer-shops, and their gambling-grounds for pleasures which we deny them, and which we, in our arrogance, believe it is possible for them to do without.

The experiment so successfully tried at Liverpool of furnishing music of an enlivening and yet elevating character at the same price as the concerts of the lowest grade, shows that the people may be won to delight in beauty instead of beastiality, and teaches us again that it is *our* fault to allow them to be as they are and not their's to remain so. All men are compound animals, with many inlets of pleasure to their brains, and if one avenue be closed against them, why it but forces them to seek delight through another. So far from the perception of beauty inducing habits of gross enjoyment as "serious" people generally imagine, a moment's reflection will tell us that these very habits are only the necessary consequences of the non-development of the æsthetic faculty; for the two assuredly cannot co-exist. To cultivate the sense of the beautiful is necessarily to inculcate a detestation of the sensual. Moreover, it is impossible for the mind to be accustomed to the contemplation of what is admirable without continually mounting to higher and higher forms of it—from the beauty of nature to that of thought—from thought to feeling, from feeling to action, and lastly to the fountain of all goodness—the great munificent Creator of the sea, the mountains, and the flowers—the stars, the sunshine, and the rainbow—the fancy, the reason, the love and the heroism of man and womankind—the instincts of the beasts—the glory of the angels—and the mercy of Christ.

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OF THE COSTER-GIRLS.

THE costermongers, taken as a body, entertain the most imperfect idea of the sanctity of marriage. To their undeveloped minds it merely consists in the fact of a man and woman living together, and sharing the gains they may each earn by selling in the street. The father and mother of the girl look upon it as a convenient means of shifting the support of their child over to another's exertions; and so thoroughly do they believe this to be the end and aim of matrimony, that the expense of a church ceremony is considered as a useless waste of money, and the new pair are received by their companions as cordially as if every form of law and religion had been complied with.

The notions of morality among these people agree strangely, as I have said, with those of many savage tribes—indeed, it would be curious if it were otherwise. They are a part of the Nomades of England, neither knowing nor caring for the enjoyments of home. The hearth, which is so sacred a symbol to all civilized races as being the spot where the virtues of each succeeding generation are taught and encouraged, has no charms to them. The tap-room is the father's chief abiding place; whilst to the mother the house is only a better kind of *tent.* She is away at the stall, or hawking her goods from morning till night, while the children are left to play away the day in the court or alley, and pick their morals out of the gutter. So long as the limbs gain strength the parent cares for nothing else. As the young ones grow up, their only notions of wrong are formed by what the policeman will permit them to do. If we, who have known from babyhood the kindly influences of a home, require, before we are thrust out into the world to get a living for ourselves, that our perceptions of good and evil should be quickened and brightened (the same as our perceptions of truth and falsity) by the experience and counsel of those who are wiser and better than ourselves,—if, indeed, it needed a special creation and example to teach the best and strongest of us the law of right, how bitterly must the children of the street-folk require tuition, training, and advice, when from their very cradles (if, indeed, they ever knew such luxuries) they are doomed to witness in their parents, whom they naturally believe to be their superiors, habits of life in which passion is the sole rule of action, and where every appetite of our animal nature is indulged in without the least restraint.

I say thus much because I am anxious to make others feel, as I do myself, that *we* are the culpable parties in these matters. That they poor things should do as they do is but human nature—but that *we* should allow them to remain thus destitute of every blessing vouchsafed to ourselves—that we should willingly share what we enjoy with our brethren at the Antipodes, and yet leave those who are nearer and who, therefore, should be dearer to us, to want even the commonest moral necessaries is a paradox that gives to the zeal of our Christianity a strong savour of the chicanery of Cant.

The costermongers strongly resemble the North American Indians in their conduct to their wives. They can understand that it is the duty of the woman to contribute to the happiness of the man, but cannot feel that there is a reciprocal duty from the man to the woman. The wife is considered as an inexpensive servant, and the disobedience of a wish is punished with blows. She must work early and late, and to the husband must be given the proceeds of her labour. Often when the man is in one of his drunken fits—which sometimes last two or three days continuously—she must by her sole exertions find food for herself and him too. To live in peace with him, there must be no murmuring, no tiring under work, no fancied cause for jealousy—for if there be, she is either beaten into submission or cast adrift to begin life again—as another's leavings.

The story of one coster girl's life may be taken as a type of the many. When quite young she is placed out to nurse with some neighbour, the mother—if a fond one—visiting the child at certain periods of the day, for the purpose of feeding it, or sometimes, knowing the round she has to make, having the infant brought to her at certain places, to be "suckled." As soon as it is old enough to go alone, the court is its play-ground, the gutter its school-room, and under the care of an elder sister the little one passes the day, among children whose mothers like her own are too busy out in the streets helping to get the food, to be able to mind the family at home. When the girl is strong enough, she in her turn is made to assist the mother by keeping guard over the younger children, or, if there be none, she is lent out to carry about a baby, and so made to add to the family income by gaining her sixpence weekly. Her time is from the earliest years fully occupied; indeed, her parents cannot afford to keep her without doing and getting *something*. Very few of the children receive the least education. "The parents," I am told, "never give their minds to learning, for they say, 'What's the use of it? *that* won't yarn a gal a living.'" Everything is sacrificed—as, indeed, under the circumstances it must be—in the struggle to live—aye! and to live *merely*. Mind, heart, soul, are all absorbed in the belly. The rudest form of animal life, physiologists tell us, is simply a locomotive stomach. Verily, it would appear as if our social state had a tendency to make the highest animal sink into the lowest.

At about seven years of age the girls first go into the streets to sell. A shallow-basket is given to them, with about two shillings for stock-money, and they hawk, according to the time of year, either oranges, apples, or violets; some begin their street education with the sale of water-cresses. The money earned by this means is strictly given to the parents. Sometimes—

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though rarely—a girl who has been unfortunate during the day will not dare to return home at night, and then she will sleep under some dry arch or about some market, until the morrow's gains shall ensure her a safe reception and shelter in her father's room.

The life of the coster-girls is as severe as that of the boys. Between four and five in the morning they have to leave home for the markets, and sell in the streets until about nine. Those that have more kindly parents, return then to breakfast, but many are obliged to earn the morning's meal for themselves. After breakfast, they generally remain in the streets until about ten o'clock at night; many having nothing during all that time but one meal of bread and butter and coffee, to enable them to support the fatigue of walking from street to street with the heavy basket on their heads. In the course of a day, some girls eat as much as a pound of bread, and very seldom get any meat, unless it be on a Sunday.

There are many poor families that, without the aid of these girls, would be forced into the workhouse. They are generally of an affectionate disposition, and some will perform acts of marvellous heroism to keep together the little home. It is not at all unusual for mere children of fifteen to walk their eight or ten miles a day, carrying a basket of nearly two hundred weight on their heads. A journey to Woolwich and back, or to the towns near London, is often undertaken to earn the 1*s*. 6*d*. their parents are anxiously waiting for at home.

Very few of these girls are married to the men they afterwards live with. Their courtship is usually a very short one; for, as one told me, "the life is such a hard one, that a girl is ready to get rid of a *little* of the labour at any price." The coster-lads see the girls at market, and if one of them be pretty, and a boy take a fancy to her, he will make her bargains for her, and carry her basket home. Sometimes a coster working his rounds will feel a liking for a wench selling her goods in the street, and will leave his barrow to go and talk with her. A girl seldom takes up with a lad before she is sixteen, though some of them, when barely fifteen or even fourteen, will pair off. They court for a time, going to raffles and "gaffs" together, and then the affair is arranged. The girl tells her parents "she's going to keep company with so-and-so," packs up what things she has, and goes at once, without a word of remonstrance from either father or mother. A furnished room, at about 4*s*. a week is taken, and the young couple begin life The lad goes out as usual with his barrow, and the girl goes out with her basket, often working harder for her lover than she had done for her parents. They go to market together, and at about nine o'clock her day's selling begins. Very often she will take out with her in the morning what food she requires during the day, and never return home until eleven o'clock at night.

The men generally behave very cruelly to the girls they live with. They are as faithful to them as if they were married, but they are jealous in the extreme. To see a man talking to their girl is sufficient to ensure the poor thing a beating. They sometimes ill-treat them horribly—most unmercifully indeed—nevertheless the girls say they cannot help loving them still, and continue working for them, as if they experienced only kindness at their hands. Some of the men are gentler and more considerate in their treatment of them, but by far the larger portion are harsh and merciless. Often when the Saturday night's earnings of the two have been large, the man will take the entire money, and as soon as the Sunday's dinner is over, commence drinking hard, and continue drunk for two or three days together, until the funds are entirely exhausted. The women never gamble; they say, "it gives them no excitement." They prefer, if they have a spare moment in the evening, sitting near the fire making up and patching their clothes. "Ah, sir," said a girl to me, "a neat gown does a deal with a man; he always likes a girl best when everybody else likes her too." On a Sunday they clean their room for the week and go for a treat, if they can persuade their young man to take them out in the afternoon, either to Chalk Farm or Battersea Fields —"where there's plenty of life."

After a girl has once grown accustomed to a street-life, it is almost impossible to wean her from it. The muscular irritability begotten by continued wandering makes her unable to rest for any time in one place, and she soon, if put to any *settled* occupation, gets to crave for the severe exercise she formerly enjoyed. The least restraint will make her sigh after the perfect liberty of the coster's "roving life." As an instance of this I may relate a fact that has occurred within the last six months. A gentleman of high literary repute, struck with the heroic strugglings of a coster Irish girl to maintain her mother, took her to his house, with a view of teaching her the duties of a servant. At first the transition was a painful one to the poor thing. Having travelled barefoot through the streets since a mere child, the pressure of shoes was intolerable to her, and in the evening or whenever a few minutes' rest could be obtained, the boots were taken off, for with them on she could enjoy no ease. The perfect change of life, and the novelty of being in a new place, reconciled her for some time to the loss of her liberty. But no sooner did she hear from her friends, that sprats were again in the market, than, as if there were some magical influence in the fish, she at once requested to be freed from the confinement, and permitted to return to her old calling.

Such is the history of the lower class of girls, though this lower class, I regret to say, constitutes by far the greater portion of the whole. Still I would not for a moment have it inferred that *all* are bad. There are many young girls getting their living, or rather helping to get

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the living of others in the streets, whose goodness, considering the temptations and hardships besetting such an occupation, approximates to the marvellous. As a type of the more prudent class of coster girls, I would cite the following narrative received from the lips of a young woman in answer to a series of questions.

The Life of a Coster Girl.

I wished to have obtained a statement from the girl whose portrait is here given, but she was afraid to give the slightest information about the habits of her companions, lest they should recognize her by the engraving and persecute her for the revelations she might make. After disappointing me some dozen times, I was forced to seek out some other coster girl.

The one I fixed upon was a fine-grown young woman of eighteen. She had a habit of curtsying to every question that was put to her. Her plaid shawl was tied over the breast, and her cotton-velvet bonnet was crushed in with carrying her basket. She seemed dreadfully puzzled where to put her hands, at one time tucking them under her shawl, warming them at the fire, or measuring the length of her apron, and when she answered a question she invariably addressed the fireplace. Her voice was husky from shouting apples.

"My mother has been in the streets selling all her lifetime. Her uncle learnt her the markets and she learnt me. When business grew bad she said to me, 'Now you shall take care on the stall, and I'll go and work out charing.' The way she learnt me the markets was to judge of the weight of the baskets of apples, and then said she, 'Always bate 'em down, a'most a half.' I always liked the street-life very well, that was if I was selling. I have mostly kept a stall myself, but I've known gals as walk about with apples, as have told me that the weight of the baskets is sich that the neck cricks, and when the load is took off, its just as if you'd a stiff neck, and the head feels as light as a feather. The gals begins working very early at our work; the parents makes them go out when a'most babies. There's a little gal, I'm sure she an't more than half-past seven, that stands selling water-cresses next my stall, and mother was saying, 'Only look there, how that little one has to get her living afore she a'most knows what a penn'orth means.'

"There's six on us in family, and father and mother makes eight. Father used to do odd jobs with the gas-pipes in the streets, and when work was slack we had very hard times of it. Mother always liked being with us at home, and used to manage to keep us employed out of mischief—she'd give us an old gown to make into pinafores for the children and such like! She's been very good to us, has mother, and so's father. She always liked to hear us read to her whilst she was washing or such like! and then we big ones had to learn the little ones. But when father's work got slack, if she had no employment charing, she'd say, 'Now I'll go and buy a bushel of apples,' and then she'd turn out and get a penny that way. I suppose by sitting at the stall from nine in the morning till the shops shuts up—say ten o'clock at night, I can earn about 1*s.* 6*d.* a day. It's all according to the apples—whether they're good or not—what we makes. If I'm unlucky, mother will say, 'Well, I'll go out to-morrow and see what *I* can do;' and if I've done well, she'll say 'Come you're a good hand at it; you've done famous.' Yes, mother's very fair that way. Ah! there's many a gal I knows whose back has to suffer if she don't sell her stock well: but, thank God! I never get more than a blowing up. My parents is very fair to me.

"I dare say there ain't ten out of a hundred gals what's living with men, what's been married Church of England fashion. I know plenty myself, but I don't, indeed, think it right. It seems to me that the gals is fools to be 'ticed away, but, in coorse, they needn't go without they likes. This is why I don't think it's right. Perhaps a man will have a few words with his gal, and he'll say, 'Oh! I ain't obligated to keep her!' and he'll turn her out: and then where's that poor gal to go? Now, there's a gal I knows as came to me no later than this here week, and she had a dreadful swole face and a awful black eye; and I says, 'Who's done that?' and she says, says she, 'Why, Jack'—just in that way; and then she says, says she, 'I'm going to take a warrant out to-morrow.' Well, he gets the warrant that same night, but she never appears again him, for fear of getting more beating. That don't seem to me to be like married people ought to be. Besides, if parties is married, they ought to bend to each other; and they won't, for sartain, if they're only living together. A man as is married is obligated to keep his wife if they quarrels or not; and he says to himself, says he, 'Well, I may as well live happy, like.' But if he can turn a poor gal off, as soon as he tires of her, he begins to have noises with her, and then gets quit of her altogether. Again, the men takes the money of the gals, and in coorse ought to treat 'em well—which they don't. This is another reason: when the gal is in the family way, the lads mostly sends them to the workhouse to lay in, and only goes sometimes to take them a bit of tea and shuggar; but, in coorse, married men wouldn't behave in such likes to their poor wives. After a quarrel, too, a lad goes and takes up with another young gal, and that isn't pleasant for the first one. The first step to ruin is them places of 'penny gaffs,' for they hears things there as oughtn't to be said to young gals. Besides, the lads is very insinivating, and after leaving them places will give a gal a drop of beer, and make her half tipsy, and then they makes their arrangements. I've often heerd the boys boasting of having ruined gals, for all the world as if they was the first noblemen in the land.

"It would be a good thing if these sort of goings on could be stopped. It's half the pa-

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rents' fault; for if a gal can't get a living, they turns her out into the streets, and then what's to become of her? I'm sure the gals, if they was married, would be happier, because they couldn't be beat worse. And if they was married, they'd get a nice home about 'em; whereas, if they's only living together, they takes a furnished room. I'm sure, too, that it's a bad plan; for I've heerd the gals themselves say, 'Ah! I wish I'd never seed Jack' (or Tom, or whatever it is); 'I'm sure I'd never be half so bad but for him.'

"Only last night father was talking about religion. We often talks about religion. Father has told me that God made the world, and I've heerd him talk about the first man and woman as was made and lived—it must be more than a hundred years ago—but I don't like to speak on what I don't know. Father, too, has told me about our Saviour what was nailed on a cross to suffer for such poor people as we is. Father has told us, too, about his giving a great many poor people a penny loaf and a bit of fish each, which proves him to have been a very kind gentleman. The Ten Commandments was made by him, I've heerd say, and he performed them too among other miracles. Yes! this is part of what our Saviour tells us. We are to forgive everybody, and do nobody no injury. I don't think I could forgive an enemy if she injured me very much; I'm sure I don't know why I couldn't, unless it is that I'm poor, and never learnt to do it. If a gal stole my shawl and didn't return it back or give me the value on it, I couldn't forgive her; but if she told me she lost it off her back, I shouldn't be so hard on her. We poor gals ain't very religious, but we are better than the men. We all of us thanks God for everything—even for a fine day; as for sprats, we always says they're God's blessing for the poor, and thinks it hard of the Lord Mayor not to let 'em come in afore the ninth of November, just because he wants to dine off them—which he always do. Yes, we knows for certain that they eats plenty of sprats at the Lord Mayor's 'blanket.' They say in the Bible that the world was made in six days: the beasts, the birds, the fish, and all—and sprats was among them in coorse. There was only one house at that time as was made, and that was the Ark for Adam and Eve and their family. It seems very wonderful indeed how all this world was done so quick. I should have thought that England alone would have took double the time; shouldn't you, sir? But then it says in the Bible, God Almighty's a just and true God, and in coorse time would be nothing to him. When a good person is dying, we says, 'The Lord has called upon him, and he must go,' but I can't think what it means, unless it is that an angel comes—like when we're a-dreaming—and tells the party he's wanted in heaven. I know where heaven is; it's above the clouds, and they're placed there to prevent us seeing into it. That's where all the good people go, but I'm afeerd,"—she continued solemnly—"there's very few costers among the angels—'specially those as deceives poor gals.

"No, I don't think this world could well go on for ever. There's a great deal of ground in it, certainly, and it seems very strong at present; but they say there's to be a flood on the earth, and earthquakes, and that will destroy it. The earthquake ought to have took place some time ago, as people tells me, but I never heerd any more about it. If we cheats in the streets, I know we shan't go to Heaven; but it's very hard upon us, for if we didn't cheat we couldn't live, profits is so bad. It's the same with the shops, and I suppose the young men there won't go to Heaven neither; but if people won't give the money, both costers and tradesmen must cheat, and that's very hard. Why, look at apples! customers want them for less than they cost us, and so we are forced to shove in bad ones as well as good ones; and if we're to suffer for that, it does seem to me dreadful cruel."

Curious and extravagant as this statement may perhaps appear to the uninitiated, nevertheless it is here given as it was spoken; and it was spoken with an earnestness that proved the poor girl looked upon it as a subject, the solemnity of which forced her to be truthful.

Of Costermongers and Thieves.

Concerning the connection of these two classes I had the following account from a costermonger: "I've known the coster trade for twelve years, and never knew thieves go out a costering as a cloak; they may have done so, but I very much doubt it. Thieves go for an idle life, and costermongering don't suit them. Our chaps don't care a d—n who they associate with,—if they're thieves they meet 'em all the same, or anything that way. But costers buy what they call 'a gift,'—may-be it's a watch or coat wot's been stolen—from any that has it to sell. A man will say: 'If you've a few shillings, you may make a good thing of it. Why this identical watch is only twenty shillings, and it's worth fifty;' so if the coster has money, he buys. Thieves will get *3d.* where a mechanic or a coster will earn *½d.*, and the most ignorant of our people has a queer sort of respect for thieves, because of the money they make. Poverty's as much despised among costers as among other people. People that's badly off among us are called 'cursed.' In bad weather it's common for costers to 'curse themselves,' as they call having no trade. 'Well, I'm cursed,' they say when they can make no money. It's a common thing among them to shout after any one they don't like, that's reduced, 'Well, ain't you cursed?'" The costers, I am credibly informed, gamble a great deal with the wealthier class of thieves, and win of them the greater part of the money they get.

Of the more provident Costermongers.

Concerning this head, I give the statement of a man whose information I found fully con-

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firmed:—"We are not such a degraded set as some believe; sir, but a living doesn't tumble into a man's mouth, now a days. A good many of us costers rises into greengrocers and coal-sheds, and still carries on their rounds as costers, all the same. Why, in Lock's-fields, I could show you twenty such, and you'd find them very decent men, sir—very. There's one man I know, that's risen that way, who is worth hundreds of pounds, and keeps his horse and cart like a gentleman. They rises to be voters, and they all vote liberal. Some marry the better kind of servants, — such servant-maids as would'nt marry a rag and bottle shop, but doesn't object to a coal shed. It's mostly younger men that manages this. As far as I have observed, these costers, after they has settled and got to be housekeepers, don't turn their backs on their old mates. They'd have a nice life of it if they did—yes! a very nice life."

Of the Homes of the Costermongers.

The costermongers usually reside in the courts and alleys in the neighbourhood of the different street-markets. They themselves designate the locality where, so to speak, a colony of their people has been established, a "coster district," and the entire metropolis is thus parcelled out, almost as systematically as if for the purposes of registration. These costermonger districts are as follows, and are here placed in the order of the numerical importance of the residents:

The New Cut (Lambeth).	Ratcliffe Highway.
Whitecross-street.	Lisson-grove.
Leather-lane.	Petticoat and Rosemary-lane.
The Brill, Somers' Town.	Marylebone-lane.
Whitechapel.	Oxford-street.
Camberwell.	Rotherhithe.
Walworth.	Deptford.
Peckham.	Dockhead.
Bermondsey.	Greenwich.
The Broadway, Westminster.	Commercial-road (East).
Shoreditch.	Poplar.
Paddington and Edgeware Road.	Limehouse.
Tottenham-court Road.	Bethnal-green.
Drury-lane.	Hackney-road.
Old-street Road.	Kingsland.
Clare Market.	Camden Town.

The homes of the costermongers in these places, may be divided into three classes; firstly, those who, by having a regular trade or by prudent economy, are enabled to live in comparative ease and plenty; secondly, those who, from having a large family or by imprudent expenditure, are, as it were, struggling with the world; and thirdly, those who for want of stock-money, or ill success in trade are nearly destitute.

The first home I visited was that of an old wom n, who with the assistance of her son and girls ontrived to live in a most praiseworthy and fortable manner. She and all her fami e teetotallers, and may be taken as a fair he thriving costermonger.

A d a dark flight of stairs, a savory smel rew stronger at each step I mou oman lived in a large airy room loor ("the drawing-room") as she told me laughing at her own joke), well lighted by a clean window, and I found her laying out the savory smelling dinner looking most temptingly clean. The floor was as white as if it had been newly planed, the coke fire was bright and warm, making the lid of the tin saucepan on it rattle up and down as the steam rushed out. The wall over the fire-place was patched up to the ceiling with little square pictures of saints, and on the mantel-piece, between a row of bright tumblers and wine glasses filled with odds and ends, stood glazed crockeryware images of Prince Albert and M. Jullien. Against the walls, which were papered with "hangings" of four different patterns and colours, were hung several warm shawls, and in the band-box, which stood on the stained chest of drawers, you could tell that the Sunday bonnet was stowed safely away from the dust. A turn-up bedstead thrown back, and covered with a many-coloured patch-work quilt, stood opposite to a long dresser with its mugs and cups dangling from the hooks, and the clean blue plates and dishes ranged in order at the back. There were a few bushel baskets piled up in one corner, "but the apples smelt so," she said, "they left them in a stable at night."

By the fire sat the woman's daughter, a pretty meek-faced gray-eyed girl of sixteen, who "was home nursing" for a cold. "Steve" (her boy) I was informed, was out working. With his help, the woman assured me, she could live very comfortably—"God be praised!" and when he got the barrow he was promised, she gave me to understand, that their riches were to increase past reckoning. Her girl too was to be off at work as soon as sprats came in. "Its on Lord Mayor's-day they comes in," said a neighbour who had rushed up to see the strange gentleman, "they says he has 'em on his table, but I never seed 'em. They never gives us the pieces, no not even the heads," and every one laughed to their utmost. The good old dame was in high spirits, her dark eyes sparkling as she spoke about her "Steve." The daughter in a little time lost her bashfulness, and informed me "that one of the Polish refugees was a-courting Mrs. M ——, who had given him a pair of black eyes."

On taking my leave I was told by the mother that their silver gilt Dutch clock—with its glass face and blackleaded weights—"was the best one in London, and might be relied on with the greatest safety."

As a specimen of the dwellings of the struggling costers, the following may be cited:

The man, a tall, thick-built, almost good-looking fellow, with a large fur cap on his head, lived with his family in a front kitchen, and as there were, with his mother-in-law, five persons, and only one bed, I was somewhat puzzled to know where they could *all* sleep. The barrow standing on the railings over the window, half shut out the light, and when any one passed there was a momentary shadow thrown over the room, and a loud rattling of the

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iron gratings above that completely prevented all conversation. When I entered, the mother-in-law was reading aloud one of the threepenny papers to her son, who lolled on the bed, that with its curtains nearly filled the room. There was the usual attempt to make the fireside comfortable. The stone sides had been well whitened, and the mantel-piece decorated with its small tin trays, tumblers, and a piece of looking-glass. A cat with a kitten were seated on the hearth-rug in front. "They keeps the varmint away," said the woman, stroking the "puss," "and gives a look of home." By the drawers were piled up four bushel baskets, and in a dark corner near the bed stood a tall measure full of apples that scented the room. Over the head, on a string that stretched from wall to wall, dangled a couple of newly-washed shirts, and by the window were two stone barrels, for lemonade, when the coster visited the fairs and races.

Whilst we were talking, the man's little girl came home. For a poor man's child she was dressed to perfection; her pinafore was clean, her face shone with soap, and her tidy cotton print gown had clearly been newly put on that morning. She brought news that "Janey" was coming home from auntey's, and instantly a pink cotton dress was placed by the mother-in-law before the fire to air. (It appeared that Janey was out at service, and came home once a week to see her parents and take back a clean frock.) Although these people were living, so to speak, in a cellar, still every endeavour had been made to give the home a look of comfort. The window, with its paper-patched panes, had a clean calico blind. The side-table was dressed up with yellow jugs and cups and saucers, and the band-boxes had been stowed away on the flat top of the bedstead. All the chairs, which were old fashioned mahogany ones, had sound backs and bottoms.

Of the third class, or the very poor, I chose the following "type" out of the many others that presented themselves. The family here lived in a small slanting-roofed house, partly stripped of its tiles. More than one half of the small leaden squares of the first-floor window were covered with brown paper, puffing out and crackling in the wind, while through the greater part of the others were thrust out ball-shaped bundles of rags, to keep out the breeze. The panes that did remain were of all shapes and sizes, and at a distance had the appearance of yellow glass, they were so stained with dirt. I opened a door with a number chalked on it, and groped my way up a broken tottering staircase.

It took me some time after I had entered the apartment before I could get accustomed to the smoke, that came pouring into the room from the chimney. The place was filled with it, curling in the light, and making every thing so indistinct that I could with difficulty see the white mugs ranged in the corner-cupboard, not three yards from me. When the wind was in the north, or when it rained, it was always that way, I was told, "but otherwise," said an old dame about sixty, with long grisly hair spreading over her black shawl, "it is pretty good for that."

On a mattrass, on the floor, lay a pale-faced girl—"eighteen years old last twelfth-cake day"—her drawn-up form showing in the patch-work counterpane that covered her. She had just been confined, and the child had died! A little straw, stuffed into an old tick, was all she had to lie upon, and even that had been given up to her by the mother until she was well enough to work again. To shield her from the light of the window, a cloak had been fastened up slantingly across the panes; and on a string that ran along the wall was tied, amongst the bonnets, a clean nightcap—"against the doctor came," as the mother, curtsying, informed me. By the side of the bed, almost hidden in the dark shade, was a pile of sieve baskets, crowned by the flat shallow that the mother "worked" with.

The room was about nine feet square, and furnished a home for three women. The ceiling slanted like that of a garret, and was the colour of old leather, excepting a few rough white patches, where the tenants had rudely mended it. The white light was easily seen through the laths, and in one corner a large patch of the paper looped down from the wall. One night the family had been startled from their sleep by a large mass of mortar—just where the roof bulged in—falling into the room. "We never want rain water," the woman told me, "for we can catch plenty just over the chimney-place."

They had made a carpet out of three or four old mats. They were "obligated to it, for fear of dropping anything through the boards into the donkey stables in the parlour underneath. But we only pay ninepence a week rent," said the old woman, "and mustn't grumble."

The only ornament in the place was on the mantel-piece—an old earthenware sugar-basin, well silvered over, that had been given by the eldest girl when she died, as a remembrance to her mother. Two cracked tea-cups, on their inverted saucers, stood on each side, and dressed up the fire-side into something like tidiness. The chair I sat on was by far the best out of the three in the room, and that had no back, and only half its quantity of straw.

The parish, the old woman told me, allowed her 1*s.* a week and two loaves. But the doctor ordered her girl to take sago and milk, and she was many a time sorely puzzled to get it. The neighbours helped her a good deal, and often sent her part of their unsold greens;—even if it was only the outer leaves of the cabbages, she was thankful for them. Her other girl—a big-boned wench, with a red shawl crossed ove[illegible] you bosom, and her black hair parted on one [illegible]ormed, did all she could, and so they lived o[illegible] class of long as they kept out of the 'big h[illegible]art of the workhouse) she would not complain.

I never yet beheld so muc[illegible]
borne with so much content. [illegible]OSTERMONGERS.
philosophy of the poor is a th[illegible]e the statement of
who write and preach about i[illegible] found fully con-

THE OYSTER STALL.

"Penny a lot, Oysters! Penny a lot!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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Of the Dress of the Costermongers.

From the homes of the costermongers we pass to a consideration of their dress.

The costermonger's ordinary costume partakes of the durability of the warehouseman's, with the quaintness of that of the stable-boy. A well-to-do "coster," when dressed for the day's work, usually wears a small cloth cap, a little on one side. A close-fitting worsted tie-up skull-cap, is very fashionable, just now, among the class, and ringlets at the temples are looked up to as the height of elegance. Hats they never wear—excepting on Sunday—on account of their baskets being frequently carried on their heads. Coats are seldom indulged in; their waistcoats, which are of a broad-ribbed corduroy, with fustian back and sleeves, being made as long as a groom's, and buttoned up nearly to the throat. If the corduroy be of a light sandy colour, then plain brass, or sporting buttons, with raised fox's or stag's heads upon them—or else black bone-buttons, with a flower-pattern—ornament the front; but if the cord be of a dark rat-skin hue, then mother-of-pearl buttons are preferred. Two large pockets—sometimes four—with huge flaps or lappels, like those in a shooting-coat, are commonly worn. If the costermonger be driving a good trade and have his set of regular customers, he will sport a blue cloth jacket, similar in cut to the cord ones above described; but this is looked upon as an extravagance of the highest order, for the slime and scales of the fish stick to the sleeves and shoulders of the garment, so as to spoil the appearance of it in a short time. The fashionable stuff for trousers, at the present, is a dark-coloured "cable cord," and they are made to fit tightly at the knee and swell gradually until they reach the boot, which they nearly cover. Velveteen is now seldom worn, and knee-breeches are quite out of date. Those who deal wholly in fish wear a blue serge apron, either hanging down or tucked up round their waist. The costermonger, however, prides himself most of all upon his neckerchief and boots. Men, women, boys and girls, all have a passion for these articles. The man who does not wear his silk neckerchief—his "King's-man" as it is called—is known to be in desperate circumstances; the inference being that it has gone to supply the morning's stock-money. A yellow flower on a green ground, or a red and blue pattern, is at present greatly in vogue. The women wear their kerchiefs tucked-in under their gowns, and the men have theirs wrapped loosely round the neck, with the ends hanging over their waistcoats. Even if a costermonger has two or three silk handkerchiefs by him already, he seldom hesitates to buy another, when tempted with a bright showy pattern hanging from a Field-lane door-post.

The costermonger's love of a good strong boot is a singular prejudice that runs throughout the whole class. From the father to the youngest child, all will be found well shod. So strong is their predilection in this respect, that a costermonger may be immediately known by a glance at his feet. He will part with everything rather than his boots, and to wear a pair of second-hand ones, or "translators" (as they are called), is felt as a bitter degradation by them all. Among the men, this pride has risen to such a pitch, that many will have their upper-leathers tastily ornamented, and it is not uncommon to see the younger men of this class with a heart or a thistle, surrounded by a wreath of roses, worked below the instep, on their boots. The general costume of the women or girls is a black velveteen or straw bonnet, with a few ribbons or flowers, and almost always a net cap fitting closely to the cheek. The silk "King's-man" covering their shoulders, is sometimes tucked into the neck of the printed cotton-gown, and sometimes the ends are brought down outside to the apron-strings. Silk dresses are never worn by them—they rather despise such articles. The petticoats are worn short, ending at the ankles, just high enough to show the whole of the much-admired boots. Coloured, or "illustrated shirts," as they are called, are especially objected to by the men.

On the Sunday no costermonger will, if he can possibly avoid it, wheel a barrow. If a shilling be an especial object to him, he may, perhaps, take his shallow and head-basket as far as Chalk-farm, or some neighbouring resort; but even then he objects strongly to the Sunday-trading. They leave this to the Jews and Irish, who are always willing to earn a penny—as they say.

The prosperous coster *will* have his holiday on the Sunday, and, if possible, his Sunday suit as well—which usually consists of a rough beaver hat, brown Petersham, with velvet facings of the same colour, and cloth trousers, with stripes down the side. The women, generally, manage to keep by them a cotton gown of a bright showy pattern, and a new shawl. As one of the craft said to me—"Costers likes to see their gals and wives look lady-like when they takes them out." Such of the costers as are not in a flourishing way of business, seldom make any alteration in their dress on the Sunday.

There are but five tailors in London who make the garb proper to costermongers; one of these is considered somewhat "slop," or as a coster called him, a "springer-up."

This springer-up is blamed by some of the costermongers, who condemn him for employing women at reduced wages. A whole court of costermongers, I was assured, would withdraw their custom from a tradesman, if one of their body, who had influence among them, showed that the tradesman was unjust to his workpeople. The tailor in question issues bills after the following fashion. I give one verbatim, merely withholding the address for obvious reasons:

"Once try you'll come again.

Slap-up Tog and out-and-out Kicksies Builder.

Mr. —— nabs the chance of putting his cus-

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tomers awake, that he has just made his escape from Russia, not forgetting to clap his mawleys upon some of the right sort of Ducks, to make single and double backed Slops for gentlemen in black, when on his return home he was stunned to find one of the top manufacturers of Manchester had cut his lucky and stepped off to the Swan Stream, leaving behind him a valuable stock of Moleskins, Cords, Velveteens, Plushes, Swandowns, &c., and I having some ready in my kick, grabbed the chance, and stepped home with my swag, and am now safe landed at my crib. I can turn out toggery of every description very slap up, at the following low prices for

Ready Gilt—Tick being no go.

Upper Benjamins, built on a downey plan, a monarch to half a finnuff. Slap up Velveteen Togs, lined with the same, 1 pound 1 quarter and a peg. Moleskin ditto, any colour, lined with the same, 1 couter. A pair of Kerseymere Kicksies, any colour, built very slap up, with the artful dodge, a canary. Pair of stout Cord ditto, built in the 'Melton Mowbray' style, half a sov. Pair of very good broad Cord ditto, made very saucy, 9 bob and a kick. Pair of long sleeve Moleskin, all colours, built hanky-spanky, with a double fakement down the side and artful buttons at bottom, half a monarch. Pair of stout ditto, built very serious, 9 times. Pair of out-and-out fancy sleeve Kicksies, cut to drop down on the trotters, 2 bulls. Waist Togs, cut long, with moleskin back and sleeves, 10 peg. Blue Cloth ditto, cut slap, with pearl buttons, 14 peg. Mud Pipes, Knee Caps, and Trotter Cases, built very low.

"A decent allowance made to Seedy Swells, Tea Kettle Purgers, Head Robbers, and Flunkeys out of Collar.

"N.B. Gentlemen finding their own Broady can be accommodated."

Of the Diet and Drink of Costermongers.

It is less easy to describe the diet of costermongers than it is to describe that of many other of the labouring classes, for their diet, so to speak, is an "out-door diet." They breakfast at a coffee-stall, and (if all their means have been expended in purchasing their stock, and none of it be yet sold) they expend on the meal only 1*d.*, reserved for the purpose. For this sum they can procure a small cup of coffee, and two "thin" (that is to say two thin slices of bread and butter). For dinner—which on a week-day is hardly ever eaten at the costermonger's abode—they buy "block ornaments," as they call the small, dark-coloured pieces of meat exposed on the cheap butchers' blocks or counters. These they cook in a tap-room; half a pound costing 2*d.* If time be an object, the coster buys a hot pie or two; preferring fruit-pies when in season, and next to them meat-pies. "We never eat eel-pies," said one man to me, "because we know they're often made of large dead eels. *We*, of all people, are not to be had that way. But the haristocrats eats 'em and never knows the difference." I did not hear that these men had any repugnance to meat-pies; but the use of the dead eel happens to come within the immediate knowledge of the costermongers, who are, indeed, its purveyors. Saveloys, with a pint of beer, or a glass of "short" (neat gin) is with them another common week-day dinner. The costers make all possible purchases of street-dealers, and pride themselves in thus "sticking to their own." On Sunday, the costermonger, when not "cracked up," enjoys a good dinner at his own abode. This is always a joint—most frequently a shoulder or half-shoulder of mutton—and invariably with "lots of good taturs baked along with it." In the quality of their potatoes these people are generally particular.

The costermonger's usual beverage is beer, and many of them drink hard, having no other way of spending their leisure but in drinking and gambling. It is not unusual in "a good time," for a costermonger to spend 12*s.* out of every 20*s.* in beer and pleasure.

I ought to add, that the "single fellows," instead of living on "block ornaments" and the like, live, when doing well, on the best fare, at the "spiciest" cook-shops on their rounds, or in the neighbourhood of their residence.

There are some families of costermongers who have persevered in carrying out the principles of teetotalism. One man thought there might be 200 individuals, including men, women, and children, who practised total abstinence from intoxicating drinks. These parties are nearly all somewhat better off than their drinking companions. The number of teetotallers amongst the costers, however, was more numerous three or four years back.

Of the Cries, Rounds, and Days of Costermongers.

I shall now proceed to treat of the London costermongers' mode of doing business.

In the first place all the goods they sell are cried or "hawked," and the cries of the costermongers in the present day are as varied as the articles they sell. The principal ones, uttered in a sort of cadence, are now, "Ni-ew mackerel, 6 a shilling." ("I've got a good jacketing many a Sunday morning," said one dealer, "for waking people up with crying mackerel, but I've said, 'I must live while you sleep.'") "Buy a pair of live soles, 3 pair for 6*d.*"—or, with a barrow, "Soles, 1*d.* a pair, 1*d.* a pair;" "Plaice alive, alive, cheap;" "Buy a pound crab, cheap;" "Pine-apples, ½*d.* a slice;" "Mussels a penny a quart;" "Oysters, a penny a lot;" "Salmon alive, 6*d.* a pound;" "Cod alive, 2*d.* a pound;" "Real Yarmouth bloaters, 2 a penny;" "New herrings alive, 16 a groat" (this is the loudest cry of any); "Penny a bunch turnips" (the same with greens, cabbages, &c.); "All new nuts, 1*d.* half-pint;" "Oranges, 2 a penny;" "All large and alive-O, new sprats, O, 1*d.* a plate;"

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"Wi-ild Hampshire rabbits, 2 a shilling;" "Cherry ripe, 2*d*. a pound;" "Fine ripe plums, 1*d*. a pint;" "Ing-uns, a penny a quart;" "Eels, 3lbs. a shilling—large live eels 3lbs. a shilling."

The continual calling in the streets is very distressing to the voice. One man told me that it had broken his, and that very often while out he lost his voice altogether. "They seem to have no breath," the men say, "after calling for a little while." The repeated shouting brings on a hoarseness, which is one of the peculiar characteristics of hawkers in general. The costers mostly go out with a boy to cry their goods for them. If they have two or three hallooing together, it makes more noise than one, and the boys can shout better and louder than the men. The more noise they can make in a place the better they find their trade. Street-selling has been so bad lately that many have been obliged to have a drum for their bloaters, "to drum the fish off," as they call it.

In the second place, the costermongers, as I said before, have mostly their little bit of a "round;" that is, they go only to certain places; and if they don't sell their goods they "work back" the same way again. If they visit a respectable quarter, they confine themselves to the mews near the gentlemen's houses. They generally prefer the poorer neighbourhoods. They go down or through almost all the courts and alleys—and avoid the better kind of streets, unless with lobsters, rabbits, or onions. If they have anything inferior, they visit the low Irish districts—for the Irish people, they say, want only quantity, and care nothing about quality—*that* they don't study. But if they have anything they wish to make a price of, they seek out the mews, and try to get it off among the gentlemen's coachmen, for *they* will have what is good; or else they go among the residences of mechanics,—for their wives, they say, like good-living as well as the coachmen. Some costers, on the other hand, go chance rounds.

Concerning the busiest days of the week for the coster's trade, they say Wednesdays and Fridays are the best, because they are regular fish days. These two days are considered to be those on which the poorer classes generally run short of money. Wednesday night is called "draw night" among some mechanics and labourers—that is, they then get a portion of their wages in advance, and on Friday they run short as well as on the Wednesday, and have to make shift for their dinners. With the few halfpence they have left, they are glad to pick up anything cheap, and the street-fishmonger never refuses an offer. Besides, he can supply them with a cheaper dinner than any other person. In the season the poor generally dine upon herrings. The poorer classes live mostly on fish, and the "dropped" and "rough" fish is bought chiefly for the poor. The fish-huckster has no respect for persons, however; one assured me that if Prince Halbert was to stop him in the street to buy a pair of soles of him, he'd as soon sell him a "rough pair as any other man—indeed, I'd take in my own father," he added, "if he wanted to deal with me." Saturday is the worst day of all for fish, for then the poor people have scarcely anything at all to spend; Saturday night, however, the street-seller takes more money than at any other time in the week.

Of the Costermongers on their Country Rounds.

Some costermongers go what they term "country rounds," and they speak of their country expeditions as if they were summer excursions of mere pleasure. They are generally variations from a life growing monotonous. It was computed for me that at present three out of every twenty costermongers "take a turn in the country" at least once a year. Before the prevalence of railways twice as many of these men carried their speculations in fish, fruit, or vegetables to a country mart. Some did so well that they never returned to London. Two for instance, after a country round, settled at Salisbury; they are now regular shopkeepers, "and very respectable, too," was said to me, "for I believe they are both pretty tidy off for money; and are growing rich." The railway communication supplies the local-dealer with fish, vegetables, or any perishable article, with such rapidity and cheapness that the London itinerant's occupation in the towns and villages about the metropolis is now half gone.

In the following statement by a costermonger, the mode of life on a country round, is detailed with something of an assumption of metropolitan superiority.

"It was fine times, sir, ten year back, aye, and five year back, in the country, and it ain't so bad now, if a man's known. It depends on that now far more than it did, and on a man's knowing how to work a village. Why, I can tell you if it wasn't for such as me, there's many a man working on a farm would never taste such a nice thing as a fresh herring—never, sir. It's a feast at a poor country labourer's place, when he springs six-penn'orth of fresh herrings, some for supper, and some in salt for next day. I've taken a shillings'-worth to a farmer's door of a darkish night in a cold autumn, and they'd a warm and good dish for supper, and looked on me as a sort of friend. We carry them relishes from London; and they like London relishes, for we know how to set them off. I've fresh herringed a whole village near Guildford, first thing in the morning. I've drummed round Guildford too, and done well. I've waked up Kingston with herrings. I've been as welcome as anything to the soldiers in the barracks at Brentwood, and Romford, and Maidstone with my fresh herrings; for they're good customers. In two days I've made 2*l*. out of 10*s*. worth of fresh herrings, bought at Billingsgate. I always lodge at a public-house in the country; so do all of us, for the publicans are customers. We are well received at the public-houses; some of us go there for the handiness of the 'lush.' I've done

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pretty well with red herrings in the country. A barrel holds (say) 800. We sell the barrels at *6d.* a piece, and the old women fight after them. They pitch and tar them, to make water-barrels. More of us would settle in the country, only there's no life there."

The most frequented round is from Lambeth to Wandsworth, Kingston, Richmond, Guildford, and Farnham. The costermonger is then "sold out," as he calls it,—he has disposed of his stock, and returns by the way which is most lightly tolled, no matter if the saving of *1d.* or *2d.* entail some miles extra travelling. "It cost me *15d.* for tolls from Guildford for an empty cart and donkey," said a costermonger just up from the country.

Another round is to Croydon, Reigate, and the neighbourhoods; another to Edgeware, Kilburn, Watford, and Barnet; another to Maidstone; but the costermonger, if he starts trading at a distance, as he now does frequently, has his barrow and goods sent down by railway to such towns as Maidstone, so he saves the delay and cost of a donkey-cart. A "mate" sees to the transmission of the goods from London, the owner walking to Maidstone to be in readiness to "work" them immediately he receives them. "The railway's an ease and a saving," I was told; "I've got a stock sent for *2s.*, and a donkey's keep would cost that for the time it would be in travelling. There's 5,000 of us, I think, might get a living in the country, if we stuck to it entirely."

If the country enterprise be a failure, the men sometimes abandon it in "a pet," sell their goods at any loss, and walk home, generally getting drunk as the first step to their return. Some have been known to pawn their barrow on the road for drink. This they call "doing queer."

In summer the costermongers carry plums, peas, new potatoes, cucumbers, and quantities of pickling vegetables, especially green walnuts, to the country. In winter their commodities are onions, fresh and red herrings, and sprats. "I don't know how it is," said one man to me, "but we sell ing-uns and all sorts of fruits and vegetables, cheaper than they can buy them where they're grown; and green walnuts, too, when you'd think they had only to be knocked off a tree."

Another costermonger told me that, in the country, he and his mates attended every dance or other amusement, "if it wasn't too respectable." Another said: "If I'm idle in the country on a Sunday, I never go to church. I never was in a church; I don't know why, for my silk handkerchief's worth more than one of their smock-frocks, and is quite as respectable."

Some costermongers confine their exertions to the fairs and races, and many of them are connected with the gipsies, who are said to be the usual receivers of the stolen handkerchiefs at such places.

Of the Earnings of Costermongers.

The earnings of the costermonger—the next subject of inquiry that, in due order, presents itself—vary as much as in more fashionable callings, for he is greatly dependent on the season, though he may be little affected by London being full or empty.

Concurrent testimony supplied me with the following estimate of their earnings. I cite the average earnings (apart from any charges or drawbacks), of the most staple commodities:

In January and February the costers generally sell fish. In these months the wealthier of the street fishmongers, or those who can always command "money to go to market," enjoy a kind of monopoly. The wintry season renders the supply of fish dearer and less regular, so that the poorer dealers cannot buy "at first hand," and sometimes cannot be supplied at all; while the others monopolise the fish, more or less, and will not sell it to any of the other street-dealers until a profit has been realised out of their own regular customers, and the demand partially satisfied. "Why, I've known one man sell *10l.* worth of fish—most of it mackarel—at his stall in Whitecross-street," said a costermonger to me, "and all in one snowy day, in last January. It was very stormy at that time, and fish came in unregular, and he got a haul. I've known him sell *2l.* worth in an hour, and once *2l. 10s.* worth, for I then helped at his stall. If people has dinner parties they must have fish, and gentlemen's servants came to buy. The *average* earnings however of those that "go rounds" in these months are computed not to exceed *8s.* a week; Monday and Saturday being days of little trade in fish.

"March is dreadful," said an itinerant fish seller to me; "we don't average, I'm satisfied, more nor *4s.* a week. I've had my barrow idle for a week sometimes—at home every day, though it had to be paid for, all the same. At the latter end of March, if it's fine, it's *1s.* a week better, because there's flower roots in—'all a-growing,' you know, sir. And that lasts until April, and we then make above *6s.* a week. I've heard people say when I've cried 'all a-growing' on a fine-ish day, 'Aye, now summer's a-coming.' I wish you may get it, says I to myself; for I've studied the seasons."

In May the costermonger's profit is greater. He vends fresh fish—of which there is a greater supply and a greater demand, and the fine and often not very hot weather insures its freshness—and he sells dried herrings and "roots" (as they are called) such as wall-flowers and stocks. The average earnings then are from *10s.* to *12s.* a week.

In June, new potatoes, peas, and beans tempt the costermongers' customers, and then his earnings rise to *1l.* a week. In addition to this *1l.*, if the season allow, a costermonger at the end of the week, I was told by an experienced hand, "will earn an extra *10s.* if he has anything of a round," "Why, I've cleared thirty shillings myself," he added, "on a Saturday night."

In July cherries are the principal article of traffic, and then the profit varies from *4s.* to *8s.*

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a day, weather permitting, or 80*s.* a week on a low average. On my inquiry if they did not sell fish in that month, the answer was, "No, sir; we pitch fish to the ——; we stick to cherries, strawberries, raspberries, and ripe currants and gooseberries. Potatoes is getting good and cheap then, and so is peas. Many a round's worth a crown every day of the week."

In August, the chief trading is in Orleans plums, green-gages, apples and pears, and in this month the earnings are from 5*s.* to 6*s.* a day. [I may here remark that the costermongers care little to deal in either vegetables or fish, "when the fruit's in," but they usually carry a certain supply of vegetables all the year round, for those customers who require them.]

In September apples are vended, and about 2*s.* 6*d.* a day made.

In October "the weather gets cold," I was told, "and the apples gets fewer, and the day's work's over at four; we then deals most in fish, such as soles; there's a good bit done in oysters, and we may make 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, but it's uncertain."

In November fish and vegetables are the chief commodities, and then from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day is made; but in the latter part of the month an extra 6*d.* or 1*s.* a day may be cleared, as sprats come in and sell well when newly introduced.

In December the trade is still principally in fish, and 12*d.* or 18*d.* a day is the costermonger's earnings. Towards the close of the month he makes rather more, as he deals in new oranges and lemons, holly, ivy, &c., and in Christmas week he makes 3*s.* or 4*s.* a day.

These calculations give an average of about 14*s.* 6*d.* a week, when a man pursues his trade regularly. One man calculated it for me at 15*s.* average the year through—that is supposing, of course, that the larger earnings of the summer are carefully put by to eke out the winter's income. This, I need hardly say, is never done. Prudence is a virtue, which is comparatively unknown to the London costermongers. They have no knowledge of savings'-banks; and to expect that they themselves should keep their money by them untouched for months (even if they had the means of so doing) is simply to expect impossibilities—to look for the continued withstanding of temptation among a class who are unused to the least moral or prudential restraint.

Some costers, I am told, make upwards of 30*s.* a week all the year round; but allowing for cessations in the street-trade, through bad weather, neglect, ill-health, or casualty of any kind, and taking the more prosperous costers with the less successful—the English with the Irish—the men with the women—perhaps 10*s.* a week may be a fair average of the earnings of the entire body the year through.

These earnings, I am assured, were five years ago at least 25 per cent higher; some said they made half as much again: "I can't make it out how it is," said one man, "but I remember that I could go out and sell twelve bushel of fruit in a day, when sugar was dear, and now, when sugar's cheap, I can't sell three bushel on the same round. Perhaps we want thinning."

Such is the state of the working-classes; say all the costers, they have little or no money to spend. "Why, I can assure you," declared one of the parties from whom I obtained much important information, "there's my missis—she sits at the corner of the street with fruit. Eight years ago she would have taken 8*s.* out of that street on a Saturday, and last Saturday week she had one bushel of apples, which cost 1*s.* 6*d.* She was out from ten in the morning till ten at night, and all she took that day was 1*s.* 7½*d.* Go to whoever you will, you will hear much upon the same thing." Another told me, "The costers are often obliged to sell the things for what they gave for them. The people haven't got money to lay out with them—they tell us so; and if they are poor we must be poor too. If we can't get a profit upon what goods we buy with our stock-money, let it be our own or anybody's else, we are compelled to live upon it, and when that's broken into, we must either go to the workhouse or starve. If we go to the workhouse, they'll give us a piece of dry bread, and abuse us worse than dogs." Indeed, the whole course of my narratives shows how the costers generally—though far from universally—complain of the depressed state of their trade. The following statement was given to me by a man who, for twelve years, had been a stall-keeper in a street-market. It shows to what causes he (and I found others express similar opinions) attributes the depression:—

"I never knew things so bad as at present—never! I had six prime cod-fish, weighing 15lbs. to 20lbs. each, yesterday and the day before, and had to take two home with me last night, and lost money on the others—besides all my time, and trouble, and expense. I had 100 herrings, too, that cost 3*s.*—prime quality, and I only sold ten out of them in a whole day. I had two pads of soles, sir, and lost 4*s.*—that is one pad—by them. I took only 4*s.* the first day I laid in this stock, and only 2*s.* 6*d.* the next; I then had to sell for anything I could get, and throw some away. Yet, people say mine's a lazy, easy life. I think the fall off is owing to meat being so cheap, 'cause people buy that rather than my goods, as they think there's more stay in it. I'm afeard things will get worse too." (He then added by way of *sequitur*, though it is difficult to follow the reasoning,) "If this here is free-trade, then to h— with it, I say!"

Of the Capital and Income of the Costermongers.

I shall now pass, from the consideration of the individual earnings, to the income and capital of the entire body. Great pains have been taken to ensure exactitude on these points, and the following calculations are certainly below the mark. In order to be within due bounds, I will take the costermongers, exclusive of their wives and families, at 10,000, whereas it

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would appear that their numbers are upwards of 11,000.

1,000 carts, at 3*l.* 3*s.* each	£3,150
[Donkeys, and occasionally ponies, are harnessed to barrows.]	
5,000 barrows, at 2*l.* each	10,000
1,500 donkeys, at 1*l.* 5*s.* each	1,875
[One intelligent man thought there were 2,000 donkeys, but I account that in excess.]	
200 ponies, at 5*l.* each	1,000
[Some of these ponies, among the very first-class men, are worth 20*l.*: one was sold by a coster for 30*l.*]	
1,700 sets of harness, at 5*s.* each	425
[All calculated as worn and second-hand.]	
4,000 baskets (or shallows), at 1*s.* each	200
3,500 stalls or standings, at 5*s.* each	875
[The stall and barrow men have generally baskets to be used when required.]	
10,000 weights, scales, and measures, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each	1,250
[It is difficult to estimate this item with exactitude. Many averaged the value at 3*s.* 4*d.*]	
Stock-money for 10,000 costers, at 10*s.* each	5,000
Total capital	£24,135

Upwards of 24,000*l.*, then, at the most moderate computation, represents the value of the animals, vehicles, and stock, belonging to the costermongers in the streets of London.

The keep of the donkeys is not here mixed up with their value, and I have elsewhere spoken of it.

The whole course of my narrative shows that the bulk of the property in the street goods, and in the appliances for their sale, is in the hands of usurers as well as of the costers. The following account shows the sum paid yearly by the London costermongers for the hire, rent, or interest (I have heard each word applied) of their barrows, weights, baskets, and stock:

Hire of 3,000 barrows, at 1*s.* 3*d.* a week	£14,000
Hire of 600 weights, scales, &c., at 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for 2, and 6*d.* a week for 10 months	1,020
Hire of 100 baskets, &c., at 6*d.* a week	6,500
Interest on 2,500*l.* stock-money, at 125*l.* per week	6,500
[Calculating at 1*s.* interest weekly for 20*s.*]	
Total paid for hire and interest	£22,550

Concerning the income of the entire body of costermongers in the metropolis, I estimate the earnings of the 10,000 costermongers, taking the average of the year, at 10*s.* weekly. My own observation, the result of my inquiries, confirmed by the opinion of some of the most intelligent of the costermongers, induce me to adopt this amount. It must be remembered, that if some costermongers do make 30*s.* a week through the year, others will not earn a fourth of it, and hence many of the complaints and sufferings of the class. Then there is the draw-back in the sum paid for "hire," "interest," &c., by numbers of these people; so that it appears to me, that if we assume the income of the entire body—including Irish and English—to be 15*s.* a week per head in the summer, and 5*s.* a week each in the winter, as the two extremes, or a mean of 10*s.* a week all the year through, we shall not be far out either way. The aggregate earnings of the London costermongers, at this rate, are 5,000*l.* per week, or 260,000*l.* yearly. Reckoning that 30,000 individuals have to be supported out of this sum, it gives an average of 3*s.* 4*d.* a week per head.

But it is important to ascertain not only the earnings or aggregate amount of profit made by the London costermongers in the course of the year, but likewise their receipts, or aggregate amount of "takings," and thus to arrive at the gross sum of money annually laid out by the poorer classes of the metropolis in the matter of fish, fruit, and vegetables alone. Assuming that the average profits of the costermongers are at the rate of 25 per cent. (and this, I am satisfied, is a high estimate—for we should remember, that though cent. per cent. may be frequently obtained, still their "goods," being of a "perishable" nature, are as frequently lost or sold off at a "tremendous sacrifice"); assuming then, I say, that the *average* profits of the entire 10,000 individuals are 25 per cent on the cost-price of their stock, and that the aggregate amount of their profits or earnings is upwards of 260,000*l.*, it follows that the gross sum of money laid out with the London costers in the course of the twelvemonth is between 1,250,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* sterling—a sum so enormous as almost to make us believe that the tales of individual want are matters of pure fiction. Large, however, as the amount appears in the mass, still, if distributed among the families of the working men and the poorer class of Londoners, it will be found that it allows but the merest pittance per head per week for the consumption of those articles, which may be fairly said to constitute the staple commodities of the dinners and "desserts!" of the poor.

Of the Providence and Improvidence of Costermongers.

The costermongers, like all wandering tribes, have generally no foresight; only an exceptional few are provident—and these are mostly the more intelligent of the class—though some of the very ignorant do occasionally save. The providence of the more intelligent costermonger enables him in some few cases to become "a settled man," as I have before pointed out. He perhaps gets to be the proprietor of a coal-shed, with a greengrocery and potato business attached to it; and with the usual trade in oysters and ginger-beer. He may too, sometimes, have a sum of money in the savings'-bank, or he may invest it in the purchase of a lease of the premises he occupies, or expend it in furnishing the rooms of his house to let them out to single-men lodgers; or he may become an usurer, and lend out his

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money to his less provident brethren at 1040*l.* per cent. per annum; or he may purchase largely at the markets, and engage youths to sell his surplus stock at half profits.

The provident costermonger, who has thus "got on in the world," is rarely speculative. He can hardly be induced to become a member of a "building" or "freehold land" society, for instance. He has been accustomed to an almost *immediate* return for his outlays, and distrusts any remote or contingent profit. A regular costermonger—or any one who has been a regular costermonger, in whatever trade he may be afterwards engaged—generally dies intestate, let his property be what it may; but there is seldom any dispute as to the disposition of his effects: the widow takes possession of them, as a matter of course. If there be grown-up children, they may be estranged from home, and not trouble their heads about the matter; or, if not estranged, an amicable arrangement is usually come to. The costermongers' dread of all courts of law, or of anything connected with the law, is only second to their hatred of the police.

The more ignorant costermonger, on the other hand, if he be of a saving turn, and have no great passion for strong drink or gaming, is often afraid to resort to the simple modes of investment which I have mentioned. He will rather keep money in his pocket; for, though it does not fructify there, at least it is safe. But this is only when provided with a donkey or pony "what suits;" when not so provided, he will "suit himself" forthwith. If, however, he have saved a little money, and have a craving after gambling or amusements, he is sure at last to squander it that way. Such a man, without any craving for drink or gaming, will often continue to pay usuriously for the hire of his barrow, not suspecting that he is purchasing it over and over and over again, in his weekly payments. To suggest to him that he might place his money in a bank, is to satisfy him that he would be "had" in some way or other, as he believes all banks and public institutions to be connected with government, and the taxes, and the police. Were any one to advise a man of this class—and it must be remembered that I am speaking of the *ignorant* costers—to invest a spare 50*l.* (supposing he possessed it) in the "three per cents.," it would but provoke a snappish remark that he knew nothing about them, and would have nothing to do with them; for he would be satisfied that there was "some cheatery at the bottom." If he could be made to understand what is meant by 3*l.* per centum per annum, he would be sure to be indignant at the robbery of giving only 7½*d.* for the use of 1*l.* for a whole year!

I may state, in conclusion, that a costermonger of the class I have been describing, mostly objects to give change for a five-pound note; he will sooner give credit—when he knows "the party" —than change, even if he have it. If, however, he feels compelled, rather than offend a regular customer, to take the note, he will not rest until he has obtained sovereigns for it at a neighbouring innkeeper's, or from some tradesman to whom he is known. "Sovereigns," said one man, and not a very ignorant man, to me, "is something to lay hold on; a note ain't."

Moreover, should one of the more ignorant, having tastes for the beer-shop, &c., meet with "a great haul," or save 5*l.* by some continuous industry (which he will most likely set down as "luck"), he will spend it idly or recklessly in dissipation and amusement, regardless of the coming winter, whatever he may have suffered during the past. Nor, though they know, from the bitterest experience, that their earnings in the winter are not half those of the rest of the year, and that they are incapacitated from pursuing their trade in bad weather, do they endeavour to make the extra gains of their best time mitigate the want of the worst.

Of the Costermongers in Bad Weather and during the Cholera.

"Three wet days," I was told by a clergyman, who is now engaged in selling stenographic cards in the streets, "will bring the greater part of 30,000 street-people to the brink of starvation." This statement, terrible as it is, is not exaggerated. The average number of wet days every year in London is, according to the records of the Royal Society, 161—that is to say, rain falls in the metropolis more than three days in each week, and very nearly every other day throughout the year. How precarious a means of living then must street-selling be!

When a costermonger cannot pursue his out-door labour, he leaves it to the women and children to "work the public-houses," while he spends his time in the beer-shop. Here he gambles away his stock-money oft enough, "if the cards or the luck runs again him;" or else he has to dip into his stock-money to support himself and his family. He must then borrow fresh capital at any rate of interest to begin again, and he begins on a small scale. If it be in the cheap and busy seasons, he may buy a pad of soles for 2*s.* 6*d.*, and clear 5*s.* on them, and that "sets him a-going again, and then he gets his silk handkerchief out of pawn, and goes as usual to market."

The sufferings of the costermongers during the prevalence of the cholera in 1849, were intense. Their customers generally relinquished the consumption of potatoes, greens, fruit, and fish; indeed, of almost every article on the consumption of which the costermongers depend for his daily bread. Many were driven to apply to the parish; "many had relief and many hadn't," I was told. Two young men, within the knowledge of one of my informants, became professional thieves, after enduring much destitution. It does not appear that the costermongers manifested any personal dread of the visitation of the cholera, or thought that their lives were imperilled: "We weren't a bit afraid," said one of them, "and, perhaps, that

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was the reason so few costers died of the cholera. I knew them all in Lambeth, I think, and I knew only one die of it, and he drank hard. Poor Waxy! he was a good fellow enough, and was well known in the Cut. But it was a terrible time for us, sir. It seems to me now like a shocking dream. Fish I could'nt sell a bit of; the people had a perfect dread of it—all but the poor Irish, and there was no making a crust out of them. *They* had no dread of fish, however; indeed, they reckon it a religious sort of living, living on fish,—but they *will* have it dirt cheap. We were in terrible distress all that time."

Of the Costermongers' Raffles.

In their relief of the sick, if relief it is to be called, the costermongers resort to an exciting means; something is raffled, and the proceeds given to the sufferer. This mode is common to other working-classes; it partakes of the excitement of gambling, and is encouraged by the landlords of the houses to which the people resort. The landlord displays the terms of the raffle in his bar a few days before the occurrence, which is always in the evening. The raffle is not confined to the sick, but when any one of the class is in distress—that is to say, without stock-money, and unable to borrow it, —a raffle for some article of his is called at a public-house in the neighbourhood. Cards are printed, and distributed among his mates. The article, let it be whatever it may—perhaps a handkerchief—is put up at 6*d.* a member, and from twenty to forty members are got, according as the man is liked by his "mates," or as he has assisted others similarly situated. The paper of every raffle is kept by the party calling it, and before he puts his name down to a raffle for another party, he refers to the list of subscribers to *his* raffle, in order to see if the person ever assisted him. Raffles are very "critical things, the pint pots fly about wonderful sometimes"—to use the words of one of my informants. The party calling the raffle is expected to take the chair, if he can write down the subscribers' names. One who had been chairman at one of these meetings assured me that on a particular occasion, having called a "general dealer" to order, the party very nearly split his head open with a quart measure. If the hucksters know that the person calling the raffle is "down," and that it is necessity that has made him call it, they will not allow the property put up to be thrown for. "If you was to go to the raffle to-night, sir," said one of them to me, many months ago, before I became known to the class, "they'd say to one another directly you come in, 'Who's this here swell? What's he want?' And they'd think you were a 'cad,' or else a spy, come from the police. But they'd treat you civilly, I'm sure. Some very likely would fancy you was a fast kind of a gentleman, come there for a lark. But you need have no fear, though the pint pots *does* fly about sometimes."

Of the Markets and Trade Rights of the Costermongers, and of the Laws Affecting Them.

The next point of consideration is what are the legal regulations under which the several descriptions of hawkers and pedlars are allowed to pursue their occupations.

The laws concerning hawkers and pedlars, (50 Geo. III., c. 41, and 6 Geo. IV., c. 80,) treat of them as identical callings. The "hawker," however, is, strictly speaking, one who sells wares by *crying* them in the streets of towns, while the *pedlar* travels *on foot* through the country with his wares, not publicly proclaiming them, but visiting the houses on his way to solicit private custom. Until the commencement of the present century—before the increased facilities for conveyance—the pedlars were a numerous body in the country. The majority of them were Scotchmen and some amassed considerable wealth. Railways, however, have now reduced the numbers to insignificance.

Hawkers and pedlars are required to pay 4*l.* yearly for a license, and an additional 4*l.* for every horse or ass employed in the conveyance of wares. The hawking or exposing for sale of fish, fruit, or victuals, does not require a license; and further, it is lawful for any one "being the maker of any home manufacture," to expose it for sale in any fair or market, without a warrant. Neither does anything in either of the two acts in question prohibit "any tinker, cooper, glazier, plumber, harness-mender, or other person, from going about and carrying the materials proper to their business."

The right of the costermongers, then, to "hawk" their wares through the streets is plainly inferred by the above acts; that is to say, nothing in them extends to prohibit persons "going about," unlicensed, and at their own discretion, and selling fish, vegetables, fruit, or provisions generally.

The law acknowledges none of the street "markets." These congregatings are, indeed, in antagonism to the municipal laws of London, which provide that no market, or public place where provisions are sold, shall be held within seven miles of the city. The law, though it permits butchers and other provisionmongers to hire stalls and standings in the flesh and other markets, recognised by custom or usage, gives no such permission as to street-trading.

The right to sell provisions from stands in the streets of the metropolis, it appears, is merely permissive. The regulation observed is this: where the costermongers or other street-dealers have been in the habit of standing to sell their goods, they are not to be disturbed by the police unless on complaint of an adjacent shopkeeper or other inhabitant. If such a person shows that the costermonger, whose stand is near his premises, is by his improper conduct a nuisance, or that, by his clamour or any peculiarity in his mode of business, he causes a crowd to gather

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and obstruct the thoroughfare, the policeman's duty is to remove him. If the complaint from the inhabitants against the street-sellers be at all general the policemen of the beat report it to the authorities, taking no steps until they receive instructions.

It is somewhat anomalous, however, that the law now recognises—inferentially it is true—the right of costermongers to carry about their goods for sale. Formerly the stands were sometimes tolerated, but not the itinerancy.

The enactments of the Common-council from the time of Elizabeth are stringent against itinerant traders of all descriptions, but stringent to no purpose of prevention. In 1607, a Common-council enactment sets forth, that "many People of badd and lewde Condicon daylie resorte from the most Parte of this Realme to the said Cyttie, Suburbes, and Places adjoininge, procuringe themselves small Habytacons, namely, one Chamber-Roome for a poore Forreynor and his Familye, in a small Cottage with some other as poore as himself in the Cyttie, Suburbes, or Places adjacente, to the great Increase and Pestringe of this Cyttie with poore People; many of them proovinge Shifters, lyvinge by Cozeninge, Stealinge, and Imbeazellinge of Mens Gooddes as Opportunitye may serve them, remoovinge from Place to Place accordinglye; many Tymes runninge away, forsakinge their Wives and Children, leavinge them to the Charge of the said Cyttie, and the Hospitalles of the same."

It was towards this class of men who, by their resort to the capital, recruited the numbers of the street-sellers and public porters and others that the jealousy of the Corporation was directed. The city shop-keepers, three centuries ago, complained vehemently and continuously of the injuries inflicted on their trade by itinerant dealers, complaints which led to bootless enactments. In Elizabeth's reign the Court of Common Council declared that the streets of the city should be used, as in ancient times, for the common highway, and not for the traffic of hucksters, pedlars, and hagglers. But this traffic increased, and in 1632 another enactment was accounted necessary. Oyster-wives, herb-wives, tripe-wives, and all such "unruly people," were threatened with the full pains and penalties of the outraged law if they persevered in the prosecution of their callings, which are stigmatised as "a way whereby to live a more easie life than by labour." In 1694 the street-sellers were menaced with the punishments then deemed suitable for arrant rogues and sturdy beggars—whipping; and that remedy to be applied alike to males and females!

The tenor of these Vagrant Laws not being generally known, I here transcribe them, as another proof of the "wisdom" and mercy of our "ancestors" in "the good old times!"

In the year 1530 the English Parliament enacted, that, while the impotent poor should receive licenses from the justices of the peace to beg within certain limits, all men and *women*, "being whole and mighty in body, and able to labour," if found vagrant and unable to give an account as to how they obtained their living, should be apprehended by the constables, tied to the tail of a cart *naked*, and beaten with whips through the nearest market-town, or hamlet, "till their bodies be bloody by reason of such whipping!" Five years afterwards it was added, that, if the individual had been once already whipped, he or she should not only be whipped again, but "also shall have the upper part of the gristle of his ear clean cut off, so as it may appear for a perpetual token hereafter that he hath been a contemner of the good order of the commonwealth." And finally, in 1562, it was directed that any beggar convicted of being a vagabond should, after being grievously whipped, be burnt through the gristle of the right ear "with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about," unless some person should agree to take him as a servant—of course without wages—for a year; then, that if he twice ran away from such master, he should be adjudged a felon; and that if he ran away a third time, he should "suffer pains of death and loss of land and goods as a felon, without benefit of clergy or sanctuary."

The only acts now in force which regulate the government of the streets, so to speak, are those best known as Michael Angelo Taylor's Act, and the 2 & 3 Vic., best known as the Police Act.

Of the Removals of Costermongers from the Streets.

Such are the laws concerning street trading: let us now see the effect of them.

Within these three months, or little more, there have been many removals of the costermongers from their customary standings in the streets. This, as I have stated, is never done, unless the shopkeepers represent to the police that the costermongers are an injury and a nuisance to them in the prosecution of their respective trades. The costermongers, for the most part, know nothing of the representation of the shopkeepers, so that perhaps the first intimation that they must "quit" comes from the policemen, who thus incur the full odium of the measure, the majority of the street people esteeming it a mere arbitrary act on the part of the members of the force.

The first removal, recently, took place in Leather-lane, Holborn, between three and four months back. It was effected in consequence of representations from the shopkeepers of the neighbourhood. But the removal was of a brief continuance. "Leather-lane," I was told, "looked like a desert compared to what it was. People that had lived there for years hardly knew their own street; and those that had complained, might twiddle their thumbs in their shops for want of something better to do."

The reason, or one reason, why the shopkeepers' trade is co-existent with that of the street-sellers was explained to me in this way

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by a tradesman perfectly familiar with the subject. "The poorer women, the wives of mechanics or small tradesmen, who have to prepare dinners for their husbands, like, as they call it, 'to make one errand do.' If the wife buys fish or vegetables in the street, as is generally done, she will, at the same time, buy her piece of bacon or cheese at the cheesemonger's, her small quantity of tea and sugar at the grocer's, her fire-wood at the oilman's, or her pound of beef or liver at the butcher's. In all the street-markets there are plenty of such tradesmen, supplying necessaries not vended in the streets, and so one errand is sufficient to provide for the wants of the family. Such customers—that is, such as have been used to buy in the streets—will *not* be driven to buy at the shops. They can't be persuaded that they can buy as cheap at the shops; and besides they are apt to think shopkeepers are rich and street-sellers poor, and that they may as well encourage the poor. So if one street-market is abolished, they'll go to another, or buy of the itinerant costermongers, and they'll get their bits of groceries and the like at the shops in the neighbourhood of the other street-market, even if they have a walk for it; and thus everybody's injured by removing markets, except a few, and they are those at the nearest markets that's not disturbed."

In Leather-lane the shopkeepers speedily retrieved what many soon came to consider the false step (as regards their interests) which they had taken, and in a fortnight or so, they managed, by further representations to the police authorities, and by agreement with the street-sellers, that the street-market people should return. In little more than a fortnight from that time, Leather-lane, Holborn, resumed its wonted busy aspect.

In Lambeth the case at present is different. The men, women, and children, between two and three months back, were all driven by the police from their standings. These removals were made, I am assured, in consequence of representations to the police from the parishioners, not of Lambeth, but of the adjoining parish of Christchurch, Blackfriars-road, who described the market as an injury and a hindrance to their business. The costermongers, etc., were consequently driven from the spot.

A highly respectable tradesman in "the Cut" told me, that he and all his brother shopkeepers had found their receipts diminished a quarter, or an eighth at least, by the removal; and as in all populous neighbourhoods profits were small, this falling off was a very serious matter to them.

In "the Cut" and its immediate neighbourhood, are tradesmen who supply street-dealers with the articles they trade in,—such as cheap stationery, laces, children's shoes, braces, and toys. They, of course, have been seriously affected by the removal; but the pinch has fallen sorest upon the street-sellers themselves. These people depend a good deal one upon another, as they make mutual purchases; now, as they have neither stalls nor means, such a source of profit is abolished.

"It is hard on such as me," said a fruit-seller to me, "to be driven away, for nothing that I've done wrong as I knows of, and not let me make a living, as I've been brought up to. I can't get no work at any of the markets. I've tried Billingsgate and the Borough hard, but there is so many poor men trying for a crust, they're fit to knock a new-comer's head off, though if they did, it wouldn't be much matter. I had 9*s.* 6*d.* stock-money, and I sold the apples and a few pears I had for 3*s.* 9*d.*, and that 13*s.* 3*d.* I've been spinning out since I lost my pitch. But it's done now, and I haven't had two meals a day for a week and more—and them not to call meals—only bread and coffee, or bread and a drink of beer. I tried to get a round of customers, but all the rounds was full, and I'm a very bad walker, and a weak man too. My wife's gone to try the country—I don't know where she is now. I suppose I shall lose my lodging this week, and then I must see what 'the great house' will say to me. Perhaps they'll give me nothing, but take me in, and that's hard on a man as don't want to be a pauper."

Another man told me that he now paid 3*s.* a week for privilege to stand with two stalls on a space opposite the entrance into the National Baths, New Cut; and that he and his wife, who had stood for eleven years in the neighbourhood, without a complaint against them, could hardly get a crust.

One man, with a fruit-stall, assured me that nine months ago he would not have taken 20*l.* for his pitch, and now he was a "regular bankrupt." I asked a girl, who stood beside the kerb with her load in front strapped round her loins, whether her tray was heavy to carry. "After eight hours at it," she answered, "it swaggers me, like drink." The person whom I was with brought to me two girls, who, he informed me, had been forced to go upon the streets to gain a living. Their stall on the Saturday night used to have 4*l.* worth of stock; but trade had grown so bad since the New Police order, that after living on their wares, they had taken to prostitution for a living, rather than go to the "house." The ground in front of the shops has been bought up by the costermongers at any price. Many now give the tradesmen six shillings a week for a stand, and one man pays as much as eight for the right of pitching in front.

The applications for parochial relief, in consequence of these removals, have been fewer than was anticipated. In Lambeth parish, however, about thirty families have been relieved, at a cost of 50*l.* Strange to say, a quarter, or rather more, of the very applicants for relief had been furnished by the parish with money to start the trade, their expulsion from which had driven them to pauperism.

It consequently becomes a question for serious consideration, whether any particular body of householders should, for their own interest, convenience, or pleasure, have it in their power to

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deprive so many poor people of their only means of livelihood, and so either force the rate-payers to keep them as paupers, or else drive the women, who object to the imprisonment of the Union, to prostitution, and the men to theft—especially when the very occupation which they are not allowed to pursue, not only does no injury to the neighbourhood, but is, on the contrary, the means of attracting considerable custom to the shops in the locality, and has, moreover, been provided for them by the parish authorities as a means of enabling them to get a living for themselves.

Of the Tricks of Costermongers.

I shall now treat of the tricks of trade practised by the London costermongers. Of these the costers speak with as little reserve and as little shame as a fine gentleman of his peccadilloes. "I've boiled lots of oranges," chuckled one man, "and sold them to Irish hawkers, as wasn't wide awake, for stunning big uns. The boiling swells the oranges and so makes 'em look finer ones, but it spoils them, for it takes out the juice. People can't find that out though until it's too late. I boiled the oranges only a few minutes, and three or four dozen at a time." Oranges thus prepared will not keep, and any unfortunate Irishwoman, tricked as were my informant's customers, is astonished to find her stock of oranges turn dark-coloured and worthless in forty-eight hours. The fruit is "cooked" in this way for Saturday night and Sunday sale —times at which the demand is the briskest. Some prick the oranges and express the juice, which they sell to the British wine-makers.

Apples cannot be dealt with like oranges, but they are mixed. A cheap red-skinned fruit, known to costers as "gawfs," is rubbed hard, to look bright and feel soft, and is mixed with apples of a superior description. "Gawfs are sweet and sour at once," I was told, "and fit for nothing but mixing." Some foreign apples, from Holland and Belgium, were bought very cheap last March, at no more than 16*d.* a bushel, and on a fine morning as many as fifty boys might be seen rubbing these apples, in Hooper-street, Lambeth. "I've made a crown out of a bushel of 'em on a fine day," said one sharp youth. The larger apples are rubbed sometimes with a piece of woollen cloth, or on the coat skirt, if that appendage form part of the dress of the person applying the friction, but most frequently they are rolled in the palms of the hand. The smaller apples are thrown to and fro in a sack, a lad holding each end. "I wish I knew how the shopkeepers manages *their* fruit," said one youth to me; "I should like to be up to some of their moves; they do manage their things so plummy."

Cherries are capital for mixing, I was assured by practical men. They purchase three sieves of indifferent Dutch, and one sieve of good English cherries, spread the English fruit over the inferior quality, and sell them as the best. Strawberry pottles are often half cabbage leaves, a few tempting strawberries being displayed on the top of the pottle. "Topping up," said a fruit dealer to me, "is the principal thing, and we are perfectly justified in it. You ask any coster that knows the world, and he'll tell you that all the salesmen in the markets tops up. It's only making the best of it." Filberts they bake to make them look brown and ripe. Prunes they boil to give them a plumper and finer appearance. The latter trick, however, is not unusual in the shops.

The more honest costermongers will throw away fish when it is unfit for consumption, less scrupulous dealers, however, only throw away what is utterly unsaleable; but none of them fling away the dead eels, though their prejudice against such dead fish prevents their indulging in eel-pies. The dead eels are mixed with the living, often in the proportion of 20 lb. dead to 5 lb. alive, equal quantities of each being accounted very fair dealing. "And after all," said a street fish dealer to me, "I don't know why dead eels should be objected to; the aristocrats don't object to them. Nearly all fish is dead before it's cooked, and why not eels? Why not eat them when they're sweet, if they're ever so dead, just as you eat fresh herrings? I believe it's only among the poor and among our chaps, that there's this prejudice. Eels die quickly if they're exposed to the sun."

Herrings are made to look fresh and bright by candle-light, by the lights being so disposed "as to give them," I was told, "a good reflection. Why I can make them look splendid; quite a pictur. I can do the same with mackerel, but not so prime as herrings."

There are many other tricks of a similar kind detailed in the course of my narrative. We should remember, however, that *shopkeepers* are not immaculate in this respect.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF FISH.

Of the Kind and Quantities of Fish sold by the London Costermongers.

Having now given the reader a general view of the numbers, characters, habits, tastes, amusements, language, opinions, earnings, and vicissitudes of the London costermongers,—having described their usual style of dress, diet, homes, conveyances, and street-markets,—having explained where their donkeys are bought, or the terms on which they borrow them, their barrows, their stock-money, and occasionally their stock itself,—having shown their ordinary mode of dealing, either in person or by deputy,

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either at half-profits or by means of boys,—where they go and how they manage on their rounds in town and in the country,—what are the laws affecting them, as well as the operation of those laws upon the rest of the community,—having done all this by way of giving the reader a general knowledge of the street-sellers of fish, fruit, and vegetables,—I now proceed to treat more particularly of each of these classes *seriatim*. Beginning with the street-fishmongers, I shall describe, in due order, the season when, the market where, and the classes of people by whom, the wet-fish, the dry-fish, and the shell-fish are severally sold and purchased in the London streets, together with all other concomitant circumstances.

The facilities of railway conveyance, by means of which fish can be sent from the coast to the capital with much greater rapidity, and therefore be received much fresher than was formerly the case, have brought large supplies to London from places that before contributed no quantity to the market, and so induced, as I heard in all quarters at Billingsgate, an extraordinary lowness of price in this species of diet. This cheap food, through the agency of the costermongers, is conveyed to every poor man's door, both in the thickly-crowded streets where the poor reside—a family at least in a room—in the vicinity of Drury-lane and of Whitechapel, in Westminster, Bethnal-green, and St. Giles's, and through the long miles of the suburbs. For all low-priced fish the poor are the costermongers' best customers, and a fish diet seems becoming almost as common among the ill-paid classes of London, as is a potato diet among the peasants of Ireland. Indeed, now, the fish season of the poor never, or rarely, knows an interruption. If fresh herrings are not in the market, there are sprats; and if not sprats, there are soles, or whitings, or mackarel, or plaice.

The rooms of the very neediest of our needy metropolitan population, always smell of fish; most frequently of herrings. So much so, indeed, that to those who, like myself, have been in the habit of visiting their dwellings, the smell of herrings, even in comfortable homes, savours from association, so strongly of squalor and wretchedness, as to be often most oppressive. The volatile oil of the fish seems to hang about the walls and beams of the rooms for ever. Those who have experienced the smell of fish only in a well-ordered kitchen, can form no adequate notion of this stench, in perhaps a dilapidated and ill-drained house, and in a rarely-cleaned room; and I have many a time heard both husband and wife—one couple especially, who were "sweating" for a gorgeous clothes' emporium—say that they had not time to be clean.

The costermonger supplies the poor with every kind of fish, for he deals, usually, in every kind when it is cheap. Some confine their dealings to such things as shrimps, or periwinkles, but the adhering to one particular article is the exception and not the rule; while shrimps, lobsters, &c., are rarely bought by the very poor. Of the entire quantity of fish sent to Billingsgate-market, the costermongers, stationary and itinerant, may be said to sell one-third, taking one kind with another.

The fish sent to London is known to Billingsgate salesmen as "red" and "white" fish. The red fish is, as regards the metropolitan mart, confined to the salmon. The other descriptions are known as "white." The costermongers classify the fish they vend as "wet" and "dry." All fresh fish is "wet;" all cured or salted fish, "dry." The fish which is sold "pickled," is known by that appellation, but its street sale is insignificant. The principal fish-staple, so to speak of the street-fishmonger, is soles, which are in supply all, or nearly all, the year. The next are herrings, mackarel, whitings, Dutch eels, and plaice. The trade in plaice and sprats is almost entirely in the hands of the costermongers; their sale of shrimps is nearer a half than a third of the entire quantity sent to Billingsgate; but their purchase of cod, or of the best lobsters, or crabs, is far below a third. The costermonger rarely buys turbot, or brill, or even salmon, unless he can retail it at 6*d.* the pound. When it is at that price, a street salmon-seller told me that the eagerness to buy it was extreme. He had known persons, who appeared to him to be very poor, buy a pound of salmon, "just for a treat once in a way." His best, or rather readiest customers — for at 6*d.* a pound all classes of the community may be said to be his purchasers—were the shopkeepers of the busier parts, and the occupants of the smaller private houses of the suburbs. During the past year salmon was scarce and dear, and the costermongers bought, comparatively, none of it. In a tolerably cheap season they do not sell more than from a fifteenth to a twentieth of the quantity received at Billingsgate.

In order to be able to arrive at the quantity or weight of the several kinds of fish sold by the costermongers in the streets of London, it is necessary that we should know the entire amount sent to Billingsgate-market, for it is only by estimating the proportion which the street-sale bears to the whole, that we can attain even an approximation to the truth. The following Table gives the results of certain information collected by myself for the first time, I believe, in this country. The facts, as well as the estimated proportions of each kind of fish sold by the costermongers, have been furnished me by the most eminent of the Billingsgate salesmen—gentlemen to whom I am under many obligations for their kindness, consideration, and assistance, at all times and seasons.

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TABLE, SHOWING THE QUANTITY, WEIGHT, OR MEASURE OF THE FOLLOWING KINDS OF FISH SOLD IN BILLINGSGATE MARKET IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR:

Description of Fish.	Number of Fish.	Weight or Measure of Fish.	Proportion sold by Costermongers.
Wet Fish.		lbs.	
Salmon and Salmon Trout (29,000 boxes, 14 fish per box)	406,000	3,480,000	One-twentieth.
Live Cod (averaging 10 lbs. each)	400,000	4,000,000	One-fourth.
Soles (averaging ¼ lb. each)	97,520,000	26,880,000	One-fifteenth.
Whiting (averaging 6 oz. each)	17,920,000	6,720,000	One-fourth.
Haddock (averaging 2 lbs. each)	2,470,000	5,040,000	One-tenth.
Plaice (averaging 1 lb. each)	33,600,000	33,600,000	Seven-eighths.
Mackarel (averaging 1 lb. each)	23,520,000	23,520,000	Two-thirds.
Fresh Herrings (250,000 bars., 700 fish per bar.)	175,000,000	42,000,000	One-half.
„ (in bulk)	1,050,000,000	252,000,000	Three-fourths.
Sprats	. . . . .	4,000,000	Three-fourths.
Eels from Holland (6 fish per 1 lb.)	9,797,760	1,505,280	One-fourth.
„ England and Ireland (6 fish per 1 lb.)		127,680	One-fourth.
Flounders (7,200 quarterns, 36 fish per quartern)	259,200	43,200	All.
Dabs (7,500 quarterns, 36 fish per quartern)	270,000	48,750	All.
Dry Fish.			
Barrelled Cod (15,000 barrels, 50 fish per barrel)	750,000	4,200,000	One-eighth.
Dried Salt Cod (5 lbs. each)	1,600,000	8,000,000	One-tenth.
Smoked Haddock (65,000 bars., 300 fish per bar.)	19,500,000	10,920,000	One-eighth.
Bloaters (265,000 baskets, 150 fish per basket)	147,000,000	10,600,000	One-fourth.
Red Herrings (100,000 bars., 500 fish per bar.)	50,000,000	14,000,000	One-half.
Dried Sprats (9,600 large bundles, 30 fish per bundle)*	288,000	96,000	None.
Shell Fish.			
Oysters (309,935 bars., 1,600 fish per bar.)	495,896,000	. . . . .	One-fourth.
Lobsters (averaging 1 lb. each fish)	1,200,000	1,200,000	One-twentieth.
Crabs (averaging 1 lb. each fish)	600,000	600,000	One-twelfth.
Shrimps (324 to the pint)	498,428,648	192,295 gals.	One-half.
Whelks (224 to the ½ bus.)	4,943,200	24,300 ½ bus.†	All.
Mussels (1000 to the ½ bus.)	50,400,000	50,400 „	Two-thirds.
Cockles (2,000 to the ½ bus.)	67,392,000	32,400 „	Three-fourths.
Periwinkles (4,000 to the ½ bus.)	304,000,000	76,000 „	Three-fourths.

* Costermongers dry their own sprats.
† The half-bushel measure at Billingsgate is double quantity—or, more correctly, a bushel.

Of the Costermongers' Fish Season.

The season for the street-fishmongers begins about October and ends in May.

In October, or a month or two earlier, may-be, they generally deal in fresh herrings, the supply of which lasts up to about the middle or end of November. This is about the best season. The herrings are sold to the poor, upon an average, at twelve a groat, or from 3*s.* to 4*s.* the hundred. After or during November, the sprat and plaice season begins. The regular street-fishmonger, however, seldom deals in sprats. He "works" these only when there is no other fish to be got. He generally considers this trade beneath him, and more fit for women than men. Those costers who do sell them dispose of them now by weight at the rate of 1*d.* to 2*d.* the pound—a bushel averaging from 40 to 50 pounds. The plaice season continues to the first or second week in May. During May the casualty season is on, and there is little fish certain from that time till salmon comes in, and this is about the end of the month. The salmon season lasts till about the middle of July. The selling of salmon is a bad trade in the poor districts, but a very good one in the better streets or the suburbs. At this work the street-fishmonger will sometimes earn on a fine day from 5*s.* to 12*s.* The losses, however, are very great in this article if the weather prove bad. If kept at all "over" it loses its colour, and turns to a pale red, which is seen immediately the knife goes into the fish. While I was obtaining this information some months back, a man went past the window of the house in which I was seated, with a barrow drawn by a donkey. He was crying, "Fresh cod, oh! 1½*d.* a pound, cod alive, oh!" My informant called me to the

window, saying, "Now, here is what we call rough cod." He told me it was three days old. He thought it was eatable *then*, he said. The eyes were dull and heavy and sunken, and the limp tails of the fish dangled over the ends of the barrow. He said it was a hanging market that day—that is to say, things had been dear, and the costers couldn't pay the price for them. He should fancy, he told me, the man had paid for the fish from 9*d.* to 1*s.* each, which was at the rate of 1*d.* per pound. He was calling them at 1½*d.* He would not take less than this until he had "got his own money in;" and then, probably, if he had one or two of the fish left, he would put up with 1*d.* per pound. The weight he was "working" was 12 oz. to the pound. My informant assured me he knew this, because he had borrowed *his* 12 oz. pound weight that morning. This, with the draught of 2 oz. in the weighing-machine, and the ounce gained by placing the fish at the end of the pan, would bring the actual weight given to 9 oz. per pound, and probably, he said the man had even a lighter pound weight in his barrow ready for a "scaly" customer.

After the street-fishmonger has done his morning's work, he sometimes goes out with his tub of pickled salmon on a barrow or stall, and sells it in saucers at 1*d.* each, or by the piece. This he calls as "fine Newcastle salmon." There is generally a great sale for this at the races; and if country-people begin with a pennyworth they end with a shillingsworth—a pennyworth, the costers say, makes a fool of the mouth. If they have any on hand, and a little stale, at the end of the week, they sell it at the public-houses to the "Lushingtons," and to them, with plenty of vinegar, it goes down sweet. It is generally bought for 7*s.* a kit, a little bit "pricked;" but, if good, the price is from 12*s.* to 18*s.* "We're in no ways particular to that," said one candid coster to me. "We don't have the eating on it ourselves, and people a'n't always got their taste, especially when they have been drinking, and we sell a great deal to parties in that way. We think it no sin to cheat 'em of 1*d.* while the publicans takes 1*s.*"

Towards the middle of June the street-fishmonger looks for mackerel, and he is generally employed in selling this fish up to the end of July. After July the Billingsgate season is said to be finished. From this time to the middle of October, when the herrings return, he is mostly engaged selling dried haddocks and red herrings, and other "cas'alty fish that may come across him." Many of the street-fishmongers object to deal in periwinkles, or stewed mussels, or boiled whelks, because, being accustomed to take their money in sixpences at a time, they do not like, they say, to traffic in halfpennyworths. The dealers in these articles are generally looked upon as an inferior class.

There are, during the day, two periods for the sale of street-fish—the one (the morning trade) beginning about ten, and lasting till one in the day—and the other (the night trade) lasting from six in the evening up to ten at night. What fish is left in the forenoon is generally disposed of cheap at night. That sold at the latter time is generally used by the working-class for supper, or kept by them with a little salt in a cool place for the next day's dinner, if it will last as long. Several articles are sold by the street-fishmonger chiefly by night. These are oysters, lobsters, pickled salmon, stewed mussels, and the like. The reason why the latter articles sell better by night is, my informant says, "Because people are lofty-minded, and don't like to be seen eating on 'em in the street in the day-time." Shrimps and winkles are the staple commodities of the afternoon trade, which lasts from three to half-past five in the evening. These articles are generally bought by the working-classes for their tea.

Billingsgate.

To see this market in its busiest costermonger time, the visitor should be there about seven o'clock on a Friday morning. The marke opens at four, but for the first two or three hours, it is attended solely by the regular fishmongers and "bummarees" who have the pick of the best there. As soon as these are gone, the costers' sale begins.

Many of the costers that usually deal in vegetables, buy a little fish on the Friday. It is the fast day of the Irish, and the mechanics' wives run short of money at the end of the week, and so make up their dinners with fish; for this reason the attendance of costers' barrows at Billingsgate on a Friday morning is always very great. As soon as you reach the Monument you see a line of them, with one or two tall fishmonger's carts breaking the uniformity, and the din of the cries and commotion of the distant market, begins to break on the ear like the buzzing of a hornet's nest. The whole neighbourhood is covered with the hand-barrows, some laden with baskets, others with sacks. Yet as you walk along, a fresh line of costers' barrows are creeping in or being backed into almost impossible openings; until at every turning nothing but donkeys and rails are to be seen. The morning air is filled with a kind of seaweedy odour, reminding one of the sea-shore; and on entering the market, the smell of fish, of whelks, red herrings, sprats, and a hundred others, is almost overpowering.

The wooden barn-looking square where the fish is sold, is soon after six o'clock crowded with shiny cord jackets and greasy caps. Everybody comes to Billingsgate in his worst clothes, and no one knows the length of time a coat can be worn until they have been to a fish sale. Through the bright opening at the end are seen the tangled rigging of the oyster-boats and the red worsted caps of the sailors. Over the hum of voices is heard the shouts of the salesmen, who, with their white aprons, peering above the heads of the mob, stand on their tables, roaring out their prices.

All are bawling together—salesmen and hucksters of provisions, capes, hardware, and newspa-

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pers—till the place is a perfect Babel of competition. "Ha-a-ansome cod! best in the market! All alive! alive! alive O!" "Ye-o-o! Ye-o-o! here's your fine Yarmouth bloaters! Who's the buyer?" "Here you are, governor, splendid whiting! some of the right sort!" "Turbot! turbot! all alive! turbot!" "Glass of nice peppermint! this cold morning a ha'penny a glass!" "Here you are at your own price! Fine soles, O!" "Oy! oy! oy! Now's your time! fine grizzling sprats! all large and no small!" "Hullo! hullo here! beautiful lobsters! good and cheap! fine cock crabs all alive O!" "Five brill and one turbot—have that lot for a pound! Come and look at 'em, governor; you wont see a better sample in the market." "Here, this way! this way for splendid skate! skate O! skate O!" "Had—had—had—had—haddick! all fresh and good!" "Currant and meat puddings! a ha'penny each!" "Now, you mussel-buyers, come along! come along! come along! now's your time for fine fat mussels!" "Here's food for the belly, and clothes for the back, but I sell food for the mind" (shouts the newsvender). "Here's smelt O!" "Here ye are, fine Finney haddick!" "Hot soup! nice peas-soup! a-all hot! hot!" "Ahoy! ahoy here! live plaice! all alive O!" "Now or never! whelk! whelk! whelk!" "Who'll buy brill O! brill O!" "Capes! water-proof capes! sure to keep the wet out! a shilling a piece!" "Eels O! eels O! Alive! alive O!" "Fine flounders, a shilling a lot! Who'll have this prime lot of flounders?" "Shrimps! shrimps! fine shrimps!" "Wink! wink! wink!" "Hi! hi-i! here you are, just eight eels left, only eight!" "O ho! O ho! this way—this way—this way! Fish alive! alive! alive O!"

In the darkness of the shed, the white bellies of the turbots, strung up bow-fashion, shine like mother-of-pearl, while, the lobsters, lying upon them, look intensely scarlet, from the contrast. Brown baskets piled up on one another, and with the herring-scales glittering like spangles all over them, block up the narrow paths. Men in coarse canvas jackets, and bending under huge hampers, push past, shouting "Move on! move on, there!" and women, with the long limp tails of cod-fish dangling from their aprons, elbow their way through the crowd. Round the auction-tables stand groups of men turning over the piles of soles, and throwing them down till they slide about in their slime; some are smelling them, while others are counting the lots. "There, that lot of soles are worth your money," cries the salesman to one of the crowd as he moves on leisurely; "none better in the market. You shall have 'em for a pound and half-a-crown." "Oh!" shouts another salesman, "it's no use to bother him—he's no go." Presently a tall porter, with a black oyster-bag, staggers past, trembling under the weight of his load, his back and shoulders wet with the drippings from the sack. "Shove on one side!" he mutters from between his clenched teeth, as he forces his way through the mob. Here is a tray of reddish-brown shrimps piled up high, and the owner busy sifting his little fish into another stand, while a doubtful customer stands in front, tasting the flavour of the stock and consulting with his companion in speculation. Little girls carrying matting-bags, that they have brought from Spitalfields, come up, and ask you in a begging voice to buy their baskets; and women with bundles of twigs for stringing herrings, cry out, "Half-penny a bunch!" from all sides. Then there are blue-black piles of small live lobsters, moving about their bound-up claws and long "feelers," one of them occasionally being taken up by a looker-on, and dashed down again, like a stone.* Everywhere every one is asking, "What's the price, master?" while shouts of laughter from round the stalls of the salesmen, bantering each other, burst out, occasionally, over the murmuring noise of the crowd. The transparent smelts on the marble-slabs, and the bright herrings, with the lump of transparent ice magnifying their eyes like a lens, are seldom looked at until the market is over, though the hampers and piles of huge maids, dropping slime from the counter, are eagerly examined and bartered for.

One side of the market is set apart for whelks. There they stand in sackfulls, with the yellow shells piled up at the mouth, and one or two of the fish, curling out like corkscrews, placed as a sample. The coster slips one of these from its shell, examines it, pushes it back again, and then passes away, to look well round the market. In one part the stones are covered with herring-barrels, packed closely with dried fish, and yellow heaps of stiff haddock rise up on all sides. Here a man walks up with his knot on his shoulder, waiting for a job to carry fish to the trucks. Boys in ragged clothes, who have slept during the night under a railway-arch, clamour for employment; while the heads of those returning from the oyster-boats, rise slowly up the stone sides of the wharf.

The costermongers have nicknamed the long row of oyster boats moored close alongside the wharf "Oyster-street." On looking down the line of tangled ropes and masts, it seems as though the little boats would sink with the crowds of men and women thronged together on their decks. It is as busy a scene as one can well behold. Each boat has its black sign-board, and salesman in his white apron walking up and down "his shop," and on each deck is a bright pewter pot and tin-covered plate, the remains of the salesman's breakfast. "Who's for Baker's?" "Who's for Archer's?" "Who'll have Alston's?" shout the oyster-merchants, and the red cap of the man in the hold bobs up and down as he rattles the shells about with his spade. These holds are filled with oysters—a gray mass of sand and shell—on which is a bushel measure well piled up in the centre, while some of them have a blue muddy heap of mussels

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divided off from the "natives." The sailors in their striped guernseys sit on the boat sides smoking their morning's pipe, allowing themselves to be tempted by the Jew boys with cloth caps, old shoes, and silk handkerchiefs. Lads with bundles of whips skip from one boat to another, and, seedy-looking mechanics, with handfuls of tin fancy goods, hover about the salesmen, who are the principal supporters of this trade. The place has somewhat the appearance of a little Holywell-street; for the old clothes' trade is entirely in the hands of the Jew boys, and coats, caps, hats, umbrellas, and old shoes, are shouted out in a rich nasal twang on all sides.

Passing by a man and his wife who were breakfasting on the stone coping, I went to the shore where the watermen ply for passengers to the eel boats. Here I found a crowd of punts, half filled with flounders, and small closely-packed baskets of them ranged along the seats. The lads, who act as jacks-in-the-water, were busy feeling in the mud for the fish that had fallen over board, little caring for the water that dashed over their red swollen feet. Presently a boat, piled up with baskets, shot in, grazing the bottom, and men and women, blue with the cold morning air, stepped out.

The Dutch built eel-boats, with their bulging polished oak sides, were half-hidden in the river mist. They were surrounded by skiffs, that ply from the Surrey and Middlesex shores, and wait whilst the fares buy their fish. The holds of these eel-boats are fitted up with long tanks of muddy water, and the heads of the eels are seen breathing on the surface—a thick brown bubble rising slowly, and floating to the sides. Wooden sabots and large porcelain pipes are ranged round the ledges, and men in tall fur caps with high cheek bones, and rings in their ears, walk the decks. At the stern of one boat was moored a coffin-shaped barge pierced with holes, and hanging in the water were baskets, shaped like olive jars—both to keep the stock of fish alive and fresh. In the centre of the boat stood the scales,—a tall heavy apparatus, one side fitted up with the conical net-bag to hold the eels, and the other with the weights, and pieces of stone to make up for the extra draught of the water hanging about the fish. When a skiff load of purchasers arrives, the master Dutchman takes his hands from his pockets, lays down his pipe, and seizing a sort of long-handled landing-net scoops from the tank a lot of eels. The purchasers examine them, and try to beat down the price. "You calls them eels do you?" said a man with his bag ready opened. "Yeas," answered the Dutchman without any show of indignation. "Certainly, there is a few among them," continued the customer; and after a little more of this kind of chaffering the bargain is struck.

The visitors to the eel-boats were of all grades; one was a neatly-dressed girl to whom the costers showed the utmost gallantry, calling her "my dear," and helping her up the shining sides of the boat; and many of the men had on their blue serge apron, but these were only where the prices were high. The greatest crowd of customers is in the heavy barge alongside of the Dutch craft. Here a stout sailor in his red woollen shirt, and canvass petticoat, is surrounded by the most miserable and poorest of fish purchasers—the men with their crushed hats, tattered coats, and unshorn chins, and the women with their pads on their bonnets, and brown ragged gowns blowing in the breeze. One, in an old table-cover shawl, was beating her palms together before the unmoved Dutchman, fighting for an abatement, and showing her stock of halfpence. Others were seated round the barge, sorting their lots in their shallows, and sanding the fish till they were quite yellow. Others, again, were crowding round the scales narrowly watching the balance, and then begging for a few dead eels to make up any doubtful weight.

As you walk back from the shore to the market, you see small groups of men and women dividing the lot of fish they have bought together. At one basket, a coster, as you pass, calls to you, and says, "Here, master, just put these three halfpence on these three cod, and obleege a party." The coins are placed, and each one takes the fish his coin is on; and so there is no dispute.

At length nearly all the busy marketing has finished, and the costers hurry to breakfast. At one house, known as "Rodway's Coffee-house," a man can have a meal for 1*d.*—a mug of hot coffee and two slices of bread and butter, while for two-pence what is elegantly termed "a tightner," that is to say, a most plentiful repast, may be obtained. Here was a large room, with tables all round, and so extremely silent, that the smacking of lips and sipping of coffee were alone heard. Upwards of 1,500 men breakfast here in the course of the morning, many of them taking as many as three such meals. On the counter was a pile of white mugs, and the bright tin cans stood beside the blazing fire, whilst Rodway himself sat at a kind of dresser, cutting up and buttering the bread, with marvellous rapidity. It was a clean, orderly, and excellent establishment, kept by a man, I was told, who had risen from a saloop stall.

Opposite to the Coal Exchange were ranged the stalls and barrows with the street eatables, and the crowds round each showed the effects of the sharp morning air. One—a Jew's—had hot-pies with lids that rose as the gravy was poured in from an oil can; another carried a stone jar of peppermint-water, at ½*d.* a glass; and the pea-soup stand was hemmed in by boys and men blowing the steam from their cups. Beside these were Jews with cloth caps and knives, and square yellow cakes; one old man, in a corner, stood examining a thread-bare scarf that a cravatless coster had handed to him. Coffee-stalls were in great plenty; and men left their barrows to run up and have "an oyster," or "an 'ot heel." One man here makes his living by selling sheets of old newspapers, at ½*d.* each,

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for the costers to dress their trays with. Though seemingly rather out of place, there was a Mosaic jewellery stand; old umbrellas, too, were far from scarce; and one had brought a horse-hair stool for sale.

Everybody was soon busy laying out their stock. The wrinkled dull-eyed cod was freshened up, the red-headed gurnet placed in rows, the eels prevented from writhing over the basket sides by cabbage-leaves, and the soles paired off like gloves. Then the little trucks began to leave, crawling, as it were, between the legs of the horses in the vans crowding Thames-street, and plunging in between huge waggons, but still appearing safely on the other side; and the 4,000 costers who visit Billingsgate on the Friday morning were shortly scattered throughout the metropolis.

Of the Forestalling of Markets and the Billingsgate Bummarees.

"Forestalling," writes Adam Smith, "is the buying or contracting for any cattle, provisions, or merchandize, on its way to the market (or at market), or dissuading persons from buying their goods there, or persuading them to raise the price, or spreading any false rumour with intent to enhance the value of any article. In the remoter periods of our history several statutes were passed, prohibiting forestalling under severe penalties; but as more enlarged views upon such subjects began to prevail, their impolicy became obvious, and they were consequently repealed in 1772. But forestalling is still punishable by fine and imprisonment; though it be doubtful whether any jury would now convict an individual accused of such practices."

In Billingsgate the "forestallers" or middlemen are known as "bummarees," who, as regards means, are a far superior class to the "hagglers" (the forestallers of the "green" markets). The bummaree is the jobber or speculator on the fish-exchange. Perhaps on every busy morning 100 men buy a quantity of fish, which they account likely to be remunerative, and retail it, or dispose of it in lots to the fishmongers or costermongers. Few if any of these dealers, however, are merely bummarees. A salesman, if he have disposed of the fish consigned to himself, will turn bummaree if any bargain tempt him. Or a fishmonger may purchase twice the quantity he requires for his own trade, in order to procure a cheaper stock, and "bummaree" what he does not require. These speculations in fish are far more hazardous than those in fruit or vegetables, for later in the day a large consignment by railway may reach Billingsgate, and, being thrown upon the market, may reduce the price one half. In the vegetable and fruit markets there is but one arrival. The costermongers are among the best customers of the bummarees.

I asked several parties as to the origin of the word "bummaree," and how long it had been in use. "Why, bless your soul, sir," said one Billingsgate labourer, "there always was bummarees, and there always will be; just as Jack there is a 'rough,' and I'm a blessed 'bobber.'" One man assured me it was a French name; another that it was Dutch. A fishmonger, to whom I was indebted for information, told me he thought that the bummaree was originally a bum-boat man, who purchased of the wind-bound smacks at Gravesend or the Nore, and sent the fish up rapidly to the market by land.

I may add, as an instance of the probable gains of the forestallers, in the olden time, that a tradesman whose family had been long connected with Billingsgate, showed me by his predecessors' books and memoranda, that in the depth of winter, when the Thames was perhaps choked with ice, and no supply of fish "got up" to London, any, that might, by management, reach Billingsgate used to command exorbitant prices. To speak only of the present century: March 11th, 1802, a cod fish (8 lbs.) was bought by Messrs. Phillips and Robertson, fishmongers, Bond-street, for 1*l.* 8*s.* February, 1809, a salmon (19 lbs.) was bought by Mr. Phillips at a guinea a pound, 19*l.* 19*s.* for the fish! March 24th, 1824, three lobsters were sold for a guinea each.

The "haggler," I may here observe, is the bummaree or forestaller or middleman of the green markets; as far as the costermonger's trade is concerned, he deals in fruit and vegetables. Of these trafficers there are fully 200 in Covent-garden-market; from 60 to 70 in Farringdon; from 40 to 50 in the Borough; from 50 to 60 in Spitalfields; and none in Portman-market; such being the only wholesale green-markets for the purposes of the costermongers. The haggler is a middleman who makes his purchases of the growers when the day is somewhat advanced, and the whole produce conveyed to the market has not been disposed of. The grower will then, rather than be detained in town, sell the whole lot remaining in his cart or wagon to a haggler, who re-sells it to the costers, or to any other customer, from a stand which he hires by the day. The costermongers who are the most provident, and either have means or club their resources for a large purchase, often buy early in the morning, and so have the advantage of anticipating their fellows in the street-trade, with the day before them. Those who buy later are the customers of the hagglers, and are street-sellers, whose means do not command an extensive purchase, or who do not care to venture upon one unless it be very cheap. These men speak very bitterly of the hagglers, calling them "cracked-up shopkeepers" and "scurfs," and declaring that but for them the growers must remain, and sell off their produce cheap to the costermongers.

A species of forestalling is now not uncommon, and is on the increase among the costermongers themselves. There are four men, having the command of money, who attend the markets and buy either fish or vegetables largely. One man especially buys almost daily

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as much fruit and vegetables as will supply thirty street-dealers. He adds 3d. a bushel to the wholesale market price of apples; 6d. to that of pears; 9d. to plums; and 1s. to cherries. A purchaser can thus get a smaller quantity than he can always buy at market, and avails himself of the opportunity.

Moreover, a good many of the more intelligent street-dealers now club together—six of them, for instance—contributing 15s. each, and a quantity of fish is thus bought by one of their body (a smaller contribution suffices to buy vegetables). Perhaps, on an equal partition, each man thus gets for his 15s. as much as might have cost him 20s., had he bought "single-handed." This mode of purchase is also on the increase.

OF "WET" FISH-SELLERS IN THE STREETS.

CONCERNING the sale of "wet" or fresh fish, I had the following account from a trustworthy man, of considerable experience and superior education:

"I have sold 'wet fish' in the streets for more than fourteen years," he said; "before that I was a gentleman, and was brought up a gentleman, if I'm a beggar now. I bought fish largely in the north of England once, and now I must sell it in the streets of London. Never mind talking about that, sir; there's some things won't bear talking about. There's a wonderful difference in the streets since I knew them first; I could make a pound then, where I can hardly make a crown now. People had more money, and less meanness then. I consider that the railways have injured me, and all wet fish-sellers, to a great extent. Fish now, you see, sir, comes in at all hours, so that nobody can calculate on the quantity that will be received—nobody. That's the mischief of it; we are afraid to buy, and miss many a chance of turning a penny. In my time, since railways were in, I've seen cod-fish sold at a guinea in the morning that were a shilling at noon; for either the wind and the tide had served, or else the railway fishing-places were more than commonly supplied, and there was a glut to London. There's no trade requires greater judgment than mine — none whatever. Before the railways—and I never could see the good of them—the fish came in by the tide, and we knew how to buy, for there would be no more till next tide. Now, we don't know. I go to Billingsgate to buy my fish, and am very well known to Mr. —— and Mr. —— (mentioning the names of some well-known salesmen). The Jews are my ruin there now. When I go to Billingsgate, Mr. —— will say, or rather, I will say to him, 'How much for this pad of soles?' He will answer, 'Fourteen shillings.' 'Fourteen shillings!' I say, 'I'll give you seven shillings, — that's the proper amount;' then the Jew boys—none of them twenty that are there—ranged about will begin; and one says, when I bid 7s., 'I'll give 8s;' 'nine,' says another, close on my left; 'ten,' shouts another, on my right, and so they go offering on; at last Mr. —— says to one of them, as grave as a judge, 'Yours, sir, at 13s,' but it's all gammon. The 13s. buyer isn't a buyer at all, and isn't required to pay a farthing, and never touches the goods. It's all done to keep up the price to poor fishmen, and so to poor buyers that are our customers in the streets. Money makes money, and it don't matter how. Those Jew boys—I dare say they're the same sort as once sold oranges about the streets—are paid, I know 1s. for spending three or four hours that way in the cold and wet. My trade has been injured, too, by the great increase of Irish costermongers; for an Irishman will starve out an Englishman any day; besides if a tailor can't live by his trade, he'll take to fish, or fruit and cabbages. The month of May is a fine season for plaice, which is bought very largely by my customers. Plaice are sold at ½d. and 1d. a piece. It is a difficult fish to manage, and in poor neighbourhoods an important one to manage well. The old hands make a profit out of it; new hands a loss. There's not much cod or other wet fish sold to the poor, while plaice is in. "My customers are poor men's wives, —mechanics, I fancy. They want fish at most unreasonable prices. If I could go and pull them off a line flung off Waterloo-bridge, and no other expense, I couldn't supply them as cheap as they expect them. Very cheap fish-sellers lose their customers, through the Billingsgate bummarees, for they have pipes, and blow up the cod-fish, most of all, and puff up their bellies till they are twice the size, but when it comes to table, there's hardly to say any fish at all. The Billingsgate authorities would soon stop it, if they knew all I know. They won't allow any roguery, or any trick, if they only come to hear of it. These bummarees have caused many respectable people to avoid street-buying, and so fair traders like me are injured. I've nothing to complain of about the police. Oft enough, if I could be allowed ten minutes longer on a Saturday night, I could get through all my stock without loss. About a quarter to twelve I begin to halloo away as hard as I can, and there's plenty of customers that lay out never a farthing till that time, and then they can't be served fast enough, so they get their fish cheaper than I do. If any halloos out that way sooner, we must all do the same. Anything rather than keep fish over a warm Sunday. I have kept mine in ice; I haven't opportunity now, but it'll keep in a cool place this time of year. I think there's as many sellers as buyers in the streets, and there's scores of them don't give just weight or measure. I wish there was good moral rules in force, and everybody gave proper weight. I often talk to street-dealers about it. I've given them many a lecture; but they say they only do what plenty of shopkeepers do, and just get fined and go on again, without being a pin the worse thought of. They are abusive sometimes, too; I mean the street-sellers are, because they are ignorant. I have no children, thank God, and my wife helps me in my business. Take the year through, I clear from 10s. to 12s. every week. That's not

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much to support two people. Some weeks I earn only 4*s.*,—such as in wet March weather. In others I earn 18*s.* or 1*l.* November, December, and January are good months for me. I wouldn't mind if they lasted all the year round. I'm often very badly off indeed—very badly; and the misery of being hard up, sir, is not when you're making a struggle to get out of your trouble; no, nor to raise a meal off herrings that you've given away once, but when your wife and you's sitting by a grate without a fire, and putting the candle out to save it, a planning how to raise money. 'Can we borrow there?' 'Can we manage to sell if we can borrow?' 'Shall we get from very bad to the parish?' Then, perhaps, there's a day lost, and without a bite in our mouths trying to borrow. Let alone a little drop to give a body courage, which perhaps is the only good use of spirit after all. That's the pinch, sir. When the rain you hear outside puts you in mind of drownding!"

Subjoined is the amount (in round numbers) of wet fish annually disposed of in the metropolis by the street-sellers:

	No. of Fish.	lbs. weight.
Salmon	20,000	175,000
Live-cod	100,000	1,000,000
Soles	6,500,000	1,650,000
Whiting	4,440,000	1,680,000
Haddock	250,000	500,000
Plaice	29,400,000	29,400,000
Mackarel	15,700,000	15,700,000
Herrings	875,000,000	210,000,000
Sprats	"	3,000,000
Eels, from Holland	400,000	65,000
Flounders	260,000	43,000
Dabs	270,000	48,000
Total quantity of wet fish sold in the streets of London	932,340,000	263,281,000

From the above Table we perceive that the fish, of which the greatest quantity is eaten by the poor, is herrings; of this, compared with plaice there is upwards of thirty times the number consumed. After plaice rank mackerel, and of these the consumption is about one-half less in number than plaice, while the number of soles vended in the streets, is again half of that of mackerel. Then come whiting, which are about two-thirds the number of the soles, while the consumption to the poor of haddock, cod, eels, and salmon, is comparatively insignificant. Of sprats, which are estimated by weight, only one-fifth of the number of pounds are consumed compared with the weight of mackerel. The pounds' weight of herrings sold in the streets, in the course of a year, is upwards of seven times that of plaice, and fourteen times that of mackerel. Altogether more than 260,000,000 pounds, or 116,000 tons weight of wet fish are yearly purchased in the streets of London, for the consumption of the humbler classes. Of this aggregate amount, no less than five-sixths consists of herrings; which, indeed, constitute the great slop diet of the metropolis.

Of Sprat-selling in the Streets.

Sprats—one of the cheapest and most grateful luxuries of the poor—are generally introduced about the 9th of November. Indeed "Lord Mayor's day" is sometimes called "sprat day." They continue in about ten weeks. They are sold at Billingsgate by the "toss," or "chuck," which is about half a bushel, and weighs from 40lbs. to 50lbs. The price varies from 1*s.* to 5*s.* Sprats are, this season, pronounced remarkably fine. "Look at my lot sir," said a street-seller to me; "they're a heap of new silver," and the bright shiny appearance of the glittering little fish made the comparison not inappropriate. In very few, if in any, instances does a costermonger confine himself to the sale of sprats, unless his means limit him to that one branch of the business. A more prosperous street-fishmonger will sometimes detach the sprats from his stall, and his wife, or one of his children will take charge of them. Only a few sprat-sellers are itinerant, the fish being usually sold by stationary street-sellers at "pitches." One who worked his sprats through the streets, or sold them from a stall as he thought best, gave me the following account. He was dressed in a newish fustian-jacket, buttoned close up his chest, but showing a portion of a clean cotton shirt at the neck, with a bright-coloured coarse handkerchief round it; the rest of his dress was covered by a white apron. His hair, as far as I could see it under his cloth cap, was carefully brushed, and (it appeared) as carefully oiled. At the first glance I set him down as having been a gentleman's servant. He had a somewhat deferential, though far from cringing manner with him, and seemed to be about twenty-five or twenty-six—he thought he was older, he said, but did not know his age exactly.

"Ah! sir," he began, in a tone according with his look, "sprats *is* a blessing to the poor. Fresh herrings is a blessing too, and sprats is young herrings, and is a blessing in 'portion" [for so he pronounced what seemed to be a favourite word with him "proportion"]. "It's only four years—yes, four, I'm sure of that—since I walked the streets starving, in the depth of winter, and looked at the sprats, and said, I wish I could fill my belly off you. Sir, I hope it was no great sin, but I could hardly keep my hands from stealing some and eating them raw. If they make me sick, thought I, the police 'll take care of me, and that 'll be something. While these thoughts was a passing through my mind, I met a man who was a gentleman's coachman; I knew him a little formerly, and so I stopped him and told him who I was, and that I hadn't had a meal for two days. 'Well, by G—,' said the coachman, 'you look like it, why I shouldn't have known you. Here 's a shilling.' And then he went on a little way, and then stopped, and turned back and thrust 3½*d.* more into my hand, and bolted off. I've never seen him since. But I'm grateful to him in the

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same 'portion (proportion) as if I had. After I'd had a penn'orth of bread and a penn'orth of cheese, and half-a-pint of beer, I felt a new man, and I went to the party as I'd longed to steal the sprats from, and told him what I'd thought of. I can't say what made me tell him, but it turned out for good. I don't know much about religion, though I can read a little, but may be that had something to do with it." The rest of the man's narrative was—briefly told—as follows. He was the only child of a gentleman's coachman His father had deserted his mother and him, and gone abroad, he believed, with some family. His mother, however, took care of him until her death, which happened "when he was a little turned thirteen, he had heard, but could not remember the year." After that he was "a helper and a jobber in different stables," and "anybody's boy," for a few years, until he got a footman's, or rather footboy's place, which he kept above a year. After that he was in service, in and out of different situations, until the time he specified, when he had been out of place for nearly five weeks, and was starving. His master had got in difficulties, and had gone abroad; so he was left without a character. "Well, sir," he continued, "the man as I wanted to steal the sprats from, says to me, says he, 'Poor fellow; I know what a hempty belly is myself—come and have a pint.' And over that there pint, he told me, if I could rise 10*s.* there might be a chance for me in the streets, and he'd show me how to do. He died not very long after that, poor man. Well, after a little bit, I managed to borrow 10*s.* of Mr. —— (I thought of him all of a sudden). He was butler in a family that I had lived in, and had a charitable character, though he was reckoned very proud. But I plucked up a spirit, and told him how I was off, and he said, 'Well, I'll try you,' and he lent me 10*s.*, which I paid him back, little by little, in six or eight weeks; and so I started in the costermonger line, with the advice of my friend, and I've made from 5*s.* to 10*s.*, sometimes more, a week, at it ever since. The police don't trouble me much. They is civil to me in 'portion (proportion) as I am civil to them. I never mixed with the costers but when I've met them at market. I stay at a lodging-house, but it's very decent and clean, and I have a bed to myself, at 1*s.* a week, for I'm a regular man. I'm on sprats now, you see, sir, and you'd wonder, sometimes, to see how keen people looks to them when they're new. They're a blessing to the poor, in 'portion (proportion) of course. Not twenty minutes before you spoke to me, there was two poor women came up—they was sickly-looking, but I don't know what they was—perhaps shirt-makers—and they says to me, says they, 'Show us what a penny plateful is.' 'Sart'nly, ladies,' says I. Then they whispered together, and at last one says, says she, 'We'll have two platefuls.' I told you they was a blessing to the poor, sir—'specially to such as them, as lives all the year round on bread and tea. But it's not only the poor as buys; others in 'portion (proportion). When they're new they're a treat to everybody. I've sold them to poor working-men, who've said, 'I'll take a treat home to the old 'oman and the kids; they dotes on sprats.' Gentlemen's servants is very fond of them, and mechanics comes down—such as shoemakers in their leather aprons, and sings out, 'Here, old sprats, give us two penn'orth.' They're *such* a relish. I sell more to men than to women, perhaps, but there's little difference. They're best stewed, sir, I think—if you're fond of sprats—with vinegar and a pick of allspice; that's my opinion, and, only yesterday, an old cook said I was right. I makes 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, and sometimes rather more, on my sprats, and sticks to them as much as I can. I sell about my 'toss' a day, seldom less. Of course I can make as many penn'orths of it as I please, but there's no custom without one gives middling penn'orths. If a toss costs me 3*s.*, I may make sixty penn'orths of it sometimes—sometimes seventy or more—and sometimes less than sixty. There's many turns over as much as me and more than that. I'm thinking that I'll work the country with a lot; they'll keep to a second day, when they're fresh to start, 'specially if its frosty weather, too, and then they're better than ever—yes, and a greater treat—scalding hot from the fire, they're the cheapest and best of all suppers in the winter time. I hardly know which way I'll go. If I can get anythink to do among horses in the country, I'll never come back. I've no tie to London."

To show how small a sum of money will enable the struggling striving poor to obtain a living, I may here mention that, in the course of my inquiries among the mudlarks, I casually gave a poor shoeless urchin, who was spoken of by one of the City Missionaries as being a well-disposed youth, 1*s.* out of the funds that had been entrusted to me to dispense. Trifling as the amount appears, it was the means of keeping his mother, sister, and himself through the winter. It was invested in sprats, and turned over and over again.

I am informed, by the best authorities, that near upon 1000 "tosses" of sprats are sold daily in London streets, while the season lasts. These, sold retail in pennyworths, at very nearly 5*s.* the toss, give about 150*l.* a day, or say 1,000*l.* a week spent on sprats by the poorer classes of the metropolis; so that, calculating the sprat season to last ten weeks, about 10,000*l.* would be taken by the costermongers during that time from the sale of this fish alone.

Another return, furnished me by an eminent salesman at Billingsgate, estimates the gross quantity of sprats sold by the London costers in the course of the season at three millions of pounds weight, and this disposed of at the rate of 1*d.* per pound, gives upwards of 12,000*l.* for the sum of money spent upon this one kind of fish.

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Of Shell-Fish Sellers in the Streets.

I had the following account from an experienced man. He lived with his mother, his wife, and four children, in one of the streets near Gray's-inn-lane. The street was inhabited altogether by people of his class, the women looking sharply out when a stranger visited the place. On my first visit to this man's room, his wife, who is near her confinement, was at dinner with her children. The time was ¾ to 12. The meal was tea, and bread with butter very thinly spread over it. On the wife's bread was a small piece of pickled pork, covering about one-eighth of the slice of a quartern loaf cut through. In one corner of the room, which is on the ground-floor, was a scantily-covered bed. A few dingy-looking rags were hanging up to dry in the middle of the room, which was littered with baskets and boxes, mixed up with old furniture, so that it was a difficulty to stir. The room (although the paper, covering the broken panes in the window, was torn and full of holes) was most oppressively close and hot, and there was a fetid smell, difficult to sustain, though it was less noticeable on a subsequent call. I have often had occasion to remark that the poor, especially those who are much subjected to cold in the open air, will sacrifice much for heat. The adjoining room, which had no door, seemed littered like the one where the family were. The walls of the room I was in were discoloured and weather-stained. The only attempt at ornament was over the mantel-shelf, the wall here being papered with red and other gay-coloured papers, that once had been upholsterer's patterns.

On my second visit, the husband was at dinner with the family, on good boiled beef and potatoes. He was a small-featured man, with a head of very curly and long black hair, and both in mien, manners, and dress, resembled the mechanic far more than the costermonger. He said:—

"I've been twenty years and more, perhaps twenty-four, selling shell-fish in the streets. I was a boot-closer when I was young, and have made my 20*s.* and 30*s.*, and sometimes 40*s.*, and then sometimes not 10*s.* a week; but I had an attack of rheumatic-fever, and lost the use of my hands for my trade. The streets hadn't any great name, as far as I knew, then, but as I couldn't work, it was just a choice between street-selling and starving, so I didn't prefer the last. It was reckoned degrading to go into the streets—but I couldn't help that. I was astonished at my success when I first began, and got into the business—that is into the understanding of it—after a week, or two, or three. Why, I made 3*l.* the first week I knew my trade, properly; yes, I cleared 3*l.*! I made, not long after, 5*l.* a week—but not often. I was giddy and extravagant. Indeed, I was a fool, and spent my money like a fool I could have brought up a family then like a gentleman—I send them to school as it is—but I hadn't a wife and family then, or it might have been better; it's a great check on a man, is a family. I began with shell-fish, and sell it still; very seldom anything else. There's more demand for shells, no doubt, because its far cheaper, but then there's so many more sellers. I don't know why exactly. I suppose it's because poor people go into the streets when they can't live other ways, and some do it because they think it's an idle life; but it ain't. Where I took 35*s.* in a day at my stall—and well on to half of it profit—I now take 5*s.* or 6*s.*, or perhaps 7*s.*, in the day and less profit on that less money. I don't clear 3*s.* a day now, take the year through. I don't keep acccounts, but I'm certain enough that I average about 15*s.* a week the year through, and my wife has to help me to make that. She'll mind the stall, while I take a round sometimes. I sell all kinds of shell-fish, but my great dependence is on winkles. I don't do much in lobsters. Very few speculate in them. The price varies very greatly. What's 10*s.* a score one day may be 25*s.* the next. I sometimes get a score for 5*s.* or 6*s.*, but it's a poor trade, for 6*d.* is the top of the tree, with me, for a price to a seller. I never get more. I sell them to mechanics and tradesmen. I do more in pound crabs. There's a great call for haporths and pennorths of lobster or crab, by children; that's their claws. I bile them all myself, and buy them alive. I can bile twenty in half an hour, and do it over a grate in a back-yard. Lobsters don't fight or struggle much in the hot water, if they're properly packed. It's very few that knows how to bile a lobster as he should be biled. I wish I knew any way of killing lobsters before biling them. I can't kill them without smashing them to bits, and that won't do at all. I kill my crabs before I bile them. I stick them in the throat with a knife and they're dead in an instant. Some sticks them with a skewer, but they kick a good while with the skewer in them. It's a shame to torture anything when it can be helped. If I didn't kill the crabs they'd shed every leg in the hot water; they'd come out as bare of claws as this plate. I've known it oft enough, as it is; though I kill them uncommon quick, a crab will be quicker and shed every leg—throw them off in the moment I kill them, but that doesn't happen once in fifty times. Oysters are capital this season, I mean as to quality, but they're not a good sale. I made 3*l.* a week in oysters, not reckoning anything else, eighteen or twenty years back. It was easy to make money then; like putting down one sovereign and taking two up. I sold oysters then oft enough at 1*d.* a piece. Now I sell far finer at three a penny and five for 2*d.* People can't spend money in shell-fish when they haven't got any. They say that fortune knocks once at every man's door. I wish I'd opened my door when he knocked at it."

This man's wife told me afterwards, that last

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winter, after an attack of rheumatism, all their stock-money was exhausted, and her husband sat day by day at home almost out of his mind; for nothing could tempt him to apply to the parish, and "he would never have mentioned his sufferings to me," she said; "he had too much pride." The loan of a few shillings from a poor costermonger enabled the man to go to market again, or he and his family would now have been in the Union.

As to the quantity of shell-fish sold in the streets of London, the returns before-cited give the following results:

Oysters	124,000,000
Lobsters	60,000
Crabs	50,000
Shrimps	770,000 pts.
Whelks	4,950,000
Mussels	1,000,000 qts.
Cockles	750,000 qts.
Periwinkles	3,640,000 pts.

Of Shrimp Selling in the Streets.

Shrimp selling, as I have stated, is one of the trades to which the street-dealer often confines himself throughout the year. The sale is about equally divided between the two sexes, but the men do the most business, walking some of them fifteen to twenty miles a day in a "round" of "ten miles there and ten back."

The shrimps vended in the streets are the Yarmouth prawn shrimps, sold at Billingsgate at from 6*d.* to 10*d.* a gallon, while the best shrimps (chiefly from Lee, in Essex,) vary in price from 10*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a gallon; 2*s.* being a common price. The shrimps are usually mixed by the street-dealers, and they are cried, from stalls or on rounds, "a penny half-pint, fine fresh s'rimps." (I heard them called nothing but "s'rimps" by the street-dealers.) The half-pint, however, is in reality but half that quantity. "It's the same measure as it was thirty years back," I was told, in a tone as if its antiquity removed all imputation of unfair dealing. Some young men "do well on s'rimps," sometimes taking 5*s.* in an hour on a Saturday evening, "when people get their money, and wants a relish." The females in the shrimp line are the wives, widows, or daughters of costermongers. They are computed to average 1*s.* 6*d.* a day profit in fine, and from 9*d.* to 1*s.* in bad weather; and, in snowy, or very severe weather, sometimes nothing at all.

One shrimp-seller, a middle-aged woman, wrapped up in a hybrid sort of cloak, that was half a man's and half a woman's garment, gave me the following account. There was little vulgarity in either her language or manner.

"I was in the s'rimp trade since I was a girl. I don't know how long. I don't know how old I am. I never knew; but I've two children, one's six and t'other's near eight, both girls; I've kept count of that as well as I can. My husband sells fish in the street; so did father, but he's dead. We buried him without the help of the parish, as many gets—that's something to say. I've known the trade every way. It never was any good in public-houses. They want such great ha'p'orths there. They'll put up with what isn't very fresh, to be sure, sometimes; and good enough for them too, I say, as spoils their taste with drink." [This was said very bitterly.] "If it wasn't for my husband's drinking for a day together now and then we'd do better. He's neither to have nor to hold when he's the worse for liquor; and it's the worse with him, for he's a quiet man when he's his own man. Perhaps I make 9*d.* a day, perhaps 1*s.* or more. Sometimes my husband takes my stand, and I go a round. Sometimes, if he gets through his fish, he goes my round. I give good measure, and my pint's the regular s'rimp pint." [It was the *half*-pint I have described.] "The trade's not so good as it was. People hasn't the money, they tells me so. It's bread before s'rimps, says they. I've heard them say it very cross, if I've wanted hard to sell. Some days I can sell nothing. My children stays with my sister, when me and my old man's out. They don't go to school, but Jane (the sister) learns them to sew. She makes drawers for the slop-sellers, but has very little work, and gets very little for the little she does; she would learn them to read if she knew how. She's married to a pavior, that's away all day. It's a hard life mine, sir. The winter's a coming, and I'm now sometimes 'numbed with sitting at my stall in the cold. My feet feels like lumps of ice in the winter; and they're beginning now, as if they weren't my own. Standing's far harder work than going a round. I sell the best s'rimps. My customers is judges. If I've any s'rimps over on a night, as I often have one or two nights a week, I sells them for half-price to an Irishwoman, and she takes them to the beer-shops, and the coffee-shops. She washes them. to look fresh. I don't mind telling that, because people should buy of regular people. It's very few people know how to pick a s'rimp properly. You should take it by the head and the tail and jam them up, and then the shell separates, and the s'rimp comes out beautifully. That's the proper way."

Sometimes the sale on the rounds may be the same as that at the stalls, or 10 or 20 per cent. more or less, according to the weather, as shrimps can be sold by the itinerant dealers better than by the stall-keepers in wet weather, when people prefer buying at their doors. But in hot weather the stall trade is the best, "for people often fancy that the s'rimps is sent out to sell 'cause they'll not keep no longer. It's only among customers as knows you, you can do any good on a round then."

The costermongers sell annually, it appears, about 770,000 pints of shrimps. At 2*d.* a pint (a very low calculation) the street sale of shrimps amount to upwards of 6,400*l.* yearly.

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ORANGE MART, DUKE'S PLACE.—[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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Of Oyster Selling in the Streets.

The trade in oysters is unquestionably one of the oldest with which the London—or rather the English—markets are connected; for oysters from Britain were a luxury in ancient Rome.

Oysters are now sold out of the smacks at Billingsgate, and a few at Hungerford. The more expensive kind such as the real Milton, are never bought by the costermongers, but they buy oysters of a "good middling quality." At the commencement of the season these oysters are 14*s.* a "bushel," but the measure contains from a bushel and a half to two bushels, as it is more or less heaped up. The general price, however, is 9*s.* or 10*s.*, but they *have* been 16*s.* and 18*s.* The "big trade" was unknown until 1848, when the very large shelly oysters, the fish inside being very small, were introduced from the Sussex coast. They were sold in Thames-street and by the Borough-market. Their sale was at first enormous. The costermongers distinguished them by the name of "scuttle-mouths." One coster informant told me that on the Saturdays he not unfrequently, with the help of a boy and a girl, cleared 10*s.* by selling these oysters in the streets, disposing of four bags. He thus sold, reckoning twenty-one dozen to the bag, 2,016 oysters; and as the price was two for a penny, he took just 4*l.* 4*s.* by the sale of oysters in the streets in one night. With the scuttle-mouths the costermonger takes no trouble: he throws them into a yard, and dashes a few pails of water over them, and then places them on his barrow, or conveys them to his stall. Some of the better class of costermongers, however, lay down their oysters carefully, giving them oatmeal "to fatten on."

In April last, some of the street-sellers of this article established, for the first time, "oyster-rounds." These were carried on by costermongers whose business was over at twelve in the day, or a little later; they bought a bushel of scuttle-mouths (never the others), and, in the afternoon, went a round with them to poor neighbourhoods, until about six, when they took a stand in some frequented street. Going these oyster-rounds is hard work, I am told, and a boy is generally taken to assist. Monday afternoon is the best time for this trade, when 10*s.* is sometimes taken, and 4*s.* or 5*s.* profit made. On other evenings only from 1*s.* to 5*s.* is taken—very rarely the larger sum—as the later the day in the week the smaller is the receipt, owing to the wages of the working classes getting gradually exhausted.

The women who sell oysters in the street, and whose dealings are limited, buy either of the costermongers or at the coal-sheds. But nearly all the men buy at Billingsgate, where as small a quantity as a peck can be had.

An old woman, who had "seen better days," but had been reduced to keep an oyster-stall, gave me the following account of her customers. She showed much shrewdness in her conversation, but having known better days, she declined to enter upon any conversation concerning her former life:—

"As to my customers, sir," she said, "why, indeed, they're all sorts. It's not a very few times that gentlemen (I call them so because they're mostly so civil) will stop—just as it's getting darkish, perhaps,—and look about them, and then come to me and say very quick: 'Two penn'orth for a whet.' Ah! some of 'em will look, may be, like poor parsons down upon their luck, and swallow their oysters as if they was taking poison in a hurry. They'll not touch the bread or butter once in twenty times, but they'll be free with the pepper and vinegar, or, mayhap, they'll say quick and short, 'A crust off that.' I many a time think *that* two penn'orth is a poor gentleman's dinner. It's the same often—but only half as often, or not half—with a poor lady, with a veil that once was black, over a bonnet to match, and shivering through her shawl. She'll have the same. About two penn'orth is the mark still; it's mostly two penn'orth. My son says, it's because that's the price of a glass of gin, and some persons buy oysters instead—but that's only his joke, sir. It's not the vulgar poor that's our chief customers. There's many of them won't touch oysters, and I've heard some of them say: 'The sight on 'em makes me sick; it's like eating snails.' The poor girls that walk the streets often buy; some are brazen and vulgar, and often the finest dressed are the vulgarest; at least, I think so; and of those that come to oyster stalls, I'm sure it's the case. Some are shy to such as me, who may, perhaps, call their own mothers to their minds, though it aint many of them that is so. One of them always says that she must keep at least a penny for gin after her oysters. One young woman ran away from my stall once after swallowing one oyster out of six that she'd paid for. I don't know why. Ah! there's many things a person like me sees that one may say, 'I don't know why' to; that there is. My heartiest customers, that I serve with the most pleasure, are working people, on a Saturday night. One couple—I think the wife always goes to meet her husband on a Saturday night—has two, or three, or four penn'orth, as happens, and it's pleasant to hear them say, 'Won't you have another, John?' or, 'Do have one or two more, Mary Anne.' I've served them that way two or three years. They've no children, I'm pretty sure, for if I say, 'Take a few home to the little ones,' the wife tosses her head, and says, half vexed and half laughing, '*Such* nonsense.' I send out a good many oysters, opened, for people's suppers, and sometimes for supper parties—at least, I suppose so, for there's five or six dozen often ordered. The maid-servants come for them then, and I give them two or three for themselves, and say, jokingly-like, 'It's no use offering you any, perhaps, because you'll have plenty that's left.' They've mostly one answer: 'Don't we wish we may get 'em?' The *very* poor never buy of me, as I told you. A penny

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buys a loaf, you see, or a ha'porth of bread and a ha'porth of cheese, or a half-pint of beer, with a farthing out. My customers are mostly working people and tradespeople. Ah! sir, I wish the parson of the parish, or any parson, sat with me a fortnight; he'd see what life is then. 'It's different,' a learned man used to say to me—that's long ago—'from what's noticed from the pew or the pulpit.' I've missed the gentleman as used to say that, now many years—I don't know how many. I never knew his name. He was drunk now and then, and used to tell me he was an author. I felt for him. A dozen oysters wasn't much for him. We see a deal of the world, sir—yes, a deal. Some, mostly working people, take quantities of pepper with their oysters in cold weather, and say it's to warm them, and no doubt it does; but frosty weather is very bad oyster weather. The oysters gape and die, and then they are not so much as manure. They are very fine this year. I clear 1*s.* a day, I think, during the season—at least 1*s.*, taking the fine with the wet days, and the week days with the Sundays, though I'm not out then; but, you see, I'm known about here."

The number of oysters sold by the costermongers amounts to 124,000,000 a year. These, at four a penny, would realise the large sum of 129,650*l.* We may therefore safely assume that 125,000*l.* is spent yearly in oysters in the streets of London.

OF PERIWINKLE SELLING IN THE STREETS.

THERE are some street people who, nearly all the year through, sell nothing but periwinkles, and go regular rounds, where they are well known. The "wink" men, as these periwinkle sellers are called, generally live in the lowest parts, and many in lodging-houses. They are forced to live in low localities, they say, because of the smell of the fish, which is objected to. The city district is ordinarily the best for winkle-sellers, for there are not so many cheap shops there as in other parts. The summer is the best season, and the sellers then make, upon the average, 12*s.* a week clear profit; in the winter, they get upon the average, 5*s.* a week clear, by selling mussels and whelks—for, as winkles last only from March till October, they are then obliged to do what they can in the whelk and mussel way. "I buy my winks," said one, "at Billingsgate, at 3*s.* and 4*s.* the wash. A wash is about a bushel. There's some at 2*s.*, and some sometimes as low as 1*s.* the wash, but they wouldn't do for me, as I serve very respectable people. If we choose we can boil our winkles at Billingsgate by paying 4*d.* a week for boiling, and ½*d.* for salt, to salt them after they are boiled. Tradesmen's families buy them for a relish to their tea. It's reckoned a nice present from a young man to his sweetheart, is winks. Servant girls are pretty good customers, and want them cheaper when they say it's for themselves; but I have only one price."

One man told me he could make as much as 12*s.* a week—sometimes more and sometimes less. He made no speeches, but sung—"Winketty-winketty-wink-wink-wink—wink-wink—wicketty-wicketty-wink—fine fresh winketty-winks wink wink." He was often so sore in the stomach and hoarse with hallooing that he could hardly speak. He had no child, only himself and wife to keep out of his earnings. His room was 2*s.* a week rent. He managed to get a bit of meat every day, he said, "somehow or 'nother."

Another, more communicative and far more intelligent man, said to me concerning the character of his customers: "They're people I think that like to daddle" (dawdle, I presume) "over their teas or such like; or when a young woman's young man takes tea with her mother and her, then they've winks; and then there's joking, and helping to pick winks, between Thomas and Betsy, while the mother's busy with her tea, or is wiping her specs, 'cause she *can't* see. Why, sir, I've known it! I was a Thomas that way myself when I was a tradesman. I was a patten-maker once, but pattens is no go now, and hasn't been for fifteen year or more. Old people, I think, that lives by themselves, and has perhaps an annuity or the like of that, and nothing to do pertickler, loves winks, for they likes a pleasant way of making time long over a meal. They're the people as reads a newspaper, when it's a week old, all through. The other buyers, I think, are tradespeople or working-people what wants a relish. But winks is a bad trade now, and so is many that depends on relishes."

One man who "works" the New Cut, has the "best wink business of all." He sells only a little dry fish with his winks, never wet fish, and has "got his name up," for the superiority of that shell-fish—a superiority which he is careful to ensure. He pays 8*s.* a week for a stand by a grocer's window. On an ordinary afternoon he sells from 7*s.* to 10*s.* worth of periwinkles. On a Monday afternoon he often takes 20*s.*; and on the Sunday afternoon 3*l.* and 4*l.* He has two coster lads to help him, and sometimes on a Sunday from twenty to thirty customers about him. He wraps each parcel sold in a neat brown paper bag, which, I am assured, is of itself, an inducement to buy of him. The "unfortunate" women who live in the streets contiguous to the Waterloo, Blackfriars, and Borough-roads, are among his best customers, on Sundays especially. He is rather a public character, getting up dances and the like. "*He* aint bothered—not he—with ha'p'orths or penn'orths of a Sunday," said a person who had assisted him. "It's the top of the tree with his customers; 3*d.* or 6*d.* at a go." The receipts are one-half profit. I heard from several that he was "the best man for winks a-going."

The quantity of periwinkles disposed of by the London street-sellers is 3,600,000 pints, which, at 1*d.* per pint, gives the large sum of 15,000*l.* expended annually in this street luxury. It should be remembered, that a very large con-

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sumption of periwinkles takes place in public-houses and suburban tea-gardens.

Of "Dry" Fish Selling in the Streets.

The dealing in "dry" or salt fish is never carried on as a totally distinct trade in the streets, but some make it a principal part of their business; and many wet fish-dealers whose "wet fish" is disposed of by noon, sell dry fish in the afternoon. The dry fish, proper, consists of dried mackerel, salt cod—dried or barrelled—smoked or dried haddocks (often called "finnie haddies"), dried or pickled salmon (but salmon is only salted or pickled for the streets when it can be sold cheap), and salt herrings.

A keen-looking, tidily-dressed man, who was at one time a dry fish-seller principally, gave me the following account. For the last two months he has confined himself to another branch of the business, and seemed to feel a sort of pleasure in telling of the "dodges" he once resorted to:

"There's Scotch haddies that never knew anything about Scotland," he said, "for I've made lots of them myself by Tower-street, just a jump or two from the Lambeth station-house. I used to make them on Sundays. I was a wet fish-seller then, and when I couldn't get through my haddocks or my whitings of a Saturday night, I wasn't a-going to give them away to folks that wouldn't take the trouble to lift me out of a gutter if I fell there, so I presarved them. I've made haddies of whitings, and good ones too, and Joe made them of codlings besides. I had a bit of a back-yard to two rooms, one over the other, that I had then, and on a Sunday I set some wet wood a fire, and put it under a great tub. My children used to gut and wash the fish, and I hung them on hooks all round the sides of the tub, and made a bit of a chimney in a corner of the top of the tub, and that way I gave them a jolly good smoking. My wife had a dry fish-stall and sold them, and used to sing out 'Real Scotch haddies,' and tell people how they was from Aberdeen; I've often been fit to laugh, she did it so clever. I had a way of giving them a yellow colour like the real Scotch, but that's a secret. After they was well smoked they was hung up to dry all round the rooms we lived in, and we often had stunning fires that answered as well to boil crabs and lobsters when they was cheap enough for the streets. I've boiled a mate's crabs and lobsters for 2½*d.*; it was two boilings and more, and 2½*d.* was reckoned the price of half a quarter of a hundred of coals and the use of the pan. There's more ways than one of making 6*d.*, if a man has eyes in his head and keeps them open. Haddocks that wouldn't fetch 1*d.* a piece, nor any money at all of a Saturday night, I've sold—at least she has" (indicating his wife by a motion of his thumb)—"at 2*d.*, and 3*d.*, and 4*d.* I've bought fish of costers that was over on a Saturday night, to make Scotch haddies of them. I've tried experience" (experiments) "too. Ivy, burnt under them, gave them, I thought, a nice sort of flavour, rather peppery, for I used always to taste them; but I hate living on fish. Ivy with brown berries on it, as it has about this time o' year, I liked best. Holly wasn't no good. A black-currant bush was, but it's too dear; and indeed it couldn't be had. I mostly spread wetted fire-wood, as green as could be got, or damp sticks of any kind, over shavings, and kept feeding the fire. Sometimes I burnt sawdust. Somehow, the dry fish trade fell off. People does get so prying and so knowing, there's no doing nothing now for no time, so I dropped the dry fish trade. There's few up to smoking them proper; they smoke 'em black, as if they was hung up in a chimbley."

Another costermonger gave me the following account:

"I've salted herrings, but the commonest way of salting is by the Jews about Whitechapel. They make real Yarmouth bloaters and all sorts of fish. When I salted herrings, I bought them out of the boats at Billingsgate by the hundred, which is 120 fish. We give them a bit of a clean—hardly anything—then chuck them into a tub of salt, and keep scattering salt over them, and let them lie a few minutes, or sometimes half an hour, and then hang them up to dry. They eat well enough, if they're eaten in time, for they won't keep. I've known three day's old herrings salted, just because there was no sale for them. One Jew sends out six boys crying 'real Yarmouth bloaters.' People buy them in preference, they look so nice and clean and fresh-coloured. It's quite a new trade among the Jews. They didn't do much that way until two years back. I sometimes wish I was a Jew, because they help one another, and start one another with money, and so they thrive where Christians are ruined. I smoked mackerel, too, by thousands; that's a new trade, and is done the same way as haddocks. Mackerel that won't bring 1*d.* a piece fresh, bring 2*d.* smoked; they are very nice indeed. I make about 10*s.* or 11*s.* a week by dry fish in the winter months, and about as much by wet,—but I have a tidy connection. Perhaps I make 17*s.* or 18*s.* a week all the year round."

The aggregate quantity of dry fish sold by the London costermongers throughout the year is as follows—the results being deduced from the table before given:

Wet salt cod	93,750
Dry do.	1,000,000
Smoked Haddocks	4,875,000
Bloaters	36,750,000
Red-herrings	25,000,000

Gross Value of the several Kinds of Fish annually Sold in the Streets of London.

It now but remains for me, in order to complete this account of the "street-sellers of fish," to form an estimate of the amount of money annually expended by the labourers and the poorer

classes of London upon the different kinds of wet, dry, and shell-fish. This, according to the best authorities, is as follows:

Wet Fish.	£
175,000 lbs. of salmon, at 6*d.* per lb.	4,000
1,000,000lbs. of live cod, at 1½*d.* per lb.	5,000
3,250,000 pairs of soles, at 1½*d.* per pair	20,000
4,400,000 whiting, at ½*d.* each . . .	9,000
29,400,000 plaice, at ¾*d.*	90,000
15,700,000 mackarel, at 6 for 1*s.* .	130,000
875,000,000 herrings, at 16 a groat .	900,000
3,000,000 lbs. of sprats. at 1*d.* per lb.	12,000
400,000 lbs. of eels, at 3 lb. for 1*s.* .	6,000
260,000 flounders, at 1*d.* per dozen.	100
270,000 dabs, at 1*d.* per dozen . .	100
Sum total expended yearly in wet fish	1,177,000

Dry Fish.	
525,000 lbs. barrelled cod, at 1½*d.* .	3,000
500,000 lbs. dried salt cod, at 2*d.* .	4,000
4,875,000 smoked haddock, at 1*d.*	20,000
36,750,000 bloaters, at 2 for 1*d.*. .	75,000
25,000,000 red herrings, at 4 for 1*d.*	25,000
Sum total expended yearly in dry fish	127,000

Shell Fish.	
124,000,000 oysters, at 4 a penny .	125,000
60,000 lobsters, at 3*d.*	750
50,000 crabs, at 2*d.*	400
770,000 pints of shrimps, at 2*d.* .	6,000
1,000,000 quarts of mussels, at 1*d.* .	4,000
750,000 quarts of cockles, at 1*d.* .	3,000
4,950,000 whelks, at 8 for 1*d.* . . .	2,500
3,600,000 pints of periwinkles, at 1*d.*	15,000
Sum total expended yearly in shell-fish	156,650

Adding together the above totals, we have the following result as to the gross money value of the fish purchased yearly in the London streets:

	£
Wet fish . .	1,177,200
Dry fish . .	127,000
Shell fish . .	156,650
Total .	£1,460,850

Hence we find that there is nearly a million and a half of money annually spent by the poorer classes of the metropolis in fish; a sum so prodigious as almost to discredit every statement of want, even if the amount said to be so expended be believed. The returns from which the above account is made out have been obtained, however, from such unquestionable sources —not from one salesman alone, but checked and corrected by many gentlemen who can have no conceivable motive for exaggeration either one way or the other—that, sceptical as our utter ignorance of the subject must necessarily make us, still if we will but examine for ourselves, we shall find there is no gainsaying the facts.

Moreover as to the enormity of the amount dispelling all ideas of privation among the industrious portion of the community, we shall also find on examination that assuming the working-men of the metropolis to be 500,000 in number (the Occupation Abstract of 1841, gives 773,560 individuals following *some* employment in London, but these include merchants, employers, shopkeepers, Government-officers and others), and that they, with their wives and children, make up one million individuals, it follows that the sum per head, expended in fish by the poorer classes every week, is a fraction more than 6¾*d.*, or, in other words, not quite one penny a day.

If the diet of a people be a criterion, as has been asserted, of their character, it may be feared that the present extensive fish-diet of the working-people of London, is as indicative of degeneracy of character, as Cobbett insisted must result from the consumption of tea, and "the cursed root," the potato. "The flesh of fish," says Pereira on Diet, "is less satisfying than the flesh of either quadrupeds or birds. As it contains a larger proportion of water (about 80 per cent.), it is obviously less nourishing." Haller tells us he found himself weakened by a fish-diet: and he states that Roman Catholics are generally debilitated during Lent. Pechlin also affirms that a mechanic, nourished merely by fish, has less muscular power than one who lives on the flesh of warm-blooded animals. Jockeys, who *waste themselves* in order to reduce their weight, live principally on fish.

The classes of fish above given, are, when considered in a "dietetical point of view," of two distinct kinds; viz., those which form the staple commodity of the dinners and suppers of the poor, and those which are mere relishes or stimuli to failing, rather than stays to, eager appetites. Under the former head, I include red-herrings, bloaters, and smoked haddocks; such things are not merely provocatives to eat, among the poor, as they are at the breakfast-table of many an over-fed or intemperate man. With the less affluent these salted fish are not a "relish," but a meal.

The shell-fish, however, can only be considered as luxuries. The 150,000*l.* thus annually expended in the streets, represents the sum laid out in mere relishes or stimuli to sluggish appetites. A very large proportion of this amount, I am inclined to believe, is spent by persons whose stomachs have been disordered by drink. A considerable part of the trade in the minor articles, as winks, shrimps, &c., is carried on in public-houses, while a favourite pitch for an oyster-stall is outside a tavern-door. If, then, so large an amount is laid out in an endeavour to restore the appetite after drinking, how much money must be squandered in destroying it by the same means?

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OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF FRUIT AND VEGETABLES.

OF THE KINDS AND QUANTITY OF FRUIT AND VEGETABLES SOLD IN THE STREETS.

THERE are two kinds of fruit sold in the streets —"green fruit" and "dry fruit."

In commerce, all fruit which is edible as it is taken from the tree or the ground, is known as "green." A subdivision of this green fruit is into "fresh" or "tender" fruit, which includes currants, gooseberries, strawberries, and, indeed, all fruits that demand immediate consumption, in contradistinction to such productions as nuts which may be kept without injury for a season. All fruit which is "cured" is known as "dry" fruit. In summer the costers vend "green fruit," and in the winter months, or in the early spring, when the dearness or insufficiency of the supply of green fruit renders it unsuited for their traffic, they resort, but not extensively, to "dry fruit." It is principally, however, when an abundant season, or the impossibility of keeping the dry fruit much longer, has tended to reduce the price of it, that the costlier articles are to be found on the costermonger's barrow.

Fruit is, for the most part, displayed on barrows, by the street-dealers in it. Some who supply the better sort of houses—more especially those in the suburbs—carry such things as apples and plums, in clean round wicker-baskets, holding pecks or half-pecks.

The commoner "green" fruits of home produce are bought by the costermonger in the markets. The foreign green fruit, as pine-apples, melons, grapes, chestnuts, coker-nuts, Brazil-nuts, hazel-nuts, and oranges, are purchased by them at the public sales of the brokers, and of the Jews in Duke's-place. The more intelligent and thrifty of the costers buy at the public sales on the principle of association, as I have elsewhere described. Some costermongers expend as much as 20*l.* at a time in such green fruit, or dry fruit, as is not immediately perishable, at a public sale, or at a fruit-warehouse, and supply the other costers.

The regular costermongers seldom deal in oranges and chestnuts. If they sell walnuts, they reserve these, they say, for their Sunday afternoon's pastime. The people who carry oranges, chestnuts, or walnuts, or Spanish nuts about the town, are not considered as costermongers, but are generally, though not always, classed, by the regular men, with the watercress-women, the sprat-women, the winkle-dealers, and such others, whom they consider beneath them. The orange season is called by the costermonger the "Irishman's harvest." Indeed, the street trade in oranges and nuts is almost entirely in the hands of the Irish and their children; and of the children of costermongers. The costers themselves would rather starve—and do starve now and then—than condescend to it. The trade in coker-nuts is carried on greatly by the Jews on Sundays, and by young men and boys who are not on other days employed as street-sellers.

The usual kinds of fruit the regular costers deal in are strawberries, raspberries (plain and stalked), cherries, apricots, plums, green-gages, currants, apples, pears, damsons, green and ripe gooseberries, and pine-apples. They also deal in vegetables, such as turnips, greens, brocoli, carrots, onions, celery, rhubarb, new potatoes, peas, beans (French and scarlet, broad and Windsor), asparagus, vegetable marrow, seakale, spinach, lettuces, small salads, radishes, etc. Their fruit and vegetables they usually buy at Covent-garden, Spitalfields, or the Borough markets. Occasionally they buy some at Farringdon, but this they reckon to be very little better than a "haggler's market,"—a "haggler" being, as I before explained, the middle-man who attends in the fruit and vegetable-markets, and buys of the salesman to sell again to the retail dealer or costermonger.

Concerning the quantity of fruit and vegetables sold in the streets, by the London costermongers. This, as I said, when treating of the street-trade in fish, can only be arrived at by ascertaining the entire quantity sold wholesale at the London markets, and then learning from the best authorities the proportion retailed in the public thoroughfares. Fully to elucidate this matter, both as to the extent of the metropolitan supply of vegetables and fruit, ("foreign" as well as "home-grown," and "green" as well as "dry") and the relative quantity of each, vended through the agency of the costermongers, I caused inquiries to be instituted at all the principal markets and brokers (for not even the vaguest return on the subject had, till then, been prepared), and received from all the gentlemen connected therewith, every assistance and information, as I have here great pleasure in acknowledging.

To carry out my present inquiry, I need not give returns of the articles *not* sold by the costermongers, nor is it necessary for me to cite any but those dealt in by them generally. Their exceptional sales, such as of mushrooms, cucumbers, &c., are not included here.

The following Table shows the ordinary annual supply of *home grown fruit* (nearly all produced within a radius of twelve miles from the Bank) to each of the London "green" markets.

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A TABLE SHOWING THE QUANTITY OR MEASURE OF THE UNDERMENTIONED HOME-GROWN FRUITS AND VEGETABLES SOLD THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, WHOLESALE, IN THE METROPOLITAN "GREEN" MARKETS, WITH THE PROPORTION SOLD RETAIL IN THE STREETS.

Description of Fruits and Vegetables.	Covent Garden.	Borough.	Spitalfields.	Farringdon.	Portman.	Total.	Proportion sold by Costermongers.
GREEN FRUIT.							
Apples	360,000 bushels	25,000	250,000	35,000	16,000	686,000	One-half.
Pears	280,000 ,,	10,000	88,000	20,000	10,000	353,000	One-half.
Cherries	90,000 doz. lbs.	45,000	15,000	12,000	11,200	173,200	One-half.
Plums*	93,000 bushels	15,500	45,000	3,000	20,000	176,500	One-fifteenth.
Green Gages*	2,000 ,,	333	1,500	1,000	500	5,333	One-fiftieth.
Damsons*	19,800 ,,	3,150	4,500	9,000	1,200	16,450	One-thirtieth.
Bullace	1,800 ,,	1,620	400	540	540	4,900	One-half.
Gooseberries	140,000 ,,	26,200	91,500	12,000	7,000	276,700	Three-fourths.
Currants (Red)*	70,000 sieves	15,000	75,000	6,000	9,000	171,000	One-half.
Ditto (Black)	45,000 ,,	12,000	45,000	6,000	4,000	108,000	One-eighth.
Ditto (White)	3,800 ,,	3,000	15,000	3,000	2,000	24,000	One-eighth.
Strawberries†	638,000 pottles	330,000	396,000	15,000	148,500	1,527,500	One-half.
Raspberries	22,500 ,,	3,750	2,500	3,500	3,000	35,250	One-twentieth.
Mulberries	17,496 ,,	57,600	7,064	17,281	22,500	121,940	One-fourth.
Hazel Nuts	2,700 bushels	1,000	648	5,400	270	9,018	Two-thirds.
Filberts	221,400 lbs.	72,000	43,200	144,000	37,800	518,400	One-thirtieth.
VEGETABLES.							
Potatoes	161,280,000 lbs.	48,384,000	64,512,000	24,192,000	12,096,000	310,464,000	One-fifteenth.
Cabbages‡	33,600,000 plants	19,200,000	12,000,000	8,400,000	16,472,000	89,672,000	One-third.
Brocoli and Cauliflowers	1,800,000 heads	3,780,000	2,880,000	5,320,000	546,000	14,326,000	One-twentieth.
Turnips	18,800,000 roots	4,800,000	4,800,000	3,500,000	748,000	32,648,000	One-tenth.
Turnip Tops	300,000 junks,	500,000	600,000	250,000	200,000	1,850,000	One-third.
Carrots	12,000,000 roots	1,571,000	2,400,000	1,500,000	546,000	16,817,000	One-thirtieth.
Peas	270,000 bushels	50,000	100,000	14,000	4,000	438,000	One-half.
Beans	100,000 ,,	20,000	10,000	2,400	1,000	133,400	One-fifteenth.
French Beans	140,000 ,,	9,600	12,000	50,000	9,600	221,100	One-tenth.
Vegetab. Marrows	10,800 dozen	3,240	3,600	432	1,800	19,872	One-third.
Asparagus	12,000 dz. bun.	3,600	1,080	1,440	1,440	19,560	One-fortieth.
Celery	15,000 ,,	4,800	6,000	3,000	6,000	34,800	One-eighth.
Rhubarb	7,200 ,,	48,000	28,800	2,400	4,800	91,200	One-tenth.
Lettuces	734,400 plants	1,080,000	2,073,600	129,600	475,200	4,492,800	One-eighth.
Radishes	6,912 dz. hands	43,200	36,000	18,000	28,800	132,912	One-tenth.
Onions	500,000 bushels	398,000	400,000	9,600	182,000	1,489,600	One-third.
Ditto (Spring)	36,000 dz. bun.	10,800	21,600	21,600	14,400	94,000	One-fourth.
Cucumbers	2,160 bushels	10,800	24,000	12,000	38,400	87,360	One-eighth.
Herbs	7,200 dz. bun.	9,600	9,400	7,800	3,900	32,900	One-tenth.

* The above fruits are not all home grown. The currants, I am informed, are one-fifteenth foreign. The foreign "tender" fruit being sent to the markets, it is impossible to obtain separate returns.

† A common sale of strawberries in the markets is "rounds." I have, however, given the quantity thus sold less technically, and in the measures most familiar to the general public.

‡ The cabbages, turnips, &c. are brought in loads to the great wholesale markets, a load varying from 150 to 200 dozen, but being more frequently nearer 200, and not unfrequently to fully that amount. Not to perplex my reader with too great a multiciplicity of figures in a tabular arrangement, I have given the quantity of individual articles in a load, without specifying it. In the smaller market (for vegetables) of Portman, the cabbages, &c., are not conveyed in waggons, as to the other markets, but in carts containing generally sixty dozens.

The various proportions of the several kinds of fruit and vegetables sold by the costermongers are here calculated for *all* the markets, from returns which have been obtained from each market separately. To avoid unnecessary detail, however, these several items are lumped together, and the aggregate proportion above given.

The foregoing Table, however, relates chiefly to "home grown" supplies. Concerning the quantity of foreign fruit and vegetables imported into this country, the proportion consumed in London, and the relative amount sold by the costers, I have obtained the following returns:—

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TABLE, SHOWING THE QUANTITY OR MEASURE OF THE UNDERMENTIONED FOREIGN GREEN FRUITS AND VEGETABLES SOLD WHOLESALE THROUGHOUT THE YEAR IN LONDON, WITH THE PROPORTION SOLD RETAIL IN THE STREETS.

Description.	Quantity sold wholesale in London.	Proportion sold retail in the the streets.
FRUIT.		
Apples . . .	39,561 bush.	seven-eighths.
Pears . . .	19,742 ,,	seven-eighths.
Cherries . .	264,240 lbs.	two-thirds.
Grapes . . .	1,328,190 ,,	one-fiftieth.
Pine-apples .	200,000 fruit	one-tenth.
Oranges . . .	61,635,146 ,,	one-fourth.
Lemons . . .	15,408,789 ,,	one-hundredth.
NUTS.		
Spanish Nuts } Barcelona ,, }	72,509 bush.	one-third.
Brazil ,, . .	11,700 ,,	one-fourth.
Chestnuts . .	26,250 ,,	one-fourth.
Walnuts . . .	36,088 ,,	two-thirds.
"Coker"-nuts .	1,255,000 nuts	one-third.
VEGETABLES.		
Potatoes . . .	79,654,400lbs.	one-half.

Here, then, we have the entire metropolitan supply of the principal vegetables and green fruit (both home grown and foreign), as well as the relative quantity "distributed" throughout London by the costermongers; it now but remains for me, in order to complete the account, to do the same for "the dry fruit."

TABLE, SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF "DRY" FRUIT SOLD WHOLESALE IN LONDON THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, WITH THE PROPORTION SOLD RETAIL IN THE STREETS.

Description.	Quantity sold wholesale in London.	Proportion sold retail in the streets.
Shell Almonds .	12,500 cwt.	half per cent.
Raisins . .	135,000 ,,	quarter per cent.
Currants .	250,000 ,,	none.
Figs . . .	21,700 ,,	one per cent.
Prunes . .	15,000 ,,	quarter per cent.

OF THE FRUIT AND VEGETABLE SEASON OF THE COSTERMONGERS.

The strawberry season begins about June, and continues till about the middle of July. From the middle to the end of July the costers "work" raspberries. During July cherries are "in" as well as raspberries; but many costers prefer working raspberries, because "they're a quicker sixpence." After the cherries, they go to work upon plums, which they have about the end of August. Apples and pears come in after the plums in the month of September, and the apples last them all through the winter till the month of May. The pears last only till Christmas. Currants they work about the latter end of July, or beginning of August.

Concerning the costermonger's vegetable season, it may be said that he "works" greens during the winter months, up to about March; from that time they are getting "leathery," the leaves become foxy, I was told, and they eat tough when boiled. The costers generally do not like dealing either in greens or turnips, "they are such heavy luggage," they say. They would sooner "work" green peas and new potatoes.

The costermonger, however, does the best at fruit; but this he cannot work—with the exception of apples—for more than four months in the year. They lose but little from the fruit spoiling. "If it doesn't fetch a good price, it must fetch a bad one," they say; but they are never at a great loss by it. They find the "ladies" their hardest or "scaliest" customers. Whatever price they ask, they declare the "ladies" will try to save the market or "gin" penny out of it, so that they may have "a glass of something short" before they go home.

OF COVENT GARDEN MARKET.

ON a Saturday—the coster's business day—it is computed that as many as 2,000 donkey-barrows, and upwards of 3,000 women with shallows and head-baskets visit this market during the forenoon. About six o'clock in the morning is the best time for viewing the wonderful restlessness of the place, for then not only is the "Garden" itself all bustle and activity, but the buyers and sellers stream to and from it in all directions, filling every street in the vicinity. From Long Acre to the Strand on the one side, and from Bow-street to Bedford-street on the other, the ground has been seized upon by the market-goers. As you glance down any one of the neighbouring streets, the long rows of carts and donkey-barrows seem interminable in the distance. They are of all kinds, from the greengrocer's taxed cart to the coster's barrow—from the showy excursion-van to the rude square donkey-cart and bricklayer's truck. In every street they are ranged down the middle and by the kerb-stones. Along each approach to the market, too, nothing is to be seen, on all sides, but vegetables; the pavement is covered with heaps of them waiting to be carted; the flag-stones are stained green with the leaves trodden under foot; sieves and sacks full of apples and potatoes, and bundles of brocoli and rhubarb, are left unwatched upon almost every door-step; the steps of Covent Garden Theatre are covered with fruit and vegetables; the road is blocked up with mountains of cabbages and turnips; and men and women push past with their arms bowed out by the cauliflowers under them, or the red tips of carrots pointing from their crammed aprons, or else their faces are red with the weight of the loaded head-basket.

The donkey-barrows, from their number and singularity, force you to stop and notice them. Every kind of ingenuity has been exercised to

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construct harness for the costers' steeds; where a buckle is wanting, tape or string make the fastening secure; traces are made of rope and old chain, and an old sack or cotton handkerchief is folded up as a saddle-pad. Some few of the barrows make a magnificent exception, and are gay with bright brass; while one of the donkeys may be seen dressed in a suit of old plated carriage-harness, decorated with coronets in all directions. At some one of the coster conveyances stands the proprietor, arranging his goods, the dozing animal starting up from its sleep each time a heavy basket is hoisted on the tray. Others, with their green and white and red load neatly arranged, are ready for starting, but the coster is finishing his breakfast at the coffee-stall. On one barrow there may occasionally be seen a solitary sieve of apples, with the horse of some neighbouring cart helping himself to the pippins while the owner is away. The men that take charge of the trucks, whilst the costers visit the market, walk about, with their arms full of whips and sticks. At one corner a donkey has slipped down, and lies on the stones covered with the cabbages and apples that have fallen from the cart.

The market itself presents a beautiful scene. In the clear morning air of an autumn day the whole of the vast square is distinctly seen from one end to the other. The sky is red and golden with the newly-risen sun, and the rays falling on the fresh and vivid colours of the fruit and vegetables, brightens up the picture as with a coat of varnish. There is no shouting, as at other markets, but a low murmuring hum is heard, like the sound of the sea at a distance, and through each entrance to the market the crowd sweeps by. Under the dark Piazza little bright dots of gas-lights are seen burning in the shops; and in the paved square the people pass and cross each other in all directions, hampers clash together, and excepting the carters from the country, every one is on the move. Sometimes a huge column of baskets is seen in the air, and walks away in a marvellously steady manner, or a monster railway van, laden with sieves of fruit, and with the driver perched up on his high seat, jolts heavily over the stones. Cabbages are piled up into stacks as it were. Carts are heaped high with turnips, and bunches of carrots like huge red fingers, are seen in all directions. Flower-girls, with large bundles of violets under their arms, run past, leaving a trail of perfume behind them. Wagons, with their shafts sticking up in the air, are ranged before the salesmen's shops, the high green load railed in with hurdles, and every here and there bunches of turnips are seen flying in the air over the heads of the people. Groups of apple-women, with straw pads on their crushed bonnets, and coarse shawls crossing their bosoms, sit on their porter's knots, chatting in Irish, and smoking short pipes; every passer-by is hailed with the cry of, "Want a baskit, yer honor?" The porter, trembling under the piled-up hamper, trots along the street, with his teeth clenched and shirt wet with the weight, and staggering at every step he takes.

Inside, the market all is bustle and confusion. The people walk along with their eyes fixed on the goods, and frowning with thought. Men in all costumes, from the coster in his corduroy suit to the greengrocer in his blue apron, sweep past. A countryman, in an old straw hat and dusty boots, occasionally draws down the anger of a woman for walking about with his hands in the pockets of his smock-frock, and is asked, "if that is the way to behave on a market-day?" Even the granite pillars cannot stop the crowd, for it separates and rushes past them, like the tide by a bridge pier. At every turn there is a fresh odour to sniff at; either the bitter aromatic perfume of the herbalists' shops breaks upon you, or the scent of oranges, then of apples, and then of onions is caught for an instant as you move along. The brocoli tied up in square packets, the white heads tinged slightly red, as it were, with the sunshine, —the sieves of crimson love-apples, polished like china,—the bundles of white glossy leeks, their roots dangling like fringe, — the celery, with its pinky stalks and bright green tops,— the dark purple pickling-cabbages,—the scarlet carrots,—the white knobs of turnips,—the bright yellow balls of oranges, and the rich brown coats of the chesnuts—attract the eye on every side. Then there are the apple-merchants, with their fruit of all colours, from the pale yellow green to the bright crimson, and the baskets ranged in rows on the pavement before the little shops. Round these the customers stand examining the stock, then whispering together over their bargain, and counting their money. "Give you four shillings for this here lot, master," says a coster, speaking for his three companions. "Four and six is my price," answers the salesman. "Say four, and it's a bargain," continues the man. "I said my price," returns the dealer; "go and look round, and see if you can get 'em cheaper; if not, come back. I only wants what's fair." The men, taking the salesman's advice, move on. The walnut merchant, with the group of women before his shop, peeling the fruit, their fingers stained deep brown, is busy with the Irish purchasers. The onion stores, too, are surrounded by Hibernians, feeling and pressing the gold-coloured roots, whose dry skins crackle as they are handled. Cases of lemons in their white paper jackets, and blue grapes, just seen above the sawdust are ranged about, and in some places the ground is slippery as ice from the refuse leaves and walnut husks scattered over the pavement.

Against the railings of St. Paul's Church are hung baskets and slippers for sale, and near the public-house is a party of countrymen preparing their bunches of pretty coloured grass— brown and glittering, as if it had been bronzed. Between the spikes of the railing are piled up square cakes of green turf for larks; and at the pump, boys, who probably have passed the previous night in the baskets about the market, are

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washing, and the water dripping from their hair that hangs in points over the face. The kerbstone is blocked up by a crowd of admiring lads, gathered round the bird-catcher's green stand, and gazing at the larks beating their breasts against their cages. The owner, whose boots are red with the soil of the brick-field, shouts, as he looks carelessly around, "A cock linnet for tuppence," and then hits at the youths who are poking through the bars at the fluttering birds.

Under the Piazza the costers purchase their flowers (in pots) which they exchange in the streets for old clothes. Here is ranged a small garden of flower-pots, the musk and mignonette smelling sweetly, and the scarlet geraniums, with a perfect glow of coloured air about the flowers, standing out in rich contrast with the dark green leaves of the evergreens behind them. "There's myrtles, and larels, and boxes," says one of the men selling them, "and there's a barbora witus, and lauristiners, and that bushy shrub with pink spots is heath." Men and women, selling different articles, walk about under the cover of the colonnade. One has seed-cake, another small-tooth and other combs, others old caps, or pig's feet, and one hawker of knives, razors, and short hatchets, may occasionally be seen driving a bargain with a countryman, who stands passing his thumb over the blade to test its keenness. Between the pillars are the coffee-stalls, with their large tin cans and piles of bread and butter, and protected from the wind by paper screens and sheets thrown over clothes-horses; inside these little parlours, as it were, sit the coffee-drinkers on chairs and benches, some with a bunch of cabbages on their laps, blowing the steam from their saucers, others, with their mouths full, munching away at their slices, as if not a moment could be lost. One or two porters are there besides, seated on their baskets, breakfasting with their knots on their heads.

As you walk away from this busy scene, you meet in every street barrows and costers hurrying home. The pump in the market is now surrounded by a cluster of chattering wenches quarrelling over whose turn it is to water their drooping violets, and on the steps of Covent Garden Theatre are seated the shoeless girls, tying up the halfpenny and penny bundles.

Of "Green" Fruit Selling in the Streets.

The fruit selling of the streets of London is of a distinct character from that of vegetable or fish selling, inasmuch as fruit is for the most part a luxury, and the others are principally necessaries.

There is no doubt that the consumption of fruit supplies a fair criterion of the condition of the working classes, but the costermongers, as a body of traders, are little observant, so that it is not easy to derive from them much information respecting the classes who are their customers, or as to how their custom is influenced by the circumstances of the times. One man, however, told me that during the last panic he sold hardly anything beyond mere necessaries. Other street-sellers to whom I spoke could not comprehend what a panic meant.

The most intelligent costers whom I conversed with agreed that they now sold less fruit than ever to working people, but perhaps more than ever to the dwellers in the smaller houses in the suburbs, and to shopkeepers who were not in a large way of business. One man sold baking apples, but not above a peck on an average weekly, to women whom he knew to be the wives of working men, for he had heard them say, "Dear me, I didn't think it had been so late, there's hardly time to get the dumplings baked before my husband leaves work for his dinner." The course of my inquiries has shown me—and many employers whom I have conversed with are of a similar opinion—that the well-conducted and skilful artisan, who, in spite of slop competition, continues to enjoy a fair rate of wages, usually makes a prudent choice of a wife, who perhaps has been a servant in a respectable family. Such a wife is probably "used to cooking," and will oft enough make a pie or pudding to eke out the cold meat of the Monday's dinner, or "for a treat for the children." With the mass of the working people, however, it is otherwise. The wife perhaps has been reared to incessant toil with her needle, and does not know how to make even a dumpling. Even if she possess as much knowledge, she may have to labour as well as her husband, and if their joint earnings enable them to have "the added pudding," there is still the trouble of making it; and, after a weary week's work, rest is often a greater enjoyment than a gratification of the palate. Thus something easily prepared, and carried off to the oven, is preferred. The slop-workers of all trades never, I believe, taste either fruit pie or pudding, unless a penny one be bought at a shop or in the street; and even among mechanics who are used to better diet, the pies and puddings, when wages are reduced, or work grows slack, are the first things that are dispensed with. "When the money doesn't come in, sir," one working-man said to me, "we mustn't think of puddings, but of *bread*."

A costermonger, more observant than the rest, told me that there were some classes to whom he had rarely sold fruit, and whom he had seldom seen buy any. Among these he mentioned sweeps, scavengers, dustmen, nightmen, gas-pipe-layers, and sewer-men, who preferred to any fruit, "something to bite in the mouth, such as a penn'orth of gin." My informant believed that this abstinence from fruit was common to all persons engaged in such offensive trades as fiddle-string making, gut-dressing for whip-makers or sausage-makers, knackers, &c. He was confident of it, as far as his own experience extended. It is, moreover, less common for the women of the town, of the poorer sort, to expend pence in fruit than in such things

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as whelks, shrimps, or winks, to say nothing of gin. Persons, whose stomachs may be one week jaded to excess, and the next be deprived of a sufficiency of proper food, seek for stimulants, or, as they term it, "relishes."

The fruit-sellers, meaning thereby those who deal principally in fruit in the season, are the more intelligent costermongers. The calculation as to what a bushel of apples, for instance, will make in half or quarter pecks, puzzles the more ignorant, and they buy "second-hand," or of a middle-man, and consequently dearer. The Irish street-sellers do not meddle much with fruit, excepting a few of the very best class of them, and they "do well in it," I was told, "they have such tongue."

The improvement in the quality of the fruit and vegetables now in our markets, and consequently in the necessaries and luxuries of the poorer classes, is very great. Prizes and medals have been deservedly awarded to the skilled and persevering gardeners who have increased the size and heightened the flavour of the pine-apple or the strawberry—who have given a thinner rind to the peach, or a fuller gush of juice to the apricot,—or who have enhanced alike the bloom, the weight, and the size of the fruit of the vine, whether as regards the classic "bunch," or the individual grape. Still these are benefits confined mainly to the rich. But there is another class of growers who have rendered greater services and whose services have been comparatively unnoticed. I allude to those gardeners who have improved or introduced our *every day* vegetables or fruit, such as now form the cheapest and most grateful and healthy enjoyments of the humbler portion of the community. I may instance the introduction of rhubarb, which was comparatively unknown until Mr. Myatt, now of Deptford, cultivated it thirty years ago. He then, for the first time, carried seven bundles of rhubarb into the Borough market. Of these he could sell only three, and he took four back with him. Mr. Myatt could not recollect the price he received for the first rhubarb he ever sold in public, but he told me that the stalks were only about half the substance of those he now produces. People laughed at him for offering "physic pies," but he persevered, and I have shown what the sale of rhubarb now is.

Moreover, the importation of foreign "pines" may be cited as another instance of the increased luxuries of the poor. The trade in this commodity was unknown until the year 1842. At that period Mr. James Wood and Messrs. Claypole and Son, of Liverpool, imported them from the Bahamas, a portion being conveyed to Messrs. Keeling and Hunt, of London. Since that period the trade has gradually increased until, instead of 1000 pines being sent to Liverpool, and a portion of them conveyed to London, as at first, 200,000 pines are now imported to London alone. The fruit is brought over in "trees," stowed in numbers from ten to thirty thousand, in galleries constructed fore and aft in the vessel, which is so extravagantly fragrant, that it has to be ventilated to abate the odour. But for this importation, and but for the trade having become a part of the costermonger's avocation, hundreds and thousands in London would never have tasted a pine-apple. The quality of the fruit has, I am informed, been greatly improved since its first introduction; the best description of "pines" which Covent-garden can supply having been sent out to graft, to increase the size and flavour of the Bahaman products, and this chiefly for the regalement of the palates of the humbler classes of London. The supply from the Bahamas is considered inexhaustible.

Pine-apples, when they were first introduced, were a rich harvest to the costermonger. They made more money "working" these than any other article. The pines cost them about 4*d.* each, one with the other, good and bad together, and were sold by the costermonger at from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* The public were not aware then that the pines they sold were "salt-water touched," and the people bought them as fast as they could be sold, not only by the whole one, but at 1*d.* a slice,—for those who could not afford to give 1*s.* for the novelty, had a slice as a taste for 1*d.* The costermongers used then to have flags flying at the head of their barrows, and gentlefolk would stop them in the streets; indeed, the sale for pines was chiefly among "the gentry." The poorer people—sweeps, dustmen, cabmen—occasionally had pennyworths, "just for the fun of the thing;" but gentlepeople, I was told, used to buy a whole one to take home, so that all the family might have a taste. One costermonger assured me that he had taken 22*s.* a day during the rage for pines, when they first came up.

I have before stated that when the season is in its height the costermonger prefers the vending of fruit to the traffic in either fish or vegetables; those, however, who have regular rounds and "a connection," must supply their customers with vegetables, if not fish, as well as fruit, but the costers prefer to devote themselves principally to fruit. I am unable, therefore, to draw a comparison between what a coster realises in fruit, and what in fish, as the two seasons are not contemporary. The fruit sale is, however, as I have shown in p. 54, the costermonger's harvest.

All the costermongers with whom I conversed represented that the greater cheapness and abundance of fruit had been anything but a benefit to them, nor did the majority seem to know whether fruit was scarcer or more plentiful one year than another, unless in remarkable instances. Of the way in which the introduction of foreign fruit had influenced their trade, they knew nothing. If questioned on the subject, the usual reply was, that things got worse, and people didn't buy so much fruit as they did half-a-dozen years back, and so less was sold. That these men hold such opinions must be accounted for mainly by the increase in their

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numbers, of which I have before spoken, and from their general ignorance.

The fruit of which there is the readiest sale in the streets is one usually considered among the least useful—cherries. Probably, the greater eagerness on the part of the poorer classes to purchase this fruit arises from its being the first of the fresh "green" kind which our gardens supply for street-sale after the winter and the early spring. An intelligent costermonger suggested other reasons. "Poor people," he said, "like a *quantity* of any fruit, and no fruit is cheaper than cherries at 1*d.* a pound, at which I have sold some hundreds of pounds' weight. I'm satisfied, sir, that if a cherry could be grown that weighed a pound, and was of a finer flavour than ever was known before, poor people would rather have a number of little ones, even if they was less weight and inferior quality. Then boys buy, I think, more cherries than other fruit; because, after they have eaten 'em, they can play at cherry-stones.'"

From all I can learn, the halfpenny-worth of fruit purchased most eagerly by a poor man, or by a child to whom the possession of a halfpenny is a rarity, is cherries. I asked a man "with a good connection," according to his own account, as to who were his customers for cherries. He enumerated ladies and gentlemen; working-people; wagoners and carters (who "slipped them quietly into their pockets," he said); parlour-livers (so he called the occupants of parlours); maid-servants; and soldiers. "Soldiers," I was told, "are very fond of something for a change from their feed, which is about as regular as a prison's."

The currant, and the fruit of the same useful genus, the gooseberry, are sold largely by the costermongers. The price of the currants is 1*d.* or 2*d.* the half-pint, 1*d.* being the more usual charge. Of red currants there is the greatest supply, but the black "go off better." The humbler classes buy a half-pint of the latter for a dumpling, and "they're reckoned," said my informant, "capital for a sore throat, either in jam or a pudding." Gooseberries are also retailed by the half-pint, and are cheaper than currants —perhaps ½*d.* the half-pint is the average street-price. The working-classes do not use ripe gooseberries, as they do ripe currants, for dumplings, but they are sold in greater quantities and may be said to constitute, when first introduced, as other productions do afterwards, the working-people's Sunday dessert. "Only you go on board a cheap steamer to Greenwich, on a fine summer Sunday," observed a street-seller to me, "and you'll see lots of young women with gooseberries in their handkerchiefs in their laps. Servant-maids is very good customers for such things as gooseberries, for they always has a penny to spare." The costers sell green gooseberries for dumplings, and sometimes to the extent of a fourth of the ripe fruit. The price of green gooseberries is generally ½*d.* a pint dearer than the ripe.

When strawberries descend to such a price as places them at the costermonger's command, the whole fraternity is busily at work, and as the sale can easily be carried on by women and children, the coster's family take part in the sale, offering at the corners of streets the fragrant pottle, with the crimson fruit just showing beneath the green leaves at the top. Of all cries, too, perhaps that of "hoboys" is the most agreeable. Strawberries, however, according to all accounts, are consumed least of all fruits by the poor. "They like something more solid," I was told, "something to bite at, and a penny pottle of strawberries is only like a taste; what's more, too, the really good fruit never finds its way into penny pottles." The coster's best customers are dwellers in the suburbs, who purchase strawberries on a Sunday especially, for dessert, for they think that they get them fresher in that way than by reserving them from the Saturday night, and many are tempted by seeing or hearing them cried in the streets. There is also a good Sunday sale about the steam-wharfs, to people going "on the river," especially when young women and children are members of a party, and likewise in the "clerk districts," as Camden-town and Camberwell. Very few pottles, comparatively, are sold in public-houses; "they don't go well down with the beer at all," I was told. The city people are good customers for street strawberries, conveying them home. Good strawberries are 2*d.* a pottle in the streets when the season is at its height. Inferior are 1*d.* These are the most frequent prices. In raspberries the coster does little, selling them only to such customers as use them for the sake of jam or for pastry. The price is from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* the pottle, 9*d.* being the average.

The great staple of the street trade in green fruit is apples. These are first sold by the travelling costers, by the measure, for pies, &c., and to the classes I have described as the makers of pies. The apples, however, are soon vended in penny or halfpenny-worths, and then they are bought by the poor who have a spare penny for the regalement of their children or themselves, and they are eaten without any preparation. Pears are sold to the same classes as are apples. The average price of apples, as sold by the costermonger, is 4*s.* a bushel, and six a penny. The sale in halfpenny and pennyworths is very great. Indeed the costermongers sell about half the apples brought to the markets, and I was told that for one pennyworth of apples bought in a shop forty were bought in the street. Pears are 9*d.* a bushel, generally, dearer than apples, but, numerically, they run more to the bushel.

The costers purchase the French apples at the wharf, close to London-bridge, on the Southwark side. They give 10*s.*, 12*s.*, 18*s.*, or 20*s.* for a case containing four bushels. They generally get from 9*d.* to 1*s.* profit on a bushel of English, but on the French apples they make a clear profit of from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* a bushel, and would make more, but the fruit some-

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times "turns out damaged." This extra profit is owing to the French giving better measure, their four bushels being about five market bushels, as there is much straw packed up with the English apples, and none with the French.

Plums and damsons are less purchased by the humbler classes than apples, or than any other larger sized fruit which is supplied abundantly. "If I've worked plums or damsons," said an experienced costermonger, "and have told any woman pricing them: 'They don't look so ripe, but they're all the better for a pie,' she's answered, 'O, a plum pie's too fine for us, and what's more, it takes too much sugar.'" They are sold principally for desserts, and in pennyworths, at 1*d.* the half-pint for good, and ½*d.* for inferior. Green-gages are 50 per cent higher. Some costers sell a cheap lot of plums to the eating-house keepers, and sell them more readily than they sell apples to the same parties.

West Indian pine-apples are, as regards the street sale, disposed of more in the city than elsewhere. They are bought by clerks and warehousemen, who carry them to their suburban homes. The slices at ½*d.* and 1*d.* are bought principally by boys. The average price of a "good street pine" is 9*d.*

Peaches are an occasional sale with the costermongers', and are disposed of to the same classes as purchase strawberries and pines. The street sale of peaches is not practicable if the price exceed 1*d.* a piece.

Of other fruits, vended largely in the streets, I have spoken under their respective heads.

The returns before cited as to the quantity of home-grown and foreign green fruit sold in London, and the *proportion* disposed of by the costermongers give the following results (in round numbers), as to the absolute quantity of the several kinds of green fruit (oranges and nuts excepted) "distributed" throughout the metropolis by the street-sellers.

343,000	bushels of apples, (home-grown)
34,560	,, apples, (foreign)
176,500	,, pears, (home-grown)
17,235	,, pears, (foreign)
1,039,200	lbs. of cherries, (home-grown)
176,160	,, cherries, (foreign)
11,766	bushels of plums,
100	,, greengages,
548	,, damsons,
2,450	,, bullaces,
207,525	,, gooseberries,
85,500	sieves of red currants,
13,500	,, black currants,
3,000	,, white currants,
763,750	pottles of strawberries,
1,762	,, raspberries,
30,485	,, mulberries,
6,012	bushels of hazel nuts,
17,280	lbs. of filberts,
26,563	,, grapes,
20,000	pines.

Of the Orange and Nut Market.

In Houndsditch there is a market supported principally by costermongers, who there purchase their oranges, lemons, and nuts. This market is entirely in the hands of the Jews; and although a few tradesmen may attend it to buy grapes, still it derives its chief custom from the street-dealers who say they can make far better bargains with the Israelites, (as they never refuse an offer,) than they can with the Covent-garden salesmen, who generally cling to their prices. This market is known by the name of "Duke's-place," although its proper title is St. James's-place. The nearest road to it is through Duke's-street, and the two titles have been so confounded that at length the mistake has grown into a custom.

Duke's-place—as the costers call it—is a large square yard, with the iron gates of a synagogue in one corner, a dead wall forming one entire side of the court, and a gas-lamp on a circular pavement in the centre. The place looks as if it were devoted to money-making—for it is quiet and dirty. Not a gilt letter is to be seen over a doorway; there is no display of gaudy colour, or sheets of plate-glass, such as we see in a crowded thoroughfare when a customer is to be caught by show. As if the merchants knew their trade was certain, they are content to let the London smoke do their painter's work. On looking at the shops in this quarter, the idea forces itself upon one that they are in the last stage of dilapidation. Never did property in Chancery look more ruinous. Each dwelling seems as though a fire had raged in it, for not a shop in the market has a window to it; and, beyond the few sacks of nuts exposed for sale, they are empty, the walls within being blackened with dirt, and the paint without blistered in the sun, while the door-posts are worn round with the shoulders of the customers, and black as if charred. A few sickly hens wander about, turning over the heaps of dried leaves that the oranges have been sent over in, or roost the time away on the shafts and wheels of the nearest truck. Excepting on certain days, there is little or no business stirring, so that many of the shops have one or two shutters up, as if a death had taken place, and the yard is quiet as an inn of court. At a little distance the warehouses, with their low ceilings, open fronts, and black sides, seem like dark holes or coal-stores; and, but for the mahogany backs of chairs showing at the first floors, you would scarcely believe the houses to be inhabited, much more to be elegantly furnished as they are. One of the drawing-rooms that I entered here was warm and red with morocco leather, Spanish mahogany, and curtains and Turkey carpets; while the ormolu chandelier and the gilt frames of the looking-glass and pictures twinkled at every point in the fire-light.

The householders in Duke's-place are all of the Jewish persuasion, and among the costers a

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saying has sprung up about it. When a man has been out of work for some time, he is said to be "Cursed, like a pig in Duke's-place."

Almost every shop has a Scripture name over it, and even the public-houses are of the Hebrew faith, their signs appealing to the followers of those trades which most abound with Jews. There is the "Jeweller's Arms," patronised greatly of a Sunday morning, when the Israelite jewellers attend to exchange their trinkets and barter amongst themselves. Very often the counter before "the bar" here may be seen covered with golden ornaments, and sparkling with precious stones, amounting in value to thousands of pounds. The landlord of this house of call is licensed to *manufacture* tobacco and cigars. There is also the "Fishmongers' Arms," the resort of the vendors of fried soles; here, in the evening, a concert takes place, the performers and audience being Jews. The landlord of this house too is licensed to manufacture tobacco and cigars. Entering one of these houses I found a bill announcing a "Bible to be raffled for, the property of ——." And, lastly, there is "Benjamin's Coffee-house," open to old clothesmen; and here, again, the proprietor is a licensed tobacco-manufacturer. These facts are mentioned to show the untiring energy of the Jew when anything is to be gained, and to give an instance of the curious manner in which this people support each other.

Some of the nut and orange shops in Duke's-place it would be impossible to describe. At one sat an old woman, with jet-black hair and a wrinkled face, nursing an infant, and watching over a few matted baskets of nuts ranged on a kind of carpenter's bench placed upon the pavement. The interior of the house was as empty as if it had been to let, excepting a few bits of harness hanging against the wall, and an old salt-box nailed near the gas-lamp, in which sat a hen, "hatching," as I was told. At another was an excessively stout Israelite mother, with crisp negro's hair and long gold earrings, rolling her child on the table used for sorting the nuts. Here the black walls had been chalked over with scores, and every corner was filled up with sacks and orange-cases. Before one warehouse a family of six, from the father to the infant, were busy washing walnuts in a huge tub with a trap in the side, and around them were ranged measures of the wet fruit. The Jewish women are known to make the fondest parents; and in Duke's-place there certainly was no lack of fondlings. Inside almost every parlour a child was either being nursed or romped with, and some little things were being tossed nearly to the ceiling, and caught, screaming with enjoyment, in the jewelled hands of the delighted mother. At other shops might be seen a circle of three or four women—some old as if grandmothers, grouped admiringly round a hook-nosed infant, tickling it and poking their fingers at it in a frenzy of affection.

The counters of these shops are generally placed in the open streets like stalls, and the shop itself is used as a store to keep the stock in. On these counters are ranged the large matting baskets, some piled up with dark-brown polished chestnuts—shining like a racer's neck—others filled with wedge-shaped Brazil-nuts, and rough hairy cocoa-nuts. There are heaps, too, of newly-washed walnuts, a few showing their white crumpled kernels as a sample of their excellence. Before every doorway are long pot-bellied boxes of oranges, with the yellow fruit just peeping between the laths on top, and lemons—yet green—are ranged about in their paper jackets to ripen in the air.

In front of one store the paving-stones were soft with the sawdust emptied from the grape-cases, and the floor of the shop itself was whitened with the dry powder. Here stood a man in a long tasselled smoking-cap, puffing with his bellows at the blue bunches on a tray, and about him were the boxes with the paper lids thrown back, and the round sea-green berries just rising above the sawdust as if floating in it. Close by, was a group of dark-eyed women bending over an orange-case, picking out the rotten from the good fruit, while a sallow-complexioned girl was busy with her knife scooping out the damaged parts, until, what with sawdust and orange-peel, the air smelt like the pit of a circus.

Nothing could be seen in this strange place that did not, in some way or another, appertain to Jewish customs. A woman, with a heavy gold chain round her neck, went past, carrying an old green velvet bonnet covered with feathers, and a fur tippet, that she had either recently purchased or was about to sell. Another woman, whose features showed her to be a Gentile, was hurrying toward the slop-shop in the Minories with a richly quilted satin-lined coat done up in her shawl, and the market-basket by her side, as if the money due for the work were to be spent directly for housekeeping.

At the corner of Duke's-street was a stall kept by a Jew, who sold things that are eaten only by the Hebrews. Here in a yellow pie-dish were pieces of stewed apples floating in a thick puce-coloured sauce.

One man that I spoke to told me that he considered his Sunday morning's work a very bad one if he did not sell his five or six hundred bushels of nuts of different kinds. He had taken 150*l.* that day of the street-sellers, and usually sold his 100*l.* worth of goods in a morning. Many others did the same as himself. Here I met with every attention, and was furnished with some valuable statistical information concerning the street-trade.

Of Orange and Lemon Selling in the Streets.

Of foreign fruits, the oranges and nuts supply by far the greater staple for the street trade, and, therefore, demand a brief, but still a fuller, notice than other articles.

Oranges were first sold in the streets at the

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close of Elizabeth's reign. So rapidly had the trade increased, that four years after her death, or in 1607, Ben Jonson classes "orange-wives," for noisiness, with "fish-wives." These women at first carried the oranges in baskets on their heads; barrows were afterwards used; and now trays are usually slung to the shoulders.

Oranges are brought to this country in cases or boxes, containing from 500 to 900 oranges. From official tables, it appears that between 250,000,000 and 300,000,000 of oranges and lemons are now yearly shipped to England. They are sold wholesale, principally at public sales, in lots of eight boxes, the price at such sales varying greatly, according to the supply and the quality. The supply continues to arrive from October to August.

Oranges are bought by the retailers in Duke's-place and in Covent-Garden; but the costermongers nearly all resort to Duke's-place, and the shopkeepers to Covent-Garden. They are sold in baskets of 200 or 300; they are also disposed of by the hundred, a half-hundred being the smallest quantity sold in Duke's-place. These hundreds, however, number 110, containing 10 double "hands," a single hand being 5 oranges. The price in December was 2*s.* 6*d.*, 3*s.* 6*d.*, and 4*s.* the hundred. They are rarely lower than 4*s.* about Christmas, as there is then a better demand for them. The damaged oranges are known as "specks," and the purchaser runs the risk of specks forming a portion of the contents of a basket, as he is not allowed to empty it for the examination of the fruit: but some salesmen agree to change the specks. A month after Christmas, oranges are generally cheaper, and become dearer again about May, when there is a great demand for the supply of the fairs and races.

Oranges are sold by all classes connected with the fruit, flower, or vegetable trade of the streets. The majority of the street-sellers are, however, women and children, and the great part of these are Irish. It has been computed that, when oranges are "at their best" (generally about Easter), there are 4,000 persons, including stall-keepers, selling oranges in the metropolis and its suburbs; while there are generally 3,000 out of this number "working" oranges—that is, hawking them from street to street: of these, 300 attend at the doors of the theatres, saloons, &c. Many of those "working" the theatres confine their trade to oranges, while the other dealers rarely do so, but unite with them the sale of nuts of some kind. Those who sell only oranges, or only nuts, are mostly children, and of the poorest class. The smallness of the sum required to provide a stock of oranges (a half-hundred being 15*d.* or 18*d.*), enables the poor, who cannot raise "stock-money" sufficient to purchase anything else, to trade upon a few oranges.

The regular costers rarely buy oranges until the spring, except, perhaps, for Sunday afternoon sale—though this, as I said before, they mostly object to. In the spring, however, they stock their barrows with oranges. One man told me that, four or five years back, he had sold in a day 2,000 oranges that he picked up as a bargain. They did not cost him half a farthing each; he said he "cleared 2*l.* by the spec." At the same period he could earn 5*s.* or 6*s.* on a Sunday afternoon by the sale of oranges in the street; but now he could not earn 2*s.*

A poor Irishwoman, neither squalid in appearance nor ragged in dress, though looking pinched and wretched, gave me the subjoined account; when I saw her, resting with her basket of oranges near Coldbath-fields prison, she told me she almost wished she was inside of it, but for the "childer." Her history was one common to her class—

"I was brought over here, sir, when I was a girl, but my father and mother died two or three years after. I was in service then, and very good service I continued in as a maid-of-all-work, and very kind people I met; yes, indeed, though I was Irish and a Catholic, and they was English Protistants. I saved a little money there, and got married. My husband's a labourer; and when he's in full worruk he can earn 12*s.* or 14*s.* a week, for he's a good hand and a harrud-worruking man, and we do middlin' thin. He's out of worruk now, and I'm forced to thry and sill a few oranges to keep a bit of life in us, and my husband minds the childer. Bad as I do, I can do 1*d.* or 2*d.* a day profit betther than him, poor man! for he's tall and big, and people thinks, if he goes round with a few oranges, it's just from idleniss; and the Lorrud above knows he'll always worruk whin he can. He goes sometimes whin I'm harrud tired. One of us must stay with the childer, for the youngist is not three and the ildest not five. We don't live, we starruve. We git a few 'taties, and sometimes a plaice. To-day I've not taken 3*d.* as yit, sir, and it's past three. Oh, no, indeed and indeed, thin, I dont make 9*d.* a day. We live accordingly, for there's 1*s.* 3*d.* a week for rint. I have very little harrut to go into the public-houses to sill oranges, for they begins flying out about the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, as if I had anything to do with it. And that's another reason why I like my husband to stay at home, and me to go out, because he's a hasty man, and might get into throuble. I don't know what will become of us, if times don't turn."

On calling upon this poor woman on the following day, I found her and her children absent. The husband had got employment at some distance, and she had gone to see if she could not obtain a room 3*d.* a week cheaper, and lodge near the place of work.

According to the Board of Trade returns, there are nearly two hundred millions of oranges annually imported into this country. About one-third of these are sold wholesale in London, and one-fourth of the latter quantity disposed of retail in the streets. The returns I have procured, touching the London sale, prove that no less than 15,500,000 are sold yearly by the street-sellers. The retail price of these may be

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said to be, upon an average, 5*s.* per 110, and this would give us about 35,000*l.* for the gross sum of money laid out every year, in the streets, in the matter of oranges alone.

The street lemon-trade is now insignificant, lemons having become a more important article of commerce since the law required foreign-bound ships to be provided with lemon-juice. The street-sale is chiefly in the hands of the Jews and the Irish. It does not, however, call for special notice here.

Of Nut Selling in the Streets.

The sellers of foreign hazel nuts are principally women and children, but the stall-keepers, and oftentimes the costermongers, sell them with other "goods." The consumption of them is immense, the annual export from Tarragona being little short of 8,000 tons. They are to be found in every poor shop in London, as well as in the large towns; they are generally to be seen on every street-stall, in every country village, at every fair, and on every race-ground. The supply is from Gijon and Tarragona. The Gijon nuts are the "Spanish," or "fresh" nuts. They are sold at public sales, in barrels of three bushels each, the price being from 35*s.* to 40*s.* The nuts from Tarragona, whence comes the great supply, are known as "Barcelonas," and they are kiln-dried before they are shipped. Hence the Barcelonas will "keep," and the Spanish will not. The Spanish are coloured with the fumes of sulphur, by the Jews in Duke's-place.

It is somewhat remarkable that nuts supply employment to a number of girls in Spain, and then yield the means of a scanty subsistence to a number of girls (with or without parents) in England.

The prattle and the laughter (according to Inglis) of the Spanish girls who sort, find no parallel however among the London girls who sell the nuts. The appearance of the latter is often wretched. In the winter months they may be seen as if stupified with cold, and with the listlessness, not to say apathy, of those whose diet is poor in quantity and insufficient in amount.

Very few costermongers buy nuts (as hazel nuts are always called) at the public sales—only those whose dealings are of a wholesale character, and they are anything but regular attendants at the sales. The street-sellers derive nearly the whole of their supply from Duke's-place. The principal times of business are Friday afternoons and Sunday mornings. Those who have "capital" buy on the Friday, when they say they can make 10*s.* go as far as 12*s.* on the Sunday. The "Barcelonas" are from 4½*d.* to 6*d.* a quart to the street-sellers. The cob-nuts, which are the large size, used by the pastry-cooks for mottos, &c., are 2*d.* and 2½*d.* the quart, but they are generally destitute of a kernel. A quart contains from 100 to 180 nuts, according to the size. The costermongers buy somewhat largely when nuts are 3*d.* the quart; they then, and not unfrequently, stock their barrows with nuts entirely, but 2*s.* a day is reckoned excellent earnings at this trade. "It's the worst living of all, sir," I was told, "on nuts." The sale in the streets is at the fruit-stalls, in the public-houses, on board the steamers, and at the theatre doors. They are sold by the same class as the oranges, and a stock may be procured for a smaller sum even than is required for oranges. By the outlay of 1*s.* many an Irishwoman can send out her two or three children with nuts, reserving some for herself. Seven-eighths of the nuts imported are sold, I am assured, in the open air.

Some of the costermongers who are to be found in Battersea-fields, and who attend the fairs and races, get through 5*s.* worth of nuts in a day, but only exceptionally. These men have a sort of portable shooting-gallery. The customer fires a kind of rifle, loaded with a dart, and according to the number marked on the centre, or on the encircling rings of a board which forms the head of the stall, and which may be struck by the dart, is the number of nuts payable by the stall-keeper for the halfpenny "fire."

The Brazil nuts, which are now sold largely in the streets at twelve to sixteen a penny, were not known in this country as an article of commerce before 1824. They are sold by the peck —2*s.* being the ordinary price—in Duke's-place.

Coker-nuts—as they are now generally called, and indeed "entered" as such at the Custom-house, and so written by Mr. Mc Culloch, to distinguish them from cocoa, or the berries of the cacâo, used for chocolate, etc.—are brought from the West Indies, both British and Spanish, and Brazil. They are used as dunnage in the sugar ships, being interposed between the hogsheads, to steady them and prevent their being flung about. The coker-nut was introduced into England in 1690. They are sold at public sales and otherwise, and bring from 10*s.* to 14*s.* per 100. Coker-nuts are now used at fairs to "top" the sticks.

The costermongers rarely speculate in coker-nuts now, as the boys will not buy them unless cut, and it is almost impossible to tell how the coker-nut will "open." The interior is sold in halfpenny-worths and penny-worths. These nuts are often "worked with a drum." There may be now forty coker-nut men in the street trade, but not one in ten confines himself to the article.

A large proportion of the dry or ripe walnuts sold in the streets is from Bordeaux. They are sold at public sales, in barrels of three bushels each, realising 21*s.* to 25*s.* a barrel. They are retailed at from eight to twenty a penny, and are sold by all classes of street-traders.

A little girl, who looked stunted and wretched, and who did not know her age (which might be eleven), told me she was sent out by her mother with six halfpenny-worth of nuts, and she must carry back 6*d.* or she would be beat. She had no father, and could neither read nor write.

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Her mother was an Englishwoman, *she believed*, and sold oranges. She had heard of God; he was "Our Father who art in heaven." She'd heard that said. She did not know the Lord's Prayer; had never heard of it; did not know who the Lord was; perhaps the Lord Mayor, but she had never been before him. She went into public-houses with her nuts, but did not know whether she was ever insulted or not; she did not know what insulted was, but she was never badly used. She often went into tap-rooms with her nuts, just to warm herself. A man once gave her some hot beer, which made her ill. Her mother was kind enough to her, and never beat her but for not taking home 6*d*. She had a younger brother that did as she did. She had bread and potatoes to eat, and sometimes tea, and sometimes herrings. Her mother didn't get tipsy (at first she did not know what was meant by tipsy) *above* once a week.

Of Roasted Chestnuts and Apples.

How long the street-trade in roasted chestnuts has been carried on I find no means of ascertaining precisely, but it is unquestionably one of the oldest of the public traffics. Before potato-cans were introduced, the sale of roasted chestnuts was far greater than it is now.

It is difficult to compute the number of roasted chestnut-sellers at present in the streets. It is probable that they outnumber 1,000, for I noticed that on a cold day almost every street fruit-seller, man or woman, had roasted chestnuts for sale.

Sometimes the chestnuts are roasted in the streets, in a huge iron apparatus, made expressly for the purpose, and capable of cooking perhaps a bushel at a time—but these are to be found solely at the street-markets.

The ordinary street apparatus for roasting chestnuts is simple. A round pan, with a few holes punched in it, costing 3*d*. or 4*d*. in a marine-store shop, has burning charcoal within it, and is surmounted by a second pan, or kind of lid, containing chestnuts, which are thus kept hot. During my inquiry, chestnuts were dear. "People don't care," I was told, "whether chestnuts is three and six, as they are now, or one and six a peck, as I hope they will be afore long; they wants the same pennyworths."

Chestnuts are generally bought wholesale in Duke's-place, on the Sunday mornings, for street sale; but some street-dealers buy them of those costermongers, whose means enable them "to lay in" a quantity. The retail customers are, for the most part, boys and girls, or a few labourers or street people. The usual price is sixteen a penny.

Roasted apples used to be vended in the streets, and often along with roasted chestnuts, but it is a trade which has now almost entirely disappeared, and its disappearance is attributed to the prevalence of potato cans.

I had the following account from a woman, apparently between sixty and seventy, though she said she was only about fifty. What she was in her youth, she said, she neither knew nor cared. At any rate she was unwilling to converse about it. I found her statement as to chestnuts corroborated:—

"The trade's nothing to what it was, sir," she said. "Why when the hackney coaches was in the streets, I've often sold 2*s*. worth of a night at a time, for a relish, to the hackneymen that was waiting their turn over their beer. Six and eight a penny was enough then; now people must have sixteen; though I pays 3*s*. a peck, and to get them at that's a favour. I could make my good 12*s*. a week on roasted chestnuts and apples, and as much on other things in them days, but I'm half-starved now. There'll never be such times again. People didn't want to cut one another's throats in the street business then. O, I don't know anything about how long ago, or what year—years is nothing to me—but I only know that it was so. I got a penny a piece then for my roasted apples, and a halfpenny for sugar to them. I *could* live then. Roasted apples was reckoned good for the tooth-ache in them days, but, people change so, they aren't now. I don't know what I make now in chestnuts and apples, which is all I sells—perhaps 5*s*. a week. My rent's 1*s*. 3*d*. a week. I lives on a bit of fish, or whatever I can get, and that's all about it."

The absolute quantity of oranges, lemons, and nuts sold annually in the London streets is as follows:

Oranges	15,400,000
Lemons	154,000
Spanish and Barcelona nuts	24,000 bushels
Brazil do.	3,000 ,,
Chestnuts	6,500 ,,
Walnuts	24,000 ,,
Coker-nuts	400,000 nuts

Of "Dry" Fruit Selling in the Streets.

The sellers of "dry fruit" cannot be described as a class, for, with the exception of one old couple, none that I know of confine themselves to its sale, but resort to it merely when the season prevents their dealing in "green fruit" or vegetables. I have already specified what in commerce is distinguished as "dry fruit," but its classification among the costers is somewhat narrowed.

The dry-fruit sellers derive their supplies partly from Duke's-place, partly from Pudding-lane, but perhaps principally from the costers concerning whom I have spoken, who buy wholesale at the markets and elsewhere, and who will "clear out a grocer," or buy such figs, &c. as a leading tradesman will not allow to be sent, or offered, to his regular customers, although, perhaps, some of the articles are tolerably good. Or else the dry-fruit men buy a damaged lot of a broker or grocer, and pick out all that is eatable, or rather saleable.

The sale of dry fruit is unpopular among the costermongers. Despite their utmost pains, they cannot give to figs, or raisins, or currants, which may be old and stale, anything of the bloom and

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plumpness of good fruit, and the price of good fruit is too high for them. Moreover, if the fruit be a "damaged lot," it is almost always discoloured, and the blemish cannot be removed.

It is impossible to give the average price of dry fruit to the costermonger. The quality and the "harvest" affect the price materially in the regular trade.

The rule which I am informed the costermonger, who sometimes "works" a barrow of dried fruit, observes, is this: he will aim at cent. per cent., and, to accomplish it, "slang" weights are not unfrequently used. The stale fruit is sold by the grocers, and the damaged fruit by the warehouses to the costers, at from a half, but much more frequently a fourth to a twentieth of its prime cost. The principal street-purchasers are boys.

A dry-fruit seller gave me the following account:—By "half profits" he meant cent. per cent., or, in other words, that the money he received for his stock was half of it cost price and half profit.

"I sell dry fruit, sir, in February and March, because I must be doing something, and green fruit's not my money then. It's a poor trade. I've sold figs at 1*d.* a pound,—no, sir, not slang the time I mean—and I could hardly make 1*s.* a day at it, though it was half profits. Our customers look at them quite particler. 'Let's see the other side of them figs,' the boys'll say, and then they'll out with—'I say, master, d' you see any green about me?' Dates I can hardly get off at all, no!—not if they was as cheap as potatoes, or cheaper. I've been asked by women if dates was good in dumplings? I've sometimes said 'yes,' though I knew nothing at all about them. They're foreign. I can't say where they're grown. Almonds and raisins goes off best with us. I don't sell them by weight, but makes them up in ha'penny or penny lots. There's two things, you see, and one helps off the other. Raisins is dry grapes, I've heard. I've sold grapes before they was dried, at 1*d.* and 2*d.* the pound. I didn't do no good in any of 'em; 1*s.* a day on 'em was the topper, for all the half profits. I'll not touch 'em again if I aint forced."

There are a few costers who sell tolerable dry fruit, but not to any extent.

The old couple I have alluded to stand all the year round at the corner of a street running into a great city thoroughfare. They are supplied with their fruit, I am told, through the friendliness of a grocer who charges no profit, and sometimes makes a sacrifice for their benefit. As I was told that this old couple would not like inquiries to be made of them, I at once desisted.

There are sometimes twenty costermongers selling nothing but dry fruit, but more frequently only ten, and sometimes only five; while, perhaps, from 300 to 400 sell a few figs, &c., with other things, such as late apples, the dry fruit being then used "just as a fill up."

According to the returns before given, the gross quantity of dry fruit disposed of yearly in the streets of London may be stated as follows:

7,000 lbs. of shell almonds,
37,800 „ raisins,
24,300 „ figs,
4,200 „ prunes.

Of the Street-sale of Vegetables.

The seller of fruit in the streets confines his traffic far more closely to fruit, than does the vegetable-dealer to vegetables. Within these three or four years many street-traders sell only fruit the year through; but the purveyor of vegetables now usually sells fish with his cabbages, turnips, cauliflowers, or other garden stuff. The fish that he carries out on his round generally consists of soles, mackerel, or fresh or salt herrings. This combination of the street-green-grocer and street-fishmonger is called a general dealer."

The general dealers are usually accompanied by boys (as I have elsewhere shown), and sometimes by their wives. If a woman be a general dealer, she is mostly to be found at a stall or standing, and not "going a round."

The general dealer "works" everything through the season. He generally begins the year with sprats or plaice: then he deals in soles until the month of May. After this he takes to mackerel, haddocks, or red herrings. Next he trades in strawberries or raspberries. From these he will turn to green and ripe gooseberries; thence he will go to cherries; from cherries he will change to red or white currants; from them to plums or green-gages, and from them again to apples and pears, and damsons. After these he mostly "works" a few vegetables, and continues with them until the fish season begins again. Some general dealers occasionally trade in sweetmeats, but this is not usual, and is looked down upon by the "trade."

"I am a general dealer," said one of the better class; "my missis is in the same line as myself, and sells everything that I do (barring green stuff.) She follows me always in what I sell. She has a stall, and sits at the corner of the street. I have got three children. The eldest is ten, and goes out with me to call my goods for me. I have had inflammation in the lungs, and when I call my goods for a little while my voice leaves me. My missis is lame. She fell down a cellar, when a child, and injured her hip. Last October twelvemonth I was laid up with cold, which settled on my lungs, and laid me in my bed for a month. My missis kept me all that time. She was 'working' fresh herrings; and if it hadn't been for her we must all have gone into the workhouse. We are doing very badly now. I have no work to do. I have no stock-money to work with, and I object to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for the loan of 10*s.* Once I gave a man 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for ten months for the loan of 10*s.*, and that nearly did me up. I

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have had 8*s*. of the same party since, and paid 1*s*. a week for eight weeks for the loan of it. I consider it most extortionate to have to pay 2*d*. a day for the loan of 8*s*., and won't do it. When the season gets a bit better I shall borrow a shilling of one friend and a shilling of another, and then muddle on with as much stock-money as I can scrape together. My missis is at home now doing nothing. Last week it's impossible to say what she took, for we're obliged to buy victuals and firing with it as we take it. She can't go out charing on account of her hip. When she is out, and I am out, the children play about in the streets. Only last Saturday week she was obligated to take the shoes off her feet to get the children some victuals. We owe two weeks' rent, and the landlord, though I've lived in the house five years, is as sharp as if I was a stranger."

"Why, sir," said another vegetable-dealer, who was a robust-looking young man, very clean in his person, and dressed in costermonger corduroy, "I can hardly say what my business is worth to me, for I'm no scholard. I was brought up to the business by my mother. I've a middling connection, and perhaps clear 3*s*. a day, every fine day, or 15*s*. or 16*s*. a week; but out of that there's my donkey to keep, which I suppose costs 6*d*. a day, that's seven sixpences off. Wet or fine, she must be fed, in coorse. So must I; but I've only myself to keep at present, and I hire a lad when I want one. I work my own trap. Then things is so uncertain. Why, now, look here, sir. Last Friday, I think it was—but that don't matter, for it often happens—fresh herrings was 4*s*. the 500 in the morning, and 1*s*. 6*d*. at night, so many had come in. I buy at Billingsgate-market, and sometimes of a large shopkeeper, and at Covent-garden and the Borough. If I lay out 7*s*. in a nice lot of cabbages, I may sell them for 10*s*. 6*d*., or if it isn't a lucky day with me for 8*s*., or less. Sometimes people won't buy, as if the cholera was in the cabbages. Then turnips isn't such good sale yet, but they may be soon, for winter's best for them. There's more bilings then than there's roastings, I think. People like broth in cold weather. I buy turnips by the 'tally.' A tally's five dozen bunches. There's no confinement of the number to a bunch; it's by their size; I've known twelve, and I've known twice that. I sell three parts of the turnips at 1*d*. a bunch, and the other part at 1½*d*. If I get them at 3*s*. 6*d*. the tally I do well on turnips. I go the same rounds pretty regularly every day, or almost every day. I don't object to wet weather so much, because women don't like to stir out then, and so they'll buy of me as I pass. Carrots I do little in; they're dear, but they'll be cheaper in a month or two. They always are. I don't work on Sundays. If I did, I'd get a jacketing. Our chaps would say: 'Well, you *are* a scurf. *You* have a round; give another man a Sunday chance.' A gentleman once said to me, when I was obligated to work on a Sunday: 'Why don't you leave it off, when you know it ain't right?' 'Well, sir,' said I, and he spoke very kind to me, 'well, sir, I'm working for my dinner, and if you'll give me 4*s*. or 3*s*. 6*d*., I'll tumble to your notion and drop it, and I'll give you these here cowcumbers,' (I was working cowcumbers at that time) 'to do what you like with, and they cost me half-a-crown.' In potatoes I don't do a great deal, and it's no great trade. If I did, I should buy at the warehouses in Tooley-street, where they are sold in sacks of 1 cwt.; 150 lbs. and 200 lbs., at 2*s*. 9*d*. and 3*s*. the cwt. I sell mine, tidy good, at 3 pound 2*d*., and a halfpenny a pound, but as I don't do much, not a bushel a day, I buy at market by the bushel at from 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. I never uses slangs. I sold three times as many potatoes as I do now four years back. I don't know why, 'cept it be that the rot set people again them, and their taste's gone another way. I sell a few more greens than I did, but not many. Spinach I don't do only a little in it. Celery I'm seldom able to get rid on. It's more women's work. Ing-uns the same."

I may add that I found the class, who confined their business principally to the sale of vegetables, the dullest of all the costermongers. Any man may labour to make 1*s*. 6*d*. of cabbages or turnips, which cost him 1*s*., when the calculation as to the relative proportion of measures, &c. is beyond his comprehension.

Pursuing the same mode of calculation as has been heretofore adopted, we find that the absolute quantity of vegetables sold in the London streets by the costers is as follows:

20,700,000	lbs. of potatoes (home grown)
39,800,000	„ (foreign)
23,760,133	cabbages,
3,264,800	turnips,
616,666	junks of turnip tops,
601,000	carrots,
567,300	brocoli and cauliflowers,
219,000	bushels of peas,
8,893	„ beans,
22,110	„ french beans,
25,608	dozens of vegetable marrows,
489	dozen bundles of asparagus,
9,120	„ rhubarb,
4,350	„ celery,
561,600	lettuces,
13,291	dozen hands of radishes,
499,533	bushels of onions,
23,600	dozen bunches of spring onions,
10,920	bushels of cucumbers,
3,290	dozen bunches of herbs.

Of the "Aristocratic" Vegetable-Sale.

In designating these dealers I use a word not uncommon among the costermongers. These aristocratic sellers, who are not one in twenty, or perhaps in twenty-five, of the whole body of costermongers, are generally men of superior manners and better dressed than their brethren. The following narrative, given to me by one of the body, shows the nature of the trade:—

"It depends a good deal upon the season and the price, as to what I begin with in the 'haristocratic' way. My rounds are always in the

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suburbs. I sell neither in the streets, nor squares in town. I like it best where there are detached villas, and best of all where there are kept mistresses. They are the best of all customers to men like me. We talk our customers over among ourselves, and generally know who's who. One way by which we know the kept ladies is, they never sell cast-off clothes, as some ladies do, for new potatoes or early peas. Now, my worst customers, as to price, are the ladies—or gentlemen—they're both of a kidney—what keeps fashionable schools. *They* are the people to drive a bargain, but then they buy largely. Some buy entirely of costermongers. There's one gent. of a school-keeper buys so much and knows so well what o'clock it is, that I'm satisfied he saves many a pound a year by buying of us 'stead of the greengrocers.

"Perhaps I begin the season in the haristocratic way, with early lettuces for salads. I carry my goods in handsome baskets, and sometimes with a boy, or a boy and a girl, to help me. I buy my lettuces by the score (of heads) when first in, at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and sell them at 1½*d.* each, which is 1*s.* profit on a score. I have sold twenty, and I once sold thirty score, that way in a day. The profit on the thirty was 2*l.* 5*s.*, but out of that I had to pay three boys, for I took three with me, and our expenses was 7*s.* But you must consider, sir, that this is a precarious trade. Such goods are delicate, and spoil if they don't go off. I give credit sometimes, if anybody I know says he has no change. I never lost nothing

"Then there's grass (asparagus), and that's often good money. I buy all mine at Covent-garden, where it's sold in bundles, according to the earliness of the season, at from 5*s.* to 1*s.*, containing from six to ten dozen squibs (heads). These you have to take home, untie, cut off the scraggy ends, trim, and scrape, and make them level. Children help me to do this in the court where I live. I give them a few ha'pence, though they're eager enough to do it for nothing but the fun. I've had 10*s.* worth made ready in half an hour.

"Well, now, sir, about grass, there's not a coster in London, I'm sure, ever tasted it; and how it's eaten puzzles us." [I explained the manner in which asparagus was brought to table.] "That's the ticket, is it, sir? Well, I was once at the Surrey, and there was some macaroni eaten on the stage, and I thought grass was eaten in the same way, perhaps; swallowed like one o'clock," [rather a favourite comparison among the costers.]

"I have the grass—it's always called, when cried in the streets, 'Spar-row gra-ass'—tied up in bundles of a dozen, twelve to a dozen, or one over, and for these I never expect less than 6*d.* For a three or four dozen lot, in a neat sieve, I ask 2*s.* 6*d.*, and never take less than 1*s.* 3*d.* I once walked thirty-five miles with grass, and have oft enough been thirty miles. I made 7*s.* or 8*s.* a day by it, and next day or two perhaps nothing, or may-be had but one customer. I've sold half-crown lots, on a Saturday night, for a sixpence; and it *was* sold some time back at 2*d.* a bundle, in the New Cut, to poor people. I dare say some as bought it had been maid-servants and understood it. I've raffled 5*s.* worth of grass in the parlour of a respectable country inn of an evening.

"The costers generally buy new potatoes at 4*s.* to 5*s.* the bushel, and cry them at 'three-pound-tuppence;' but I've given 7*s.* a bushel, for choice and early, and sold them at 2*d.* a pound. It's no great trade, for the bushel may weigh only 50 lb., and at 2*d.* a pound that's only 8*s.* 4*d.* The schools don't buy at all until they're 1*d.* the pound, and don't buy in any quantity until they're 1*s.* 6*d.* the 25 lb. One day a school 'stonished me by giving me 2*s.* 6*d.* for 25 lb., which is the general weight of the half bushel. Perhaps the master had taken a drop of something short that morning. The schools are dreadful screws, to be sure.

"Green peas, early ones, I don't buy when they first come in, for then they're very dear, but when they're 4*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, and that's pretty soon. I can make five pecks of a bushel. Schools don't touch peas 'till they're 2*s.* a bushel.

"Cowcumbers were an aristocratic sale. Four or five years ago they were looked upon, when first in, and with a beautiful bloom upon them, as the finest possible relish. But the cholera came in 1849, and everybody—'specially the women—thought the cholera was in cowcumbers, and I've known cases, foreign and English, sent from the Borough Market for manure.

"I sell a good many mushrooms. I sometimes can pick up a cheap lot at Covent Garden. I make them up in neat sieves of three dozen to eight dozen according to size, and I have sold them at 4*s.* the sieve, and made half that on each sieve I sold. They are down to 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* a sieve very soon.

"Green walnuts for pickling I sell a quantity of. One day I sold 20*s.* worth—half profit—I got them so cheap, but that was an exception. I sold them cheap too. One lady has bought a bushel and a half at a time. For walnut catsup the refuse of the walnut is used; it's picked up in the court, where I've got children or poor fellows for a few ha'pence or a pint of beer to help me to peel the walnuts."

Of Onion Selling in the Streets.

The sale of onions in the streets is immense. They are now sold at the markets at an average of 2*s.* a bushel. Two years ago they were 1*s.*, and they have been 4*s.* and up to 7*s.* the bushel. They are now twisted into "ropes" for street sale. The ropes are of straw, into which the roots are platted, and secured firmly enough, so that the ropes can be hung up; these have superseded the netted onions, formerly sold by the Jew boys. The plaiting, or twisting, is done rapidly by the women, and a straw-bonnet-maker described it to me as somewhat after the mode of her trade, only that the top, or projecting portion of the stem of the onion, was twisted within the straw,

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instead of its being plaited close and flat together. The trade in rope onions is almost entirely in the hands of the Irish women and girls. There are now, it is said, from 800 to 1000 persons engaged in it. Onion selling can be started on a small amount of capital, from *6d.* to *1s.*, which is no doubt one inducement for those poor persons to resort to it. The sixpenny ropes, bunches, or strings (I heard each word applied), contain from three to four dozen; the penny bunches, from six to twenty roots, according to size; and the intermediate and higher priced bunches in proportion. Before Christmas, a good many shilling lots are sold. Among the costermongers I heard this useful root — which the learned in such matters have pronounced to be, along with the mushroom, the foundation of every sauce, ancient or modern—called ing-guns, ingans, injens, injyens, inions, innons, almost everything but onions.

An Irishwoman, apparently of thirty-five, but in all probability younger—she did not know her age—gave me the following account. Her face, with its strongly-marked Irish features, was almost purpled from constant exposure to the weather. She was a teetotaller. She was communicative and garrulous, even beyond the average of her countrywomen. She was decently clad, had been in London fifteen years (she thought) having been brought from Ireland, *viâ* Bristol, by her parents (both dead). She herself was a widow, her husband, "a bricklayer" she called him (probably a bricklayer's labourer), having died of the cholera in 1849. I take up her statement from that period:

"Yes, indeed, sir, he died—the heavins be his bed!—and he was prepared by Father M——. We had our thrials togither, but sore's been the cross and heavy the burthin since it plased God to call him. Thin, there's the two childer, Biddy and Ned. They'll be tin and they'll be eight come their next burreth-days, 'plase the Lorrud. They can hilp me now, they can. They sells ing-uns as well. I ropes 'em for 'em. How is ing-uns roped? Shure, thin—but it's not mocking me your 'onnur is—shure, thin, a gintleman like you, that can write like a horrus a-galloping, and perhaps is as larned as a praste, glory be to God! *must* know how to rope ing-uns! Poor people can do it. Some say it's a sacrit, but that's all a say, or there couldn't be so many ropes a-silling. I buy the sthraw at a sthraw-daler's; twopinn'orth at a time; that'll make six or twilve ropes, according to what they are, sixpinny or what. It's as sthraight as it can be grown, the sthraw, that it is indeed. Och, sir, we've had many's the black day, me and the childer, poor things; it's thim I care about, but —God's name be praised!—we've got on somehow. Another poor woman—she's a widdur too, hilp her!—and me has a *2s.* room for the two of us. We've our siprate furnithur. She has only hersilf, but is fond of the childer, as you or your lady—bliss her! if you've got one—might be, if you was with them. I can read a little mysilf, at laste I could onste, and I gits them a bit o' schoolin' now and thin, whin I can, of an evenin' mostly. I can't write a letther; I wish I could. Shure, thin, Sir, I'll tell you the thruth—we does best on ing-uns. Oranges is nixt, and nuts isn't near so good. The three of us now makes *1s.* and sometimes *1s. 6d.* a day, and that's grand doin's. We may sill bechuxt us from two to three dozin ropes a day. I'm quick at roping the ing-uns. I never noted how many ropes an hour. I buy them of a thradesman, an honist gintleman, I know, and I see him at mass ivery Sunday, and he gives me as many as he can for *1s.* or what it is. We has *1d.*, plase God, on ivery *6d.*; yis, sir, perhaps more sometimes. I'll not tell your 'onnur a bit of a lie. And so we now get a nice bit o' fish, with a bit of liver on a Sunday. I sell to the thradesmen, and the lodgers of them, about here (Tottenham-court-road), and in many other parruts, for we thravels a dale. The childer always goes the same round. We follows one another. I've sould in the sthreets ever since I've been in this counthry."

The greatest sum of money expended by the poor upon any vegetable (after potatoes) is spent upon onions—99,900*l.* being annually devoted to the purchase of that article. To those who know the habits of the poor, this will appear in no way singular—a piece of bread and an onion being to the English labourer what bread and an apple or a bunch of grapes is to the French peasant—often his dinner.

Of Pot-Herbs and Celery.

I use the old phrase, *pot-herbs*, for such productions as sage, thyme, mint, parsley, sweet marjoram, fennel, (though the last is rarely sold by the street-people), &c.; but "herbs" is the usual term. More herbs, such as agrimony, balm (balsam), wormwood, tansy, &c., used to be sold in the streets. These were often used for "teas," medicinally perhaps, except tansy, which, being a strong aromatic, was used to flavour puddings. Wormwood, too, was often bought to throw amongst woollen fabrics, as a protective against the attack of moths.

The street herb-trade is now almost entirely in the hands of Irishwomen, and is generally carried on during the autumn and winter at stalls. With it, is most commonly united the sale of celery. The herbs are sold at the several markets, usually in shilling lots, but a quarter of a shilling lot may be purchased. The Irishwoman pursues a simple method of business. What has cost her *1s.* she divides into 24 lots, each of *1d.*, or she will sell half of a lot for a halfpenny. An Irishwoman said to me:

"Thrade isn't good, sir; it falls and it falls. I don't sell so many herrubs or so much ciliry as I did whin mate was higher. Poor people thin, I've often been said it, used to buy bones and bile them for broth with ciliry and the beautiful herrubs. Now they buys a bit of mate and ates it without brothing. It's good one way and it's bad another. Only last Sathurday night my husband—and a good husband he's to me, though he is a London man, for he knows how to make

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a bargain—he bought a bit of mutton, afore the stroke of twilve, in Newgit-markit, at 2½d. the pound. I don't know what parrut it was. I don't understand that, but he does, and tills me how to cook it. He has worruk at the docks, but not very rigular. I think I sill most parrusley. Whin frish herrings is chape, some biles them with parrusley, and some fries them with ing-uns. No, sir; I don't make sixpence a day; not half-a-crown a week, I'm shure. Whin herrubs isn't in—and they're autumn and winther things, and so is cilery—I sills anything; gooseberries and currints, or anything. If I'd had a family, I couldn't have had a shoe to my futt."

Gross Value of the Fruit and Vegetables Sold Annually in the London Streets.

To complete the present account of the costermonger's trade, we must now estimate the money value of the fruit and vegetables disposed of by them throughout the year. The money annually spent in fish by the humbler portion of the metropolitan population comes to, as we have seen, very nearly one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling—the sum laid out in fruit and vegetables we shall find is but little more than a third of this amount.

Green Fruit.

377,500	bushels of apples, at six a penny or 4s. per bush. (288 to the bushel) . .	£75,500
193,700	bushels of pears, at 5s. per bushel	48,400
1,215,860	lbs. of cherries, at 2d. per lb.	10,000
11,700	bushels of plums, at 1d. per half pint	6,270
100	bushels of greengages, at 1½d. per half pint . .	80
548	bushels of damsons, at 1½d. per half pint	430
2,450	bushels of bullace, at 1½d. per half pint	1,960
207,500	bushels of gooseberries, at 3d. per quart	83,000
85,500	sieves of red currants, at 1d. per pint (three half-sieves to the bushel) .	15,300
13,500	sieves of black currants, at 1d. per pint (three half-sieves to the bushel) .	2,400
3,000	sieves of white currants, at 1d. per pint (three half-sieves to the bushel) .	530
763,750	pottles of strawberries, at 2d. per pottle	6,360
1,760	pottles of raspberries, at 6d. per pottle	40
30,485	pottles of mulberries, at 6d. per pottle	760
6,000	bushels of hazel nuts, at ¾d. per half pint . . .	2,400
17,280	lbs. of filberts, at 3d. per lb.	200
26,563	lbs. of grapes, at 4d. per lb.	440
20,000	pine apples, at 6d. each .	600
15,400,000	oranges, at two for 1d. . .	32,000
154,000	lemons, at two for 1d. . .	320
24,000	bushels of Spanish and Barcelona nuts, at 6d. per quart	19,200
3,000	bushels of Brazil nuts (1500 to the bushel), at fifteen for 1d.	£1,250
6,500	bushels of chestnuts (1500 to the bushel), at fifteen for 1d.	2,700
24,000	bushels of walnuts (1750 to the bushel), at ten for 1d.	17,500
400,000	coker-nuts, at 3d. each .	5,000
	Total expended yearly in green fruit	£333,420

Dry Fruit.

7,000	lbs. of shell almonds, at 20 a penny (320 to the lb.)	£460
37,800	lbs. of raisins, at 2d. per lb.	300
24,300	lbs. of figs, at 2d. per lb. .	200
4,800	lbs. of prunes, at 2d. per lb.	40
	Total expended yearly on dry fruit	£1,000

Vegetables.

60,500,000	lbs. of potatoes, at 5lbs. for 2d.	£100,800
23,760,000	cabbages, at ½d. each . .	49,500
3,264,800	turnips, at 1½d. per doz. .	1,700
601,000	carrots, at 2½d. per doz. .	520
567,300	brocoli and cauliflowers, at 1d. per head	2,360
616,666	junks of turnip tops, at 4d. per junk	10,270
219,000	bushels of peas, at 1s. 6d. per bushel	16,420
8,890	bushels of beans, at 1s. 6d. per bushel	660
22,110	bushels of French beans, at 6d. per peck, or 2s. per bushel	2,210
25,608	vegetable marrows, at ½d. each	50
489	dozen bundles of asparagus, at 2s. 6d. per bundle (4d. or 6d. a doz. heads)	730
9,120	dozen bundles of rhubarb, at 2s. 6d. per doz. . .	1,140
4,350	dozen bundles of celery, at 3d. per bundle . . .	650
561,602	lettuces, at 3 a penny . .	780
13,291	dozen hands of radishes, at 3 bunches for 1d., and 6 bunches to the hand .	1,330
499,530	bushels of onions, at 4s. per bushel	99,900
10,920	bushels of cucumbers, at 1d. each (60 to the bush.)	2,730
3,290	dozen bundles of herbs, at 3d. a bundle	490
	Total expended yearly in vegetables	£292,240

Putting the above sums together we have the following aggregate result:—

Expended yearly in green fruit . .	£333,420
Expended yearly in dry fruit . . .	1,000
Expended yearly in vegetables . . .	292,000
Gross sum taken annually by the London costermongers for fruit and vegetables	£626,420

Then adding the above to the gross amount received by the street-sellers of fish, which we have before seen comes to as much as £1,460,850, we have for the annual income of the London costermongers no less a sum than £2,087,270.

OF THE STATIONARY STREET-SELLERS OF FISH, FRUIT, AND VEGETABLES.

OF THE NUMBER OF STREET STALLS.

THUS far we have dealt only with the itinerant dealers in fish, fruit, or vegetables; but there are still a large class of street-sellers, who obtain a living by the sale of the same articles at some fixed locality in the public thoroughfares; and as these differ from the others in certain points, they demand a short special notice here. First, as to the number of stalls in the streets of London, I caused personal observations to be made; and in a walk of 46 miles, 632 stalls were counted, which is at the rate of very nearly 14 to the mile. This, too, was in bad weather,—was not on a Saturday night,—and at a season when the fruit-sellers all declare that "things is dull." The routes taken in this inquiry were:—No. 1, from Vauxhall to Hatton-garden; No. 2, from Baker-street to Bermondsey; No. 3, from Blackwall to Brompton; No. 4, from the Hackney-road to the Edgeware-road. I give the results.

	F.	FR.	V.	M.	T.
No. 1 . .	9	28	5	7	49
„ 2 . .	37	50	4	14	105
„ 3 . .	90	153	30	40	313
„ 4 . .	75	52	23	15	165
	211	283	62	76	632

F. denotes fish-stalls; Fr. fruit-stalls; V. vegetable-stalls; M. miscellaneous; and T. presents the total:

The miscellaneous stalls include peas-soup, pickled whelks, sweetmeats, toys, tin-ware, elder-wine, and jewellery stands. Of these, the toy-stalls were found to be the most numerous; sweetmeats the next; tin-ware the next; while the elder-wine stalls were least numerous.

Some of the results indicate, curiously enough, the character of the locality. Thus, in Fleet-street there were 3, in the Haymarket 5, in Regent-street 6, and in Piccadilly 14 fruit-stalls, and no fish-stalls—these streets not being resorted to by the poor, to whom fruit is a luxury, but fish a necessity. In the Strand were 17 fruit and 2 fish-stalls; and in Drury-lane were 8 stalls of fish to 6 of fruit. On the other hand, there were in Ratcliffe-highway, 38 fish and 23 fruit-stalls; in Rosemary-lane, 13 fish and 8 fruit-stalls; in Shoreditch, 28 fish and 13 fruit-stalls; and in Bethnal-green Road (the poorest district of all), 14 of the fish, and but 3 of the fruit stalls. In some places, the numbers were equal, or nearly so; as in the Minories, for instance, the City-road, the New-road, Goodge-street, Tottenham-court Road, and the Camberwell-road; while in Smithfield were 5, and in Cow-cross 2 fish-stalls, and no fruit-stalls at all. In this enumeration the street-markets of Leather-lane, the New Cut, the Brill, &c., are not included.

The result of this survey of the principal London thoroughfares is that in the *mid-route* (viz., from Brompton, along Piccadilly, the Strand, Fleet-street, and so *viâ* the Commercial-road to Blackwall), there are twice as many stalls as in the great *northern thoroughfare* (that is to say, from the Edgeware-road, along the New-road, to the Hackney-road); the latter route, however, has more than one-third as many stalls as route No. 2, and that again more than double the number of route No. 1. Hence it appears that the more frequented the thoroughfare, the greater the quantity of street-stalls.

The number of miles of streets contained within the inner police district of the metropolis, are estimated by the authorities at 2,000 (including the city), and assuming that there are on an average only four stalls to the mile throughout London, we have thus a grand total of 8,000 fish, fruit, vegetable, and other stalls dispersed throughout the capital.

Concerning the character of the stalls at the street-markets, the following observations have been made:—At the New-cut there were, before the removals, between the hours of eight and ten on a Saturday evening, ranged along the kerb-stone on the north side of the road, beginning at Broad-wall to Marsh-gate (a distance of nearly half-a-mile), a dense line of "pitches"—at 77 of which were vegetables for sale, at 40 fruit, 25 fish, 22 boots and shoes, 14 eatables, consisting of cakes and pies, hot eels, baked potatoes, and boiled whelks; 10 dealt in nightcaps, lace, ladies' collars, artificial flowers, silk and straw bonnets; 10 in tinware—such as saucepans, tea-kettles, and Dutch-ovens; 9 in crockery and glass, 7 in brooms and brushes, 5 in poultry and rabbits, 6 in paper, books, songs, and almanacs; and about 60 in sundries.

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THE IRISH STREET-SELLER.

"Sweet Chany! Two a pinny Or-r-ranges—two a pinny!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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Of the Character of the Street-Stalls.

The stalls occupied by costermongers for the sale of fish, fruit, vegetables, &c., are chiefly constructed of a double cross-trestle or moveable frame, or else of two trestles, each with three legs, upon which is laid a long deal board, or tray. Some of the stalls consist merely of a few boards resting upon two baskets, or upon two herring-barrels. The fish-stalls are mostly covered with paper—generally old newspapers or periodicals—but some of the street-fishmongers, instead of using paper to display their fish upon, have introduced a thin marble slab, which gives the stall a cleaner, and, what they consider a high attribute, a "respectable" appearance.

Most of the fruit-stalls are, in the winter time, fitted up with an apparatus for roasting apples and chestnuts; this generally consists of an old saucepan with a fire inside; and the woman who vends them, huddled up in her old faded shawl or cloak, often presents a picturesque appearance, in the early evening, or in a fog, with the gleam of the fire lighting up her half somnolent figure. Within the last two or three years, however, there has been so large a business carried on in roasted chestnuts, that it has become a distinct street-trade, and the vendors have provided themselves with an iron apparatus, large enough to roast nearly half a bushel at a time. At the present time, however, the larger apparatus is less common in the streets, and more frequent in the shops, than in the previous winter.

There are, moreover, peculiar kinds of stalls—such as the hot eels and hot peas-soup stalls, having tin oval pots, with a small chafing-dish containing a charcoal fire underneath each, to keep the eels or soup hot. The early breakfast stall has two capacious tin cans filled with tea or coffee, kept hot by the means before described, and some are lighted up by two or three large oil-lamps; the majority of these stalls, in the winter time, are sheltered from the wind by a screen made out of an old clothes horse covered with tarpaulin. The cough-drop stand, with its distilling apparatus, the tin worm curling nearly the whole length of the tray, has but lately been introduced. The nut-stall is fitted up with a target at the back of it. The ginger-beer stand may be seen in almost every street, with its French-polished mahogany frame and bright polished taps, and its foot-bath-shaped reservoir of water, to cleanse the glasses. The hot elder wine stand, with its bright brass urns, is equally popular.

The sellers of plum-pudding, "cake, a penny a slice," sweetmeats, cough-drops, pin-cushions, jewellery, chimney ornaments, tea and table-spoons, make use of a table covered over, some with old newspapers, or a piece of oil-cloth, upon which are exposed their articles for sale.

Such is the usual character of the street-stalls. There are, however, "stands" or "cans" peculiar to certain branches of the street-trade. The most important of these, such as the baked-potatoe can, and the meat-pie stand, I have before described, p. 27.

The other means adopted by the street-sellers for the exhibition of their various goods at certain "pitches" or fixed localities are as follows. Straw bonnets, boys' caps, women's caps, and prints, are generally arranged for sale in large umbrellas, placed "upside down." Haberdashery, with rolls of ribbons, edgings, and lace, some street-sellers display on a stall; whilst others have a board at the edge of the pavement, and expose their wares upon it as tastefully as they can. Old shoes, patched up and well blacked, ready for the purchaser's feet, and tin ware, are often ranged upon the ground, or, where the stock is small, a stall or table is used.

Many stationary street-sellers use merely baskets, or trays, either supported in their hand, or on their arm, or else they are strapped round their loins, or suspended round their necks. These are mostly fruit-women, watercress, blacking, congreves, sheep's-trotters, and ham-sandwich sellers.

Many stationary street-sellers stand on or near the bridges; others near the steam-packet wharfs or the railway terminuses; a great number of them take their pitch at the entrance to a court, or at the corners of streets; and stall-keepers with oysters stand opposite the doors of public-houses.

It is customary for a street-seller who wants to "pitch" in a new locality to solicit the leave of the housekeeper, opposite whose premises he desires to place his stall. Such leave obtained, no other course is necessary.

Of Fruit-stall Keepers.

I had the following statement from a woman who has "kept a stall" in Marylebone, at the corner of a street, which she calls "my corner," for 38 years. I was referred to her as a curious type of the class of stall-keepers, and on my visit, found her daughter at the "pitch." This daughter had all the eloquence which is attractive in a street-seller, and so, I found, had her mother when she joined us. They are profuse in blessings; and on a bystander observing, when he heard the name of these street-sellers, that a jockey of that name had won the Derby lately, the daughter exclaimed, "To be sure he did; he's my own uncle's relation, and what a lot of money came into the family! Bless God for all things, and bless every body! Walnuts, sir, walnuts, a penny a dozen! Wouldn't give you a bad one for the world, which is a great thing for a poor 'oman for to offer to do." The daughter was dressed in a drab great-coat, which covered her whole person. When I saw the mother, she carried a similar great-coat, as she was on her way to the stall; and she used it as ladies do their muffs, burying her hands in it. The mother's dark-coloured old clothes seemed, to borrow a description from Sir Walter Scott, flung on with a pitchfork. These two women were at first very suspicious, and could not be made to understand my object in questioning

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them; but after a little while, the mother became not only communicative, but garrulous, conversing—with no small impatience at any interruption—of the doings of the people in her neighbourhood. I was accompanied by an intelligent costermonger, who assured me of his certitude that the old woman's statement was perfectly correct, and I found moreover from other inquiries that it was so.

"Well, sir," she began, "what is it that you want of me? Do I owe you anything? There's half-pay officers about here for no good; what is it you want? Hold your tongue, you young fool," (to her daughter, who was beginning to speak;) "what do you know about it?" [On my satisfying her that I had no desire to injure her, she continued, to say after spitting, a common practice with her class, on a piece of money, "for luck,"] "Certainly, sir, that's very proper and good. Aye, I've seen the world—the town world and the country. I don't know where I was born; never mind about that—it's nothing to nobody. I don't know nothing about my father and mother; but I know that afore I was eleven I went through the country with my missis. She was a smuggler. I didn't know then what smuggling was—bless you, sir, I didn't; I knew no more nor I know who made that lamp-post. I didn't know the taste of the stuff we smuggled for two years—didn't know it from small beer; I've known it well enough since, God knows. My missis made a deal of money that time at Deptford Dockyard. The men wasn't paid and let out till twelve of a night—I hardly mind what night it was, days was so alike then—and they was our customers till one, two, or three in the morning—Sunday morning, for anything I know. I don't know what my missis gained; something jolly, there's not a fear of it. She was kind enough to me. I don't know how long I was with missis. After that I was a hopping, and made my 15*s.* regular at it, and a haymaking; but I've had a pitch at my corner for thirty-eight year—aye! turned thirty-eight. It's no use asking me what I made at first—I can't tell; but I'm sure I made more than twice as much as my daughter and me makes now, the two of us. I wish people that thinks we're idle now were with me for a day. I'd teach them. I don't—that's the two of us don't—make 15*s.* a week now, nor the half of it, when all's paid. D—d if I do. The d—d boys take care of that." [Here I had a statement of the boys' tradings, similar to what I have given.] "There's 'Canterbury' has lots of boys, and they bother me. I can tell, and always could, how it is with working men. When mechanics is in good work, their children has halfpennies to spend with me. If they're hard up, there's no halfpennies. The pennies go to a loaf or to buy a candle. I might have saved money once, but had a misfortunate family. My husband? O, never mind about him. D—n him. I've been a widow many years. My son—it's nothing how many children I have—is married; he had the care of an ingine. But he lost it from ill health. It was in a feather-house, and the flue got down his throat, and coughed him; and so he went into the country, 108 miles off, to his wife's mother. But his wife's mother got her living by wooding, and other ways, and couldn't help him or his wife; so he left, and he's with me now. He has a job sometimes with a greengrocer, at 6*d.* a day and a bit of grub; a little bit—very. I must shelter him. I couldn't turn him out. If a Turk I knew was in distress, and I had only half a loaf, I'd give him half of that, if he was ever such a Turk—I would, sir! Out of 6*d.* a day, my son—poor fellow, he's only twenty-seven!—wants a bit of 'baccy and a pint of beer. It 'ud be unnatural to oppose that, wouldn't it, sir? He frets about his wife, that's staying with her mother, 108 miles off; and about his little girl; but I tell him to wait, and he may have more little girls. God knows, they come when they're not wanted a bit. I joke and say all my old sweethearts is dying away. Old Jemmy went off sudden. He lent me money sometimes, but I always paid him. He had a public once, and had some money when he died. I saw him the day afore he died. He was in bed, but wasn't his own man quite; though he spoke sensible enough to me. He said, said he, 'Won't you have half a quartern of rum, as we've often had it?' 'Certainly, Jemmy,' says I, 'I came for that very thing.' Poor fellow! his friends are quarrelling now about what he left. It's 56*l.* they say, and they'll go to law very likely, and lose every thing. There'll be no such quarrelling when I die, unless it is for the pawn-tickets. I get a meal now, and got a meal afore; but it was a better meal then, sir. Then look at my expenses. I was a customer once. I used to buy, and plenty such did, blue cloth aprons, opposite Drury-lane theatre: the very shop's there still, but I don't know what it is now; I can't call to mind. I gave 2*s.* 6*d.* a yard, from twenty to thirty years ago, for an apron, and it took two yards, and I paid 4*d.* for making it, and so an apron cost 5*s.* 4*d.*—that wasn't much thought of in those times. I used to be different off then. I never go to church; I used to go when I was a little child at Sevenoaks. I suppose I was born somewhere thereabouts. I've forgot what the inside of a church is like. There's no costermongers ever go to church, except the rogues of them, that wants to appear good. I buy my fruit at Covent-garden. Apples is now 4*s.* 6*d.* a bushel there. I may make twice that in selling them; but a bushel may last me two, three, or four days."

As I have already, under the street-sale of fish, given an account of the oyster stall-keeper, as well as the stationary dealers in sprats, and the principal varieties of wet fish, there is no necessity for me to continue this part of my subject.

We have now, in a measure, finished with the metropolitan costermongers. We have seen that the street-sellers of fish, fruit, and vegetables

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constitute a large proportion of the London population; the men, women, and children numbering at the least 30,000, and taking as much as 2,000,000*l.* per annum. We have seen, moreover, that these are the principal purveyors of food to the poor, and that consequently they are as important a body of people as they are numerous. Of all classes they *should* be the most honest, since the poor, least of all, can afford to be cheated; and yet it has been shown that the consciences of the London costermongers, generally speaking, are as little developed as their intellects; indeed, the moral and religious state of these men is a foul disgrace to us, laughing to scorn our zeal for the "propagation of the gospel in *foreign* parts," and making our many societies for the civilization of savages on the other side of the globe appear like a "delusion, a mockery, and a snare," when we have so many people sunk in the lowest depths of barbarism round about our very homes. It is well to have Bishops of New Zealand when we have Christianized all *our own* heathen; but with 30,000 individuals, in merely *one* of our cities, utterly creedless, mindless, and principleless, surely it would look more like earnestness on our parts if we created Bishops of the New-Cut, and sent "right reverend fathers" to watch over the "cure of souls" in the Broadway and the Brill. If our sense of duty will not rouse us to do this, at least our regard for our own interests should teach us, that it is not safe to allow this vast dungheap of ignorance and vice to seethe and fester, breeding a social pestilence in the very heart of our land. That the costermongers belong essentially to the dangerous classes none can doubt; and those who know a coster's hatred of a "crusher," will not hesitate to believe that they are, as they themselves confess, one and all ready, upon the least disturbance, to seize and disable their policeman.

It would be a marvel indeed if it were otherwise. Denied the right of getting a living by the street authorities, after having, perhaps, been supplied with the means of so doing by the parish authorities—the stock which the one had provided seized and confiscated by the other—law seems to them a mere farce, or at best, but the exercise of an arbitrary and despotic power, against which they consider themselves justified, whenever an opportunity presents itself, of using the same physical force as it brings to bear against them. That they are ignorant and vicious as they are, surely is not their fault. If we were all born with learning and virtue, then might we, with some show of justice, blame the costermongers for their want of both; but seeing that even the most moral and intelligent of us owe the greater part, if not the whole, of our wisdom and goodness to the tuition of others, we must not in the arrogance of our self-conceit condemn these men because they are not like ourselves, when it is evident that we should have been as they are, had not some one done for us what we refuse to do for them. We leave them destitute of all perception of beauty, and therefore without any means of pleasure but through their appetites, and then we are surprized to find their evenings are passed either in brutalizing themselves with beer, or in gloating over the mimic sensuality of the "penny gaff." Without the least intellectual culture is it likely, moreover, that they should have that perception of antecedents and consequents which enables us to see in the shadows of the past the types of the future—or that power of projecting the mind into the space, as it were, of time, which we in Saxon-English call fore-sight, and in Anglo-Latin pro-vidence—a power so godlike that the latter term is often used by us to express the Godhead itself? Is it possible, then, that men who are as much creatures of the present as the beasts of the field—instinctless animals—should have the least faculty of prevision? or rather is it not natural that, following the most precarious of all occupations—one in which the subsistence depends upon the weather of this the most variable climate of any—they should fail to make the affluence of the fine days mitigate the starvation of the rainy ones? or that their appetites, made doubly eager by the privations suffered in their adversity, should be indulged in all kinds of excess in their prosperity—their lives being thus, as it were, a series of alternations between starvation and surfeit?

The fate of children brought up amid the influence of such scenes—with parents starving one week and drunk all the next—turned loose into the streets as soon as they are old enough to run alone—sent out to sell in public-houses almost before they know how to put two halfpence together—their tastes trained to libidinism long before puberty at the penny concert, and their passions inflamed with the unrestrained intercourse of the twopenny hops—the fate of the young, I say, abandoned to the blight of such associations as these, cannot well be otherwise than it is. If the child be father to the man, assuredly it does not require a great effort of imagination to conceive the manhood that such a childhood must necessarily engender.

Some months back Mr. Mayhew, with a view to mitigate what appeared to him to be the chief evils of a street-seller's life, founded "The Friendly Association of London Costermongers," the objects of which were as follows:

1. To establish a Benefit and Provident Fund for insuring to each Member a small weekly allowance in Sickness or Old Age, as well as a certain sum to his family at his death, so that the Costermongers, when incapacitated from labour, may not be forced to seek parochial relief, nor, at their decease, be left to be buried by the parish.

2. To institute a Penny Savings' Bank and Winter Fund, where the smallest deposits will be received and bear interest, so that the Costermongers may be encouraged to lay by even the most trivial sums, not only as a provision for future comfort, but as the means of assisting their poorer brethren with future loans.

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3. To form a Small Loan Fund for supplying the more needy Costermongers with Stock-Money, &c., at a fair and legitimate interest, instead of the exorbitant rates that are now charged.

4. To promote the use of full weights and measures by every Member of the Association, as well as a rigid inspection of the scales, &c., of all other Costermongers, so that the honestly disposed Street-sellers may be protected, and the public secured against imposition.

5. To protect the Costermongers from interference when lawfully pursuing their calling, by placing it in their power to employ counsel to defend them, if unjustly prosecuted.

6. To provide harmless, if not rational, amusements at the same cheap rate as the pernicious entertainments now resorted to by the Street-sellers.

7. To adopt means for the gratuitous education of the children of the Costermongers, in the day time, and the men and women themselves in the evening.

This institution remains at present comparatively in abeyance, from the want of funds to complete the preliminary arrangements. Those, however, who may feel inclined to contribute towards its establishment, will please to pay their subscriptions into Messrs. Twinings' Bank, Strand, to the account of Thomas Hughes, Esq. (of 63, Upper Berkeley-street, Portman-square), who has kindly consented to act as Treasurer to the Association.

Of a Public Meeting of Street-sellers.

The Association above described arose out of a meeting of costermongers and other street-folk, which was held, at my instance, on the evening of the 12th of June last, in the National Hall, Holborn. The meeting was announced as one of "street-sellers, street-performers, and street-labourers," but the costermongers were the great majority present. The admission was by ticket, and the tickets, which were of course gratuitous, were distributed by men familiar with all the classes invited to attend. These men found the tickets received by some of the street-people with great distrust; others could not be made to understand why any one should trouble himself on their behoof; others again, cheerfully promised their attendance. Some accused the ticket distributors with having been bribed by the Government or the police, though for what purpose was not stated. Some abused them heartily, and some offered to treat them. At least 1,000 persons were present at the meeting, of whom 731 presented their tickets; the others were admitted, because they were known to the door-keepers, and had either lost their tickets or had not the opportunity to obtain them. The persons to whom cards of admission were given were invited to write their names and callings on the backs, and the cards so received gave the following result. Costermongers, 256; fish-sellers, 28; hucksters, 23; lot-sellers, 18; street-labourers, 16; paper-sellers and workers, 13; toy-sellers, 11; ginger-beer-sellers, 9; hardware-sellers, 9; general-dealers, 7; street-musicians, 5; street-performers, 5; cakes and pastry-sellers, fried-fish-vendors, and tinkers, each, 4; turf-vendors, street-exhibitors, strolling-players, cat's-meat-men, water-cress-sellers, stay-lace, and cotton-sellers, each, 3; board-carriers, fruit-sellers, street-tradesmen, hawkers, street-green-grocers, shell-fish-vendors, poulterers, mud-larks, wire-workers, ballad-singers, crock-men, and booksellers, each, 2; the cards also gave one each of the following avocations:—fly-cage-makers, fly-paper-sellers, grinders, tripe-sellers, pattern-printers, blind-paper-cutters, lace-collar-sellers, bird-sellers, bird-trainers, pen-sellers, lucifer-merchants, watch-sellers, decorators, and play-bill-sellers. 260 cards were given in without being indorsed with any name or calling.

My object in calling this meeting was to ascertain from the men themselves what were the grievances to which they considered themselves subjected; what were the peculiarities and what the privations of a street-life. Cat-calls, and every description of discordant sound, prevailed, before the commencement of the proceedings, but there was also perfect good-humour. Although it had been announced that all the speakers were to address the meeting from the platform, yet throughout the evening some man or other would occasionally essay to speak from the body of the hall. Some of those present expressed misgivings that the meeting was got up by the Government, or by Sir R. Peel, and that policemen, in disguise, were in attendance. The majority showed an ignorance of the usual forms observed at public meetings, though some manifested a thorough understanding of them. Nor was there much delicacy observed—but, perhaps, about as much as in some assemblages of a different character—in clamouring down any prosy speaker. Many present were without coats (for it was a warm evening), some were without waistcoats, many were in tatters, hats and caps were in infinite varieties of shape and shade, while a few were well and even genteelly dressed. The well dressed street-sellers were nearly all young men, and one of these wore moustachios. After I had explained, amidst frequent questions and interruptions, the purpose for which I had summoned the meeting, and had assured the assembly that, to the best of my knowledge, no policemen were present, I invited free discussion.

It was arranged that some one person should address the meeting as the representative of each particular occupation. An elderly man of small stature and lively intelligent features, stood up to speak on behalf of the "paper-workers," "flying-stationers," and "standing-patterers." He said, that "for twenty-four years he had been a penny-showman, a street-seller, and a patterer." He dwelt upon the difference of a street-life when he was young and at the present time, the difference being between meals and no meals; and complained that though

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he had been well educated, had friends in a respectable way of life, and had never been accused of any dishonesty, such was the moral brand," of having been connected with a "street life, that it was never got rid of. He more than once alluded to this "moral brand." The question was, he concluded, in what way were they to obtain an honest livelihood, so as to keep their wives and children decently, without being buffeted about like wild beasts in the open streets? This address was characterised by propriety in the delivery, and by the absence of any grammatical inaccuracy, or vulgarity of tone or expression.

A costermonger, a quiet-looking man, tidily clad, said he was the son of a country auctioneer, now dead; and not having been brought up to any trade, he came to London to try his luck. His means were done before he could obtain employment; and he was in a state of starvation. At last he was obliged to apply to the parish. The guardians took him into the workhouse, and offered to pass him home: but as he could do no good there, he refused to go. Whereupon, giving him a pound of bread, he was turned into the streets, and had nowhere to lay his head. In wandering down the New-cut a costermonger questioned him, and then took him into his house and fed him This man kept him for a year and a half; he showed him how to get a living in the street trade; and when he left, gave him 20*s*. to start with. With this sum he got a good living directly; and he could do so now, were it not for the police, whose conduct, he stated, was sometimes very tyrannical. He had been dragged to the station-house, for standing to serve customers, though he obstructed nobody; the policeman, however, called it an obstruction, and he (the speaker) was fined 2*s*. 6*d*.; whereupon, because he had not the half-crown, his barrow and all it contained were taken from him, and he had heard nothing of them since. This almost broke him down. There was no redress for these things, and he thought they ought to be looked into.

This man spoke with considerable energy; and when he had concluded, many costermongers shouted, at the top of their voices, that they could substantiate every word of what he had said.

A young man, of superior appearance, said he was the son of a gentleman who had held a commission as Lieutenant in the 20th Foot, and as Captain in the 34th Infantry, and afterwards became Sub-director of the Bute Docks; in which situation he died, leaving no property. He (the speaker) was a classical scholar; but having no trade, he was compelled, after his father's death, to come to London in search of employment, thinking that his pen and his school acquirements would secure it. But in this expectation he was disappointed,—though for a short period he was earning two guineas a week in copying documents for the House of Commons. That time was past; and he was a street-patterer now through sheer necessity. He could say from experience that the earnings of that class were no more than from 8*s*. to 10*s*. a week. He then declaimed at some length against the interference of the police with the patterers, considering it harsh and unnecessary.

After some noisy and not very relevant discussion concerning the true amount of a street-patterer's earnings, a clergyman of the Established Church, now selling stenographic cards in the street, addressed the meeting. He observed, that in every promiscuous assembly there would always be somebody who might be called unfortunate. Of this number he was one; for when, upon the 5th September, 1831, he preached a funeral sermon before a fashionable congregation, upon Mr. Huskisson's death by a railway accident, he little thought he should ever be bound over in his own recognizances in 10*l*. for obstructing the metropolitan thoroughfares. He was a native of Hackney, but in early life he went to Scotland, and upon the 24th June, 1832, he obtained the presentation to a small extra-parochial chapel in that country, upon the presentation of the Rev. Dr. Bell. His people embraced Irvingism, and he was obliged to leave; and in January, 1837, he came to the metropolis. His history since that period he need not state. His occupation was well known, and he could confirm what had been stated with regard to the police. The Police Act provided, that all persons selling goods in the streets were to keep five feet off the pavement, the street not being a market. He had always kept with his wares and his cards beyond the prohibited distance of five feet; and for six years and a half he had sold his cards without molesting or being molested. After some severe observations upon the police, he narrated several events in his personal history to account for his present condition, which he attributed to misfortune and the injustice of society. In the course of these explanations he gave an illustration of his classical acquirements, in having detected a grammatical error in a Latin inscription upon the plate of a foundation-stone for a new church in Westminster. He wrote to the incumbent, pointing out the error, and the incumbent asked the beadle who he was. "Oh," said the beadle, "he is a fellow who gets his living in the streets." This was enough. He got no answer to his letter, though he knew the incumbent and his four curates, and had attended his church for seven years. After dwelling on the sufferings of those whose living was gained in the streets, he said, that if persons wished really to know anything of the character or habits of life of the very poor, of whom he was one, the knowledge could only be had from a personal survey of their condition in their own homes. He ended, by expressing his hope that by better treatment, and an earnest attention—moral, social, and religious—to their condition, the poor of the streets might be gathered to the church, and to God.

A "wandering musician" in a Highland garb, worn and dirty, complained at some

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length of the way in which he was treated by the police.

A hale-looking man, a costermonger, of middle age—who said he had a wife and four children dependent upon him—then spoke. It was a positive fact, he said, notwithstanding their poverty, their hardships, and even their degradation in the eyes of some, that the first markets in London were mainly supported by costermongers. What would the Duke of Bedford's market in Covent-garden be without them? This question elicited loud applause.

Several other persons followed with statements of a similar character, which were listened to with interest; but from their general sameness it is not necessary to repeat them here. After occupying nearly four hours, the proceedings were brought to a close by a vote of thanks, and the "street-sellers, performers, and labourers," separated in a most orderly manner.

OF THE STREET-IRISH.

The Irish street-sellers are both a numerous and peculiar class of people. It therefore behoves me, for the due completeness of this work, to say a few words upon their numbers, earnings, condition, and mode of life.

The number of Irish street-sellers in the metropolis has increased greatly of late years. One gentleman, who had every means of being well-informed, considered that it was not too much to conclude, that, within these five years, the numbers of the poor Irish people who gain a scanty maintenance, or what is rather a substitute for a maintenance, by trading, or begging, or by carrying on the two avocations simultaneously in the streets of London, had been doubled in number.

I found among the English costermongers a general dislike of the Irish. In fact, next to a policeman, a genuine London costermonger hates an Irishman, considering him an intruder. Whether there be any traditional or hereditary ill-feeling between them, originating from a clannish feeling, I cannot ascertain. The costermongers whom I questioned had no knowledge of the feelings or prejudices of their predecessors, but I am inclined to believe that the prejudice is modern, and has originated in the great influx of Irishmen and women, intermixing, more especially during the last five years, with the costermonger's business. An Irish costermonger, however, is no novelty in the streets of London. "From the mention of the costardmonger," says Mr. Charles Knight, "in the old dramatists, he appears to have been frequently an Irishman."

Of the Irish street-sellers, at present, it is computed that there are, including men, women, and children, upwards of 10,000. Assuming the street-sellers attending the London fish and green markets to be, with their families, 30,000 in number, and 7 in every 20 of these to be Irish, we shall have rather more than the total above given. Of this large body three-fourths sell only fruit, and more especially nuts and oranges; indeed, the orange-season is called the "Irishman's harvest." The others deal in fish, fruit, and vegetables, but these are principally men. Some of the most wretched of the street-Irish deal in such trifles as lucifer-matches, water-cresses, &c.

I am informed that the great mass of these people have been connected, in some capacity or other, with the culture of the land in Ireland. The mechanics who have sought the metropolis from the sister kingdom have become mixed with their respective handicrafts in England, some of the Irish—though only a few—taking rank with the English skilled labourers. The greater part of the Irish artizans who have arrived within the last five years are to be found among the most degraded of the tailors and shoemakers who work at the East-end for the slop-masters.

A large class of the Irish who were agricultural labourers in their country are to be found among the men working for bricklayers, as well as among the dock-labourers and excavators, &c. Wood chopping is an occupation greatly resorted to by the Irish in London. Many of the Irish, however, who are not regularly employed in their respective callings, resort to the streets when they cannot obtain work otherwise.

The Irish women and girls who sell fruit, &c., in the streets, depend almost entirely on that mode of traffic for their subsistence. They are a class not sufficiently taught to avail themselves of the ordinary resources of women in the humbler walk of life. Unskilled at their needles, working for slop employers, even at the commonest shirt-making, is impossible to them. Their ignorance of household work, moreover (for such description of work is unknown in their wretched cabins in many parts of Ireland), incapacitates them in a great measure for such employments as "charing," washing, and ironing, as well as from regular domestic employment. Thus there seems to remain to them but one thing to do—as, indeed, was said to me by one of themselves—viz., "to sell for a ha'pinny the three apples which cost a farruthing."

Very few of these women (nor, indeed, of the men, though rather more of them than the women) can read, and they are mostly all wretchedly poor; but the women present two characteristics which distinguish them from the London coster-women generally—they are chaste, and, unlike the "coster girls," very seldom form any con-

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nection without the sanction of the marriage ceremony. They are, moreover, attentive to religious observances.

The majority of the Irish street-sellers of both sexes beg, and often very eloquently, as they carry on their trade; and I was further assured, that, but for this begging, some of them might starve outright.

The greater proportion of the Irish street-sellers are from Leinster and Munster, and a considerable number come from Connaught.

Of the Causes which have made the Irish turn Costermongers.

Notwithstanding the prejudices of the English costers, I am of opinion that the Irishmen and women who have become costermongers, belong to a better class than the Irish labourers. The Irishman may readily adapt himself, in a strange place, to labour, though not to trade; but these costers are—or the majority at least are—poor persevering traders enough.

The most intelligent and prosperous of the street-Irish are those who have "risen"—for so I heard it expressed—"into regular costers." The untaught Irishmen's capabilities, as I have before remarked, with all his powers of speech and quickness of apprehension, are far less fitted for "buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest" than for mere physical employment. Hence those who take to street-trading for a living seldom prosper in it, and three-fourths of the street-Irish confine their dealings to such articles as are easy of sale, like apples, nuts, or oranges, for they are rarely masters of purchasing to advantage, and seem to know little about tale or measure, beyond the most familiar quantities. Compared with an acute costermonger, the mere apple-seller is but as the labourer to the artizan.

One of the principal causes why the Irish costermongers have increased so extensively of late years, is to be found in the fact that the labouring classes, (and of them chiefly the class employed in the culture of land,) have been driven over from "the sister Isle" more thickly for the last four or five years than formerly. Several circumstances have conspired to effect this.—First, they were driven over by the famine, when they could not procure, or began to fear that soon they could not procure, food to eat. Secondly, they were forced to take refuge in this country by the evictions, when their landlords had left them no roof to shelter them in their own. (The shifts, the devices, the plans, to which numbers of these poor creatures had recourse, to raise the means of quitting Ireland for England—or for anywhere—will present a very remarkable chapter at some future period.) Thirdly, though the better class of small farmers who have emigrated from Ireland, in hopes of "bettering themselves," have mostly sought the shores of North America, still some who have reached this country have at last settled into street-sellers. And, fourthly, many who have come over here only for the harvest have been either induced or compelled to stay.

Another main cause is, that the Irish, as labourers, can seldom obtain work all the year through, and thus the ranks of the Irish street-sellers are recruited every winter by the slackness of certain periodic trades in which they are largely employed—such as hodmen, dock-work, excavating, and the like. They are, therefore, driven by want of employment to the winter sale of oranges and nuts. These circumstances have a doubly malefic effect, as the increase of costers accrues in the winter months, and there are consequently the most sellers when there are the fewest buyers.

Moreover, the cessation of work in the construction of railways, compared with the abundance of employment which attracted so many to this country during the railway mania, has been another fertile cause of there being so many Irish in the London streets.

The prevalence of Irish women and children among street-sellers is easily accounted for—they are, as I said before, unable to do anything else to eke out the means of their husbands or parents. A needle is as useless in their fingers as a pen.

Bitterly as many of these people suffer in this country, grievous and often eloquent as are their statements, I met with *none* who did not manifest repugnance at the suggestion of a return to Ireland. If asked why they objected to return, the response was usually in the form of a question: "Shure thin, sir, and what good could I do there?" Neither can I say that I heard any of these people express any love for their country, though they often spoke with great affection of their friends.

From an Irish costermonger, a middle-aged man, with a physiognomy best known as "Irish," and dressed in corduroy trousers, with a loose great-coat, far too big for him, buttoned about him, I had the following statement:

"I had a bit o' land, yer honor, in County Limerick. Well, it wasn't just a farrum, nor what ye would call a garden here, but my father lived and died on it—glory be to God!—and brought up me and my sister on it. It was about an acre, and the taties was well known to be good. But the sore times came, and the taties was afflicted, and the wife and me—I have no childer—hadn't a bite nor a sup, but wather to live on, and an igg or two. I filt the famine a-comin'. I saw people a-feedin' on the wild green things, and as I had not such a bad take, I got Mr. —— (he was the head master's agent) to give me 28*s.* for possission in quietness, and I sould some poulthry I had—their iggs was a blessin' to keep the life in us—I sould them in Limerick for 3*s.* 3*d.*—the poor things—four of them. The furnithur' I sould to the nabors, for somehow about 6*s.* Its the thruth I'm ay-tellin' of you, sir, and there's 2*s.* owin' of it still, and will be a perpitual loss. The wife and me walked to Dublin, though we had betther have gone by the 'long say,' but I didn't under-

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stand it thin, and we got to Liverpool. Then sorrow's the taste of worruk could I git, beyant oncte 3s. for two days harrud porthering, that broke my back half in two. I was tould I'd do betther in London, and so, glory be to God! I have—perhaps I have. I knew Mr. ——, he porthers at Covent-garden, and I made him out, and hilped him in any long distance of a job. As I'd been used to farrumin' I thought it good raison I should be a costermonger, as they call it here. I can read and write too. And some good Christian—the heavens light him to glory when he's gone!—I don't know who he was—advanced me 10s.—or he gave it me, so to spake, through Father ———," (a Roman Catholic priest.)" We carrun what keeps the life in us. I don't go to markit, but buy of a fair dealin' man —so I count him—though he's harrud sometimes. I can't till how many Irishmen is in the thrade. There's many has been brought down to it by the famin' and the changes. I don't go much among the English street-dalers. They talk like haythens. I never miss mass on a Sunday, and they don't know what the blissed mass manes. I'm almost glad I have no childer, to see how they're raired here. Indeed, sir, they're not raired at all—they run wild. They haven't the fear of God or the saints. They'd hang a praste —glory be to God! they would."

How the Street-Irish displanted the Street-Jews in the Orange Trade.

The Jews, in the streets, while acting as costermongers, never "worked a barrow," nor dealt in the more ponderous and least profitable articles of the trade, such as turnips and cabbages. They however, had, at one period, the chief possession of a portion of the trade which the "regular hands" do not consider proper costermongering, and which is now chiefly confined to the Irish—viz.: orange selling.

The trade was, not many years ago, confined almost entirely to the Jew boys, who kept aloof from the vagrant lads of the streets, or mixed with them only in the cheap theatres and concert-rooms. A person who had had great experience at what was, till recently, one of the greatest "coaching inns," told me that, speaking within his own recollection and from his own observation, he thought the sale of oranges was not so much in the hands of the Jew lads until about forty years back. The orange monopoly, so to speak, was established by the street-Jews, about 1810, or three or four years previous to that date, when recruiting and local soldiering were at their height, and when a great number of the vagabond or "roving" population, who in one capacity or other now throng the streets, were induced to enlist. The young Jews never entered the ranks of the army. The streets were thus in a measure cleared for them, and the itinerant orange-trade fell almost entirely into their hands. Some of the young Jews gained, I am assured, at least 100*l*. a year in this traffic. The numbers of country people who hastened to London on the occasion of the Allied Sovereigns' visit in 1814—many wealthy persons then seeing the capital for the first time—afforded an excellent market to these dealers.

Moreover, the perseverance of the Jew orange boys was not to be overcome; they would follow a man who even looked encouragingly at their wares for a mile or two. The great resort of these Jew dealers—who eschewed night-work generally, and left the theatre-doors to old men and women of all ages—was at the coaching inns; for year by year, after the peace of 1815, the improvement of the roads and the consequent increase of travellers to London, progressed.

About 1825, as nearly as my informant could recollect, these keen young traders began to add the sale of other goods to their oranges, pressing them upon the notice of those who were leaving or visiting London by the different coaches. So much was this the case, that it was a common remark at that time, that no one could reach or leave the metropolis, even for the shortest journey, without being expected to be in urgent want of oranges and lemons, black-lead pencils, sticks of sealing-wax, many-bladed pen-knives, pocket-combs, razors, strops, braces, and sponges. To pursue the sale of the last-mentioned articles—they being found, I presume, to be more profitable—some of the street-Jews began to abandon the sale of oranges and lemons; and it was upon this, that the trade was "taken up" by the wives and children of the Irish bricklayers' labourers, and of other Irish work-people then resident in London. The numbers of Irish in the metropolis at that time began to increase rapidly; for twenty years ago, they resorted numerously to England to gather in the harvest, and those who had been employed in contiguous counties during the autumn, made for London in the winter. "I can't say they were well off, sir," said one man to me, "but they liked bread and herrings, or bread and tea—better than potatoes without bread at home." From 1836 to 1840, I was informed, the Irish gradually superseded the Jews in the fruit traffic about the coaching-houses. One reason for this was, that they were far more eloquent, begging pathetically, and with many benedictions on their listeners. The Jews never begged, I was told; "they were merely traders." Another reason was, that the Irish, men or lads, who had entered into the fruit trade in the coach-yards, would not only sell and beg, but were ready to "lend a hand" to any over-burthened coach-porter. This the Jews never did, and in that way the people of the yard came to encourage the Irish to the prejudice of the Jews. At present, I understand that, with the exception of one or two in the city, no Jews vend oranges in the streets, and that the trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Irish.

Another reason why the Irish could supersede and even undersell the Jews and regular costermongers was this, as I am informed on ex-

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cellent authority:—Father Mathew, a dozen years back, made temperance societies popular in Ireland. Many of the itinerant Irish, especially the younger classes, were "temperance men." Thus the Irish could live as sparely as the Jew, but they did not, like him, squander any money for the evening's amusement, at the concert or the theatre.

I inquired what might be the number of the Jews plying, so to speak, at the coaching inns, and was assured that it was less numerous than was generally imagined. One man computed it at 300 individuals, all under 21; another at only 200; perhaps the mean, or 250, might be about the mark. The number was naturally considered greater, I was told, because the same set of street traders were seen over and over again. The Jews knew when the coaches were to arrive and when they started, and they would hurry, after availing themselves of a departure, from one inn—the Belle Sauvage, Ludgate-hill, for instance—to take advantage of an arrival at another—say the Saracen's Head, Snow-hill. Thus they appeared everywhere, but were the same individuals.

I inquired to what calling the youthful Jews, thus driven from their partially monopolized street commerce, had devoted themselves, and was told that even when the orange and hawking trade was at the best, the Jews rarely carried it on after they were twenty-two or twenty-three, but that they then resorted to some more wholesale calling, such as the purchase of nuts or foreign grapes, at public sales. At present, I am informed, they are more thickly than ever engaged in these trades, as well as in two new avocations, that have been established within these few years,—the sale of the Bahama pine-apples and of the Spanish and Portuguese onions.

About the Royal Exchange, Jew boys still hawk pencils, etc., but the number engaged in this pursuit throughout London is not, as far as I can ascertain, above one-eighth—if an eighth—of what it was even twelve years ago.

Of the Religion of the Street-Irish.

Having now given a brief sketch as to how the Irish people have come to form so large a proportion of the London street-sellers, I shall proceed, as I did with the English costermongers, to furnish the reader with a short account of their religious, moral, intellectual, and physical condition, so that he may be able to contrast the habits and circumstances of the one class with those of the other. First, of the religion of the Irish street-folk.

Almost all the street-Irish are Roman Catholics. Of course I can but speak generally; but during my inquiry I met with only two who said they were Protestants, and when I came to converse with them, I found out that they were partly ignorant of, and partly indifferent to, any religion whatever. An Irish Protestant gentleman said to me: "You may depend upon it, if ever you meet any of my poor countrymen who will not talk to you about religion, they either know or care nothing about it; for the religious spirit runs high in Ireland, and Protestants and Catholics are easily led to converse about their faith."

I found that *some* of the Irish Roman Catholics—but they had been for many years resident in England, and that among the poorest or vagrant class of the English—had become indifferent to their creed, and did not attend their chapels, unless at the great fasts or festivals, and this they did only occasionally. One old stall-keeper, who had been in London nearly thirty years, said to me: "Ah! God knows, sir, I ought to attend mass every Sunday, but I haven't for a many years, barrin' Christmas-day and such times. But I'll thry and go more rigular, plase God." This man seemed to resent, as a sort of indignity, my question if he ever attended any other place of worship. "Av coorse not!" was the reply.

One Irishman, also a fruit-seller, with a well-stocked barrow, and without the complaint of poverty common among his class, entered keenly into the subject of his religious faith when I introduced it. He was born in Ireland, but had been in England since he was five or six. He was a good-looking, fresh-coloured man, of thirty or upwards, and could read and write well. He spoke without bitterness, though zealously enough. "Perhaps, sir, you are a gintleman connected with the Protistant clargy," he asked, "or a missionary?" On my stating that I had no claim to either character, he resumed: "Will, sir, it don't matther. All the worruld may know my riligion, and I wish all the worruld was of my riligion, and betther min in it than I am; I do, indeed. I'm a Roman Catholic, sir;" [here he made the sign of the cross]; "God be praised for it! O yis, I know all about Cardinal Wiseman. It's the will of God, I feel sure, that he's to be 'stablished here, and it's no use ribillin' against that. I've nothing to say against Protistints. I've heard it said, 'It's best to pray for them.' The street-people that call thimselves Protestants are no riligion at all at all. I serruve Protistant gintlemen and ladies too, and sometimes they talk to me kindly about religion. They're good custhomers, and I have no doubt good people. I can't say what their lot may be in another worruld for not being of the true faith. No, sir, I'll give no opinions—none."

This man gave me a clear account of his belief that the Blessed Virgin (he crossed himself repeatedly as he spoke) was the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and was a mediator with our Lord, who was God of heaven and earth—of the duty of praying to the holy saints—of attending mass—("but the priest," he said, "won't exact too much of a poor man, either about that or about fasting")—of going to confession at Easter and Christmas times, at the least—of receiving the body of Christ, "the rale prisince," in the holy sacrament—of keeping all God's commandments—of purgatory being a purgation of sins—and of heaven and hell.

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I found the majority of those I spoke with, at least as earnest in their faith, if they were not as well instructed in it as my informant, who may be cited as an example of the better class of street-sellers.

Another Irishman,—who may be taken as a type of the less informed, and who had been between two and three years in England, having been disappointed in emigrating to America with his wife and two children,—gave me the following account, but not without considering and hesitating. He was a very melancholy looking man, tall and spare, and decently clad. He and his family were living upon 8*d*. a day, which he earned by sweeping a crossing. He had been prevented by ill health from earning 2*l*., which he could have made, he told me, in harvest time, as a store against winter. He had been a street-seller, and so had his wife; and she would be so again as soon as he could raise 2*s*. to buy her a stock of apples. He said, touching his hat at each holy name,—

"Sure, yis, sir, I'm a Roman Catholic, and go to mass every Sunday. Jesus Christ? O yis," (hesitating, but proceeding readily after a word of prompting), "he is the Lord our Saviour, and the Son of the Holy Virgin. The blessed saints? Yis, sir, yis. The praste prays for them. I—I mane prays to them. O, yis. I pray to them mysilf ivery night for a blissin', and to rise me out of my misery. No, sir, I can't say I know what the mass is about. I don't know what I'm prayin' for thin, only that it's right. A poor man, that can neither read nor write—I wish I could and I might do betther—can't understand it; it's all in Latin. Iv'e heard about Cardinal Wiseman. It'll do us no good sir; it'll only set people more against us. But it ain't poor min's fault."

As I was anxious to witness the religious zeal that characterizes these people, I obtained permission to follow one of the priests as he made his rounds among his flock. Everywhere the people ran out to meet him. He had just returned to them I found, and the news spread round, and women crowded to their door-steps, and came creeping up from the cellars through the trap-doors, merely to curtsey to him. One old crone, as he passed, cried, "You're a good father, Heaven comfort you," and the boys playing about stood still to watch him. A lad, in a man's tail coat and a shirt-collar that nearly covered in his head—like the paper round a bouquet—was fortunate enough to be noticed, and his eyes sparkled, as he touched his hair at each word he spoke in answer. At a conversation that took place between the priest and a woman who kept a dry fish-stall, the dame excused herself for not having been up to take tea "with his rivirince's mother lately, for thrade had been so bisy, and night was the fullest time." Even as the priest walked along the street, boys running at full speed would pull up to touch their hair, and the stall-women would rise from their baskets; while all noise—even a quarrel—ceased until he had passed by. Still there was no look of fear in the people. He called them all by their names, and asked after their families, and once or twice the "father" was taken aside and held by the button while some point that required his advice was whispered in his ear.

The religious fervour of the people whom I saw was intense. At one house that I entered, the woman set me marvelling at the strength of her zeal, by showing me how she contrived to have in her sitting-room a sanctuary to pray before every night and morning, and even in the day, "when she felt weary and lonesome." The room was rudely enough furnished, and the only decent table was covered with a new piece of varnished cloth; still before a rude print of our Saviour there were placed two old plated candlesticks, pink, with the copper shining through; and here it was that she told her beads. In her bed-room, too, was a coloured engraving of the "Blessed Lady," which she never passed without curtseying to.

Of course I detail these matters as mere facts, without desiring to offer any opinion here, either as to the benefit or otherwise of the creed in question. As I had shown how the English costermonger neither had nor knew any religion whatever, it became my duty to give the reader a view of the religion of the Irish street-sellers. In order to be able to do so as truthfully as possible, I placed myself in communication with those parties who were in a position to give me the best information on the subject. The result is given above, in all the simplicity and impartiality of history.

Of the Education, Literature, Amusements, and Politics of the Street-Irish.

These several heads have often required from me lengthened notices, but as regards the class I am now describing they may be dismissed briefly enough. The majority of the street-Irish whom I saw were unable to read, but I found those who had no knowledge of reading—(and the same remark applies to the English street-sellers as well)—regret their inability, and say, "I wish I could read, sir; I'd be better off now." On the other hand, those who had a knowledge of reading and writing, said frequently enough, "Why, yes, sir, I *can* read and write, but it's been no good to me," as if they had been disappointed in their expectations as to the benefits attendant upon scholarship. I am inclined to think, however, that a greater anxiety exists among the poor generally, to have some schooling provided for their children, than was the case a few years back. One Irishman attributed this to the increased number of Roman Catholic schools, "for the more schools there are," he said, "the more people think about schooling their children."

The literature, or reading, of she street-Irish is, I believe, confined to Roman Catholic books, such as the "Lives of the Saints," published in a cheap form; one, and only one, I found with

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the "Nation" newspaper. The very poor have no leisure to read. During three days spent in visiting the slop-workers at the East end of the town, not so much as the fragment of a leaf of a book was seen.

The amusements of the street-Irish are not those of the English costermongers—though there are exceptions, of course, to the remark. The Irish fathers and mothers do not allow their daughters, even when they possess the means, to resort to the "penny gaffs" or the "twopenny hops," unaccompanied by them. Some of the men frequent the beer-shops, and are inveterate drinkers and smokers too. I did not hear of any amusements popular among, or much resorted to, by the Irishmen, except dancing parties at one another's houses, where they jig and reel furiously. They frequent raffles also, but the article is often never thrown for, and the evening is spent in dancing.

I may here observe—in reference to the statement that Irish parents will not expose their daughters to the risk of what they consider corrupt influences—that when a young Irishwoman *does* break through the pale of chastity, she often becomes, as I was assured, one of the most violent and depraved of, perhaps, *the* most depraved class.

Of politics, I think, the street-Irish understand nothing, and my own observations in this respect were confirmed by a remark made to me by an Irish gentleman: "Their politics are either a dead letter, or the politics of their priests."

The Homes of the Street-Irish.

In almost all of the poorer districts of London are to be found "nests of Irish"—as they are called—or courts inhabited solely by the Irish costermongers. These people form separate colonies, rarely visiting or mingling with the English costers. It is curious, on walking through one of these settlements, to notice the manner in which the Irish deal among themselves—street-seller buying of street-seller. Even in some of the smallest courts there may be seen stalls of vegetables, dried herrings, or salt cod, thriving, on the associative principle, by mutual support.

The parts of London that are the most thickly populated with Irish lie about Brook-street, Ratcliff-cross, down both sides of the Commercial-road, and in Rosemary-lane, though nearly all the "coster-districts" cited at p. 47, have their Irish settlements—Cromer-street, Saffron-hill and King-street, Drury-lane, for instance, being thickly peopled with the Irish; but the places I have mentioned above are peculiarly distinguished, by being almost entirely peopled by visitors from the sister isle.

The same system of immigration is pursued in London as in America. As soon as the first settler is thriving in his newly chosen country, a certain portion of his or her earnings are carefully hoarded up, until they are sufficient to pay for the removal of another member of the family to England; then one of the friends left "at home" is sent for; and thus by degrees the entire family is got over, and once more united.

Perhaps there is no quarter of London where the habits and habitations of the Irish can be better seen and studied than in Rosemary-lane, and the little courts and alleys that spring from it on each side. Some of these courts have other courts branching off from them, so that the locality is a perfect labyrinth of "blind alleys;" and when once in the heart of the maze it is difficult to find the path that leads to the main-road. As you walk down "the lane," and peep through the narrow openings between the houses, the place seems like a huge peep-show, with dark holes of gateways to look through, while the court within appears bright with the daylight; and down it are seen rough-headed urchins running with their feet bare through the puddles, and bonnetless girls, huddled in shawls, lolling against the door-posts. Sometimes you see a long narrow alley, with the houses so close together that opposite neighbours are talking from their windows; while the ropes, stretched zig-zag from wall to wall, afford just room enough to dry a blanket or a couple of shirts, that swell out dropsically in the wind.

I visited one of the paved yards round which the Irish live, and found that it had been turned into a complete drying-ground, with shirts, gowns, and petticoats of every description and colour. The buildings at the end were completely hidden by "the things," and the air felt damp and chilly, and smelt of soap-suds. The gutter was filled with dirty gray water emptied from the wash-tubs, and on the top were the thick bubbles floating about under the breath of the boys "playing at boats" with them.

It is the custom with the inhabitants of these courts and alleys to assemble at the entrance with their baskets, and chat and smoke away the morning. Every court entrance has its little group of girls and women, lolling listlessly against the sides, with their heads uncovered, and their luxuriant hair fuzzy as oakum. It is peculiar with the Irish women that—after having been accustomed to their hoods—they seldom wear bonnets, unless on a long journey. Nearly all of them, too, have a thick plaid shawl, which they keep on all the day through, with their hands covered under it. At the mouth of the only thoroughfare deserving of the name of street—for a cart could just go through it—were congregated about thirty men and women, who rented rooms in the houses on each side of the road. Six women, with baskets of dried herrings, were crouching in a line on the kerb-stone with the fish before them; their legs were drawn up so closely to their bodies that the shawl covered the entire figure, and they looked very like the podgy "tombolers" sold by the Italian boys. As all their wares were alike, it was puzzling work to imagine how, without the strongest opposition, they could each obtain a living. The

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men were dressed in long-tail coats, with one or two brass buttons. One old dame, with a face wrinkled like a dried plum, had her cloak placed over her head like a hood, and the grisly hair hung down in matted hanks about her face, her black eyes shining between the locks like those of a Skye terrier; beside her was another old woman smoking a pipe so short that her nose reached over the bowl.

After looking at the low foreheads and long bulging upper lips of some of the group, it was pleasant to gaze upon the pretty faces of the one or two girls that lolled against the wall. Their black hair, smoothed with grease, and shining almost as if "japanned," and their large gray eyes with the thick dark fringe of lash, seemed out of place among the hard features of their companions. It was only by looking at the short petticoats and large feet you could assure yourself that they belonged to the same class.

In all the houses that I entered were traces of household care and neatness that I had little expected to have seen. The cupboard fastened in the corner of the room, and stocked with mugs and cups, the mantelpiece with its images, and the walls covered with showy-coloured prints of saints and martyrs, gave an air of comfort that strangely disagreed with the reports of the cabins in "ould Ireland." As the doors to the houses were nearly all of them kept open, I could, even whilst walking along, gain some notion of the furniture of the homes. In one house that I visited there was a family of five persons, living on the ground floor and occupying two rooms. The boards were strewn with red sand, and the front apartment had three beds in it, with the printed curtains drawn closely round. In a dark room, at the back, lived the family itself. It was fitted up as a parlour, and crowded to excess with chairs and tables, the very staircase having pictures fastened against the wooden partition. The fire, although it was midday, and a warm autumn morning, served as much for light as for heat, and round it crouched the mother, children, and visitors, bending over the flame as if in the severest winter time. In a room above this were a man and woman lately arrived in England. The woman sat huddled up in a corner smoking, with the husband standing over her in, what appeared at first, a menacing attitude; I was informed, however, that they were only planning for the future. This room was perfectly empty of furniture, and the once white-washed walls were black, excepting the little square patches which showed where the pictures of the former tenants had hung. In another room, I found a home so small and full of furniture, that it was almost a curiosity for domestic management. The bed, with its chintz curtains looped up, filled one end of the apartment, but the mattress of it served as a long bench for the visitors to sit on. The table was so large that it divided the room in two, and if there was one picture there must have been thirty—all of "holy men," with yellow glories round their heads. The window-ledge was dressed out with crockery, and in a tumbler were placed the beads. The old dame herself was as curious as her room. Her shawl was fastened over her large frilled cap. She had a little "button" of a nose, with the nostrils entering her face like bullet holes. She wore over her gown an old pilot coat, well-stained with fish slime, and her petticoats being short, she had very much the appearance of a Dutch fisherman or stage smuggler.

Her story was affecting — made more so, perhaps, by the emotional manner in which she related it. Nine years ago "the father" of the district—"the Blissed Lady guard him!"—had found her late at night, rolling in the gutter, and the boys pelting her with orange-peel and mud. She was drunk—"the Lorrud pass by her"—and when she came to, she found herself in the chapel, lying before the sanctuary, "under the shadow of the holy cross." Watching over her was the "good father," trying to bring back her consciousness. He spoke to her of her wickedness, and before she left she took the pledge of temperance. From that time she prospered, and the 1*s.* 6*d.* the "father" gave her "had God's blissin' in it," for she became the best dressed woman in the court, and in less than three years had 15*l.* in the savings' bank, "the father—Heaven chirish him"—keeping her book for her, as he did for other poor people. She also joined "the Association of the Blissed Lady," (and bought herself the dress of the order "a beautiful grane vilvit, which she had now, and which same cost her 30*s.*"), and then she was secure against want in old age and sickness. But after nine years prudence and comfort, a brother of hers returned home from the army, with a pension of 1*s.* a day. He was wild, and persuaded her to break her pledge, and in a short time he got all her savings from her and spent every penny. She could'nt shake him off, "for he was the only kin she had on airth," and "she must love her own flish and bones." Then began her misery. "It plased God to visit her ould limbs with aches and throubles, and her hips swole with the cowld," so that she was at last forced into a hospital, and all that was left of her store was "aten up by sufferin's." This, she assured me, all came about by the "good father's" leaving that parish for another one, but now he had returned to them again, and, with his help and God's blessing, she would yet prosper once more.

Whilst I was in the room, the father entered, and "old Norah," half-divided between joy at seeing him and shame at "being again a beggar," laughed and wept at the same time. She stood wiping her eyes with the shawl, and groaning out blessings on "his rivirince's hid," begging of him not "to scould her for she was a wake woman." The renegade brother was had in to receive a lecture from "his rivirince." A more sottish idiotic face it would be difficult to imagine. He stood with his hands hanging

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down like the paws of a dog begging, and his two small eyes stared in the face of the priest, as he censured him, without the least expression even of consciousness. Old Norah stood by, groaning like a bagpipe, and writhing while the father spoke to her "own brother," as though every reproach were meant for her.

The one thing that struck me during my visit to this neighbourhood, was the apparent listlessness and lazy appearance of the people. The boys at play were the only beings who seemed to have any life in their actions. The women in their plaid shawls strolled along the pavements, stopping each friend for a chat, or joining some circle, and leaning against the wall as though utterly deficient in energy. The men smoked, with their hands in their pockets, listening to the old crones talking, and only now and then grunting out a reply when a question was directly put to them. And yet it is curious that these people, who here seemed as inactive as negroes, will perform the severest bodily labour, undertaking tasks that the English are almost unfitted for.

To complete this account, I subjoin a brief description of the lodging-houses resorted to by the Irish immigrants on their arrival in this country.

Irish Lodging-houses for Immigrants.

Often an Irish immigrant, whose object is to settle in London, arrives by the Cork steamer without knowing a single friend to whom he can apply for house-room or assistance of any kind. Sometimes a whole family is landed late at night, worn out by sickness and the terrible fatigues of a three days' deck passage, almost paralysed by exhaustion, and scarcely able to speak English enough to inquire for shelter till morning.

If the immigrants, however, are bound for America, their lot is very different. Then they are consigned to some agent in London, who is always on the wharf at the time the steamer arrives, and takes the strangers to the homes he has prepared for them until the New York packet starts. During the two or three days' necessary stay in London, they are provided for at the agent's expense, and no trouble is experienced by the travellers. A large provision-merchant in the city told me that he often, during the season, had as many as 500 Irish consigned to him by one vessel, so that to lead them to their lodgings was like walking at the head of a regiment of recruits.

The necessities of the immigrants in London have caused several of their countrymen to open lodging-houses in the courts about Rosemary-lane; these men attend the coming in of the Cork steamer, and seek for customers among the poorest of the poor, after the manner of touters to a sea-side hotel.

The immigrants'-houses are of two kinds—clean and dirty. The better class of Irish lodging-houses almost startle one by the comfort and cleanliness of the rooms; for after the descriptions you hear of the state in which the deck passengers are landed from the Irish boats, their clothes stained with the manure of the pigs, and drenched with the spray, you somehow expect to find all the accommodations disgusting and unwholesome. But one in particular, that I visited, had the floor clean, and sprinkled with red sand, while the windows were sound, bright, and transparent. The hobs of the large fire-place were piled up with bright tin pots, and the chimney piece was white and red with the china images ranged upon it. In one corner of the principal apartment there stood two or three boxes still corded up, and with bundles strung to the sides, and against the wall was hung a bunch of blue cloaks, such as the Irishwomen wear. The proprietor of the house, who was dressed in a gray tail-coat and knee-breeches, that had somewhat the effect of a footman's livery, told me that he had received seven lodgers the day before, but six were men, and they were all out seeking for work. In front of the fire sat a woman, bending over it so close that the bright cotton gown she had on smelt of scorching. Her feet were bare, and she held the soles of them near to the bars, curling her toes about with the heat. She was a short, thick-set woman, with a pair of wonderfully muscular arms crossed over her bosom, and her loose rusty hair streaming over her neck. It was in vain that I spoke to her about her journey, for she wouldn't answer me, but kept her round, open eyes fixed on my face with a wild, nervous look, following me about with them everywhere.

Across the room hung a line, with the newly-washed and well-patched clothes of the immigrants hanging to it, and on a side-table were the six yellow basins that had been used for the men's breakfasts. During my visit, the neighbours, having observed a strange gentleman enter, came pouring in, each proferring some fresh bit of news about their newly-arrived countrymen. I was nearly stunned by half-a-dozen voices speaking together, and telling me how the poor people had been four days "at say," so that they were glad to get near the pigs for "warrumth," and instructing me as to the best manner of laying out the sum of money that it was supposed I was about to shower down upon the immigrants.

In one of the worst class of lodging-houses I found ten human beings living together in a small room. The apartment was entirely devoid of all furniture, excepting an old mattrass rolled up against the wall, and a dirty piece of cloth hung across one corner, to screen the women whilst dressing. An old man, the father of five out of the ten, was seated on a tea-chest, mending shoes, and the other men were looking on with their hands in their pockets. Two girls and a woman were huddled together on the floor in front of the fire, talking in Irish. All these people seemed to be utterly devoid of energy, and the men moved about so lazily

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that I couldn't help asking some of them if they had tried to obtain work. Every one turned to a good-looking young fellow lolling against the wall, as if they expected him to answer for them. "Ah, sure, and that they have," was the reply; "it's the docks they have tried, worrus luck." The others appeared struck with the truthfulness of the answer, for they all shook their heads, and said, "Sure an' that's thruth, anyhow." Here my Irish guide ventured an observation, by remarking solemnly, "It's no use tilling a lie;" to which the whole room assented, by exclaiming altogether, "Thrue for you, Norah." The chosen spokesman then told me, "They paid half-a-crown a week for the room, and that was as much as they could earrun, and it was starruve they should if the neighbours didn't hilp them a bit." I asked them if they were better off over here than when in Ireland, but could get no direct answer, for my question only gave rise to a political discussion. "There's plenty of food over here," said the spokesman, addressing his companions as much as myself, "plenty of 'taties—plenty of mate—plenty of porruk." "But where the use," observed my guide, "if there's no money to buy 'em wid?" to which the audience muttered, "Thrue for you again, Norah;" and so it went on, each one pleading poverty in the most eloquent style.

After I had left, the young fellow who had acted as spokesman followed me into the street, and taking me into a corner, told me that he was a "sailor by thrade, but had lost his 'rigisthration-ticket,' or he'd have got a berruth long since, and that it was all for 3*s.* 6*d.* he wasn't at say."

Concerning the number of Irish immigrants, I have obtained the following information:

The great influx of the Irish into London was in the year of the famine, 1847-8. This cannot be better shown than by citing the returns of the number of persons admitted into the Asylum for the Houseless Poor, in Playhouse-yard, Cripplegate. These returns I obtained for fourteen years, and the average number of admissions of the applicants from all parts during that time was 8,794 yearly. Of these, the Irish averaged 2,455 yearly, or considerably more than a fourth of the whole number received. The total number of applicants thus sheltered in the fourteen years was 130,625, of which the Irish numbered 34,378. The smallest number of Irish (men, women, and children) admitted, was in 1834-5, about 300; in 1846-7, it was as many as 7,576, while in 1847-8, it was 10,756, and in 1848-9, 5,068.

But it was into Liverpool that the tide of immigration flowed the strongest, in the calamitous year of the famine. "Between the 13th Jan, and the 13th Dec., both inclusive," writes Mr. Rushton, the Liverpool magistrate, to Sir G. Grey, on the 21st April last, "296,231 persons landed in this port (Liverpool) from Ireland. Of this vast number, about 130,000 emigrated to the United States; some 50,000 were passengers on business; and the remainder (161,231), mere paupers, half-naked and starving, landed, for the most part, during the winter, and became, immediately on landing, applicants for parochial relief. You already know the immediate results of this accumulation of misery in the crowded town of Liverpool; of the cost of relief at once rendered necessary to prevent the thousands of hungry and naked Irish perishing in our streets; and also of the cost of the pestilence which generally follows in the train of famine and misery such as we then had to encounter. . . . . Hundreds of patients perished, notwithstanding all efforts made to save them; and ten Roman Catholic and one Protestant clergyman, many parochial officers, and many medical men, who devoted themselves to the task of alleviating the sufferings of the wretched, died in the discharge of these high duties."

Great numbers of these people were, at the same time, also conveyed from Ireland to Wales, especially to Newport. They were brought over by coal-vessels as a return cargo—a living ballast —2*s.* 6*d.* being the highest fare, and were huddled together like pigs. The manager of the Newport tramp-house has stated concerning these people, "They don't live long, diseased as they are. They are very remarkable; they will eat salt by basons-full, and drink a great quantity of water after. I have frequently known those who could not have been hungry eat cabbage-leaves and other refuse from the ash-heap."

It is necessary that I should thus briefly allude to this matter, as there is no doubt that some of these people, making their way to London, soon became street-sellers there, and many of them took to the business subsequently, when there was no employment in harvesting, hop-picking, &c. Of the poor wretches landed at Liverpool, many (Mr. Rushton states) became beggars, and many thieves. Many, there is no doubt, tramped their way to London, sleeping at the "casual wards" of the Unions on their way; but I believe that of those who had become habituated to the practice of beggary or theft, few or none would follow the occupation of street-selling, as even the half-passive industry of such a calling would be irksome to the apathetic and dishonest.

Of the immigration, direct by the vessels trading from Ireland to London, there are no returns such has have been collected by Mr. Rushton for Liverpool, but the influx is comparatively small, on account of the greater length and cost of the voyage. During the last year I am informed that 15,000 or 16,000 passengers were brought from Ireland to London direct, and, in addition to these, 500 more were brought over from Cork in connection with the arrangements for emigration to the United States, and consigned to the emigration agent here. Of the 15,500 (taking the mean between the two numbers above given) 1,000 emigrated to the United States. It appears,

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on the authority of Mr. Rushton, that even in the great year of the immigration, more than one-sixth of the passengers from Ireland to Dublin came on business. It may, then, be reasonable to calculate that during last year one-fourth at least of the passengers to London had the same object in view, leaving about 10,000 persons who have either emigrated to British North America, Australia, &c., or have resorted to some mode of subsistence in the metropolis or the adjacent parts. Besides these there are the numbers who make their way up to London, tramping it from the several provincial ports—namely, Liverpool, Bristol, Newport, and Glasgow. Of these I have no means of forming any estimate, or of the proportion who adopt street-selling on their arrival here—all that can be said is, that the influx of Irish into the street-trade every year must be very considerable. I believe, however, that only those who "have friends in the line" resort to street-selling on their arrival in London, though all may make it a resource when other endeavours fail. The great immigration into London is from Cork, the average cost of a deck passage being *5s.* The immigrants direct to London from Cork are rarely of the poorest class.

Of the Diet, Drink, and Expense of Living of the Street-Irish.

The diet of the Irish men, women, and children, who obtain a livelihood (or what is so designated) by street-sale in London, has, I am told, on good authority, experienced a change. In the lodging-houses that they resorted to, their breakfast, two or three years ago, was a dish of potatoes—two, three, or four lbs., or more, in weight—for a family. Now half an ounce of coffee (half chicory) costs ½*d.*, and that, with the half or quarter of a loaf, according to the number in family, is almost always their breakfast at the present time. When their constant diet was potatoes, there were frequent squabbles at the lodging-houses —to which many of the poor Irish on their first arrival resort—as to whether the potato-pot or the tea-kettle should have the preference on the fire. A man of superior intelligence, who had been driven to sleep and eat occasionally in lodging-houses, told me of some dialogues he had heard on these occasions:—"It's about three years ago," he said, "since I heard a bitter old Englishwoman say, 'To —— with your 'taty-pot; they're only meat for pigs.' 'Sure, thin,' said a young Irishman—he was a nice 'cute fellow—'sure, thin, ma'am, I should be afther offering you a taste.' I heard that myself, sir. You may have noticed, that when an Irishman doesn't get out of temper, he never loses his politeness, or rather his blarney."

The dinner, or second meal of the day—assuming that there has been a breakfast—ordinarily consists of cheap fish and potatoes. Of the diet of the poor street-Irish I had an account from a little Irishman, then keeping an oyster-stall, though he generally sold fruit. In all such details I have found the Irish far more communicative than the English. Many a poor untaught Englishman will shrink from speaking of his spare diet, and his trouble to procure that; a reserve, too, much more noticeable among the men than the women. My Irish informant told me he usually had his breakfast at a lodging-house—he preferred a lodging-house, he said, on account of the warmth and the society. Here he boiled half an ounce of coffee, costing a ½*d.* He purchased of his landlady the fourth of a quartern loaf (1¼*d.* or 1½*d.*), for she generally cut a quartern loaf into four for her single men lodgers, such as himself, clearing sometimes a farthing or two thereby. For dinner, my informant boiled at the lodging-house two or three lbs. of potatoes, costing usually 1*d.* or 1½*d.*, and fried three, or four herrings, or as many as cost a penny. He sometimes mashed his potatoes, and spread over them the herrings, the fatty portion of which flavoured the potatoes, which were further flavoured by the roes of the herrings being crushed into them. He drank water to this meal, and the cost of the whole was 2*d.* or 2½*d.* A neighbouring stall-keeper attended to this man's stock in his absence at dinner, and my informant did the same for him in his turn. For "tea" he expended 1*d.* on coffee, or 1½*d.* on tea, being a "cup" of tea, or "half-pint of coffee," at a coffee-shop. Sometimes he had a halfpenny-worth of butter, and with his tea he ate the bread he had saved from his breakfast, and which he had carried in his pocket. He had no butter to his breakfast, he said, for he could not buy less than a pennyworth about where he lodged, and this was too dear for one meal. On a Sunday morning however he generally had butter, sometimes joining with a fellow-lodger for a pennyworth; for his Sunday dinner he had a piece of meat, which cost him 2*d.* on the Saturday night. Supper he dispensed with, but if he felt much tired he had a half-pint of beer, which was three farthings "in his own jug," before he went to bed, about nine or ten, as he did little or nothing late at night, except on Saturday. He thus spent 4½*d.* a day for food, and reckoning 2½*d.* extra for somewhat better fare on a Sunday, his board was 2*s.* 10*d.* a week. His earnings he computed at 5*s.*, and thus he had 2*s.* 2*d.* weekly for other expenses. Of these there was 1*s.* for lodging; 2*d.* or 3*d.* for washing (but this not every week); ½*d.* for a Sunday morning's shave; 1*d.* "for his religion" (as he worded it); and 6*d.* for "odds and ends," such as thread to mend his clothes, a piece of leather to patch his shoes, worsted to darn his stockings, &c. He was subject to rheumatism, or "he might have saved a trifle of money." Judging by his methodical habits, it was probable he had done so. He had nothing of the eloquence of his countrymen, and seemed indeed of rather a morose turn.

A family boarding together live even cheaper than this man, for more potatoes and less fish fall to the share of the children. A meal too is

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not unfrequently saved in this manner:—If a man, his wife, and two children, all go out in the streets selling, they breakfast before starting, and perhaps agree to re-assemble at four o'clock. Then the wife prepares the dinner of fish and potatoes, and so tea is dispensed with. In that case the husband's and wife's board would be *4d.* or *4½d.* a day each, the children's *3d.* or *3½d.* each, and giving *1½d.* extra to each for Sunday, the weekly cost is *10s. 3d.* Supposing the husband and wife cleared *5s.* a week each, and the children each *3s.*, their earnings would be *16s.* The balance is the surplus left to pay rent, washing, firing, and clothing.

From what I can ascertain, the Irish street-seller can always live at about half the cost of the English costermonger; the Englishman must have butter for his bread, and meat at no long intervals, for he "hates fish more than once a week." It is by this spareness of living, as well as by frequently importunate and mendacious begging, that the street-Irish manage to save money.

The diet I have spoken of is *generally*, but not universally, that of the poor street-Irish; those who live differently, do not, as a rule, incur greater expense.

It is difficult to ascertain in what proportion the Irish street-sellers consume strong drink, when compared with the consumption of the English costers; as a poor Irishman, if questioned on that or any subject, will far more frequently shape his reply to what he thinks will please his querist and induce a trifle for himself, than answer according to the truth. The landlord of a large public-house, after inquiring of his assistants, that his opinions might be checked by theirs, told me that in one respect there was a marked difference between the beer-drinking of the two people. He considered that in the poor streets near his house there were residing quite as many Irish street-sellers and labourers as English, but the instances in which the Irish conveyed beer to their own rooms, as a portion of their meals, was not as 1 in 20 compared with the English: "I have read your work, sir," he said, "and I know that you are quite right in saying that the costermongers go for a good Sunday dinner. I don't know what my customers are except by their appearance, but I do know that many are costermongers, and by the best of all proofs, for I have bought fish, fruit, and vegetables of them. Well, now, we'll take a fine Sunday in spring or summer, when times are pretty good with them; and, perhaps, in the ten minutes after my doors are opened at one on the Sunday, there are 100 customers for their dinner-beer. Nearly three-quarters of these are working men and their wives, working either in the streets, or at their indoor trades, such as tailoring. But among the number, I'm satisfied, there are not more than two Irishmen. There may be three or four Irishwomen, but one of my barmen tells me he knows that two of them — very well-behaved and good-looking women—are married to Englishmen. In my opinion the proportion, as to Sunday dinner-beer, between English and Irish, may be two or three in 70."

An Irish gentleman and his wife, who are both well acquainted with the habits and condition of the people in their own country, informed me, that among the classes who, though earning only scant incomes, could not well be called "impoverished," the use of beer, or even of small ale — known, now or recently—as "Thunder's thruppeny," was very unfrequent. Even in many "independent" families, only water is drunk at dinner, with punch to follow. This shows the accuracy of the information I derived from Mr. —— (the innkeeper), for persons unused to the drinking of malt liquor in their own country are not likely to resort to it afterwards, when their means are limited. I was further informed, that reckoning the teetotallers among the English street-sellers at 300, there are 600 among the Irish,—teetotallers too, who, having taken the pledge, under the sanction of their priests, and looking upon it as a religious obligation, keep it rigidly.

The Irish street-sellers who frequent the gin-palaces or public-houses, drink a pot of beer, in a company of three or four, but far more frequently, a quartern of gin (very seldom whisky) oftener than do the English. Indeed, from all I could ascertain, the Irish street-sellers, whether from inferior earnings, their early training, or the restraints of their priests, drink less beer, by one-fourth, than their English brethren, but a larger proportion of gin. "And you must bear this in mind, sir," I was told by an innkeeper, "I had rather have twenty poor Englishmen drunk in my tap-room than a couple of poor Irishmen. They'll quarrel with anybody—the Irish will—and sometimes clear the room by swearing they'll 'use their knives, by Jasus;' and if there's a scuffle they'll kick like devils, and scratch, and bite, like women or cats, instead of using their fists. I wish all the drunkards were teetotallers, if it were only to be rid of them."

Whiskey, I was told, would be drunk by the Irish, in preference to gin, were it not that gin was about half the price. One old Irish fruit-seller—who admitted that he was fond of a glass of gin—told me that he had not tasted whiskey for fourteen years, "becase of the price." The Irish, moreover, as I have shown, live on stronger and coarser food than the English, buying all the rough (bad) fish, for, to use the words of one of my informants, they look to quantity more than quality; this may account for their preferring a stronger and fiercer stimulant by way of drink.

Of the Resources of the Street-Irish as regards "Stock-Money," Sickness, Burials, &c.

It is not easy to ascertain from the poor Irish themselves how they raise their stock-money, for their command of money is a subject on

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which they are not communicative, or, if communicative, not truthful. "My opinion is," said an Irish gentleman to me, "that some of these poor fellows would declare to God that they hadn't the value of a halfpenny, even if you heard the silver chink in their pockets." It is certain that they never, or very rarely, borrow of the usurers like their English brethren.

The more usual custom is, that if a poor Irish street-seller be in want of 5*s*., it is lent to him by the more prosperous people of his court—bricklayers' labourers, or other working-men—who club 1*s*. a piece. This is always repaid. An Irish bricklayer, when in full work, will trust a needy countryman with some article to pledge, on the understanding that it is to be redeemed and returned when the borrower is able. Sometimes, if a poor Irishwoman need 1*s*. to buy oranges, four others—only less poor than herself, because not utterly penniless — will readily advance 3*d*. each. Money is also advanced to the deserving Irish through the agency of the Roman Catholic priests, who are the medium through whom charitable persons of their own faith exercise good offices. Money, too, there is no doubt, is often advanced out of the priest's own pocket.

On all the kinds of loans with which the poor Irish are aided by their countrymen no interest is ever charged. "I don't like the Irish," said an English costermonger to me; "but they *do* stick to one another far more than we do."

The Irish costers hire barrows and shallows like the English, but, if they "get on" at all, they will possess themselves of their own vehicles much sooner than an English costermonger. A quick-witted Irishman will begin to ponder on his paying 1*s*. 6*d*. a week for the hire of a barrow worth 20*s*., and he will save and hoard until a pound is at his command to purchase one for himself; while an obtuse English coster (who will yet buy cheaper than an Irishman) will probably pride himself on his cleverness in having got the charge for his barrow reduced, in the third year of its hire, to 1*s*. a week the twelvemonth round!

In cases of sickness the mode of relief adopted is similar to that of the English. A raffle is got up for the benefit of the Irish sufferer, and, if it be a bad case, the subscribers pay their money without caring what trifle they throw for, or whether they throw at all. If sickness continue and such means as raffles cannot be persevered in, there is one resource from which a poor Irishman never shrinks—the parish. He will apply for and accept parochial relief without the least sense of shame, a sense which rarely deserts an Englishman who has been reared apart from paupers. The English costers appear to have a horror of the Union. If the Irishman be taken into the workhouse, his friends do not lose sight of him. In case of his death, they apply for, and generally receive his body, from the parochial authorities, undertaking the expence of the funeral, when the body is duly "waked." "I think there's a family contract among the Irish," said a costermonger to me; "that's where it is."

The Irish street-folk are, generally speaking, a far more provident body of people than the English street-sellers. To save, the Irish will often sacrifice what many Englishmen consider a necessary, and undergo many a hardship.

From all I could ascertain, the saving of an Irish street-seller does not arise from any wish to establish himself more prosperously in his business, but for the attainment of some cherished project, such as emigration. Some of the objects, however, for which these struggling men hoard money, are of the most praiseworthy character. They will treasure up halfpenny after halfpenny, and continue to do so for years, in order to send money to enable their wives and children, and even their brothers and sisters, when in the depth of distress in Ireland, to take shipping for England. They will save to be able to remit money for the relief of their aged parents in Ireland. They will save to defray the expense of their marriage, an expense the English costermonger so frequently dispenses with—but they will *not* save to preserve either themselves or their children from the degradation of a workhouse; indeed they often, with the means of independence secreted on their persons, apply for parish relief, and that principally to save the expenditure of their own money. Even when detected in such an attempt at extortion an Irishman betrays no passion, and hardly manifests any emotion—he has speculated and failed. Not one of them but has a positive genius for begging—both the taste and the faculty for alms-seeking developed to an extraordinary extent.

Of the amount "saved" by the patience of the poor Irishmen, I can form no conjecture.

Of the History of some Irish Street-Sellers.

In order that the following statements might be as truthful as possible, I obtained permission to use the name of a Roman Catholic clergyman, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information touching this part of my subject.

A young woman, of whose age it was not easy to form a conjecture, her features were so embrowned by exposure to the weather, and perhaps when I saw her a little swollen from cold, gave me the following account as to her living. Her tone and manner betrayed indifference to the future, caused perhaps by ignorance,—for uneducated persons I find are apt to look on the future as if it must needs be but a repetition of the present, while the past in many instances is little more than a blank to them. This young woman said, her brogue being little perceptible, though she spoke thickly:

"I live by keepin' this fruit stall. It's a poor livin' when I see how others live. Yes, in thruth, sir, but it's thankful I am for to be able

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to live at all, at all; troth is it, in these sore times. My father and mother are both did. God be gracious to their sowls! They was evicted. The family of us was. The thatch of the bit o' home was tuk off above our hids, and we were lift to the wide worruld—yis, indeed, sir, and in the open air too. The rint wasn't paid and it couldn't be paid, and so we had to face the wither. It was a sorrowful time. But God was good, and so was the neighbours. And when we saw the praste, he was a frind to us. And we came to this counthry, though I'd always heard it called a black counthry. Sure, an' there's much in it to indhure. There's goin's on it, sir, that the praste, God rewarrud him! wouldn't like to see. There's bad ways. I won't talk about thim, and I'm sure you are too much of a gintlemin to ask me; for if you know Father ——, that shows you are the best of gintlemin, sure. It was the eviction that brought us here. I don't know about where we was just; not in what county; nor parish. I was so young whin we lift the land. I belave I'm now 19, perhaps only 18" (she certainly looked much older, but I have often noticed that of her class). "I can't be more, I think, for sure an' its only 5 or 6 years since we left Watherford and come to Bristol. I'm sure it was Watherford, and a beautiful place it is, and I know it was Bristol we come to. We walked all the long way to London. My parints died of the cholera, and I live with mysilf, but my aunt lodges me and sees to me. She sills in the sthreets too. I don't make 7*d.* a day. I may make 6*d.* There's a good many young payple I know is now sillin' in the streets becase they was evicted in their own counthry. I suppose they had no where ilse to come to. I'm nivir out of a night. I sleep with my aunt, and we keep to oursilves sure. I very sildom taste mate, but perhaps I do oftener than before we was evicted—glory be to God."

One Irish street-seller I saw informed me that she was a "widdy wid three childer." Her husband died about four years since. She had then five children, and was near her confinement with another. Since the death of her husband she had lost three of her children; a boy about twelve years died of stoppage on his lungs, brought on, she said, through being in the streets, and shouting so loud "to get sale of the fruit." She has been in Clare-street, Clare-market, seven years with a fruit stall. In the summer she sells green fruit, which she purchases at Covent-garden. When the nuts, oranges, &c., come in season, she furnishes her stall with that kind of fruit, and continues to sell them until the spring salad comes in. During the spring and summer her weekly average income is about 5*s.*, but the remaining portion of the year her income is not more than 3*s.* 6*d.* weekly, so that taking the year through, her average weekly income is about 4*s.* 3*d.*; out of this she pays 1*s.* 6*d.* a week rent, leaving only 2*s.* 9*d.* a week to find necessary comforts for herself and family. For fuel the children go to the market and gather up the waste walnuts, bring them home and dry them, and these, with a pennyworth of coal and coke, serve to warm their chilled feet and hands. They have no bedstead, but in one corner of a room is a flock bed upon the floor, with an old sheet, blanket, and quilt to cover them at this inclement season. There is neither chair nor table; a stool serves for the chair, and two pieces of board upon some baskets do duty for a table, and an old penny tea-canister for a candlestick. She had parted with every article of furniture to get food for her family. She received nothing from the parish, but depended upon the sale of her fruit for her living.

The Irishmen who are in this trade are also very poor; and I learned that both Irishmen and Irishwomen left the occupation now and then, and took to begging, as a more profitable calling, often going begging this month and fruit-selling the next. This is one of the causes which prompt the London costermongers' dislike of the Irish. "They'll beg themselves into a meal, and work us out of one," said an English coster to me. Some of them are, however, less "poverty-struck" (a word in common use among the costermongers): but these for the most part are men who have been in the trade for some years, and have got regular "pitches."

The woman who gave me the following statement seemed about twenty-two or twenty-three. She was large-boned, and of heavy figure and deportment. Her complexion and features were both coarse, but her voice had a softness, even in its broadest brogue, which is not very frequent among poor Irishwomen. The first sentence she uttered seems to me tersely to embody a deplorable history of the poverty of a day. It was between six and seven in the evening when I saw the poor creature:—

"Sure, thin, sir, it's thrippince I've taken today, and tuppince is to pay for my night's lodgin'. I shall do no more good to-night, and shall only stay in the cowld, if I stay in it, for nothing. I'm an orphand, sir," (she three or four times alluded to this circumstance,) "and there's nobody to care for me but God, glory be to his name! I came to London to join my brother, that had come over and did will, and he sint for me, but whin I got here I couldn't find him in it anyhow. I don't know how long that's ago. It may be five years; it may be tin; but" (she added, with the true eloquence of beggary,) "sure, thin, sir, I had no harrut to keep count, if I knew how. My father and mother wasn't able to keep me, nor to keep thimsilves in Ireland, and so I was sint over here. They was counthry payple. I don't know about their landlorrud. They died not long afther I came here. I don't know what they died of, but sure it was of the will of God, and they hadn't much to make them love this worruld; no more have I. Would I like to go back to my own counthry? Will, thin, what would be the use? I sleep at a lodging-house, and it's a dacint place.

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It's mostly my own counthrywomen that's in it; that is, in the women's part. I pay 1*s.* a week, that's 2*d.* a night, for I'm not charged for Sundays. I live on brid, and 'taties and salt, and a herrin' sometimes. I niver taste beer, and not often tay, but I sit here all day, and I feel the hunger this day and that day. It goes off though, if I have nothin' to ate. I don't know why, but I won't deny the goodness of God to bring such a thing about. I have lived for a day on a pinny, sir: a ha'pinny for brid, and a ha'pinny for a herrin', or two herrin's for a ha'pinny, and 'taties for the place of brid. I've changed apples for a herrin' with a poor man, God rewarrud him. Sometimes I make on to 6*d.* a day, and sometimes I *have* made 1*s.* 6*d.*, but I think that I don't make 5*d.* a day—arrah, no, thin, sir! one day with the other, and I don't worruk on Sunday, not often. If I've no mate to ate, I'd rather rist. I never miss mass on a Sunday. A lady gives me a rag sometimes, but the bitther time's comin'. If I was sick I don't know what I'd do, but I would sind for the praste, and he'd counsil me. I could read a little oncte, but I can't now."

Of the Irish "Refuse"-Sellers.

There still remains to be described one branch of the Irish street-trade which is peculiar to the class—viz., the sale of "refuse," or such fruit and vegetables as are damaged, and suited only to the very poorest purchasers.

In assorting his goods, a fruit-salesman in the markets generally throws to one side the shrivelled, dwarfish, or damaged fruit—called by the street-traders the "specks." If the supply to the markets be large, as in the pride of the season, he will put his several kinds of specks in separate baskets. At other times all kinds are tossed together, and sometimes with an admixture of nuts and walnuts. The Irish women purchase these at a quarter, or within a quarter, of the regular price, paying from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a bushel for apples; 9*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* for pears; 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* for plums. They are then sorted into halfpenny-worths for sale on the stalls. Among the refuse is always a portion of what is called "tidy" fruit, and this occupies the prominent place in the "halfpenny lots"—for they are usually sold at a halfpenny. Sometimes, too, a salesman will throw in among the refuse a little good fruit, if he happen to have it over, either gratuitously or at the refuse price; and this, of course, is always made the most conspicuous on the stalls. Of other fruits, perhaps, only a small portion is damaged, from over-ripeness, or by the aggression of wasps and insects, the remainder being very fine, so that the retail "lots" are generally cheap. The sellers aim at "half profits," or cent. per cent.

The "refuse" trade in fruit—and the refuse-trade is mainly confined to fruit—is principally in the hands of the Irish. The persons carrying it on are nearly all middle-aged and elderly women. I once or twice saw a delicate and pretty-looking girl sitting with the old "refuse" women; but I found that she was not a "regular hand," and only now and then "minded the stall" in her mother's absence. She worked with her needle, I was told.

Of the women who confine themselves to this trade there are never less than twenty, and frequently thirty. Sometimes, when the refuse is very cheap and very abundant, as many as 100 fruit-sellers, women and girls, will sell it in halfpenny-worths, along with better articles. These women also sell refuse dry-fruit, purchased in Duke's-place, but only when they cannot obtain green-fruit, or cannot obtain it sufficiently. All is sold at stalls; as these dealers seem to think that if it were hawked, the police might look too inquisitively at a barrow stocked with refuse. The "refuse-sellers" buy at all the markets. The poorer street-sellers, whose more staple trade is in oranges or nuts, are *occasional* dealers in it.

Perhaps the regular refuse-buyers are not among the *very* poorest class, as their sale is tolerably quick and certain, but with the usual drawbacks of wet weather. They make, I was told, from 4*d.* to 1*s.* a day the year round, or perhaps 7*d.* or 8*d.* a day, Sunday included. They are all Roman Catholics, and resort to the street-sale after mass. They are mostly widows, or women who have reached middle-age, unmarried: Some are the wives of street-sellers. Two of their best pitches are on Saffron-hill and in Petticoat-lane. It is somewhat curious to witness these women sitting in a line of five or six, and notwithstanding their natural garrulity, hardly exchanging a word one with another. Some of them derive an evident solace from deliberate puffs at a short black pipe.

A stout, healthy-looking woman of this class said.—"Sure thin, sir, I've sat and sould my bit of fruit in this place, or near it, for twinty year and more, as is very well known indeed, is it. I could make twice the money twinty year ago that I can now, for the boys had the ha'pinnies more thin than they has now, more's the pity. The childer is my custhomers, very few beyant—such as has only a ha'pinny now and thin, God hilp them. They'll come a mile from any parrut, to spind it with such as me, for they know it's chape we sill! Yis, indeed, or they'll come with a fardin either, for it's a ha'pinny lot we'll split for them any time. The boys buys most, but they're dridful tazes. It's the patience of the divil must be had to dale wid the likes of thim. They was dridful about the Pope, but they've tired of it now. O, no, it wasn't the boys of my counthry that demaned themselves that way. Well, I make 4*d.* some days, and 6*d.* some, and 1*s.* 6*d.* some, and I have made 3*s.* 6*d.*, and I have made nothing. Perhaps I make 5*s.* or 6*s.* a week rigular, but I'm established and well-known you see."

The quantity of refuse at the metropolitan "green" markets varies with the different descriptions of fruit. Of apples it averages one-

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twentieth, and of plums and greengages one-fifteenth, of the entire supply. With pears, cherries, gooseberries, and currants, however, the damaged amounts to one-twelfth, while of strawberries and mulberries it reaches as high as one-tenth of the aggregate quantity sent to market.

The Irish street-sellers, I am informed, buy full two-thirds of all the refuse, the other third being purchased by the lower class of English costermongers—"the illegitimates,"—as they are called. We must not consider the sale of the damaged fruit so great an evil as it would, at the first blush, appear, for it constitutes perhaps the sole luxury of poor children, as well as of the poor themselves, who, were it not for the halfpenny and farthing lots of the refuse-sellers, would doubtlessly never know the taste of such things.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be as well to say a few words concerning the curious revelations made by the returns from Billingsgate, Covent-garden, and the other London markets, as to the diet of the poor. In the first place, then, it appears that in the matter of fish, herrings constitute the chief article of consumption—no less than 210,000,000 lbs. weight of this fish in a "fresh" state, and 60,000,000 lbs. in a "dried" state, being annually eaten by the humbler classes of the metropolis and the suburbs. Of sprats there are 3,000,000 lbs. weight consumed—and these, with the addition of plaice, are the staple comestibles at the dinners and suppers of the ichthyophagous part of the labouring population of London. One of the reasons for this is doubtless the extraordinary cheapness of these kinds of fish. The sprats are sold at a penny per pound; the herrings at the same rate; and the plaice at a fraction less, perhaps; whereas a pound of butcher's meat, even "pieces," or the "block ornaments," as they are sometimes called, cannot be got for less than twopence-halfpenny or threepence. But the relative cheapness of these two kinds of food can only be tested by the proportionate quantity of nutrition in each. According to Liebig, butcher's meat contains 26 per cent. of solid matter, and 74 per cent. of water; whereas, according to Brande, fish consists of 20 parts of solid matter, and 80 parts water in every 100. Hence it would appear that butcher's meat is five per cent more nutritive than fish—or, in other words, that if the two were equally cheap, the prices, according to the quantity of nutrition in each, should be for fish one penny per pound, and butcher's meat not five farthings: so that even at twopence-halfpenny the pound, meat is more than twice as dear an article of diet as fish.

But it is not only on account of their cheapness that herrings and sprats are consumed in such vast quantities by the labouring people of London. Salmon, eels, herrings, pilchards, and sprats, Dr. Pereira tells us, abound in oil; and oleaginous food, according to Leibig, is an "element of respiration," consisting of nearly 80 per cent. charcoal, which burns away in the lungs, and so contributes to the warmth of the system. Fat, indeed, may be said to act as fuel to the vital fire; and we now know, from observations made upon the average daily consumption of food by 28 soldiers of the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, in barracks, for a month—which is the same as 840 men for one day—that an adult taking moderate exercise consumes, in the act of respiration, very nearly a pound of charcoal every day, which of course must be supplied in his food. "But persons who take much exercise, or labour hard," says Dr. Pereira, "require more frequent and copious meals than the indolent or sedentary. In the active man the number of respirations is greater than in the inactive, and therefore a more frequent supply of food is required to furnish the increased quantity of carbon and hydrogen to be consumed in the lungs." "A bird deprived of food," says Liebig, "dies on the third day; while a serpent, with its sluggish respiration, can live without food three months, or longer."

Captain Parry, in his account of one of the Polar expeditions (1827), states, that both himself and Mr. Beverley, the surgeon, were of opinion, that, in order to maintain the strength of the men during their harassing journey across the ice, living constantly in the open air, and exposed to the wet and cold for twelve hours a day, an addition was requisite of at least one-third to the quantity of provisions daily issued. So, in the gaol dietaries, the allowance to prisoners sentenced to hard labour for three months is one-third more than the scale for those sentenced to hard labour for three days—the former having 254 ounces, and the latter only 168 ounces of solid food served out to them every week.

But the hard-working poor not only require more food than the non-working rich, but it is mainly because the rich are better fed that they are more lethargic than the poor; for the greater the supply of nutriment to the body, the more inactive does the system become. From experiments made a few years ago at the Zoological Gardens, it was found, that, by feeding the animals twice, instead of once, in the twenty-four hours, their habits, as regards exercise, were altered—a fact which readily explains how the fat and overfed are always the least energetic; fat being at once the cause and consequence of inaction. It is well to hear an obese citizen tell a hollow-cheeked man, who begs a penny of him, "to go and work—a lazy scoundrel;" but physiology assures us that the fat tradesman is naturally the laziest of the two. In a word, he is fat because he is lazy, and lazy because he is fat.

The industrious poor, however, not only require more food than the indolent rich, but, getting less, they become more susceptible of cold, and, therefore, more eager for all that tends to

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promote warmth. I have often had occasion to remark the sacrifices that the ill-fed will make to have "a bit of fire." "He who is well fed," observes Sir John Ross, "resists cold better than the man who is stinted, while starvation from cold follows but too soon a starvation in food. This doubtlessly explains in a great measure the resisting powers of the natives of frozen climates, their consumption of food being enormous, and often incredible." Captain Cochrane, in his "Journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary," tells us that he has repeatedly seen a Yakut or Tongouse devour forty pounds of meat in a day; and one of the Yakuti he speaks of as having consumed, in twenty-four hours, "the hind-quarter of a large ox, twenty pounds of fat, and a proportionate quantity of melted butter for his drink." (Vol. i. p. 255). Much less heat is evolved, physiologists tell us, where there is a deficiency of food. "During the whole of our march," says Sir John Franklin, "we experienced that no quantity of clothing could keep us warm while we fasted; but, on those occasions on which we were enabled to go to bed with full stomachs, we passed the night in a warm and comfortable manner." Hence, it is evident, that in summer a smaller quantity of food suffices to keep up the temperature of the body. I know of no experiments to show the different proportions of aliment required at different seasons of the year. In winter, however, when a greater supply is certainly needed, the labouring man, unfortunately, has less means of obtaining it—nearly all trades slacken as the cold weather comes on, and some, as brick-making, market-gardening, building, &c., then almost entirely cease—so that, were it not for the cheapness of fish, and, moreover, the oleaginous quality of those kinds which are most plentiful in the winter time, the metropolitan poor would be very likely to suffer that "starvation from cold which," in the words of Sir John Ross, "follows but too soon a starvation in food." Hence we can readily understand the remark of the enthusiastic street-seller—"Sprats *is* a blessing to the poor."

The returns as to the other articles of food sold in the streets are equally curious. The 1,500,000*l.* spent yearly in fish, and the comparatively small amount expended on vegetables, viz., 290,000*l.*, is a circumstance which seems to show that the labouring population of London have a greater relish for animal than vegetable diet. "It is quite certain," says Dr. Carpenter, "that the most perfect physical development and the greatest intellectual vigour are to be found among those races in which a mixed diet of animal and vegetable food is the prevalent habit." And yet, in apparent contradiction to the proposition asserted with so much confidence by Dr. Carpenter, we have the following curious fact cited by Mr. Jacob Bentley:—

"It is, indeed, a fact worthy of remark, and one that seems never to have been noticed, that throughout the whole animal creation, in every country and clime of the earth the most useful animals cost nature the least waste to sustain them with food. For instance, all animals that work, live on vegetable or fruit food; and no animal that eats flesh, works. The all-powerful elephant, and the patient, untiring camel in the torrid zone; the horse, the ox, or the donkey in the temperate, and the rein-deer in the frigid zone; obtain all their muscular power for enduring labour, from Nature's simplest productions,—the vegetable kingdom.

"But all the flesh-eating animals, keep the rest of the animated creation in constant dread of them. They seldom eat vegetable food till some other animal has eaten it first, and made it into flesh. Their only use seems to be, to destroy life: their own flesh is unfit for other animals to eat, having been itself made out of flesh, and is most foul and offensive. Great strength, fleetness of foot, usefulness, cleanliness and docility, are then always characteristic of vegetable-eating animals, while all the world dreads flesh-eaters."

Of vegetables we have seen that the greatest quantity consumed by the poor consists of potatoes, of which 60,500,000 lbs. are annually sold in the streets; but ten pounds of potatoes are only equal in nutritive power to one pound of butcher's meat, which contains one-fifth more solid food than fish,—so that a pound of fish may be said to equal eight pounds of potatoes, and thus the 60,000,000 lbs. of vegetable is dietetically equivalent to nearly 7,000,000 lbs. of fish diet. The cost of the potatoes, at five pounds for 2*d.*, is, as we have seen, 100,000*l.*; whereas the cost of the same amount of nutritive matter in the form of fish, at 1*d.* per pound, would have been only 30,000*l.*, or upwards of two-thirds less. The vegetable of which there is the next greatest street sale is onions, upon which 90,000*l.* are annually expended. This has been before accounted for, by saying, that a piece of bread and an onion are to the English labourer what bread and grapes are to the Frenchman—oftentimes a meal. The relish for onions by the poorer classes is not difficult to explain. Onions are strongly stimulating substances, and they owe their peculiar odour and flavour, as well as their pungent and stimulating qualities, to an acrid volatile oil which contains sulphur. This oil becomes absorbed, quickens the circulation, and occasions thirst. The same result takes place with the oil of fish. It not only proves a stimulant to the general system, but we are told that the thirst and uneasy feeling at the stomach, frequently experienced after the use of the richer species of fish, have led to the employment of spirit to this kind of food. Hence, says Dr. Pereira, the vulgar proverb, "Brandy is Latin for Fish." Moreover, the two classes of food are similar in their comparative indigestibility, for the uneducated palates of the poor not only require a more pungent kind of diet, but their stronger stomachs need something that will resist the action of the gastric juice for a considerable time. Hence their love of shell-fish.

The small quantity of fruit, too, sold to the poor is a further proof of what is here stated. The amount of the street sale of this luxury is no criterion as to the quantity purchased by the London labourers; for according to all accounts the fruit-buyers in the streets consist mostly of clerks, shopmen, small tradesmen, and the chil-

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dren of mechanics or the lower grade of middle class people. Those who may be said strictly to belong to the poor,—viz. those whose incomes are barely sufficient for their support—seldom purchase fruit. In the first place they have no money to spend on such a mere toothsome extravagance; and, secondly, they require a stronger and more stimulating, and "*staying*" kind of food. The delights of the palate, we should remember, are studied only when the cravings of the stomach are satisfied, so that those who have strong stomachs have necessarily dull palates, and, therefore, prefer something that "bites in the mouth,"—to use the words of one of my informants—like gin, onions, sprats, or pickled whelks. What the poor term "relishes" are very different things from what the rich style the "delicacies of the season."

I have no means of ascertaining the average number of ounces of solid food consumed by the poorer class of the metropolis. The *whole* of the fish, fruit, and vegetables, sold to the London costermongers, is not disposed of in the London streets—many of the street-sellers going, as we have seen, country excursions with their goods. According to the result of the Government Commissioners of Inquiry, the labourers in the country are unable to procure for themselves and families an average allowance of more than 122 ounces of solid food—principally bread—every week; hence it has been justly said we may infer that the man consumes, as his share, 140 ounces (134 bread and 6 meat). The gaol dietaries allow 254 ounces, or nearly twice as much to all prisoners, who undergo continuous hard labour. In the construction of these dietaries Sir James Graham—the then Secretary of State—says, in his "Letter to the Chairman of Quarter Sessions" (January 27th, 1843), "I have consulted not only the Prison Inspectors, but medical men of the greatest eminence possessing the advantage of long experience." They are proposed, he adds, "as the *minimum* amount which can be safely afforded to prisoners without the risk of inflicting a punishment not contemplated by law and which it is unjust and cruel to inflict; namely, loss of health and strength through the inadequacy of the food supplied." Hence it appears not that the thief gets too much, but the honest working man too little—or, in other words, that the labourer of this country is able to procure, by his industry, only half the quantity of food that is considered by "medical men of the greatest eminence" to be "the *minimum* amount" that can be *safely* afforded for the support of the criminals—a fact which it would be out of place to comment upon here.

One word concerning the incomes of the London costermongers, and I have done. It has been before shown that the gross sum of money *taken* yearly, in the streets, by the sale of fish, fruit, and vegetables, amounts, in round numbers, to two million pounds—a million and a half being expended in fish, and a quarter of a million upon fruit and vegetables respectively. In estimating the yearly receipts of the costermongers, from their average gains, the gross "takings" of the entire body were concluded to be between a million and a quarter and a million and a half sterling—that is to say, each one of the 10,000 street-sellers of fish, fruit, and vegetables, was supposed to clear ten shillings a week all the year through, and to *take* fifty shillings. But, according to the returns furnished me by the salesmen, at the several metropolitan markets, the weekly "*takings*" of the ten thousand men and their families—for often both wife and children sell—cannot be less than four pounds per week all the year round, out of which it would seem that the clear weekly *gains* are about fifteen shillings. (Some costers we have seen take pounds in a day, others—as the nut and orange-women and children—only a few shillings a week; some, again, make cent. per cent. profit, whilst others are obliged to sell at a loss.) This, from all I can gather, as well as from a comparison of the coster's style of living with other classes whose weekly income is nearly the same, appears to be very close upon the truth.

We may then, I think, safely assert, that the gross yearly receipts of the London costermongers are two millions of money; that their clear annual gain, or income, is 425,000*l.*; and that the capital invested in their business, in the form of donkey-carts, barrows, baskets, weights, and stock-money, is 25,000*l.*;—half of this being borrowed, for which they pay upwards of 20,000*l.* interest per annum.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF GAME, POULTRY (LIVE AND DEAD), RABBITS, BUTTER, CHEESE, AND EGGS.

THE class who sell game and poultry in the public thoroughfares of the metropolis are styled hawkers, both in Leadenhall and Newgate-market. The number of these dealers in London is computed at between 200 and 300. Of course, legally to sell game, a license, which costs 2*l.* 2*s.* yearly, is required; but the street-seller laughs at the notion of being subjected to a direct tax; which, indeed, it might be impossible to levy on so "slippery" a class.

The sale of game, even with a license, was not legalised until 1831; and, prior to that year, the mere killing of game by an "unqualified" person was an offence entailing heavy penalties. The "qualification" consisted of the possession of a freehold estate of 100*l.* a year, or a leasehold for ninety-nine years of 150*l.* a year! By an Act, passed in the 25th year of George III., it was provided that a certificate (costing 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*) must be taken out by all qualified persons

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killing game. Since 1831 (1 & 2 William IV., c. 32,) a certificate, without any qualification, is all that is required from the game-killer.

Both sexes carry on the trade in game-hawking, but there are more than thrice as many men as women engaged in the business, the weight occasionally carried being beyond a woman's strength. The most customary dress of the game or poultry-hawker is a clean smock-frock covering the whole of his other attire, except the ends of his trousers and his thick boots or shoes. Indeed he often, but less frequently than was the case five years ago, assumes the dress of a country labourer, although he may have been for years a resident in London. About forty years ago, I am informed, it was the custom for countrymen, residing at no great distance, to purchase a stock of chickens or ducks; and, taking their places in a wagon, to bring their birds to London, and hawk them from door to door. Some of these men's smock-frocks were a convenient garb, for they covered the ample pockets of the coat beneath, in which were often a store of partridges, or an occasional pheasant or hare. This game, illegally killed—for it was all poached—was illegally sold by the hawker, and illegally bought by the hotel-keepers and the richer tradesmen. One informant (an old man) was of opinion that the game was rarely offered for sale by these countrymen at the West-end mansions of the aristocracy. "In fact," he said, "I knew one country fellow—though he was sharp enough in his trade of game and poultry-selling—who seemed to think that every fine house, without a shop, and where there were livery servants, must needs be inhabited by a magistrate! But, as the great props of poaching were the rich—for, of course, the poor couldn't buy game—there was, no doubt, a West-end as well as a City trade in it. I have bought game of a country poultry-hawker," continued my informant, "when I lived in the City at the beginning of this century, and generally gave 3*s.* 6*d.* a brace for partridges. I have bid it, and the man has left, refusing to take it; and has told me afterwards, and, I dare say, he spoke the truth, that he had sold his partridges at 5*s.* or 6*s.* or more. I believe 5*s.* a brace was no uncommon price in the City. I have given as much as 10*s.* for a pheasant for a Christmas supper. The hawker, before offering the birds for sale, used to peer about him, though we were alone in my counting-house, and then pull his partridges out of his pockets, and say, 'Sir, do you want any very young chickens?'—for so he called them. Hares he called 'lions;' and they cost often, enough, 5*s.* each of the hawker. The trade had all the charms and recommendations of a mystery and a risk about it, just like smuggling."

The sale of game in London, however, was not confined to the street-hawkers, who generally derived their stock-in-trade immediately from the poacher. Before the legalisation of the sale, the trade was carried on, under the rose, by the salesmen in Leadenhall-market, and that to an extent of not less than a fifteenth of the sale now accomplished there. The purveyors for the London game-market—I learned from leading salesmen in Leadenhall—were not then, as now, noble lords and honourable gentlemen, but peasant or farmer poachers, who carried on the business systematically. The guards and coachmen of the stage-coaches were the media of communication, and had charge of the supply to the London market. The purchasers of the game thus supplied to a market, which is mostly the property of the municipality of the City of London, were not only hotel-keepers, who required it for public dinners presided over by princes, peers, and legislators, but the purveyors for the civic banquets—such as the Lord Mayor's ninth of November dinner, at which the Ministers of State always attended.

This street-hawking of *poached* game, as far as I could ascertain from the best-informed quarters, hardly survived the first year of the legalised sale.

The female hawkers of game are almost all the wives of the men so engaged, or are women living with them as their wives. The trade is better, as regards profit, than the costermonger's ordinary pursuits, but only when the season is favourable; it is, however, more uncertain.

There is very rarely a distinction between the hawkers of game and of poultry. A man will carry both, or have game one day and poultry the next, as suits his means, or as the market avails. The street-sellers of cheese are generally costers, while the vendors of butter and eggs are almost extinct.

Game, I may mention, consists of grouse (including black-cocks, and all the varieties of heath or moor-game), partridges, pheasants, bustards, and hares. Snipe, woodcocks, plovers, teal, widgeons, wild ducks, and rabbits are not game, but can only be taken or killed by certificated persons, who are owners or occupiers of the property on which they are found, or who have the necessary permission from such persons as are duly authorised to accord it. Poultry consists of chickens, geese, ducks, and turkeys, while some persons class pigeons as poultry.

Birds are dietetically divided into three classes: (1) the white-fleshed, as the common fowl and the turkey; (2) the dark-fleshed game, as the grouse and the black-cock; and (3) the aquatic (including swimmers and waders), as the goose and the duck; the flesh of the latter is penetrated with fat, and difficult of digestion.

Of the Quantity of Game, Rabbits, and Poultry, sold in the Streets.

It appears from inquiries that I instituted, and from authentic returns which I procured on the subject, that the following is the quantity of game and poultry sold yearly, as an average, in the markets of the metropolis. I give it exclusive of such birds as wild-ducks, woodcocks, &c., the supply of which depends upon the severity of the winter. I include all wild birds or animals, whether considered game or not, and I use round numbers, but as closely as possible.

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During the past Christmas, however, I may observe, that the supply of poultry to the markets has been greater than on any previous occasion. The immensity of the supply was favourable to the hawker's profit, as the glut enabled him to purchase both cheaply and largely. One young poultry-hawker told me that he had cleared 3*l.* in the Christmas week, and had spent it all in four days—except 5*s.* reserved for stock-money. It was not spent *entirely* in drunkenness, a large portion of it being expended in treats and amusements. So great, indeed, has been the supply of game and poultry this year, that a stranger, unused to the grand scale on which provisions are displayed in ihe great metropolitan marts, on visiting Leadenhall, a week before or after Christmas, might have imagined that the staple food of the London population consisted of turkeys, geese, and chickens. I give, however, an *average* yearly supply:

Description.	Leadenhall.	Newgate.	Total.	Proportion sold in the Streets.
GAME, &c.				
Grouse	45,000	12,000	57,000	One-eleventh.
Partridges	85,000	60,000	145,000	One-seventh.
Pheasants	44,000	20,000	64,000	One-fifth.
Snipes	60,000	47,000	107,000	One-twentieth.
Wild Birds	40,000	20,000	60,000	None.
Plovers	28,000	18,000	46,000	None.
Larks	213,000	100,000	313,000	None.
Teals	10,000	5,000	15,000	None.
Widgeons	30,000	8,000	38,000	None.
Hares	48,000	55,000	102,000	One-fifth.
Rabbits	680,000	180,000	860,000	Three-fourths.
	1,283,000	524,000	1,807,000	
POULTRY.				
Domestic Fowls	1,266,000	490,000	1,756,000	One-third.
——— (alive)	45,000	15,000	60,000	One-tenth.
Geese	888,000	114,000	1,002,000	One-fifth.
Ducks	235,000	148,000	383,000	One-fourth.
—— (alive)	20,000	20,000	40,000	One-tenth.
Turkeys	69,000	55,000	124,000	One-fourth.
Pigeons	285,000	98,000	383,000	None.
	2,808,000	940,000	3,748,000	
Game, &c.	1,283,000	524,000	1,807,000	
	4,091,000	1,464,000	5,555,000	

In the above return wild ducks and woodcocks are not included, because the quantity sent to London is dependent entirely upon the severity of the winter. With the costers wild ducks are a favourite article of trade, and in what those street tradesmen would pronounce a favourable season for wild ducks, which means a very hard winter, the number sold in Londen will, I am told, equal that of pheasants (64,000). The great stock of wild ducks for the London tables is from Holland, where the duck decoys are objects of great care. Less than a fifth of the importation from Holland is from Lincolnshire. These birds, and even the finest and largest, have been sold during a glut at 1s. each. Woodcocks, under similar circumstances, number with plovers (45,000), nearly all of which are "golden plovers;" but of woodcocks the costermongers buy very few: "They're only a mouthful and a half," said one of them, "and don't suit our customers." In severe weather a few ptarmigan are sent to London from Scotland, and in 1841-2 great numbers were sent to the London markets from Norway. One salesman received nearly 10,000 ptarmigan in one day. A portion of these were disposed of to the costers, but the sale was not such as to encourage further importations.

The returns I give show, that, at the two great game and poultry-markets, 5,500,000 birds and animals, wild and tame, are yearly sent to London. To this must be added all that may be consigned direct to metropolitan game-dealers and poulterers, besides what may be sent as presents from the country, &c., so that the London supply may be safely estimated, I am assured, at 6,000,000.

It is difficult to arrive at any very precise computation of the quantity of game and poultry sold by the costers, or rather at the money

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value (or price) of what they sell. The most experienced salesmen agree, that, as to *quantity*, including everything popularly considered game (and I have so given it in the return), they sell one-third. As regards *value*, however, their purchases fall very short of a third. Of the best qualities of game, and even more especially of poultry, a third of the hawkers may buy a fifteenth, compared with their purchases in the lower-priced kinds. The others buy none of the best qualities. The more "aristocratic" of the poultry-hawkers will, as a rule, only buy, "when they have an order" or a sure sale, the best quality of English turkey-cocks; which cannot be wondered at, seeing that the average price of the English turkey-cock is 12*s*. One salesman this year sold (at Leadenhall) several turkey-cocks at 30*s*. each, and one at 3*l*. The average price of an English turkey-hen is 4*s*. 6*d*., and of these the costers buy a few: but their chief trade is in foreign turkey-hens; of which the average price (when of good quality and in good condition) is 3*s*. The foreign turkey-cocks average half the price of the English (or 6*s*.). Of Dorking fat chickens, which average 6*s*. the couple, the hawkers buy none (save as in the case of the turkey-cocks); but of the Irish fowls, which, this season, have averaged 2*s*. 6*d*. the couple, they buy largely. On the other hand they buy nearly all the rabbits sent from Scotland, and half of those sent from Ostend, while they "clear the market"—no matter of what the glut may consist—when there *is* a glut. There is another distinction of which the hawker avails himself. The average price of young plump partridges is 2*s*. 6*d*. the brace, of old partridges, 2*s*.; accordingly, the coster buys the old. It is the same with pheasants, the young averaging 7*s*. the brace, the old 6*s*.: "And I can sell them best," said one man; "for my customers say they're more tastier-like. I've sold game for twelve years, or more, but I never tasted any of any kind, so I can't say who's right and who's wrong."

The hawkers buy, also, game and poultry which will not "keep" another day. Sometimes they puff out the breast of a chicken with fresh pork fat, which melts as the bird roasts. "It freshens the fowl, I've been told, and improves it," said one man; "and the shopkeepers now and then, does the same. It's a improvement, sir."

In the present season the costers have bought of wild ducks, comparatively, none, and of teal, widgeons, wild birds, and larks, none at all; or so sparely, as to require no notice.

Of the Street-Purchasers of Game and Poultry.

As the purchasers of game and poultry are of a different class to the costermongers' ordinary customers, I may devote a few words to them. From all the information that I could acquire, they appear to consist, principally, of those who reside at a distance from any cheap market, and buy a cheap luxury when it is brought to their doors, as well as of those who are "always on the look-out for something toothy, such as the shabby genteels, as they're called, who never gives nothing but a scaly price. They've bargained with me till I was hard held from pitching into them, and over and over again I should, only it would have been fourteen days anyhow. They'll tell me my birds stinks, when they're as sweet as flowers. They'd go to the devil to save three farthings on a partridge." Other buyers are old gourmands, living perhaps on small incomes, or if possessed of ample incomes, but confining themselves to a small expenditure; others, again, are men who like a cheap dinner, and seldom enjoy it, at their own cost, unless it be cheap, and who best of all like "such a thing as a moor-bird (grouse)," said one hawker, "which can be eat up to a man's own cheek." This was also the opinion of a poulterer and game-dealer, who sometimes sold "goods" to the hawkers. Of this class of "patrons" many shopkeepers, in all branches of business, have a perfect horror, as they will care nothing for having occupied the tradesmen's time to no purpose.

The game and poultry street-sellers, I am told, soon find out when a customer is bent upon a bargain, and shape their prices accordingly. Although these street-sellers may generally take as their motto the announcement so often seen in the shops of competitive tradesmen, "no reasonable offer refused," they are sometimes so worried in bargaining that they *do* refuse.

In a conversation I had with a "retired" game salesman, he said it might be curious to trace the history of a brace of birds—of grouse, for instance—sold in the streets; and he did it after this manner. They were shot in the Highlands of Scotland by a member of parliament who had gladly left the senate for the moors. They were transferred to a tradesman who lived in or near some Scotch town having railway communication, and with whom "the honourable gentleman," or "the noble lord," had perhaps endeavoured to drive a hard bargain. He (the senator) *must* have a good price for his birds, as he had given a large sum for the moor: and the season was a bad one: the birds were scarce and wild: they would soon be "packed" (be in flocks of twenty or thirty instead of in broods), and then there would be no touching a feather of them. The canny Scot would quietly say that it was early in the season, and the birds never packed so early; that as to price, he could only give what he could get from a London salesman, and he was "nae just free to enter into any agreement for a fixed price at a'." The honourable gentleman, after much demurring, gives way, feeling perhaps that he cannot well do anything else. In due course the grouse are received in Leadenhall, and unpacked and flung about with as little ceremony as if they had been "slaughtered" by a Whitechapel

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journeyman butcher, at so much a head. It is a thin market, perhaps, when they come to hand. A dealer, fashionable in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, has declined to give the price demanded; they were not his money; "he had to give such long credit." A dealer, popular in the ward of Cheap, has also declined to buy, and for the same alleged reason. The salesman, knowing that some of these dealers *must* buy, quietly says that he will take no less, and as he is known to be a man of his word, little is said upon the subject. As the hour arrives at which fashionable game-dealers are compelled to buy, or disappoint customers who will not brook such disappointment, the market, perhaps, is glutted, owing to a very great consignment by a later railway train. The *Inverness Courier*, or the *North of Scotland Gazette*, are in due course quoted by the London papers, touching the "extraordinary sport" of a party of lords and gentlemen in the Highlands; and the "heads" of game are particularized with a care that would do honour to a *Price Current*. The salesman then disposes rapidly of divers "brace" to the "hawkers," at 1*s*. or 2*s*. the brace, and the hawker offers them to hotel-keepers, and shopkeepers, and housekeepers, selling some at 3*s*. 6*d*. the brace, some at 3*s*., at 2*s*. 6*d*., at 2*s*., and at less. "At last," said my informant, "he may sell the finest brace of his basket, which he has held back to get a better price for, at 6*d*. a-piece, rather than keep them over-night, and that to a woman of the town, whom he may have met reeling home with money in her purse. Thus the products of an honourable gentleman's skilful industry, on which he greatly prided himself, are eaten by the woman and her 'fancy man,' grumblingly enough, for they pronounce the birds inferior to tripe."

The best quarters for the street-sale of game and poultry are, I am informed from several sources, either the business parts of the metropolis, or else the houses in the several suburbs which are the furthest from a market or from a business part. The squares, crescents, places, and streets, that do not partake of one or the other of these characteristics, are pronounced "no good."

Of the Experience of a Game Hawker.

The man who gave me the following information was strong and robust, and had a weather-beaten look. He seemed about fifty. He wore when I saw him a large velveteen jacket, a cloth waistcoat which had been once green, and brown corduroy trousers. No part of his attire, though it seemed old, was patched, his shirt being clean and white. He evidently aimed at the game-keeper style of dress. He affected some humour, and was dogged in his opinions:

"I was a gentleman's footman when I was a young man," he said, "and saw life both in town and country; so I knows what things belongs." [A common phrase among persons of his class to denote their being men of the world.] "I never liked the confinement of service, and besides the upper servants takes on so. The others puts up with it more than they would, I suppose, because they hopes to be butlers themselves in time. The only decent people in the house I lived in last was master and missus. I won 20*l*., and got it too, on the Colonel, when he won the Leger. Master was a bit of a turf gentleman, and so we all dabbled—like master like man, you know, sir. I think that was in 1828, but I'm not certain. We came to London not long after Doncaster" [he meant Doncaster races], "something about a lawsuit, and that winter I left service and bought the goodwill of a coffee-shop for 25*l*. It didn't answer. I wasn't up to the coffee-making, I think; there's a deal of things belongs to all things; so I got out of it, and after that I was in service again, and then I was a boots at an inn. But I couldn't settle to nothing long; I'm of a free spirit, you see. I was hard up at last, and I popped my watch for a sovereign, because a friend of mine—we sometimes drank together of a night—said he could put me in the pigeon and chicken line; that was what he called it, but it meant game. This just suited me, for I'd been out with the poachers when I was a lad, and indeed when I was in service, out of a night on the sly; so I knew they got stiffish prices. My friend got me the pigeons. I believe he cheated me, but he's gone to glory. The next season game was made legal eating. Before that I cleared from 25*s*. to 40*s*. a week by selling my 'pigeons.' I carried real pigeons as well, which I said was my own rearing at Gravesend. I sold my game pigeons—there was all sorts of names for them—in the City, and sometimes in the Strand, or Charing-cross, or Covent-garden. I sold to shopkeepers. Oft enough I've been offered so much tea for a hare. I sometimes had a hare in each pocket, but they was very awkward carriage; if one was sold, the other sagged so. I very seldom sold them, at that time, at less than 3*s*. 6*d*., often 4*s*. 6*d*., and sometimes 5*s*. or more. I once sold a thumping old jack-hare to a draper for 6*s*.; it was Christmas time, and he thought it was a beauty. I went into the country after that, among my friends, and had a deal of ups and downs in different parts. I was a navvy part of the time, till five or six year back I came to London again, and got into my old trade; but it's quite a different thing now. I hawks grouse, and every thing, quite open. Leadenhall and Newgate is my markets. Six of one and half-a-dozen of t'other. When there's a great arrival of game, after a game battle" (he would so call a *battue*) "and it's-warm weather, that's my time of day, for then I can buy cheap. A muggy day, when it's close and warm, is best of all. I have a tidy bit of connection now in game, and don't touch poultry when I can get game. Grouse is the first thing I get to sell. They are legal eating on the 12th of August, but as there's hundreds of braces sold in London that day, and as they're shot in Scotland and Yorkshire, and other places where there's moors, in course

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they're killed before it's legal. It's not often I can get them early in the season; not the first week, but I have had three brace two days before they were legal, and sold them at 5s. a brace; they cost me 3s. 3d., but I was told I was favoured. I got them of a dealer, but that's a secret. I sold a few young partridges with grouse this year at 1s. 6d. and 1s. 9d. a piece, allowing 2d. or 3d. if a brace was taken. They weren't legal eating till the 1st of September, but they was shot by grouse shooters, and when I hawked them I called them quails. Lord, sir, gentlefolks—and I serve a good many, leastways their cooks, and now and then themselves—*they* don't make a fuss about Game Laws; they've too much sense. I've bought grouse quite fresh and fine when there's been a lot, and bad keeping weather, at 1s. and 15d. each. I've sold them sometimes at 1s. 6d. and 2s. each, and 2s. 6d. the big ones, but only twice or thrice. If you ask very low at first, people won't buy, only a few good judges, 'cause they think something must be amiss. I once bought a dozen good hares, on a Saturday afternoon, for 10s. 6d. It was jolly hot, and I could hardly sell them. I got 1s. 6d. a piece for three of them; 2s. for the finest one; 1s. 3d. for five, no, for four; 1s. 10d. for two; and I had a deal of trouble to get a landlord to take the last two for 1s. 6d., to wipe off a bit of a drink score. I didn't do so bad as it was, but if it hadn't been Saturday, I should have made a good thing of 'em. It's very hard work carrying a dozen hares; and every one of that lot—except two, and *they* was fine leverets—was as cheap as butcher's meat at half-a-crown a piece. I've done middling in partridges this year. I've bought them, but mixed things they was, as low as from 10d. to 16d. a brace, and have made a profit, big or little as happened, on every one. People that's regular customers I always charge 6d. profit in 2s. 6d. to, and that's far cheaper than they can get served other ways. It's chiefly the game battles that does so much to cheapen partridges or peasants" (so he always called pheasants); "and it's only then I meddles with peasants. They're sold handier than the other birds at the shops, I think. They're legal eating on the 1st of October. Such nonsense! why isn't mutton made legal eating, only just at times, as well? In very hard weather I've done well on wild ducks. They come over here when the weather's a clipper, for you see cold weather suits some birds and kills others. It aint hard weather that's driven them here; the frost has drawed them here, because it's only then they're cheap. I've bought beauties at 1s. a piece, and one day I cleared 10s. 6d. out of twelve brace of them. I've often cleared 6s. and 7s.—at least as often as there's been a chance. I knew a man that did uncommon well on them; and he once told a parson, or a journeyman parson, I don't know what he was, that if ever *he* prayed it was for a hard winter and lots of wild ducks. I've done a little sometimes in plover, and woodcock, and snipe, but not so much. I never plays no tricks with *my* birds. I trims them up to look well, certainly. If they won't keep, and won't sell, I sticks them into a landlord I knows, as likes them high, for a quartern or a pot, or anything. It's often impossible to keep them. If they're hard hit it's soon up with them. A sportsman, if he has a good dog—but you'll know that if you've ever been a shooting, sir—may get close upon a covey of young partridges before he springs them, and then give them his one, two, with both barrels, and they're riddled to bits. I may make 18s. a week all the year round, because I have a connection. I'm very much respected, I thinks, on my round, for I deal fair; that there, sir, breeds respect, you know. When I can't get game (birds) I can sometimes, indeed often, get hares, and mostly rabbits. I've hawked venson, but did no good—though I cried it at 4d. the lb. My best weeks is worth 30s. to 35s., my worst is 6s. to 10s. I'm a good deal in the country, working it. I'm forced to sell fish sometimes. Geese I sometimes join a mate in selling. I don't mix much with the costermongers; in coorse I knows some. I live middling. Do I ever eat my own game if it's high? No, sir, never. I couldn't stand such cag-mag—my stomach couldn't—though I've been a gentleman's servant. Such stuff don't suit nobody but rich people, whose stomach's diseased by over-feeding, and that's been brought up to it, like. I've only myself to keep now. I've had a wife or two, but we parted" (this was said gravely enough); "there was nothing to hinder us. I see them sometimes and treat them."

The quantity of game annually sold in the London streets is as follows:—

Grouse	5,000
Partridges	20,000
Pheasants	12,000
Snipes	5,000
Hares	20,000

Statement of Two Poultry Hawkers.

Two brothers, both good-looking and well-spoken young men—one I might characterise as handsome—gave me the following account. I found them unwilling to speak of their youth, and did not press them. I was afterwards informed that their parents died within the same month, and that the family was taken into the workhouse; but the two boys left it in a little time, and before they could benefit by any schooling. Neither of them could read or write. They left, I believe, with some little sum in hand, to "start theirselves." An intelligent costermonger, who was with me when I saw the two brothers, told me that "a costermonger would rather be thought to have come out of prison than out of a workhouse," for his "mates" would say, if they heard he had been locked up, "O, he's only been quodded for pitching into a crusher." The two brothers wore clean smock country frocks over their dress, and made a liberal display of their clean,

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but coarse, shirts. It was on a Monday that I saw them. What one brother said, the other confirmed: so I use the plural "we."

"We sell poultry and game, but stick most to poultry, which suits our connection best. We buy at Leadenhall. We're never cheated in the things we buy; indeed, perhaps, we could'nt be. A salesman will say—Mr. H—— will—'Buy, if you like, I can't recommend them. Use your own judgment. They're cheap.' He has only one price, and that's often a low one. We give from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* for good chickens, and from 2*s.* 6*d.* mostly for geese and turkeys. Pigeons is 1*s.* 9*d.* to 3*s.* a dozen. We aim at 6*d.* profit on chickens; and 1*s.*, if we can get it, or 6*d.* if we can do no better, on geese and turkeys. Ducks are the same as chickens. All the year through, we may make 12*s.* a week a piece. We work together, one on one side of the street and the other on the other. It answers best that way. People find we can't undersell one another. We buy the poultry, whenever we can, undressed, and dress them ourselves; pull the feathers off and make them ready for cooking. We sell cheaper than the shops, or we couldn't sell at all. But you must be known, to do any trade, or people will think your poultry's bad. We work game as well, but mostly poultry. We've been on hares to-day, mostly, and have made about 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece, but that's an extra day. Our best customers are tradesmen in a big way, and people in the houses a little way out of town. Working people don't buy of us now. We're going to a penny gaff to-night" (it was then between four and five): "we've no better way of spending our time when our day's work is done."

From the returns before given, the street-sale of poultry amounts yearly to

590,000 fowls.
80,000 ducks.
20,000 geese.
80,000 turkeys.

Of the Street Sale of Live Poultry.

The street trade in live poultry is not considerable, and has become less considerable every year, since the facilities of railway conveyance have induced persons in the suburbs to make their purchases in London rather than of the hawkers. Geese used to be bought very largely by the hawkers in Leadenhall, and were driven in flocks to the country, 500 being a frequent number of a flock. Their sale commenced about six miles from town in all directions, the purchasers being those who, having the necessary convenience, liked to fatten their own Christmas geese, and the birds when bought were small and lean. A few flocks, with 120 or 150 in each, are still disposed of in this way; but the trade is not a fifth of what it was. As this branch of the business is not in the hands of the hawkers, but generally of country poulterers resident in the towns not far from the metropolis, I need but allude to it. A few flocks of ducks are driven in the same way.

The street trade in live poultry continues only for three months—from the latter part of June to the latter part of September. At this period, the hawkers say, as they can't get "dead" they must get "live." During these three months the hawkers sell 500 chickens and 300 ducks weekly, by hawking, or 10,400 in the season of 13 weeks. Occasionally, as many as 50 men and women—the same who hawk dead game and poultry—are concerned in the traffic I am treating of. At other times there are hardly 30, and in some not 20 so employed, for if the weather be temperate, dead poultry is preferred to live by the hawkers. Taking the average of "live" sellers at 25 every week, it gives only a trade of 32 birds each weekly. Some, however, will sell 18 in a day; but others, who occasionally resort to the trade, only a dozen in a week. The birds are sometimes carried in baskets on the hawker's arm, their heads being let through network at the top; but more frequently they are hawked in open wicker-work coops carried on the head. The best live poultry are from Surrey and Sussex; the inferior from Ireland, and perhaps more than three-fourths of that sold by the hawkers is Irish.

The further nature of the trade, and the class of customers, is shown in the following statement, given to me by a middle-aged man, who had been familiar with the trade from his youth.

"Yes, sir," he said, "I've had a turn at live poultry for — let me see — someways between twenty and twenty-five years. The business is a sweater, sir; it's heavy work, but 'live' aint so heavy as 'dead.' There's fewer of them to carry in a round, that's it. Ah! twenty years ago, or better, live poultry was worth following. I did a good bit in it. I've sold 160 fowls and ducks, and more, in a week, and cleared about 4*l.* But out of that I had to give a man 1*s.* a day, and his peck, to help me. At that time I sold my ducks and chickens—I worked nothing else—at from 2*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a piece, according to size and quality. Now, if I get from 14*d.* to 2*s.* it's not so bad. I sell more, I think, however, over 1*s.* 6*d.* than under it, but I'm perticler in my 'live.' I never sold to any but people out of town that had convenience to keep them, and Lord knows, I've seen ponds I could jump over reckoned prime for ducks. Them that keeps their gardens nice won't buy live poultry. I've seldom sold to the big houses anything like to what I've done to the smaller. The big houses, you see, goes for fancy bantems, such as Sir John Seabright's, or Spanish hens, or a bit of a game cross, or real game—just for ornament, and not for fighting—or for anything that's got its name up. I've known young couples buy fowls to have their breakfast eggs from them. One young lady told me to bring her—that's fifteen year ago, it is so—six couples, that I knew would lay. I told her she'd better have five hens to a cock, and she didn't seem pleased, but I'm sure I don't know why, for I hope I'm always civil. I told her there would be murder if there was a cock to every hen. I supplied her, and made 6*s.* by the job. I *have* sold

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THE WALLFLOWER GIRL.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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live fowls to the Jews about Whitechapel, on my way to Stratford and Bow, but only when I've bought a bargain and sold one. I don't know nothing how the Jews kills their fowls. Last summer I didn't make 1*s.* 6*d.* a day; no, nor more than three half-crowns a week in 'live.' But that's only part of my trade. I don't complain, so it's nothing to nobody what I makes. From Beever (De Beauvoir) Town to Stamford Hill, and on to Tottenham and Edmonton, and turning off Walthamstow way is as good a round as any for live; it is so; but nothing to what it was. Highgate and Hampstead is middling. The t'other side the water isn't good at all."

Fancy chickens, I may add, are never hawked, nor are live pigeons, nor geese, nor turkeys.

The hawkers' sale of live poultry may be taken, at a moderate computation, as 6,500 chickens, and 3,900 ducks.

Of Rabbit Selling in the Streets.

Rabbit-selling cannot be said to be a distinct branch of costermongering, but some street-sellers devote themselves to it more exclusively than to other "goods," and, for five or six months of the year, sell little else. It is not often, though it is sometimes, united with the game or poultry trade, as a stock of rabbits, of a dozen or a dozen and a half, is a sufficient load for one man. The best sale for rabbits is in the suburbs. They are generally carried slung two and two on a long pole, which is supported on the man's shoulders, or on a short one which is carried in the hand. Lately, they have been hawked about hung up on a barrow. The trade is the briskest in the autumn and winter months; but some men carry them, though they do not confine themselves to the traffic in them, all the year round. The following statement shows the nature of the trade.

"I was born and bred a costermonger," he said, "and I've been concerned with everything in the line. I've been mostly 'on rabbits' these five or six years, but I always sold a few, and now sometimes I sell a hare or two, and, if rabbits is too dear, I tumble on to fish. I buy at Leadenhall mainly. I've given from 6*s.* to 14*s.* a dozen for my rabbits. The usual price is from 5*s.* to 8*s.* a dozen. [I may remark that the costers buy nearly all the Scotch rabbits, at an average of 6*s.* the dozen; and the Ostend rabbits, which are a shilling or two dearer.] They're Hampshire rabbits; but I don't know where Hampshire is. I know they're from Hampshire, for they're called 'Wild Hampshire rabbits, 1*s.* a pair.' But still, as you say, that's only a call. I never sell a rabbit at 6*d.*, in course—it costs more. My way in business is to get 2*d.* profit, and the skin, on every rabbit. If they cost me 8*d.*, I try to get 10*d.* It's the skins is the profit. The skins now brings me from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* a dozen. They're best in frosty weather. The fur's thickest then. It grows best in frost, I suppose. If I sell a dozen, it's a tidy day's work. If I get 2*d.* a-piece on them, and the skins at 1*s.* 3*d.*, it's 3*s.* 3*d.*, but I dont sell above 5 dozen in a week—that's 16*s.* 3*d.* a week, sir, is it? Wet and dark weather is against me. People won't often buy rabbits by candlelight, if they're ever so sweet. Some weeks in spring and summer I can't sell above two dozen rabbits. I have sold two dozen and ten on a Saturday in the country, but then I had a young man to help me. I sell the skins to a warehouse for hatters. My old 'oman works a little fish at a stall sometimes, but she only can in fine weather, for we've a kid that can hardly walk, and it don't do to let it stand out in the cold. Perhaps I may make 10*s.* to 14*s.* a week all the year round. I'm paying 1*s.* a week for 1*l.* borrowed, and paid 2*s.* all last year; but I'll pay no more after Christmas. I did better on rabbits four or five year back, because I sold more to working-people and small shopkeepers than I do now. I suppose it's because they're not so well off now as they was then, and, as you say, butchers'-meat may be cheaper now, and tempts them. I do best short ways in the country. Wandsworth way ain't bad. No more is parts of Stoke-Newington and Stamford-hill. St. John's Wood and Hampstead is middling. Hackney's bad. I goes all ways. I dont know what sort of people's my best customers. Two of 'em, I've been told, is banker's clerks, so in course they is rich."

There are 600,000 rabbits sold every year in the streets of London; these, at 7*d.* a-piece, give 17,500*l.* thus expended annually in the metropolis.

Of the Street Sale of Butter, Cheese, and Eggs.

All these commodities used to be hawked in the streets, and to a considerable extent. Until, as nearly as I can ascertain, between twenty and thirty years back, butter was brought from Epping, and other neighbouring parts, where good pasture existed, and hawked in the streets of London, usually along with poultry and eggs. This trade is among the more ancient of the street-trades. Steam-vessels and railways, however, have so stocked the markets, that no hawking of butter or eggs, from any agricultural part, even the nearest to London, would be remunerative now. Eggs are brought in immense quantities from France and Belgium, though thirty, or even twenty years ago the notion having of a good French egg, at a London breakfast-table, would have been laughed at as an absurd attempt at an impossible achievement. The number of eggs now annually imported into this kingdom, is 98,000,000, half of which may be said to be the yearly consumption of London. No butter is now hawked, but sometimes a few "new laid" eggs are carried from a rural part to the nearest metropolitan suburb, and are sold readily enough, if the purveyor be known. Mr. M'Culloch estimates the average consumption of butter, in London, at 6,250,000 lbs. per annum, or 5 oz., weekly, each individual.

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The hawking of cheese was never a prominent part of the street-trade. Of late, its sale in the streets, may be described as accidental. A considerable quantity of American cheese was hawked, or more commonly sold at a standing, five or six years ago; unto December last, and for three months preceding, cheese was sold in the streets which had been rejected from Government stores, as it would not "keep" for the period required; but it was good for immediate consumption, for which all street-goods are required. This, and the American cheese, were both sold in the streets at 3*d.* the pound; usually, at fair weights, I am told, for it might not be easy to deceive the poor in a thing of such frequent purchase as "half a quarter or a quarter" (of a pound) of cheese.

The total quantity of foreign cheese consumed, yearly, in the metropolis may be estimated at 25,000,000 lbs. weight, or half of the gross quantity annually imported.

The following statement shows the quantity and sum paid for the game and poultry sold in London streets:

	£
5,000 grouse, at 1*s.* 9*d.* each . . .	437
20,000 partridges, at 1*s.* 6*d.*	1,500
12,000 pheasants, at 3*s.* 6*d.*	2,100
5,000 snipes, at 8*d.*	160
20,000 hares, at 2*s.* 3*d.*	2,250
600,000 rabbits, at 7*d.*	17,500
500,000 fowls, at 1*s.* 6*d.*	37,500
20,000 geese, at 2*s.* 6*d.*	2,500
80,000 ducks, at 1*s.* 6*d.*	6,000
30,000 turkeys, at 3*s.* 6*d.*	5,250
10,000 live fowls and ducks, at 1*s.* 6*d.* . .	750
	£75,953

In this table I do not give the *refuse* game and poultry, bought sometimes for the mere feathers, when "undressed;" neither are the wild ducks nor woodcocks, nor those things of which the costers buy only exceptionally, included. Adding these, it may be said, that with the street sale of butter, cheese, and eggs, 80,000*l.* are annually expended in the streets on this class of articles.

OF THE SELLERS OF TREES, SHRUBS, FLOWERS (CUT AND IN POTS), ROOTS, SEEDS, AND BRANCHES.

The street-sellers of whom I have now to treat comprise those who deal in trees and shrubs, in flowers (whether in pots, or merely with soil attached to the roots, or cut from the plant as it grows in the garden), and in seeds and branches (as of holly, mistletoe, ivy, yew, laurel, palm, lilac, and may). The "root-sellers" (as the dealers in flowers in pots are mostly called) rank, when in a prosperous business, with the highest "aristocracy" of the street-greengrocers. The condition of a portion of them, may be characterised by a term which is readily understood as "comfortable," that is to say, comparatively comfortable, when the circumstances of other street-sellers are considered. I may here remark, that though there are a great number of Scotchmen connected with horticultural labour in England, but more in the provincial than the metropolitan districts, there is not one Scotchman concerned in the metropolitan street-sale of flowers; nor, indeed, as I have good reason to believe, is there a single Scotchman earning his bread as a costermonger in London. A non-commissioned officer in an infantry regiment, a Scotchman, whom I met with a few months back, in the course of my inquiries concerning street musicians, told me that he thought any of his young countrymen, if hard pushed "to get a crust," would enlist, rather than resort, even under favourable circumstances, to any kind of street-sale in London.

The dealers in trees and shrubs are the same as the root-sellers.

The same may be said, but with some few exceptions, of the seed-sellers.

The street-trade in holly, mistletoe, and all kinds of evergreens known as "Christmas," is in the hands of the coster boys more than the men, while the trade in may, &c., is almost altogether confined to these lads.

The root-sellers do not reside in any particular localities, but there are more of them living in the outskirts than in the thickly populated streets.

The street-sellers of cut flowers present characteristics peculiarly their own. This trade is mostly in the hands of girls, who are of two classes. This traffic ranks with the street sale of water-cresses and congreves, that is to say, among the lowest grades of the street-trade, being pursued only by the very poor, or the very young.

OF THE QUANTITY OF SHRUBS, "ROOTS," FLOWERS, ETC., SOLD IN THE STREETS, AND OF THE BUYERS.

The returns which I caused to be procured, to show the extent of the business carried on in the metropolitan markets, give the following results as to the quantity of trees, shrubs, flowers, roots, and branches, sold wholesale in London, as well as the proportion retailed in the streets.

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TABLE SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF TREES, SHRUBS, FLOWERS, ROOTS, AND BRANCHES SOLD ANNUALLY, WHOLESALE, AT THE METROPOLITAN MARKETS, AND THE PROPORTION RETAILED IN THE STREETS.*

	Covent Garden.	Farringdon.	Total.	Proportion sold to Costers.
TREES AND SHRUBS.				
Firs	400 doz. roots	400	800	One-third.
Laurels	480 „	480	960	One-third.
Myrtles	1,440 „	1,120	2,560	One-fourth.
Rhododendrons	288 „	256	544	One-ninth.
Lilac	192 „	192	384	One-sixth.
Box	288 „	192	480	One-sixth.
Heaths (of all kinds)	1,600 „	1,440	3,040	One-fifth.
Broom and Furze	544 „	480	1,024	One-fourth.
Laurustinus	400 „	320	720	One-fourth.
Southernwood (Old Man)	960 „	480	1,440	One-half.
FLOWERS (IN POTS).				
Roses (Moss)	1,200 doz. pots	960	2,160	One-half.
Ditto (China)	1,200 „	960	2,160	One-half.
Fuchsias	1,200 „	960	2,160	One-half.
FLOWER ROOTS.				
Primroses	600 doz. roots	400	1,000	One-half.
Polyanthus	720 „	720	1,440	One-half.
Cowslips	720 „	480	1,200	One-half.
Daisies	800 „	600	1,400	One-half.
Wallflowers	960 „	960	1,920	One-half.
Candytufts	720 „	480	1,200	One-half.
Daffodils	720 „	480	1,200	One-half.
Violets	1,200 „	1,200	2,400	One-third.
Mignonette	2,000 „	1,800	3,800	One-sixth.
Stocks	1,600 „	1,280	2,880	One-sixth.
Pinks and Carnations	480 „	320	800	One-half.
Lilies of the Valley	144 „	144	288	One-fourth.
Pansies	600 „	480	1,080	One-fourth.
Lilies and Tulips	152 „	128	280	One-ninth.
Balsam	320 „	320	640	One sixth.
Calceolarii	360 „	240	600	One-ninth.
Musk-plants	5,760 „	4,800	10,560	One-half.
London Pride	400 „	320	720	One-third.
Lupins	960 „	640	1,600	One-third.
China-asters	450 „	400	850	One-sixth.
Marigolds	5,760 „	4,800	10,560	One-eighth.
Dahlias	80 „	80	160	One-ninth.
Heliotrope	800 „	480	1,280	One-sixth.
Michaelmas Daisies	216 „	216	432	One-third.
FLOWERS (CUT).				
Violets	1,440 doz. bunches	1,280	2,720	One-half.
Wallflowers	3,200 „	1,600	4,800	One-half.
Lavender (green and dry)	1,600 „	1,200	4,120†	One-half.
Pinks	720 „	600	1,320	One-third.
Mignonette	2,000 „	1,600	3,600	One-half.
Lilies of the Valley	180 „	160	340	One-tenth.
Moss Roses	2,000 „	1,600	3,600	One-third.
China ditto	2,000 „	1,600	3,600	One-third.
Stocks	800 „	480	1,280	One-third.
BRANCHES.				
Holly	840 doz. bundles	720	1,640†	One-half.
Mistletoe	800 „	640	1,560†	One-half.
Ivy and Laurel	360 „	280	740†	One-half.
Lilac	96 „	64	150	One-half.
Palm	12 „	8	28†	One-half.
May	30 „	20	70†	One-half.

* The numbers here given do not include the shrubs, roots, &c., bought by the hawkers at the nursery gardens
† These totals include the supplies sent to the other markets.

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Perhaps the pleasantest of all cries in early spring is that of "All a-growing—all a-blowing" heard for the first time in the season. It is that of the "root-seller" who has stocked his barrow with primroses, violets, and daisies. Their beauty and fragrance gladden the senses; and the first and, perhaps, unexpected sight of them may prompt hopes of the coming year, such as seem proper to the spring.

Cobbett has insisted, and with unquestioned truth, that a fondness for bees and flowers is among the very best characteristics of the English peasant. I consider it equally unquestionable that a fondness for in-door flowers, is indicative of the good character and healthful tastes, as well as of the domestic and industrious habits, of the city artizan. Among some of the most intelligent and best-conducted of these artizans, I may occasionally have found, on my visits to their homes, neither flowers nor birds, but then I have found books.

United with the fondness for the violet, the wallflower, the rose—is the presence of the quality which has been pronounced the handmaiden of all the virtues — cleanliness. I believe that the bunch of violets, on which a poor woman or her husband has expended 1*d.*, rarely ornaments an unswept hearth. In my investigations, I could not but notice how the presence or absence of flowers, together with other indications of the better tastes, marked the difference between the well-paid and the ill-paid workman. Concerning the tailors, for instance, I had occasion to remark, of the dwellings of these classes:—"In the one, you occasionally find small statues of Shakspere beneath glass shades; in the other, all is dirt and fœtor. The working-tailor's comfortable first-floor at the West-end is redolent with the perfume of the small bunch of violets that stands in a tumbler over the mantel-piece; the sweater's wretched garret is rank with the stench of filth and herrings." The presence of the bunch of flowers of itself tells us of "a better state of things" elevating the workman; for, amidst the squalid poverty and fustiness of a slopworker's garret, the nostril loses its daintiness of sense, so that even a freshly fragrant wallflower is only so many yellow petals and green leaves.

A love of flowers is also observable among men whose avocations are out of doors, and those whose habits are necessarily those of order and punctuality.

Among this class are such persons as gentlemen's coachmen, who delight in the display of a flower or two in the button-holes of their coats when out of doors, and in small vases in their rooms in their masters' mews. I have even seen the trellis work opposite the windows of cabmen's rooms, which were over stables, with a projecting roof covering the whole, thickly yellow and green with the flowers and leaves of the easily-trained nasturtium and herb "twopence." The omnibus driver occasionally "sports a nosegay"—as he himself might word it—in his button-hole; and the stage-coachman of old felt he was improperly dressed if a big bunch of flowers were not attached to his coat. Sailors ashore are likewise generally fond of flowers.

A delight in flowers is observable, also, among the workers whose handicraft requires the exercise of taste, and whose eyes are sensible, from the nature of their employment, to the beauty of colour. To this class belong especially the Spitalfields' silk-weavers. At one time the Spitalfields weavers were almost the only botanists in London, and their love of flowers is still strong. I have seen fuchsias gladdening the weaver's eyes by being placed near his loom, their crimson pendants swinging backwarks and forwards to the motion of the treadles, while his small back garden has been many-coloured with dahlias. These weavers, too, were at one time highly-successful as growers of tulips.

Those out-door workmen, whose calling is of coarse character, are never known to purchase flowers, which to them are mere trumpery. Perhaps no one of my readers ever saw a flower in the possession of a flusherman, nightman, slaughterer, sweep, gaslayer, gut and tripe-preparer, or such like labourer. *Their* eyes convey to the mind no appreciation of beauty, and the sense of smell is actually dead in them, except the odour be rank exceedingly.

The fondness for flowers in London is strongest in the women, and, perhaps, strongest in those whose callings are in-door and sedentary. Flowers are to them a companionship.

It remains only for me to state that, in the poorest districts, and among people where there is no sense of refinement or but a small love for natural objects, flowers are little known. Flowers are not bought by the slop-workers, the garret and chamber-masters of Bethnal-green, nor in the poor Irish districts, nor by the City people. Indeed, as I have observed, there is not a flower-stand in the city.

It should be remembered that, in poor districts, the first appearance of flowers conveys to the slop-workman only one pleasurable association—that the season of warmth has arrived, and that he will not only escape being chilled with cold, but that he will be delivered from the heavy burden of providing fire and candle.

A pleasant-looking man, with an appearance which the vulgar characterise as "jolly," and with hearty manners, gave me the following account as to the character of his customers. He had known the business since he was a boy, his friends having been in it previously. He said:

"There's one old gentleman a little way out of town, he always gives 1*s.* for the first violet root that any such as me carries there. I'm often there before any others: 'Ah!' he says, 'here you are; you've come, like Buonaparte, with your violet.' I don't know exactly what he means. I don't like to ask him you see; for, though he's civil, he's not what you

may call a free sort of man—that's it." [I explained to him that the allusion was to Buonaparte's emblem of the violet, with the interpretation he or his admirers gave to it—"I come in the spring."] "That's it, sir, is it?" he resumed; "well, I'm glad I know, because I don't like to be puzzled. Mine's a puzzling trade, though. Violets have a good sale. I've sold six dozen roots in a day, and only half as many primroses and double-daisies, if half. Everybody likes violets. I've sold some to poor people in town, but they like their roots in pots. They haven't a bit of a garden for 'em. More shame too I say, when they pays such rents. People that sits working all day is very fond of a sweet flower. A gentleman that's always a-writing or a-reading in his office—he's in the timber-trade—buys something of me every time I see him; twice or thrice a week, sometimes. I can't say what he does with them all. Barmaids, though you mightn't think it, sir, is wery tidy customers. So, sometimes, is young women that's in an improper way of life, about Lisson-grove, and in some parts near Oxford-street. They buys all sorts. Perhaps more stocks than anything, for they're beautiful roots, and not dear. I've sold real beauties for *2d.*—real beauties, but small; *6d.* is a fair price; one stock will perfume a house. I tell my customers not to sleep with them in the room; it isn't good for the health. A doctor told me that, and said, 'You ought to give me a fuchsia for my opinion.' That was his joke. Primroses I sell most of—they're not in pots—two or three or four miles out of town, and most if a family's come into a new house, or changed their house, if there's children. The young ones teases the old ones to buy them to set in the garden, and when children gets fairly to work that way, it's a sure sale. If they can't get over father, they'll get over mother. Busy men never buy flowers, as far as I've seen." ['In no thoroughfare in the city, I am assured, is there a flower-stand—a circumstance speaking volumes as to the habits and tastes of the people. Of fruit-stalls and chop-houses there are in the neighbourhood of the Exchange, more than in any other part of London perhaps—the faculty of perceiving the beauty of colour, form, and perfume, as combined in flowers is not common to the man of business. The pleasures of the palate, however, they can all understand.'] "Parsons and doctors are often tidy customers," resumed my informant. "They have a good deal of sitting and reading, I believe. I've heard a parson say to his wife, 'Do, my dear, go and buy a couple of those wallflowers for my study.' I don't do much for working-men; the women's my best customers. There's a shoemaker to be sure comes down sometimes with his old woman to lay out *2d.* or *3d.* on me; 'Let's have something that smells strong,' he'll say, 'stronger than cobbler's wax; for, though I can't smell that, others can.' I've sold him musks (musk-plants) as often as anything.

"The poor people buy rather largely at times; that is, many of them buy. One day last summer, my old woman and me sold 600 penny pots of mignonette; and all about you saw them—and it was a pleasure to see them—in the poor women's windows. The women are far the best customers. There was the mignonette behind the bits of bars they have, in the shape of gates and such like, in the front of their windows, in the way of preventing the pots falling into the street. Mignonette's the best of all for a sure sale; where can you possibly have a sweeter or a nicer penn'orth, pot and all."

Of the Street Sale of Trees and Shrubs.

The street-trade in trees and shrubs is an appendage of "root-selling," and not an independent avocation. The season of supply at the markets extends over July, August, September, and October, with a smaller trade in the winter and spring months. At the nursery gardens, from the best data I can arrive at, there are about twice as many trees and shrubs purchased as in the markets by the costermongers. Nor is this the only difference. It is the more costly descriptions that are bought at the nursery grounds.

The trees and shrubs are bought at the gardens under precisely the same circumstances as the roots, but the trade is by no means popular with the root-sellers. They regard these heavy, cumbrous goods, as the smarter costers do such things as turnips and potatoes, requiring more room, and yielding less profit. "It breaks a man's heart," said one dealer, "and half kills his beast, going round with a lot of heavy things, that perhaps you can't sell." The street-dealers say they must keep them, "or people will go, where they can get roots, and trees, and everything, all together." In winter, or in early spring, the street-seller goes a round now and then, with evergreens and shrubs alone, and the trade is then less distasteful to him. The trees and shrubs are displayed, when the market-space allows, on a sort of stand near the flower-stand; sometimes they are placed on the ground, along-side the flower-stand, but only when no better display can be made.

The trees and shrubs sold by the costers are mezereons, rhododendrons, savine, laurustinus, acacias (of the smaller genera, some being highly aromatic when in flower), myrtles, guelder-roses (when small), privet, genistas, broom, furze (when small), the cheaper heaths, syringas (small), lilacs (almost always young and for transplanting), southernwood (when large), box (large) dwarf laurels, variegated laurels (called a *cuber* by the street-people), and young fir-trees, &c.

The prices of trees vary far more than flower-roots, because they are dependent upon *size* for value. "Why," said one man, "I've bought roddies, as I calls them (rhododendrons), at *4s.* a dozen, but they was scrubby things, and I've bought them at *14s. 6d.* I once gave *5s.* for two trees of them, which I had ordered, and there was a rare grumbling about the price,

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though I only charged 7*s.* 6*d.* for the two, which was 1*s.* 3*d.* a piece for carriage, and hard earned too, to carry them near five miles in my cart, almost on purpose, but I thought I was pleasing a good customer. Then there's myrtles, why I can get them at 5*d.* a piece, and at 5*s.*, and a deal more if wanted. You can have myrtles that a hat might be very big for them to grow in, and myrtles that will fill a great window in a fine house. I've bought common heaths at 1*s.* 3*d.* a dozen."

The coster ordinarily confines himself to the cheaper sorts of plants, and rarely meddles with such things as acacias, mezereons, savines, syringas, lilacs, or even myrtles, and with none of these things unless cheap. "Trees, real trees," I was told, "are often as cheap as anything. Them young firs there was 4*s.* 6*d.* a dozen, and a man at market can buy four or six of them if he don't want a dozen."

The customers for trees and shrubs are generally those who inhabit the larger sort of houses, where there is room in the hall or the windows for display; or where there is a garden capacious enough for the implantation of the shrubs. Three-fourths of the trees are sold on a round, and when purchased at a stall the costermonger generally undertakes to deliver them at the purchaser's residence, if not too much out of his way, in his regular rounds. Or he may diverge, and make a round on speculation, purposely. There is as much bartering trees for old clothes, as for roots, and as many, or more, complaints of the hard bargainings of ladies: "I'd rather sell polyanthuses at a farthing a piece profit to poor women, if I could get no more," said one man, "than I'd work among them screws that's so fine in grand caps and so civil. They'd skin a flea for his hide and tallow."

The number of trees and shrubs sold annually, in the streets, are, as near as I can ascertain, as follows—I have added to the quantity purchased by the street-sellers, at the metropolitan markets, the amount bought by them at the principal nursery-gardens in the environs of London:

Firs	9,576	roots
Laurels	1,152	"
Myrtles	23,040	"
Rhododendrons	2,160	"
Lilacs	2,304	"
Box	2,880	"
Heaths	21,888	"
Broom	2,880	"
Furze	6,912	"
Laurustinus	6,480	"
Southernwood	25,920	"

The London Flower Girls.

It is not easy to arrive at any accurate estimate of the number of flower-sellers in the streets of London. The cause of the difficulty lies in the fact that none can be said to devote themselves entirely to the sale of flowers in the street, for the flower-sellers, when oranges are cheap and good, find their sale of the fruit more certain and profitable than that of flowers, and resort to it accordingly. Another reason is, that a poor costermonger will on a fine summer's day send out his children to sell flowers, while on other days they may be selling watercresses or, perhaps, onions. Sunday is the best day for flower-selling, and one experienced man computed, that in the height and pride of the summer 400 children were selling flowers, on the Sundays, in the streets. Another man thought that number too low an estimate, and contended that it was nearer 800. I found more of the opinion of my last mentioned informant than of the other, but I myself am disposed to think the smaller number nearer the truth. On week days it is computed there are about half the number of flower-sellers that there are on the Sundays. The trade is almost entirely in the hands of children, the girls outnumbering the boys by more than eight to one. The ages of the girls vary from six to twenty; few of the boys are older than twelve, and most of them are under ten.

Of flower-girls there are two classes. Some girls, and they are certainly the smaller class of the two, avail themselves of the sale of flowers in the streets for immoral purposes, or rather, they seek to eke out the small gains of their trade by such practises. They frequent the great thoroughfares, and offer their bouquets to gentlemen, whom on an evening they pursue for a hundred yards or two in such places as the Strand, mixing up a leer with their whine for custom or for charity. Their ages are from fourteen to nineteen or twenty, and sometimes they remain out offering their flowers—or dried lavender when no fresh flowers are to be had—until late at night. They do not care, to make their appearance in the streets until towards evening, and though they solicit the custom of ladies, they rarely follow or importune them. Of this class I shall treat more fully under another head.

The other class of flower-girls is composed of the girls who, wholly or partially, depend upon the sale of flowers for their own support or as an assistance to their parents. Some of them are the children of street-sellers, some are orphans, and some are the daughters of mechanics who are out of employment, and who prefer any course rather than an application to the parish. These girls offer their flowers in the principal streets at the West End, and resort greatly to the suburbs; there are a few, also, in the business thoroughfares. They walk up and down in front of the houses, offering their flowers to any one looking out of the windows, or they stand at any likely place. They are generally very persevering, more especially the younger children, who will run along, barefooted, with their "Please, gentleman, do buy my flowers. Poor little girl!"—"Please, kind lady, buy my violets. O, do! please! Poor little girl! Do buy a bunch, please, kind lady!"

The statement I give, "of two orphan flower-

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sellers" furnishes another proof, in addition to the many I have already given, of the heroic struggles of the poor, and of the truth of the saying, "What would the poor do without the poor?"

The better class of flower-girls reside in Lisson-grove, in the streets off Drury-lane, in St. Giles's, and in other parts inhabited by the very poor. Some of them live in lodging-houses, the stench and squalor of which are in remarkable contrast to the beauty and fragrance of the flowers they sometimes have to carry thither with them unsold.

Of Two Orphan Flower Girls.

Of these girls the elder was fifteen and the younger eleven. Both were clad in old, but not torn, dark print frocks, hanging so closely, and yet so loosely, about them as to show the deficiency of under-clothing; they wore old broken black chip bonnets. The older sister (or rather half-sister) had a pair of old worn-out shoes on her feet, the younger was barefoot, but trotted along, in a gait at once quick and feeble—as if the soles of her little feet were impervious, like horn, to the roughness of the road. The elder girl has a modest expression of countenance, with no pretensions to prettiness except in having tolerably good eyes. Her complexion was somewhat muddy, and her features somewhat pinched. The younger child had a round, chubby, and even rosy face, and quite a healthful look. Her portrait is here given.

They lived in one of the streets near Drury-lane. They were inmates of a house, not let out as a lodging-house, in separate beds, but in rooms, and inhabited by street-sellers and street-labourers. The room they occupied was large, and one dim candle lighted it so insufficiently that it seemed to exaggerate the dimensions. The walls were bare and discoloured with damp. The furniture consisted of a crazy table and a few chairs, and in the centre of the room was an old four-post bedstead of the larger size. This bed was occupied nightly by the two sisters and their brother, a lad just turned thirteen. In a sort of recess in a corner of the room was the decency of an old curtain—or something equivalent, for I could hardly see in the dimness—and behind this was, I presume, the bed of the married couple. The three children paid 2*s.* a week for the room, the tenant an Irishman out of work paying 2*s.* 9*d.*, but the furniture was his, and his wife aided the children in their trifle of washing, mended their clothes, where such a thing was possible, and such like. The husband was absent at the time of my visit, but the wife seemed of a better stamp, judging by her appearance, and by her refraining from any direct, or even indirect, way of begging, as well as from the "Glory be to Gods!" "the heavens be your honour's bed!" or "it's the thruth I'm telling of you sir," that I so frequently meet with on similar visits.

The elder girl said, in an English accent, not at all garrulously, but merely in answer to my questions: "I sell flowers, sir; we live almost on flowers when they are to be got. I sell, and so does my sister, all kinds, but it's very little use offering any that's not sweet. I think it's the sweetness as sells them. I sell primroses, when they're in, and violets, and wall-flowers, and stocks, and roses of different sorts, and pinks, and carnations, and mixed flowers, and lilies of the valley, and green lavender, and mignonette (but that I do very seldom), and violets again at this time of the year, for we get them both in spring and winter." [They are forced in hot-houses for winter sale, I may remark.] "The best sale of all is, I think, moss-roses, young moss-roses. We do best of all on them. Primroses are good, for people say: 'Well, here's spring again to a certainty.' Gentlemen are our best customers. I've heard that they buy flowers to give to the ladies. Ladies have sometimes said: 'A penny, my poor girl, here's three-halfpence for the bunch.' Or they've given me the price of two bunches for one; so have gentlemen. I never had a rude word said to me by a gentleman in [illegible] life. No, sir, neither lady nor gentlem[illegible] their [illegible]ave me 6*d.* for a bunch of flowers. [illegible] a sixpence given to me in my li[illegible] are bought I never go among boys, I know gardens; but my brother. My father was a t[illegible]red [illegible]man in Mitchelstown, in the County Cork. I don't know what sort of a tradesman he was. I never saw him. He was a tradesman I've been told. I was born in London. Mother was a chairwoman, and lived very well. None of us ever saw a father." [It was evident that they were illegitimate children, but the landlady had never seen the mother, and could give me no information.] "We don't know anything about our fathers. We were all 'mother's children.' Mother died seven years ago last Guy Faux day. I've got myself, and my brother and sister a bit of bread ever since, and never had any help but from the neighbours. I never troubled the parish. O, yes, sir, the neighbours is all poor people, very poor, some of them. We've lived with her" (indicating her landlady by a gesture) "the[illegible] two years, and off and on before that. I can't say how long." "Well, I don't know exactly," said the landlady, "but I've had them with me almost all the time, for four years, as near as I can recollect; perhaps more. I've moved three times, and they always followed me." In answer to my inquiries the landlady assured me that these two poor girls, were never out of doors all the time she had known them after six at night. "We've always good health. We can all read." [Here the three somewhat insisted upon proving to me their proficiency in reading, and having produced a Roman Catholic book, the "Garden of Heaven," they read very well.] "I put myself," continued the girl, "and I put my brother and sister to

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a Roman Catholic school—and to Ragged schools—but *I* could read before mother died. My brother can write, and I pray to God that he'll do well with it. I buy my flowers at Covent Garden; sometimes, but very seldom, at Farringdon. I pay 1*s.* for a dozen bunches, whatever flowers are in. Out of every two bunches I can make three, at 1*d.* a piece. Sometimes one or two over in the dozen, but not so often as I would like. We make the bunches up ourselves. We get the rush to tie them with for nothing. We put their own leaves round these violets (she produced a bunch). The paper for a dozen costs a penny; sometimes only a halfpenny. The two of us doesn't make less than 6*d.* a day, unless it's very ill luck. But religion teaches us that God will support us, and if we make less we say nothing. We do better on oranges in March or April, I think it is, than on flowers. Oranges keep better than flowers you see, sir. We make 1*s.* a day, and 9*d.* a day, on oranges, the two of us. I wish they was in all the year. I generally go St. John's-wood way, and Hampstead and Highgate way with my flowers. I can get them nearly all the year, but oranges is better liked than flew-rs, I think. I always keep 1*s.* stock-morrally uncan. If it's bad weather, so bad thrchaser's resill flowers at all, and so if we've ha way, in hiur stock-money for a bit of bread, *she* ve, and ady) lends us 1*s.*, if she has one, or shely. Jows one of a neighbour, if she hasn't, or if the neighbours hasn't it, she borrows it at a dolly-shop" (the illegal pawnshop). "There's 2*d.* a week to pay for 1*s.* at a dolly, and perhaps an old rug left for it; if it's very hard weather, the rug must be taken at night time, or we are starved with the cold. It sometimes has to be put into the dolly again next morning, and then there's 2*d.* to pay for it for the day. We've had a frock in for 6*d.*, and that's a penny a week, and the same for a day. We never pawned anything; we have nothing they would take in at the pawnshop. We live on bread and tea, and sometimes a fresh herring of a night. Sometimes we don't eat a bit all day when we're out; sometimes we take a bit of bread with us, or buy a bit. My sister can't eat taturs; they sicken her. I don't know what emigrating means." [I informed her and she continued]: "No, sir, I wouldn't like to emigrate and leave brother and sister. If they went with me I don't think I should like it, not among strangers. I think our living costs us 2*s.* a week for the two of us; the rest goes in rent. That's all we make."

The brother earned from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* a week, with an occasional meal, as a costermonger's boy. Neither of them ever missed mass on a Sunday.

OF THE LIFE OF A FLOWER GIRL.

SOME of these girls are, as I have stated, of an immoral character, and some of them are sent out by their parents to make out a livelihood by prostitution. One of this class, whom I saw, had come out of prison a short time previously. She was not nineteen, and had been sentenced about a twelvemonth before to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, "for heaving her shoe," as she said, "at the Lord Mayor, to get a comfortable lodging, for she was tired of being about the streets." After this she was locked up for breaking the lamps in the street. She alleged that her motive for this was a belief that by committing some such act she might be able to get into an asylum for females. She was sent out into the streets by her father and mother, at the age of nine, to sell flowers. Her father used to supply her with the money to buy the flowers, and she used to take the proceeds of the day's work home to her parents. She used to be out frequently till past midnight, and seldom or never got home before nine. She associated only with flower-girls of loose character. The result may be imagined. She could not state positively that her parents were aware of the manner in which she got the money she took home to them. She supposes that they must have imagined what her practices were. He used to give her no supper if she "didn't bring home a good bit of money." Her father and mother did little or no work all this while. They lived on what she brought home. At thirteen years old she was sent to prison (she stated) "for selling combs in the street" (it was winter, and there were no flowers to be had). She was incarcerated fourteen days, and when liberated she returned to her former practices. The very night that she came home from gaol her father sent her out into the streets again. She continued in this state, her father and mother living upon her, until about twelve months before I received this account from her, when her father turned her out of his house, because she didn't bring home money enough. She then went into Kent, hop-picking, and there fell in with a beggar, who accosted her while she was sitting under a tree. He said, "You have got a very bad pair of shoes on; come with me, and you shall have some better ones." She consented, and walked with him into the village close by, where they stood out in the middle of the streets, and the man began addressing the people, "My kind good Christians, me and my poor wife here is ashamed to appear before you in the state we are in." She remained with this person all the winter, and travelled with him through the country, begging. He was a beggar by trade. In the spring she returned to the flower-selling, but scarcely got any money either by that or other means. At last she grew desperate, and wanted to get back to prison. She broke the lamps outside the Mansion-house, and was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment. She had been out of prison nearly three weeks when I saw her, and was in training to go into an asylum. She was sick and tired, she said, of her life.

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Of the Street Sale of Lavender.

The sale of green lavender in the streets is carried on by the same class as the sale of flowers, and is, as often as flowers, used for immoral purposes, when an evening or night sale is carried on.

The lavender is sold at the markets in bundles, each containing a dozen branches. It is sold principally to ladies in the suburbs, who purchase it to deposit in drawers and wardrobes; the odour communicated to linen from lavender being, perhaps, more agreeable and more communicable than that from any other flower. Nearly a tenth of the market sale may be disposed of in this way. Some costers sell it cheap to recommend themselves to ladies who are customers, that they may have the better chance for a continuance of those ladies' custom.

The number of lavender-sellers can hardly be given as distinct from that of flower-sellers, because any flower-girl will sell lavender, "when it is in season." The season continues from the beginning of July to the end of September. In the winter months, generally after day-fall, dried lavender is offered for sale; it is bought at the herb-shops. There is, however, an addition to the number of the flower-girls of a few old women, perhaps from twenty to thirty, who vary their street-selling avocations by going from door to door in the suburbs with lavender for sale, but do not stand to offer it in the street.

The street-seller's profit on lavender is now somewhat more than cent. per cent., as the bundle, costing 2½*d.*, brings when tied up in sprigs, at least, 6*d.* The profit, I am told, was, six or seven years ago, 200 per cent; "but people will have better penn'orths now." I was informed, by a person long familiar with the trade in flowers, that, from twenty to twenty-five years ago, the sale was the best. It was a fashionable amusement for ladies to tie the sprigs of lavender together, compressing the stems very tightly with narrow ribbon of any favourite colour, the heads being less tightly bound, or remaining unbound; the largest stems were in demand for this work. The lavender bundle, when its manufacture was complete, was placed in drawers, or behind books in the shelves of a glazed book-case, so that a most pleasant atmosphere was diffused when the book-case was opened.

Cut Flowers.

I now give the quantity of cut flowers sold in the streets. The returns have been derived from nursery-men and market-salesmen. It will be seen how fully these returns corroborate the statement of the poor flower-girl—(p. 135)—"it's very little use offering anything that's not sweet."

I may remark, too, that at the present period, from "the mildness of the season," wallflowers, primroses, violets, and polyanthuses are almost as abundant as in spring sunshine.

Violets	65,280	bunches.
Wallflowers	115,200	"
Lavender	296,640	"
Pinks and Carnations	63,360	"
Moss Roses	172,800	"
China ditto	172,800	"
Mignonette	86,400	"
Lilies of the Valley	1,632	"
Stocks	20,448	"
Cut flowers sold yearly in the streets	994,560	"

Of the Street Sale of Flowers in Pots, Roots, etc.

The "flower-root sellers"—for I heard them so called to distinguish them from the sellers of "cut flowers"—are among the best-mannered and the best-dressed of all the street-sellers I have met with, but that only as regards a portion of them. Their superiority in this respect may perhaps be in some measure attributable to their dealing with a better class of customers—with persons who, whether poor or rich, exercise healthful tastes.

I may mention, that I found the street-sellers of "roots"—always meaning thereby flower-roots in bloom—more attached to their trade than others of their class.

The roots, sold in the streets, are bought in the markets and at the nursery-gardens; but about three-fourths of those required by the better class of street-dealers are bought at the gardens, as are "cut flowers" occasionally. Hackney is the suburb most resorted to by the root-sellers. The best "pitches" for the sale of roots in the street are situated in the New-road, the City-road, the Hampstead-road, the Edgeware-road, and places of similar character, where there is a constant stream of passers along, who are not too much immersed in business. Above three-fourths of the sale is effected by itinerant costermongers. For this there is one manifest reason: a flower-pot, with the delicate petals of its full-blown moss-rose, perhaps, suffers even from the trifling concussion in the journey of an omnibus, for instance. To carry a heavy flower-pot, even any short distance, cannot be expected, and to take a cab for its conveyance adds greatly to the expense. Hence, flower-roots are generally purchased at the door of the buyer.

For the flowers of commoner or easier culture, the root-seller receives from 1*d.* to 3*d.* These are primroses, polyanthuses, cowslips (but in small quantities comparatively), daisies (single and double,—and single or wild, daisies were coming to be more asked for, each 1*d.*), small early wallflowers, candy-tufts, southernwood (called "lad's love" or "old man" by some), and daffodils, (but daffodils were sometimes dearer than 3*d.*). The plants that may be said to struggle against frost and snow in a hard season, such as the snowdrop, the crocus, and the mezereon, are rarely sold by the costers; "They come too soon," I was told. The prim-

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roses, and the other plants I have enumerated, are sold, for the most part, not in pots, but with soil attached to the roots, so that they may be planted in a garden (as they most frequently are) or in a pot.

Towards the close of May, in an early season, and in the two following months, the root-trade is at its height. Many of the stalls and barrows are then exceedingly beautiful, the barrow often resembling a moving garden. The stall-keepers have sometimes their flowers placed on a series of shelves, one above another, so as to present a small amphitheatre of beautiful and diversified hues; the purest white, as in the lily of the valley, to the deepest crimson, as in the fuschia; the bright or rust-blotted yellow of the wall-flower, to the many hues of the stock. Then there are the pinks and carnations, double and single, with the rich-coloured and heavily scented "clove-pinks;" roses, mignonette, the velvetty pansies (or heart's-ease), the white and orange lilies, calceolarias, balsams (a flower going out of fashion), geraniums (flowers coming again into fashion), musk-plants, London pride (and other saxifrages; the species known, oddly enough, as London pride being a native of wild and mountainous districts, such as botanists call "Alpine habitats,") and the many coloured lupins. Later again come the China-asters, the African marigolds, the dahlias, the poppies, and the common and very aromatic marigold. Later still there are the Michaelmas daisies—the growth of the "All-Hallow'n summer," to which Falstaff was compared.

There is a class of "roots" in which the street-sellers, on account of their general dearness, deal so sparingly, that I cannot class them as a part of the business. Among these are anemones, hyacinths, tulips, ranunculuses, and the orchidaceous tribe. Neither do the street people meddle, unless very exceptionally, with the taller and statelier plants, such as foxgloves, hollyoaks, and sunflowers; these are too difficult of carriage for their purpose. Nor do they sell, unless again as an exception, such flowers as require support—the convolvolus and the sweet-pea, for instance.

The plants I have specified vary in price. Geraniums are sold at from *3d.* to *5s.*; pinks at from *3d.* for the common pink, to *2s.* for the best single clove, and *4s.* for the best double; stocks, as they are small and single, to their being large and double, from *3d.* (and sometimes less) to *2s.*; dahlias from *6d.* to *5s.*; fuschias, from *6d.* to *4s.*; rose-bushes from *3d.* to *1s. 6d.*, and sometimes, but not often, much higher; musk-plants, London pride, lupins, &c., are *1d.* and *2d.*, pots generally included.

To carry on his business efficiently, the root-seller mostly keeps a pony and a cart, to convey his purchases from the garden to his stall or his barrow, and he must have a sheltered and cool shed in which to deposit the flowers which are to be kept over-night for the morrow's business. "It's a great bother, sir," said a root-seller, "a man having to provide a shed for his roots. It wouldn't do at all to have them in the same room as we sleep in—they'd droop. I have a beautiful big shed, and a snug stall for a donkey in a corner of it; but he won't bear tying up—he'll fight against tying all night, and if he was loose, why in course he'd eat the flowers I put in the shed. The price is nothing to him; he'd eat the Queen's camellias, if he could get at them, if they cost a pound a-piece. So I have a deal of trouble, for I must block him up somehow; but he's a first-rate ass." To carry on a considerable business, the services of a man and his wife are generally required, as well as those of a boy.

The purchases wholesale are generally by the dozen roots, all ready for sale in pots. Mignonette, however, is grown in boxes, and sold by the box at from *5s.* to *20s.*, according to the size, &c. The costermonger buys, for the large sale to the poor, at a rate which brings the mignonette roots into his possession at something less, perhaps, than a halfpenny each. He then purchases a gross of small common pots, costing him *1½d.* a dozen, and has to transfer the roots and soil to the pots, and then offer them for sale. The profit thus is about *4s.* per hundred, but with the drawback of considerable labour and some cost in the conveyance of the boxes. The same method is sometimes pursued with young stocks.

The cheapness of pots, I may mention incidentally, and the more frequent sale of roots in them, has almost entirely swept away the fragment of a pitcher and "the spoutless teapot," which Cowper mentions as containing the poor man's flowers, that testified an inextinguishable love of rural objects, even in the heart of a city. There are a few such things, however, to be seen still.

Of root-sellers there are, for six months of the year, about 500 in London. Of these, one-fifth devote themselves principally, but none entirely, to the sale of roots; two-fifths sell roots regularly, but only as a portion, and not a larger portion of their business; and the remaining two-fifths are casual dealers in roots, buying them — almost always in the markets — whenever a bargain offers. Seven-eighths of the root-sellers are, I am informed, regular costers, occasionally a gardener's assistant has taken to the street trade in flowers, "but I fancy, sir," said an experienced man to me, "they've very seldom done any good at it. They're always *gardening* at their roots, trimming them, and such like, and they overdo it. They're too careful of their plants; people like to trim them theirselves."

"I did well on fuschias last season," said one of my informants; "I sold them from *6d.* to *1s. 6d.* The 'Globes' went off well. Geraniums was very fair. The 'Fairy Queens' of them sold faster than any, I think. It's the ladies out of town a little way, and a few in town, that buy them, and buy the fuschias too. They require a good window. The 'Jenny Linds'—they was geraniums and

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other plants—didn't sell so well as the Fairy Queens, though they was cheaper. Good cloves (pinks) sell to the better sort of houses; so do carnations. Mignonette's everybody's money. Dahlias didn't go off so well. I had very tidy dahlias at 6*d.* and 1*s.*, and some 1*s.* 6*d.* I do a goodish bit in giving flowers for old clothes. I very seldom do it, but to ladies. I deal mostly with them for their husbands' old hats, or boots, or shoes; yes, sir, and their trowsers and waistcoats sometimes—very seldom their coats—and ladies boots and shoes too. There's one pleasant old lady, and her two daughters, they'll talk me over any day. I very seldom indeed trade for ladies' clothes. I have, though. Mostly for something in the shawl way, or wraps of some kind. Why, that lady I was telling you of and her daughters, got me to take togs that didn't bring the prime cost of my roots and expenses. They called them by such fine names, that I was had. Then they was so polite; 'O, my good man,' says one of the young daughters, 'I must have this geranium in 'change.' It was a most big and beautiful Fairy Queen, well worth 4*s.* The tog—I didn't know what they called it—a sort of cloak, fetched short of half-a-crown, and that just with cheaper togs. Some days, if it's very hot, and the stall business isn't good in *very* hot weather, my wife goes a round with me, and does considerable in swopping with ladies. They can't do her as they can me. The same on wet days, if it's not very wet, when I has my roots covered in the cart. Ladies is mostly at home such times, and perhaps they're dull, and likes to go to work at a bargaining. My wife manages them. In good weeks, I can clear 3*l.* in my trade; the two of us can, anyhow. But then there's bad weather, and there's sometimes roots spoiled if they're not cheap, and don't go off—but I'll sell one that cost me 1*s.* for 2*d.* to get rid of it; and there's always the expenses to meet, and the pony to keep, and everything that way. No, sir, I don't make 2*l.* a week for the five months—its nearer five than six—the season lasts; perhaps something near it. The rest of the year I sell fruit, or anything, and may clear 10*s.* or 15*s.* a week, but, some weeks, next to nothing, and the expenses all going on.

"Why, no, sir; I can't say that times is what they was. Where I made 4*l.* on my roots five or six years back, I make only 3*l.* now. But it's no use complaining; there's lots worse off than I am—lots. I've given pennies and twopences to plenty that's seen better days in the streets; it might be their own fault. It is so mostly, but perhaps only partly. I keep a connection together as well as I can. I have a stall; my wife's there generally, and I go a round as well."

One of the principal root-sellers in the streets told me that he not unfrequently sold ten dozen a day, over and above those sold not in pots. As my informant had a superior trade, his business is not to be taken as an average; but, reckoning that he averages six dozen a day for 20 weeks—he said 26—it shows that one man alone sells 8,640 flowers in pots in the season. The principal sellers carry on about the same extent of business.

According to similar returns, the number of the several kinds of flowers in pots and flower roots sold annually in the London streets, are as follows:

FLOWERS IN POTS.

Moss-roses	38,880
China-roses	38,880
Fuschias	38,800
Geraniums	12,800
Total number of flowers in pots sold in the streets	128,360

FLOWER-ROOTS.

Primroses	24,000
Polyanthuses	34,560
Cowslips	28,800
Daisies	33,600
Wallflowers	46,080
Candytufts	28,800
Daffodils	28,800
Violets	38,400
Mignonette	30,384
Stocks	23,040
Pinks and Carnations	19,200
Lilies of the Valley	3,456
Pansies	12,960
Lilies	660
Tulips	852
Balsams	7,704
Calceolarias	3,180
Musk Plants	253,440
London Pride	11,520
Lupins	25,596
China-asters	9,156
Marigolds	63,360
Dahlias	852
Heliotrope	13,356
Poppies	1,920
Michaelmas Daisies	6,912
Total number of flower-roots sold in the streets	750,588

Of the Street Sale of Seeds.

The street sale of seeds, I am informed, is smaller than it was thirty, or even twenty years back. One reason assigned for this falling off is the superior cheapness of "flowers in pots." At one time, I was informed, the poorer classes who were fond of flowers liked to "grow their own mignonette." I told one of my informants that I had been assured by a trustworthy man, that in one day he had sold 600 penny pots of mignonette: "Not a bit of doubt of it, sir," was the answer, "not a doubt about it; I've heard of more than that sold in a day by a man who set on three hands to help him; and that's just where it is. When a poor woman, or poor man either—but its mostly the women—can buy a mignonette pot, all blooming and smelling for 1*d.*, why she won't bother to buy seeds and set them in a box or a pot and wait for them to come into full blow. Selling seeds in the streets can't be done so well now, sir. Any-

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how it ain't done as it was, as I've often heard old folk say." The reason assigned for this is that cottages in many parts—such places as Lisson-grove, Islington, Hoxton, Hackney, or Stepney—where the inhabitants formerly cultivated flowers in their little gardens, are now let out in single apartments, and the gardens—or yards as they mostly are now—were used merely to hang clothes in. The only green thing which remained in some of these gardens, I was told, was horse-radish, a root which it is difficult to extirpate: "And it's just the sort of thing," said one man, "that poor people hasn't no great call for, because they, you see, a'n't not overdone with joints of roast beef, nor rump steaks." In the suburbs where the small gardens are planted with flowers, the cultivators rarely buy seeds of the street-sellers, whose stands are mostly at a distance.

None of the street seed-vendors confine themselves to the sale. One man, whom I saw, told me that last spring he was penniless, after sickness, and a nurseryman, whom he knew, trusted him 5*s.* worth of seeds, which he continued to sell, trading in nothing else, for three or four weeks, until he was able to buy some flowers in pots. Though the profit is cent. per cent. on most kinds, 1*s.* 6*d.* a day is accounted "good earnings, on seeds." On wet days there is no sale, and, indeed, the seeds cannot be exposed in the streets. My informant computed that he cleared 5*s.* a week. His customers were principally poor women, who liked to sow mignonette in boxes, or in a garden-border, "if it had ever such a little bit of sun," and who resided, he believed, in small, quiet streets, branching off from the thoroughfares. Of flower-seeds, the street-sellers dispose most largely of mignonette, nasturtium, and the various stocks; and of herbs, the most is done in parsley. One of my informants, however, "did best in grass-seeds," which people bought, he said, "to mend their grass-plots with," sowing them in any bare place, and throwing soil loosely over them. Lupin, larkspur, convolvulus, and Venus's looking-glass had a fair sale.

The street-trade, in seeds, would be less than it is, were it not that the dealers sell it in smaller quantities than the better class of shopkeepers. The street-traders buy their seeds by the quarter of a pound—or any quantity not considered retail—of the nurserymen, who often write the names for the costers on the paper in which the seed has to be inclosed. Seed that costs 4*d.*, the street-seller makes into eight penny lots. "Why, yes, sir," said one man, in answer to my inquiry, "people is often afraid that our seeds ain't honest. If they're not, they're mixed, or they're bad, before they come into our hands. I don't think any of our chaps does anything with them."

Fourteen or fifteen years ago, although seeds, generally, were fifteen to twenty per cent. dearer than they are now, there was twice the demand for them. An average price of good mignonette seed, he said, was now 1*s.* the quarter of a pound, and it was then 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* The shilling's worth, is made, by the street-seller, into twenty or twenty-four pennyworths. An average price of parsley, and of the cheaper seeds, is less than half that of mignonette. Other seeds, again, are not sold to the street-people by the weight, but are made up in sixpenny and shilling packages. Their extreme lightness prevents their being weighed to a customer. Of this class are, the African marigold, the senecios (groundsel), and the china-aster; but of these compound flowers, the street-traders sell very few. Poppy-seed used to be in great demand among the street-buyers, but it has ceased to be so. "It's a fine hardy plant, too, sir," I was told, "but somehow, for all its variety in colours, it's gone out of fashion, for fashion runs strong in flowers."

One long-established street-seller, who is well known to supply the best seeds, makes for the five weeks or so of the season more than twice the weekly average of 5*s.*; perhaps 12*s.*; but as he is a shop as well as a stall-keeper, he could not speak very precisely as to the proportionate sale in the street or the shop. This man laughed at the fondness some of his customers manifested for "fine Latin names." "There are some people," he said, "who will buy antirrhinum, and artemisia, and digitalis, and wouldn't hear of snapdragon, or wormwood, or foxglove, though they're the identical plants." The same informant told me that the railways in their approaches to the metropolis had destroyed many small gardens, and had, he thought, injured his trade. It was, also, a common thing now for the greengrocers and corn-chandlers to sell garden-seeds, which until these six or eight years they did much less extensively.

Last spring, I was told, there were not more than four persons, in London, selling only seeds. The "root-sellers," of whom I have treated, generally deal in seeds also, but the demand does not extend beyond four or five weeks in the spring, though there was "a straggling trade that way" two or three weeks longer. It was computed for me, that there were fully one hundred persons selling seeds (with other things) in the streets, and that each might average a profit of 5*s.* weekly, for a month; giving 200*l.* expended in seeds, with 100*l.* profit to the costers. Seeds are rarely hawked as flowers are.

It is impossible to give as minutely detailed an account of the street-sale of seeds as of flowers, as from their diversity in size, weight, quantity in a pennyworth, &c., no calculation can be prepared by weight or measure, only by *value*. Thus, I find it necessary to depart somewhat from the order hitherto observed. One seedsman, acquainted with the street-trade from his dealings with the vendors, was of opinion that the following list and proportions were as nice an approximation as could be arrived at. It was found necessary to give it in proportions of twenty-fifths; but it must be borne in mind that the *quantity* in $\frac{1}{25}$ths of parsley, for exam-

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ple, is more than double that of $\frac{1}{25}$ths of mignonette. I give, in unison, seeds of about equal sale, whether of the same botanical family or not. Many of the most popular flowers, such as polyanthuses, daisies, violets, and primroses, are not raised from seed, except in the nursery gardens:—

Seeds.	Twenty-fifths.	Value.
Mignonette	Three	£24
Stocks (of all kinds)	Two	16
Marigolds (do.)	One	8
Convolvulus (do.)	"	8
Wallflower	"	8
Scarlet-beans and Sweet-peas	"	8
China-asters and Venus' looking-glass	"	8
Lupin and Larkspur	"	8
Nasturtium	"	8
Parsley	Two	16
Other Pot-herbs	One	8
Mustard and Cress, Lettuce, and the other vegetables	Two	16
Grass	One	8
Other seeds	Seven	56
Total expended annually on street-seeds		£200

Of Christmasing—Laurel, Ivy, Holly, and Mistletoe.

In London a large trade is carried on in "Christmasing," or in the sale of holly and mistletoe, for Christmas sports and decorations. I have appended a table of the quantity of these "branches" sold, nearly 250,000, and of the money expended upon them in the streets. It must be borne in mind, to account for this expenditure for a brief season, that almost every housekeeper will expend something in "Christmasing;" from 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the poor buy a pennyworth, or a halfpennyworth each, and they are the coster's customers. In some houses, which are let off in rooms, floors, or suites of apartments, and not to the poorest class, every room will have the cheery decoration of holly, its bright, and as if *glazed* leaves and red berries, reflecting the light from fire or candle. "Then, look," said a gardener to me, "what's spent on a Christmasing the churches! Why, now, properly to Christmas St. Paul's, I say *properly*, mind, would take 50*l.* worth at least; aye, more, when I think of it, nearer 100*l.* I hope there'll be no 'No Popery' nonsense against Christmasing this year. I'm always sorry when anything of that kind's afloat, because it's frequently a hindrance to business." This was said three weeks before Christmas. In London there are upwards of 300,000 inhabited houses. The whole of the evergreen branches sold number 375,000.

Even the ordinary-sized inns, I was informed, displayed holly decorations, costing from 2*s.* to 10*s.*; while in the larger inns, where, perhaps, an assembly-room, a concert-room, or a club-room, had to be adorned, along with other apartments, 20*s.* worth of holly, &c., was a not uncommon outlay. "Well, then, consider," said another informant, "the plum-puddings! Why, at least there's a hundred thousand of 'em eaten, in London, through the Christmas and the month following. That's nearly one pudding to every twenty of the population, is it, sir? Well, perhaps, that's too much. But, then, there's the great numbers eaten at public dinners and suppers; and there's more plum-pudding clubs at the small grocers and public-houses than there used to be, so, say full a hundred thousand, flinging in any mince-pies that may be decorated with evergreens. Well, sir, every plum-pudding will have a sprig of holly in him. If it's bought just for the occasion, it may cost 1*d.*, to be really prime and nicely berried. If it's part of a lot, why it won't cost a halfpenny, so reckon it all at a halfpenny. What does that come to? Above 200*l.* Think of that, then, just for sprigging puddings!"

Mistletoe, I am informed, is in somewhat less demand than it was, though there might be no very perceptible difference. In many houses holly is now used instead of the true plant, for the ancient ceremonies and privileges observed "under the mistletoe bough." The holly is not half the price of the mistletoe, which is one reason; for, though there is not any great disparity of price, wholesale, the holly, which costs 6*d.* retail, is more than the quantity of mistletoe retailed for 1*s.* The holly-tree may be grown in any hedge, and ivy may be reared against any wall; while the mistletoe is parasitical of the apple-tree, and, but not to half the extent, of the oak and other trees. It does not grow in the northern counties of England. The purchasers of the mistletoe are, for the most part, the wealthier classes, or, at any rate, I was told, "those who give parties." It is bought, too, by the male servants in large establishments, and more would be so bought, "only so few of the great people, of the most fashionable squares and places, keep their Christmas in town." Half-a-crown is a not uncommon price for a handsome mistletoe bough.

The costermongers buy about a half of the holly, &c., brought to the markets; it is also sold either direct to those requiring evergreens, or to green-grocers and fruiterers who have received orders for it from their customers, or who know it will be wanted. A shilling's worth may be bought in the market, the bundles being divided. Mistletoe, the costers—those having regular customers in the suburbs—receive orders for. "Last December," said a coster to me, "I remember a servant-girl, and she weren't such a girl either, running after me in a regular flutter, to tell me the family had forgot to order 2*s.* worth of mistletoe of me, to be brought next day. Oh, yes, sir, if it's ordered by, or delivered to, the servant-girls, they generally have a little giggling about it. If I've said: 'What are you laughing at?' they'll mostly say: 'Me! I'm not laughing.'"

The costermongers go into the neighbour-

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hood of London to procure the holly for street-sale. This is chiefly done, I was told, by those who were "cracked up," and some of them laboured at it "days and days." It is, however, a very uncertain trade, as they must generally trespass, and if they are caught trespassing, by the occupier of the land, or any of his servants, they are seldom "given in charge," but their stock of evergreens is not unfrequently taken from them, "and that, sir, that's the cuttingest of all." They do not so freely venture upon the gathering of mistletoe, for to procure it they must trespass in orchards, which is somewhat dangerous work, and they are in constant apprehension of traps, spring-guns, and bull-dogs. Six or seven hundred men or lads, the lads being the most numerous, are thus employed for a week or two before Christmas, and, perhaps, half that number, irregularly at intervals, for a week or two after it. Some of the lads are not known as regular coster-lads, but they are *habitués* of the streets in some capacity. To procure as much holly one day, as will sell for 2*s.* 6*d.* the next, is accounted pretty good work, and 7*s.* 6*d.* would be thus realised in six days. But 5*s.* is more frequently the return of six days' labour and sale, though a very few have cleared 10*s.*, and one man, "with uncommon luck," once cleared 20*s.* in six days. The distance travelled in a short winter's day, is sometimes twenty miles, and, perhaps, the lad or man has not broken his fast, on some days, until the evening, or even the next morning, for had he possessed a few pence he would probably have invested it in oranges or nuts, for street-sale, rather than "go a-gathering Christmas."

One strong-looking lad, of 16 or 17, gave me the following account:—

"It's hard work, is Christmasing; but, when you have neither money nor work, you must do something, and so the holly may come in handy. I live with a elder brother; he helps the masons, and as we had neither of us either work or money, he cut off Tottenham and Edmonton way, and me the t'other side of the water, Mortlake way, as well as I know. We'd both been used to costering, off and on. I was out, I think, ten days altogether, and didn't make 6*s.* in it. I'd been out two Christmases before. O, yes, I'd forgot. I made 6*d.* over the 6*s.*, for I had half a pork-pie and a pint of beer, and the landlord took it out in holly. I meant to have made a quarter of pork do, but I was so hungry—and so would you, sir, if you'd been out a-Christmasing—that I had the t'other quarter. It's 2*d.* a quarter. I did better when I was out afore, but I forget what I made. It's often slow work, for you must wait sometimes 'till no one's looking, and then you must work away like anything. I'd nothing but a sharp knife, I borrowed, and some bits of cord to tie the holly up. You *must* look out sharp, because, you see, sir, a man very likely won't like his holly-tree to be stripped. Wherever there is a berry, we goes for the berries. They're poison berries, I've heard. Moonlight nights is the thing, sir, when you knows where you are. I never goes for mizzletoe. I hardly knows it when I sees it. The first time I was out, a man got me to go for some in a orchard, and told me how to manage; but I cut my lucky in a minute. Something came over me like. I felt sickish. But what can a poor fellow do? I never lost my Christmas, but a little bit of it once. Two men took it from me, and said I ought to thank them for letting me off without a jolly good jacketing, as they was gardeners. I believes they was men out a-Christmasing, as I were. It was a dreadful cold time that; and I was wet, and hungry,—and thirsty, too, for all I was so wet,—and I'd to wait a-watching in the wet. I've got something better to do now, and I'll never go a-Christmasing again, if I can help it."

This lad contrived to get back to his lodging, in town, every night, but some of those out Christmasing, stay two or three days and nights in the country, sleeping in barns, out-houses, carts, or under hay-stacks, inclement as the weather may be, when their funds are insufficient to defray the charge of a bed, or a part of one, at a country "dossing-crib" (low lodging-house). They resorted, in considerable numbers, to the casual wards of the workhouses, in Croydon, Greenwich, Reigate, Dartford, &c., when that accommodation was afforded them, concealing their holly for the night.

As in other matters, it may be a surprise to some of my readers to learn in what way the evergreens, used on festive occasions in their homes, may have been procured.

The costermongers who procure their own Christmasing, generally hawk it. A few sell it by the lot to their more prosperous brethren. What the costers purchase in the market, they aim to sell at cent. per cent.

Supposing that 700 men and lads gathered their own holly, &c., and each worked for three weeks (not regarding interruptions), and calculating that, in the time they cleared even 15*s.* each, it amounts to 575*l.*

Some of the costermongers deck their carts and barrows, in the general line, with holly at Christmas. Some go out with their carts full of holly, for sale, and may be accompanied by a fiddler, or by a person beating a drum. The cry is, "Holly! Green Holly!"

One of my informants alluded incidentally to the decoration of the churches, and I may observe that they used to be far more profusely decked with Christmas evergreens than at present; so much so, that a lady correspondent in January, 1712, complained to "Mr. *Spectator*" that her church-going was bootless. She was constant at church, to hear divine service and make conquests; but the clerk had so overdone the greens in the church that, for three weeks, Miss Jenny Simper had not even seen the young baronet, whom she dressed at for divine worship, although he pursued his devotions only three pews from hers. The aisle was a pretty

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shady walk, and each pew was an arbour. The pulpit was so clustered with holly and ivy that the congregation, like Moses, heard the word out of a bush. "Sir Anthony Love's pew in particular," concludes the indignant Miss Simper, "is so well hedged, that all my batteries have no effect. I am obliged to shoot at random among the boughs without taking any manner of aim. Mr. Spectator, unless you'll give orders for removing these greens, I shall grow a very awkward creature at church, and soon have little else to do there but to say my prayers." In a subsequent number, the clerk glorifies himself that he had checked the ogling of Miss Simper. He had heard how the Kentish men evaded the Conqueror by displaying green boughs before them, and so he bethought him of a like device against the love-warfare of this coquettish lady.

Of all the "branches" in the markets, the costers buy one-half. This season, holly has been cheaper than was ever known previously. In some years, its price was double that cited, in some treble, when the December was very frosty.

Of the Sale of May, Palm, etc.

The sale of the May, the fragrant flower of the hawthorn, a tree indigenous to this country—Wordsworth mentions one which must have been 800 years old—is carried on by the coster boys (principally), but only in a desultory way. The chief supply is brought to London in the carts or barrows of the costers returning from a country expedition. If the costermonger be accompanied by a lad—as he always is if the expedition be of any length—the lad will say to his master, "Bill, let's have some May to take back." The man will almost always consent, and often assist in procuring the thickly green branches with their white or rose-tinted, and *freshly*-smelling flowers. The odour of the hawthorn blossom is peculiar, and some eminent botanist—Dr. Withering if I remember rightly — says it may be best described as "fresh." No flower, perhaps, is blended with more poetical, antiquarian, and beautiful associations than the ever-welcome blossom of the may-tree. One gardener told me that as the hawthorn was in perfection in June instead of May, the name was not proper. But it must be remembered that the name of the flower was given during the old style, which carried our present month of May twelve days into June, and the name would then be more appropriate.

The May is obtained by the costermongers in the same way as the holly, by cutting it from the trees in the hedges. It has sometimes to be cut or broken off stealthily, for persons may no more like their hawthorns to be stripped than their hollies, and an ingenuous lad—as will have been observed—told me of "people's" objections to the unauthorized stripping of their holly-bushes. But there is not a quarter of the difficulty in procuring May that there is in procuring holly at Christmas.

The costermonger, if he has "done tidy" in the country will very probably leave the May at the disposal of his boy; but a few men, though perhaps little more than twenty, I was told, bring it on their own account. The lads then carry the branches about for sale; or if a considerable quantity has been brought, dispose of it to other boys or girls, or entrust them with the sale of it, at "half-profits," or any terms agreed upon. Costermongers have been known to bring home "a load of May," and this not unfrequently, at the request, and for the benefit of a "cracked-up" brother-trader, to whom it has been at once delivered gratuitously.

A lad, whom I met with as he was selling holly, told me that he had brought may from the country when he had been there with a coster. He had also gone out of town a few miles to gather it on his own account. "But it ain't no good;" he said; "you must often go a good way—I never knows anything about how many miles—and if it's very ripe (the word he used) it's soon shaken. There's no sure price. You may get 4*d.* for a big branch or you must take 1*d.* I may have made 1*s.* on a round but hardly ever more. It can't be got near hand. There 's some stunning fine trees at the top of the park there (the Regent's Park) the t'other side of the 'logical Gardens, but there's always a cove looking after them, they say, and both night and day."

Palm, the flower of any of the numerous species of the willow, is sold only on Palm Sunday, and the Saturday preceding. The trade is about equally in the hands of the English and Irish lads, but the English lads have a commercial advantage on the morning of Palm Sunday, when so many of the Irish lads are at chapel. The palm is all gathered by the street-vendors. One costermonger told me that when he was a lad, he had sold palm to a man who had managed to get half-drunk on a Sunday morning, and who told him that he wanted it to show his wife, who very seldom stirred out, that he'd been taking a healthful walk into the country!

Lilac in flower is sold (and procured) in the same way as May, but in small quantities. Very rarely indeed, laburnum; which is too fragile; or syringa, which, I am told, is hardly saleable in the streets. One informant remembered that forty years ago, when he was a boy, branches of elder-berry flowers were sold in the streets, but the trade has disappeared.

It is very difficult to form a calculation as to the extent of this trade. The best informed give me reason to believe that the sale of all these branches (apart from Christmas) ranges, according to circumstances, from 30*l.* to 50*l.*, the cost being the labour of gathering, and the subsistence of the labourer while at the work. This is independent of what the costers buy in the markets.

I now show the quantity of branches forming the street trade:—

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Holly	59,040	bunches
Mistletoe	56,160	,,
Ivy and Laurel	26,640	,,
Lilac	5,400	,,
Palm	1,008	,,
May	2,520	,,
Total number of bunches sold in the streets from market-sale	150,000	
Add to quantity from other sources	75,000	
	225,768	

The quantity of branches "from other sources" is that gathered by the costers in the way I have described; but it is impossible to obtain a return of it with proper precision: to state it as half of that purchased in the markets is a low average.

I now give the amount paid by street-buyers who indulge in the healthful and innocent tastes of which I have been treating—the fondness for the beautiful and the natural.

CUT FLOWERS.

Bunches of		per bunch	
65,280	Violets	at ½d.	£136
115,200	Wallflowers	,, ½d.	240
86,400	Mignonette	,, 1d.	360
1,632	Lilies of the Valley	,, ½d.	3
20,448	Stocks	,, ½d.	42
316,800	Pinks and Carnations	,, ½d. each	660
864,000	Moss Roses	,, ½d. ,,	1,800
864,000	China ditto	,, ½d. ,,	1,800
296,640	Lavender	,, 1d.	1,236
	Total annually		£6,277

FLOWER ROOTS.

		per root	
24,000	Primroses	at ½d.	£50
34,560	Polyanthuses	,, 1d.	144
28,800	Cowslips	,, ½d.	50
33,600	Daisies	,, 1d.	140
46,080	Wallflowers	,, 1d.	192
28,800	Candy-tufts	,, 1d.	120
28,800	Daffodils	,, ½d.	60
38,400	Violets	,, ½d.	80
30,380	Mignonette	,, ½d.	63
23,040	Stocks	,, 1d.	96
19,200	Pinks and Carnations	,, 2d.	160
3,456	Lilies of the Valley	,, 1d.	14
12,960	Pansies	,, 1d.	54
660	Lilies	,, 2d.	5
850	Tulips	,, 2d.	7
7,704	Balsams	,, 2d.	64
3,180	Calceolarias	,, 2d.	26
253,440	Musk Plants	,, 1d.	1,056
11,520	London Pride	,, 1d.	48
25,595	Lupins	,, 1d.	106
9,156	China-asters	,, 1d.	38
63,360	Marigolds	,, ½d.	132
852	Dahlias	,, 6d.	21
13,356	Heliotropes	,, 2d.	111
1,920	Poppies	,, 2d.	16
6,912	Michaelmas Daisies	,, ½d.	14
	Total annually		£2,867

BRANCHES.

Bunches of		per bunch	
59,040	Holly	at 3d.	£738
56,160	Mistletoe	,, 3d.	702
26,640	Ivy and Laurel	,, 3d.	333
5,400	Lilac	,, 3d.	67
1,008	Palm	,, 3d.	12
2,520	May	,, 3d.	31
	Total annually from Markets		£1,183
	Add one-half as shown		591
			£2,774

TREES AND SHRUBS.

		each root	
9,576	Firs (roots)	at 3d.	£119
1,152	Laurels	,, 3d.	14
23,040	Myrtles	,, 4d.	384
2,160	Rhododendrons	9d.	81
2,304	Lilacs	,, 4d	38
2,880	Box	,, 2d.	24
21,888	Heaths	,, 4d.	364
2,880	Broom	,, 1d.	12
6,912	Furze	,, 1d.	28
6,480	Laurustinus	,, 8d.	216
25,920	Southernwood	,, 1d.	108
	Total annually spent		£1,388

FLOWERS IN POTS.

		per pot	
38,880	Moss Roses	at 4d.	£648
38,880	China ditto	,, 2d.	324
38,800	Fuschias	,, 3d.	485
12,850	Geraniums and Pelargoniums (of all kinds)	3d.	210
	Total annually		£1,667

The returns give the following aggregate amount of street expenditure:—

	£
Trees and shrubs	1,388
Cut Fowers	6,277
Flowers in pots	1,667
Flower roots	2,867
Branches	2,774
Seeds	200
	£15,173

From the returns we find that of "cut flowers" the roses retain their old English favouritism, no fewer than 1,628,000 being annually sold in the streets; but locality affects the sale, as some dealers dispose of more violets than roses, because violets are accounted less fragile. The cheapness and hardihood of the musk-plant and marigold, to say nothing of their peculiar odour, has made them the most popular of the "roots," while the myrtle is the favourite among the "trees and shrubs." The heaths, moreover, command an extensive sale, —a sale, I am told, which was unknown, until eight or ten years ago, another instance of the "fashion in flowers," of which an informant has spoken.

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STREET-SELLERS OF GREEN STUFF.

UNDER this head I class the street-purveyors of water-cresses, and of the chickweed, groundsel, plantain, and turf required for cage-birds. These purveyors seem to be on the outskirts, as it were, of the costermonger class, and, indeed, the regular costers look down upon them as an inferior caste. The green-stuff trade is carried on by very poor persons, and, generally, by children or old people, some of the old people being lame, or suffering from some infirmity, which, however, does not prevent their walking about with their commodities. To the children and infirm class, however, the turf-cutters supply an exception. The costermongers, as I have intimated, do not resort, and do not let their children resort, to this traffic. If reduced to the last shift, they will sell nuts or oranges in preference. The "old hands" have been "reduced," as a general rule, from other avocations. Their homes are in the localities I have specified as inhabited by the poor.

I was informed by a seller of birds, that he thought fewer birds were kept by poor working-people, and even by working-people who had regular, though, perhaps, diminished earnings, than was the case six or eight years ago. At one time, it was not uncommon for a young man to present his betrothed with a pair of singing-birds in a neat cage; now such a present, as far as my informant's knowledge extended—and he was a sharp intelligent man—was but rarely made. One reason this man had often heard advanced for poor persons not renewing their birds, when lost or dead, is pitiful in its plainness—"they eat too much." I do not know, that, in such a gift as I have mentioned, there was any intention on the part of the lover to typify the beauty of cheerfulness, even in a very close confinement to home. "I can't tell, sir," was said to me, "how it may have been originally, but I never heard such a thing said much about, though there's been joking about the matter, as when would the birds have young ones, and such like. No, sir; I think it was just a fashion." Contrary to the custom in more prosperous establishments, I am satisfied, that, among the labouring classes, birds are more frequently the pets of the men than of the women. My bird-dealing informant cited merely his own experience, but there is no doubt that cage-birds are more extensively kept than ever in London; consequently there is a greater demand for the "green stuff" the birds require.

OF WATERCRESS-SELLING, IN FARRINGDON-MARKET.

THE first coster-cry heard of a morning in the London streets is that of "Fresh wo-orter-creases." Those that sell them have to be on their rounds in time for the mechanics' breakfast, or the day's gains are lost. As the stock-money for this calling need only consist of a few halfpence, it is followed by the very poorest of the poor; such as young children, who have been deserted by their parents, and whose strength is not equal to any very great labour, or by old men and women, crippled by disease or accident, who in their dread of a workhouse life, linger on with the few pence they earn by street-selling.

As winter draws near, the Farringdon cress-market begins long before daylight. On your way to the City to see this strange sight, the streets are deserted; in the squares the blinds are drawn down before the windows, and the shutters closed, so that the very houses seem asleep. All is so silent that you can hear the rattle of the milkmaids' cans in the neighbouring streets, or the noisy song of three or four drunken voices breaks suddenly upon you, as if the singers had turned a corner, and then dies away in the distance. On the cab-stands, but one or two crazy cabs are left, the horses dozing with their heads down to their knees, and the drawn-up windows covered with the breath of the driver sleeping inside. At the corners of the streets, the bright fires of the coffee-stalls sparkle in the darkness, and as you walk along, the policeman, leaning against some gas-lamp, turns his lantern full upon you, as if in suspicion that one who walks abroad so early could mean no good to householders. At one house there stands a man, with dirty boots and loose hair, as if he had just left some saloon, giving sharp single knocks, and then going into the road and looking up at the bed-rooms, to see if a light appeared in them. As you near the City, you meet, if it be a Monday or Friday morning, droves of sheep and bullocks, tramping quietly along to Smithfield, and carrying a fog of steam with them, while behind, with his hands in his pockets, and his dog panting at his heels, walks the sheep-drover.

At the principal entrance to Farringdon-market there is an open space, running the entire length of the railings in front, and extending from the iron gates at the entrance to the sheds down the centre of the large paved court before the shops. In this open space the cresses are sold, by the salesmen or saleswomen to whom they are consigned, in the hampers they are brought in from the country.

The shops in the market are shut, the gas-lights over the iron gates burn brightly, and every now and then you hear the half-smothered crowing of a cock, shut up in some shed or bird-fancier's shop. Presently a man comes hurrying along, with a can of hot coffee in each hand, and his stall on his head, and when he has arranged his stand by the gates, and placed his white mugs between the railings on the stone wall, he blows at his charcoal fire, making the bright sparks fly about at every puff he gives. By degrees the customers are creeping up, dressed

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in every style of rags; they shuffle up and down before the gates, stamping to warm their feet, and rubbing their hands together till they grate like sandpaper. Some of the boys have brought large hand-baskets, and carry them with the handles round their necks, covering the head entirely with the wicker-work as with a hood; others have their shallows fastened to their backs with a strap, and one little girl, with the bottom of her gown tattered into a fringe like a blacksmith's apron, stands shivering in a large pair of worn-out Vestris boots, holding in her blue hands a bent and rusty tea-tray. A few poor creatures have made friends with the coffee-man, and are allowed to warm their fingers at the fire under the cans, and as the heat strikes into them, they grow sleepy and yawn.

The market—by the time we reach it—has just begun; one dealer has taken his seat, and sits motionless with cold—for it wants but a month to Christmas—with his hands thrust deep into the pockets of his gray driving coat. Before him is an opened hamper, with a candle fixed in the centre of the bright green cresses, and as it shines through the wicker sides of the basket, it casts curious patterns on the ground—as a night shade does. Two or three customers, with their "shallows" slung over their backs, and their hands poked into the bosoms of their gowns, are bending over the hamper, the light from which tinges their swarthy features, and they rattle their halfpence and speak coaxingly to the dealer, to hurry him in their bargains.

Just as the church clocks are striking five, a stout saleswoman enters the gates, and instantly a country-looking fellow, in a wagoner's cap and smock-frock, arranges the baskets he has brought up to London. The other ladies are soon at their posts, well wrapped up in warm cloaks, over their thick shawls, and sit with their hands under their aprons, talking to the loungers, whom they call by their names. Now the business commences; the customers come in by twos and threes, and walk about, looking at the cresses, and listening to the prices asked. Every hamper is surrounded by a black crowd, bending over till their heads nearly meet, their foreheads and cheeks lighted up by the candle in the centre. The saleswomen's voices are heard above the noise of the mob, sharply answering all objections that may be made to the quality of their goods. "They're rather spotty, mum," says an Irishman, as he examines one of the leaves. "No more spots than a new-born babe, Dennis," answers the lady tartly, and then turns to a new comer. At one basket, a street-seller in an old green cloak, has spread out a rusty shawl to receive her bunches, and by her stands her daughter, in a thin cotton dress, patched like a quilt. "Ah! Mrs. Dolland," cried the saleswoman in a gracious tone, "can you keep yourself warm? it bites the fingers like biling water, it do." At another basket, an old man, with long gray hair streaming over a kind of policeman's cape, is bitterly complaining of the way he has been treated by another saleswoman. "He bought a lot of her, the other morning, and by daylight they were quite white; for he only made threepence on his best day." "Well, Joe," returns the lady, "you should come to them as knows you, and allers treats you well."

These saleswomen often call to each other from one end of the market to the other. If any quarrel take place at one of the hampers, as frequently it does, the next neighbour is sure to say something. "Pinch him well, Sally," cried one saleswoman to another; "pinch him well; *I* do when I've a chance." "It's no use," was the answer; "I might as well try to pinch a elephant."

One old wrinkled woman, carrying a basket with an oilcloth bottom, was asked by a buxom rosy dealer, "Now, Nancy, what's for you?" But the old dame was surly with the cold, and sneering at the beauty of the saleswoman, answered, "Why don't you go and get a sweetheart; sich as you aint fit for sich as we." This caused angry words, and Nancy was solemnly requested "to draw it mild, like a good soul."

As the morning twilight came on, the paved court was crowded with purchasers. The sheds and shops at the end of the market grew every moment more distinct, and a railway-van, laden with carrots, came rumbling into the yard. The pigeons, too, began to fly on to the sheds, or walk about the paving-stones, and the gas-man came round with his ladder to turn out the lamps. Then every one was pushing about; the children crying, as their naked feet were trodden upon, and the women hurrying off, with their baskets or shawls filled with cresses, and the bunch of rushes in their hands. In one corner of the market, busily tying up their bunches, were three or four girls seated on the stones, with their legs curled up under them, and the ground near them was green with the leaves they had thrown away. A saleswoman, seeing me looking at the group, said to me, "Ah! you should come here of a summer's morning, and then you'd see 'em, sitting tying up, young and old, upwards of a hundred poor things as thick as crows in a ploughed field."

As it grew late, and the crowd had thinned; none but the very poorest of the cress-sellers were left. Many of these had come without money, others had their halfpence tied up carefully in their shawl-ends, as though they dreaded the loss. A sickly-looking boy, of about five, whose head just reached above the hampers, now crept forward, treading with his blue naked feet over the cold stones as a cat does over wet ground. At his elbows and knees, his skin showed in gashes through the rents in his clothes, and he looked so frozen, that the buxom saleswoman called to him, asking if his mother had gone home. The boy knew her well, for without answering her question, he went up to her, and, as he stood shivering on one foot, said, "Give us a few old cresses, Jinney," and in a few minutes was running off with a green bundle under his arm. All of the saleswomen

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THE GROUNDSEL MAN

"Chick-we.d and Grun sell!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD]

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seemed to be of kindly natures, for at another stall an old dame, whose rags seemed to be beyond credit, was paying for some cresses she had long since been trusted with, and excusing herself for the time that had passed since the transaction. As I felt curious on the point of the honesty of the poor, I asked the saleswoman when she was alone, whether they lost much by giving credit. "It couldn't be much," she answered, "if they all of them decamped." But they were generally honest, and paid back, often reminding her of credit given that she herself had forgotten. Whenever she lost anything, it was by the very very poor ones; "though it aint their fault, poor things," she added in a kindly tone, "for when they keeps away from here, it's either the workhouse or the churchyard as stops them."

As you walk home—although the apprentice is knocking at the master's door—the little water-cress girls are crying their goods in every street. Some of them are gathered round the pumps, washing the leaves and piling up the bunches in their baskets, that are tattered and worn as their own clothing; in some of the shallows the holes at the bottom have been laced up or darned together with rope and string, or twigs and split laths have been fastened across; whilst others are lined with oilcloth, or old pieces of sheet-tin. Even by the time the cress-market is over, it is yet so early that the maids are beating the mats in the road, and mechanics, with their tool-baskets swung over their shoulders, are still hurrying to their work. To visit Farringdon-market early on a Monday morning, is the only proper way to judge of the fortitude and courage and perseverance of the poor. As Douglas Jerrold has beautifully said, "there is goodness, like wild honey, hived in strange nooks and corners of the earth." These poor cress-sellers belong to a class so poor that their extreme want alone would almost be an excuse for theft, and they can be trusted paying the few pence they owe even though they hunger for it. It must require no little energy of conscience on the part of the lads to make them resist the temptations around them, and refuse the luring advice of the young thieves they meet at the low lodging-house. And yet they prefer the early rising—the walk to market with naked feet along the cold stones—the pinched meal—and the day's hard labour to earn the few halfpence — to the thief's comparatively easy life. The heroism of the unknown poor is a thing to set even the dullest marvelling, and in no place in all London is the virtue of the humblest—both young and old—so conspicuous as among the watercress-buyers at Farringdon-market.

Of the Street-sellers of Water-cress.

The dealers in water-cresses are generally very old or very young people, and it is a trade greatly in the hands of women. The cause of this is, that the children are sent out by their parents "to get a loaf of bread somehow" (to use the words of an old man in the trade), and the very old take to it because they are unable to do hard labour, and they strive to keep away from the workhouse—("I'd do anything before I'd go there—sweep the crossings, or anything: but I should have had to have gone to the house before, if it hadn't been for my wife. I'm sixty-two," said one who had been sixteen years at the trade). The old people are both men and women. The men have been sometimes one thing, and sometimes another. "I've been a porter myself," said one, "jobbing about in the markets, or wherever I could get a job to do. Then there's one old man goes about selling water-cresses who's been a seafaring man; he's very old, he is—older than what I am, sir. Many a one has been a good mechanic in his younger days, only he's got too old for labour. The old women have, many of them, been laundresses, only they can't now do the work, you see, and so they're glad to pick up a crust anyhow. Nelly, I know, has lost her husband, and she hasn't nothing else but her few creases to keep her. She's as good, honest, hard-working a creature as ever were, for what she can do—poor old soul! The young people are, most of them, girls. There are some boys, but girls are generally put to it by the poor people. There's Mary Macdonald, she's about fourteen. Her father is a bricklayer's labourer. He's an Englishman, and he sends little Mary out to get a halfpenny or two. He gets sometimes a couple of days' work in the week. He don't get more now, I'm sure, and he's got three children to keep out of that; so all on 'em that can work are obligated to do something. The other two children are so small they can't do nothing yet. Then there's Louisa; she's about twelve, and she goes about with creases like I do. I don't think she's got ne'er a father. I know she's a mother alive, and *she* sells creases like her daughter. The mother's about fifty odd, I dare say. The sellers generally go about with an arm-basket, like a greengrocer's at their side, or a 'shallow' in front of them; and plenty of them carry a small tin tray before them, slung round their neck. Ah! it would make your heart ache if you was to go to Farringdon-market early, this cold weather, and see the poor little things there without shoes and stockings, and their feet quite blue with the cold—oh, that they are, and many on 'em don't know how to set one foot before the t'other, poor things! You would say they wanted something give to 'em."

The small tin tray is generally carried by the young children. The cresses are mostly bought in Farringdon-market: "The usual time to go to the market is between five and six in the morning, and from that to seven," said one informant; "myself, I am generally down in the market by five. I was there this morning at five, and bitter cold it was, I give you my word. We poor old people feel it dreadful. Years ago I didn't mind cold, but I feel it now cruel bad, to be sure. Sometimes, when I'm turning up my

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things, I don't hardly know whether I've got 'em in my hands or not; can't even pick off a dead leaf. But that's nothing to the poor little things without shoes. Why, bless you, I've seen 'em stand and cry two and three together, with the cold. Ah! my heart has ached for 'em over and over again. I've said to 'em, I wonder why your mother sends you out, that I have; and they said they was obligated to try and get a penny for breakfast. We buy the water-cresses by the 'hand.' One hand will make about five halfpenny bundles. There's more call for 'em in the spring of the year than what there is in the winter. Why, they're reckoned good for sweetening the blood in the spring; but, for my own eating, I'd sooner have the crease in the winter than I would have it in the spring of the year. There's an old woman sits in Farringdon-market, of the name of Burrows, that's sot there twenty-four years, and she's been selling out creases to us all that time.

"The sellers goes to market with a few pence. I myself goes down there and lays out sometimes my 4*d.*; that's what I laid out this morning. Sometimes I lay out only 2*d.* and 3*d.*, according as how I has the halfpence in my pocket. Many a one goes down to the market with only three halfpence, and glad to have that to get a halfpenny, or anything, so as to earn a mouthful of bread—a bellyful that they can't get no how. Ah, many a time I walked through the streets, and picked a piece of bread that the servants chucked out of the door—may be to the birds. I've gone and picked it up when I've been right hungry. Thinks I, I can eat that as well as the birds. None of the sellers ever goes down to the market with less than a penny. They won't make less than a pennorth, that's one 'hand,' and if the little thing sells that, she won't earn more than three halfpence out of it. After they have bought the creases they generally take them to the pump to wet them. I generally pump upon mine in Hatton-garden. It's done to make them look nice and fresh all the morning, so that the wind shouldn't make them flag. You see they've been packed all night in the hamper, and they get dry. Some ties them up in ha'porths as they walks along. Many of them sit down on the steps of St. Andrew's Church and make them up into bunches. You'll see plenty of them there of a morning between five and six. Plenty, poor little dear souls, sitting there," said the old man to me. There the hand is parcelled out into five halfpenny bunches. In the summer the dealers often go to market and lay out as much as 1*s.* "On Saturday morning, this time of year, I buys as many as nine hands—there's more call for 'em on Saturday and Sunday morning than on any other days; and we always has to buy on Saturdays what we want for Sundays—there an't no market on that day, sir. At the market sufficient creases are bought by the sellers for the morning and afternoon as well. In the morning some begin crying their creases through the streets at half-past six, and others about seven. They go to different parts, but there is scarcely a place but what some goes to—there are so many of us now—there's twenty to one to what there used to be. Why, they're so thick down at the market in the summer time, that you might bowl balls along their heads, and all a fighting for the creases. There's a regular scramble, I can assure you, to get at 'em, so as to make a halfpenny out of them. I should think in the spring mornings there's 400 or 500 on 'em down at Farringdon-market all at one time—between four and five in the morning—if not more than that, and as fast as they keep going out, others keep coming in. I think there is more than a thousand, young and old, about the streets in the trade. The working classes are the principal of the customers. The bricklayers, and carpenters, and smiths, and plumbers, leaving work and going home to breakfast at eight o'clock, purchase the chief part of them. A great many are sold down the courts and mews, and bye streets, and very few are got rid of in the squares and the neighbourhood of the more respectable houses. Many are sold in the principal thoroughfares—a large number in the City. There is a man who stands close to the Post-office, at the top of Newgate-street, winter and summer, who sells a great quantity of bunches every morning. This man frequently takes between 4*s.* and 5*s.* of a winter's morning, and about 10*s.* a day in the summer." "Sixteen years ago," said the old man who gave me the principal part of this information, "I could come out and take my 18*s.* of a Saturday morning, and 5*s.* on a Sunday morning as well; but now I think myself very lucky if I can take my 1*s.* 3*d.*, and it's only on two mornings in the week that I can get that." The hucksters of watercresses are generally an honest, industrious, striving class of persons. The young girls are said to be well-behaved, and to be the daughters of poor struggling people. The old men and women are persons striving to save themselves from the workhouse. The old and young people generally travel nine and ten miles in the course of the day. They start off to market at four and five, and are out on their morning rounds from seven till nine, and on their afternoon rounds from half-past two to five in the evening. They travel at the rate of two miles an hour. "If it wasn't for my wife, I must go to the workhouse outright," said the old watercress man. "Ah, I do'nt know what I should do without her, I can assure you. She earns about 1*s.* 3*d.* a day. She takes in a little washing, and keeps a mangle. When I'm at home I turn the mangle for her. The mangle is my own. When my wife's mother was alive she lent us the money to buy it, and as we earnt the money we paid her back so much a week. It is *that* what has kept us together, or else we shouldn't have been as we are. The mangle we give 50*s.* for, and it brings us in now 1*s.* 3*d.* a day with the washing. My wife is

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younger than I am. She is about thirty-five years old. We have got two children. One is thirteen and the other fifteen. They've both got learning, and are both in situations. I always sent 'em to school. Though I can't neither read nor write myself, I wished to make them some little scholards. I paid a penny a week for 'em at the school. Lady M—— has always given me my Christmas dinner for the last five years, and God bless her for it—that I *do* say indeed."

Watercress Girl.

The little watercress girl who gave me the following statement, although only eight years of age, had entirely lost all childish ways, and was, indeed, in thoughts and manner, a woman. There was something cruelly pathetic in hearing this infant, so young that her features had scarcely formed themselves, talking of the bitterest struggles of life, with the calm earnestness of one who had endured them all. I did not know how to talk with her. At first I treated her as a child, speaking on childish subjects; so that I might, by being familiar with her, remove all shyness, and get her to narrate her life freely. I asked her about her toys and her games with her companions; but the look of amazement that answered me soon put an end to any attempt at fun on my part. I then talked to her about the parks, and whether she ever went to them. "The parks!" she replied in wonder, "where are they?" I explained to her, telling her that they were large open places with green grass and tall trees, where beautiful carriages drove about, and people walked for pleasure, and children played. Her eyes brightened up a little as I spoke; and she asked, half doubtingly, "Would they let such as me go there—just to look?" All her knowledge seemed to begin and end with water-cresses, and what they fetched. She knew no more of London than that part she had seen on her rounds, and believed that no quarter of the town was handsomer or pleasanter than it was at Farringdon-market or at Clerkenwell, where she lived. Her little face, pale and thin with privation, was wrinkled where the dimples ought to have been, and she would sigh frequently. When some hot dinner was offered to her, she would not touch it, because, if she eat too much, "it made her sick," she said; "and she wasn't used to meat, only on a Sunday."

The poor child, although the weather was severe, was dressed in a thin cotton gown, with a threadbare shawl wrapped round her shoulders. She wore no covering to her head, and the long rusty hair stood out in all directions. When she walked she shuffled along, for fear that the large carpet slippers that served her for shoes should slip off her feet.

"I go about the streets with water-creases, crying, 'Four bunches a penny, water-creases.' I am just eight years old—that's all, and I've a big sister, and a brother and a sister younger than I am. On and off, I've been very near a twelvemonth in the streets. Before that, I had to take care of a baby for my aunt. No, it wasn't heavy—it was only two months old; but I minded it for ever such a time—till it could walk. It was a very nice little baby, not a very pretty one; but, if I touched it under the chin, it would laugh. Before I had the baby, I used to help mother, who was in the fur trade; and, if there was any slits in the fur, I'd sew them up. My mother learned me to needle-work and to knit when I was about five. I used to go to school, too; but I wasn't there long. I've forgot all about it now, it's such a time ago; and mother took me away because the master whacked me, though the missus use'n't to never touch me. I didn't like him at all. What do you think? he hit me three times, ever so hard, across the face with his cane, and made me go dancing down stairs; and when mother saw the marks on my cheek, she went to blow him up, but she couldn't see him—he was afraid. That's why I left school.

"The creases is so bad now, that I haven't been out with 'em for three days. They're so cold, people won't buy 'em; for when I goes up to them, they say, 'They'll freeze our bellies.' Besides, in the market, they won't sell a ha'penny handful now—they're ris to a penny and tuppence. In summer there's lots, and 'most as cheap as dirt; but I have to be down at Farringdon-market between four and five, or else I can't get any creases, because everyone almost—especially the Irish—is selling them, and they're picked up so quick. Some of the saleswomen—we never calls 'em ladies—is very kind to us children, and some of them altogether spiteful. The good one will give you a bunch for nothing, when they're cheap; but the others, cruel ones, if you try to bate them a farden less than they ask you, will say, 'Go along with you, you're no good.' I used to go down to market along with another girl, as must be about fourteen, 'cos she does her back hair up. When we've bought a lot, we sits down on a door-step, and ties up the bunches. We never goes home to breakfast till we've sold out; but, if it's very late, then I buys a penn'orth of pudden, which is very nice with gravy. I don't know hardly one of the people, as goes to Farringdon, to talk to; they never speaks to me, so I don't speak to them. We children never play down there, 'cos we're thinking of our living. No; people never pities me in the street—excepting one gentleman, and he says, says he, 'What do you do out so soon in the morning?' but he gave me nothink—he only walked away.

"It's very cold before winter comes on reg'lar—specially getting up of a morning. I gets up in the dark by the light of the lamp in the court. When the snow is on the ground, there's no creases. I bears the cold—you must; so I puts my hands under my shawl, though it hurts 'em to take hold of the creases, especially when we takes 'em to the pump to wash 'em. No; I never see any children crying—it's no use.

"Sometimes I make a great deal of money.

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One day I took 1*s*. 6*d*., and the creases cost 6*d*.; but it isn't often I get such luck as that. I oftener makes 3*d*. or 4*d*. than 1*s*.; and then I'm at work, crying, 'Creases, four bunches a penny, creases!' from six in the morning to about ten. What do you mean by mechanics?—I don't know what they are. The shops buys most of me. Some of 'em says, 'Oh! I ain't a-goin' to give a penny for these;' and they want 'em at the same price as I buys 'em at.

"I always give mother my money, she's so very good to me. She don't often beat me; but, when she do, she don't play with me. She's very poor, and goes out cleaning rooms sometimes, now she don't work at the fur. I ain't got no father, he's a father-in-law. No; mother ain't married again—he's a father-in-law. He grinds scissors, and he's very good to me. No; I dont mean by that that he says kind things to me, for he never hardly speaks. When I gets home, after selling creases, I stops at home. I puts the room to rights: mother don't make me do it, I does it myself. I cleans the chairs, though there's only two to clean. I takes a tub and scrubbing-brush and flannel, and scrubs the floor—that's what I do three or four times a week.

"I don't have no dinner. Mother gives me two slices of bread-and-butter and a cup of tea for breakfast, and then I go till tea, and has the same. We has meat of a Sunday, and, of course, I should like to have it every day. Mother has just the same to eat as we has, but she takes more tea—three cups, sometimes. No; I never has no sweet-stuff; I never buy none—I don't like it. Sometimes we has a game of 'honey-pots' with the girls in the court, but not often. Me and Carry H—— carries the little 'uns. We plays, too, at 'kiss-in-the-ring.' I knows a good many games, but I don't play at 'em, 'cos going out with creases tires me. On a Friday night, too, I goes to a Jew's house till eleven o'clock on Saturday night. All I has to do is to snuff the candles and poke the fire. You see they keep their Sabbath then, and they won't touch anything; so they gives me my wittals and 1½*d*., and I does it for 'em. I have a reg'lar good lot to eat. Supper of Friday night, and tea after that, and fried fish of a Saturday morning, and meat for dinner, and tea, and supper, and I like it very well.

"Oh, yes; I've got some toys at home. I've a fire-place, and a box of toys, and a knife and fork, and two little chairs. The Jews gave 'em to me where I go to on a Friday, and that's why I said they was very kind to me. I never had no doll; but I misses little sister—she's only two years old. We don't sleep in the same room; for father and mother sleeps with little sister in the one pair, and me and brother and other sister sleeps in the top room. I always goes to bed at seven, 'cos I has to be up so early.

"I am a capital hand at bargaining—but only at buying watercreases. They can't take me in. If the woman tries to give me a small handful of creases, I says, 'I ain't a goin' to have that for a ha'porth,' and I go to the next basket, and so on, all round. I know the quantities very well. For a penny I ought to have a full market hand, or as much as I could carry in my arms at one time, without spilling. For 3*d*. I has a lap full, enough to earn about a shilling; and for 6*d*. I gets as many as crams my basket. I can't read or write, but I knows how many pennies goes to a shilling, why, twelve, of course, but I don't know how many ha'pence there is, though there's two to a penny. When I've bought 3*d*. of creases, I ties 'em up into as many little bundles as I can. They must look biggish, or the people won't buy them, some puffs them out as much as they'll go. All my money I earns I puts in a club and draws it out to buy clothes with. It's better than spending it in sweet-stuff, for them as has a living to earn. Besides it's like a child to care for sugar-sticks, and not like one who's got a living and vittals to earn. I aint a child, and I shan't be a woman till I'm twenty, but I'm past eight, I am. I don't know nothing about what I earns during the year, I only know how many pennies goes to a shilling, and two ha'pence goes to a penny, and four fardens goes to a penny. I knows, too, how many fardens goes to tuppence—eight. That's as much as I wants to know for the markets."

The market returns I have obtained show the following result of the quantity vended in the streets, and of the receipts by the cress-sellers:—

A TABLE SHOWING THE QUANTITY OF WATER-CRESSES SOLD WHOLESALE THROUGHOUT THE YEAR IN LONDON, WITH THE PROPORTION RETAILED IN THE STREETS.

Market.	Quantity sold wholesale.	Proportion retailed in the Streets.
Covent Garden	1,578,000 bunches	one-eighth.
Farringdon .	12,960,000 „	one-half.
Borough . .	180,000 „	one-half.
Spitalfields .	180,000 „	one-half.
Portman . .	60,000 „	one-third.
Total . .	14,958,000 „	

From this sale the street cress-sellers receive:—

	Bunches.		Receipts
Farringdon .	6,480,000	½*d*. per bunch	£13,500
Covent Garden	16,450	„	34
Borough . .	90,000	„	187
Spitalfields .	90,000	„	187
Portman . .	20,000	„	41
			£13,949

The discrepancy in the quantity sold in the respective markets is to be accounted for by the fact, that Farringdon is the water-cress market to which are conveyed the qualities, large-

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leaved and big-stalked, that suit the street-folk. Of this description of cress they purchase one-half of all that is sold in Farringdon; of the finer, and smaller, and brown-leaved cress sold there, they purchase hardly any. At Covent Garden only the finer sorts of cress are in demand, and, consequently, the itinerants buy only an eighth in that market, and they are not encouraged there. They purchase half the quantity in the Borough, and the same in Spitalfields, and a third at Portman. I have before mentioned that 500 might be taken as the number supported by the sale of "creases;" that is, 500 families, or at least 1,000 individuals. The total amount received is nearly 14,000*l.*, and this apportioned among 1,000 street-sellers, gives a weekly receipt of *5s. 5d.*, with a profit of *3s. 3d.* per individual.

The discrepancy is further accounted for because the other market salesmen buy cresses at Farringdon; but I have given under the head of Farringdon *all* that is sold to those other markets to be disposed to the street-sellers, and the returns from the other markets are of the cresses carried *direct* there, apart from any purchases at Farringdon.

Of Groundsel and Chickweed Sellers.

On a former occasion (in the *Morning Chronicle*) I mentioned that I received a letter informing me that a woman, residing in one of the courts about Saffron-hill, was making braces, and receiving only 1*s.* for four dozen of them. I was assured she was a most deserving character, strictly sober, and not receiving parochial relief. "Her husband," my informant added, "was paralysed, and endeavoured to assist his family by gathering green food for birds. They are in deep distress, but their character is irreproachable." I found the couple located up a court, the entrance to which was about as narrow as the opening to a sentry-box, and on each side lolled groups of labourers and costermongers, with short black pipes in their mouths. As I dived into the court, a crowd followed me to see whither I was going. The brace-maker lived on the first floor of a crazy, fœtid house. I ascended the stairs, and the banisters, from which the rails had all been purloined, gave way in my hands. I found the woman, man, and their family busy at their tea-dinner. In a large broken chair, beside the fire-place, was the old paralysed man, dressed in a ragged greasy fustian coat, his beard unshorn, and his hair in the wildest disorder. On the edge of the bed sat a cleanly looking woman, his wife, with a black apron on. Standing by the table was a blue-eyed laughing and shoeless boy, with an old camlet cape pinned over his shoulders. Next him was a girl in a long grey pinafore, with her hair cut close to her head, with the exception of a few locks in front, which hung down over her forehead like a dirty fringe. On a chair near the window stood a basket half full of chickweed and groundsel, and two large cabbages. There was a stuffed linnet on the mantel-piece and an empty cage hanging outside the window. In front of the window-sill was the small imitation of a gate and palings, so popular among the workpeople. On the table were a loaf, a few mugs of milkless tea and a small piece of butter in a saucer. I had scarcely entered when the mother began to remove the camlet cape from the boy's shoulders, and to slip a coarse clean pinafore over his head instead. At present I have only to deal with the trade of the husband, who made the following statement:

"I sell chickweed and grunsell, and turfs for larks. That's all I sell, unless it's a few nettles that's ordered. I believe they're for tea, sir. I gets the chickweed at Chalk Farm. I pay nothing for it. I gets it out of the public fields. Every morning about seven I goes for it. The grunsell a gentleman gives me leave to get out of his garden: that's down Battlebridge way, in the Chalk-road, leading to Holloway. I gets there every morning about nine. I goes there straight. After I have got my chickweed, I generally gathers enough of each to make up a dozen halfpenny bunches. The turfs I buys. A young man calls here with them. I pay 2*d.* a dozen for 'em to him. He gets them himself. Sometimes he cuts 'em at Kilburn Wells; and Notting-hill he goes to sometimes, I believe. He hires a spring barrow, weekly, to take them about. He pays 4*d.* a day, I believe, for the barrow. He sells the turfs to the bird-shops, and to such as me. He sells a few to some private places. I gets the nettles at Highgate. I don't do much in the nettle line—there ain't much call for it. After I've gathered my things I puts them in my basket, and slings 'em at my back, and starts round London. Low Marrabun I goes to always of a Saturday and Wednesday. I goes to St. Pancras on a Tuesday. I visit Clerkenwell, and Russell-square, and round about there, on a Monday. I goes down about Covent-garden and the Strand on a Thursday. I does High Marrabun on a Friday, because I aint able to do so much on that day, for I gathers my stuff on the Friday for Saturday. I find Low Marrabun the best of my beats. I cry 'chickweed and grunsell' as I goes along. I don't say 'for young singing birds.' It is usual, I know, but *I* never did. I've been at the business about eighteen year. I'm out in usual till about five in the evening. I never stop to eat. I'm walking all the time. I has my breakfast afore I starts, and my tea when I comes home." Here the woman shivered. I turned round and found the fire was quite out. I asked them whether they usually sat without one. The answer was, "We most generally raise a pennyworth, some how, just to boil the kettle with." I inquired whether she was cold, and she assured me she wasn't. "It was the blood," she said, "that ran through her like ice sometimes." "I am a walking ten hours every day—wet or dry," the man continued. "I don't stand nice much about that. I can't go much above one mile

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and a half an hour, owing to my right side being paralysed. My leg and foot and all is quite dead. I goes with a stick." [The wife brought the stick out from a corner of the room to show me. It was an old peculiarly carved one, with a bird rudely cut out of wood for the handle, and a snake twisting itself up the stick.] "I walk fifteen miles every day of my life, that I do—quite that—excepting Sunday, in course. I generally sell the chickweed and grunsell and turfs, all to the houses, not to the shops. The young man as cut the turf gathers grunsell as well for the shops. They're tradespeople and gentlefolks' houses together that I sells to—such as keeps canaries, or goldfinches, or linnets. I charge ½d. a bunch for chickweed and grunsell together. It's the regular charge. The nettles is ordered in certain quantities; I don't get them unless they're ordered: I sells these in three-penn'orths at a time. Why, Saturday is my best day, and that's the reason why I can't spare time to gather on that day. On Saturday I dare say I gets rid on two dozen bunches of chickweed and grunsell. On the other days, sometimes, I goes out and don't sell above five or six bunches; at other times I get rid on a dozen; that I call a tidy day's work for any other day but a Saturday, and some days I don't sell as much as a couple of bunches in the whole day. Wednesday is my next best day after Saturday. On a Wednesday, sometimes, I sell a dozen and a half. In the summer I does much better than in winter. They gives it more to the birds then, and changes it oftener. I've seed a matter of eight or nine people that sell chickweed and grunsell like myself in the fields where I goes to gather it. They mostly all goes to where I do to get mine. They are a great many that sells grunsell about the streets in London, like I do. I dare say there is a hundred, and far more nor that, taking one place with another. I takes my nettles to ladies' houses. They considers the nettles good for the blood, and drinks 'em at tea, mostly in the spring and autumn. In the spring I generally sells three threepenn' orths of 'em a week, and in the autumn about two threepenn'orths. The ladies I sell the nettles to are mostly sickly, but sometimes they aint, and has only a breaking out in the skin, or in their face. The nettles are mostly taken in Low Marrabun. I gathers more than all for Great Titchfield-street. The turfs I sell mostly in London-street, in Marrabun and John-street, and Carburton-street, and Portland-street, and Berners, and all about there. I sells about three dozen of turfs a week. I sells them at three and four a penny. I charges them at three a penny to gentlefolks and four a penny to tradespeople. I pays 2d. a dozen for 'em and so makes from 1d. to 2d. a dozen out of 'em. I does trifling with these in the winter—about two dozen a week, but always three dozen in the summer. Of the chickweed and grunsell I sells from six to seven dozen bunches a week in the summer, and about four or five dozen bunches in the winter. I sells mostly to regular customers, and a very few to chance ones that meet me in the street. The chance customers come mostly in the summer times. Altogether I should say with my regular and chance customers I make from 4s. to 5s. a week in the summer, and from 3s. to 4s. in the winter. That's as near as I can tell. Last Monday I was out all day, and took 1½d.; Tuesday I took about 5½d.; Wednesday I got 9½d.; Thursday I can't hardly recollect, not to tell the truth about it. But oh, dear me, yes I wasn't allowed to go out on that day. We was given to understand nothing was allowed to be sold on that day. They told us it were the Thanksgiving-day. I was obliged to fast on that day. We did have a little in the morning, a trifle, but not near enough. Friday I came home with nigh upon 6d., and Saturday I got 1s., and 3d. after when I went out at night. I goes into Leather-lane every Saturday night, and stands with my basket there, so that altogether, last week I made 3s. 1½d. But that was a slack week with me, owing to my having lost Thursday. If it hadn't been for that I should have made near upon 4s. We felt the loss very severely. Prices have come down dreadful with us. The same bunches as I sell now for ½d. I used to get 1d. for nine or ten years ago. I dare say I could earn then, take one day with another, such a thing as 7s. a week, summer and winter through. There's so many at it now to what there was afore, that it's difficult to get a living, and the ladies are very hard with a body. They tries to beat me down, and particular in the matter of turfs. They tell me they can buy half-a-dozen for 1d., so I'm obligated to let 'em have three or four. There's a many women at the business. I hardly know which is the most, men or women. There's pretty nigh as much of one as the other, I think. I am a bed-sacking weaver by trade. When I worked at it I used to get 15s. a week regularly. But I was struck with paralysis nearly nineteen years ago, and lost the use of all one side, so I was obleeged to turn to summut else. Another grunseller told me on the business, and what he got, and I thought I couldn't do no better. That's a favourite linnet. We had that one stuffed there. A young man that I knew stuffed it for me. I was very sorry when the poor thing died. I've got another little linnet up there." "I'm particular fond of little birds," said the wife. "I never was worse off than I am now. I pays 2s. a week rent, and we has, take one time with another, about 3s. for the four of us to subsist upon for the whole seven days; yes, that, take one time with another, is generally what I do have. We very seldom has any meat. This day week we got a pound of pieces. I gave 4d. for 'em. Everything that will pledge I've got in pawn. I've been obliged to let them go. I can't exactly say how much I've got in pledge, but you can see the tickets." [The wife brought out a tin box full of duplicates. They were for the usual articles—coats, shawls, shirts, sheets,

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handkerchiefs, indeed almost every article of wearing-apparel and bedding. The sums lent were mostly 6*d*. and 9*d*., while some ran as high as 2*s*. The dates of many were last year, and these had been backed for three months.] "I've been paying interest for many of the things there for seven years. I pay for the backing 2½*d*., that is 1*d*. for the backing, and 1½*d*. for the three months' interest. I pay 6*d*. a year interest on every one of the tickets. If its only 3*d*., I have to pay ½*d*. a month interest just the same, but nothing for the ticket when we put it in." The number of duplicates was 26, and the gross sum amounted to 1*l*. 4*s*. 8*d*. One of the duplicates was for 4*d*.; nine were for 6*d*., two for 9*d*., nine were for 1*s*., two for 1*s*. 6*d*., one for 1*s*. 3*d*., one for 1*s*. 7*d*. and two for 2*s*. "The greatest comfort I should like to have would be something more on our beds. We lay dreadful cold of a night, on account of being thin clad. I have no petticoats at all. We have no blankets—of late years I haven't had any. The warm clothing would be the greatest blessing I could ask. I'm not at all discontented at my lot. That wouldn't mend it. We strive and do the best we can, and may as well be contented over it. I think its God's will we should be as we are. Providence is kind to me, even badly off as we are. I know it's all for the best."

There are no "pitches," or stands, for the sale of groundsel in the streets; but, from the best information I could acquire, there are now 1,000 itinerants selling groundsel, each person selling, as an average, 18 bunches a day. We thus have 5,616,000 bunches a year, which, at ½*d*. each, realise 11,700*l*.—about 4*s*. 2*d*. per week per head of sellers of groundsel. The "oldest hand" in the trade is the man whose statement and likeness I give. The sale continues through the year, but "the groundsel" season extends from April to September; in those months 24 bunches, per individual seller, is the extent of the traffic, in the other months half that quantity, giving the average of 18 bunches.

The capital required for groundsel-selling is 4*d*. for a brown wicker-basket; leather strap to sling it from the shoulder, 6*d*.; in all, 10*d*. No knife is necessary; they pluck the groundsel.

Chickweed is only sold in the summer, and is most generally mixed with groundsel and plantain. The chickweed and plantain, together, are but half the sale of groundsel, and that only for five months, adding, to the total amount, 2,335*l*. But this adds little to the profits of the regular itinerants; for, when there is the best demand, there are the greatest number of sellers, who in winter seek some other business. The total amount of "green stuff" expended upon birds, as supplied by the street-sellers, I give at the close of my account of the trade of those purveyors.

Many of the groundsel and chickweed-sellers —for the callings are carried on together—who are aged men, were formerly brimstone-match sellers, who "didn't like to take to the lucifers."

On the publication of this account in the *Morning Chronicle*, several sums were forwarded to the office of that journal for the benefit of this family. These were the means of removing them to a more comfortable home, of redeeming their clothing, and in a measure realizing the wishes of the poor woman.

Of Turf Cutting and Selling.

A man long familiar with this trade, and who knew almost every member of it individually, counted for me 36 turf-cutters, to his own knowledge, and was confident that there were 40 turf-cutters and 60 sellers in London; the addition of the sellers, however, is but that of 10 women, who assist their husbands or fathers in the street sales,—but no women cut turf,—and of 10 men who sell, but buy of the cutters.

The turf is simply a sod, but it is considered indispensable that it should contain the leaves of the "small Dutch clover," (the shamrock of the Irish), the most common of all the trefoils. The turf is used almost entirely for the food and roosting-place of the caged sky-larks. Indeed one turf-cutter said to me: "It's only people that don't understand it that gives turf to other birds, but of course if we're asked about it, we say it's good for every bird, pigeons and chickens and all; and very likely it is if they choose to have it." The principal places for the cutting of turf are at present Shepherd's Bush, Notting Hill, the Caledonian Road, Hampstead, Highgate, Hornsey, Peckham, and Battersea. Chalk Farm was an excellent place, but it is now exhausted, "fairly flayed" of the shamrocks. Parts of Camden Town were also fertile in turf, but they have been built over. Hackney was a district to which the turf-cutters resorted, but they are now forbidden to cut sods there. Hampstead Heath used to be another harvest-field for these turf-purveyors, but they are now prohibited from "so much as sticking a knife into the Heath;" but turf-cutting is carried on surreptitiously on all the outskirts of the Heath, for there used to be a sort of feeling, I was told, among some real Londoners that Hampstead Heath yielded the best turf of any place. All the "commons" and "greens," Paddington, Camberwell, Kennington, Clapham, Putney, &c. are also forbidden ground to the turf-cutter. "O, as to the parks and Primrose Hill itself—round about it's another thing—nobody," it was answered to my inquiry, "ever thought of cutting their turf there. The people about, if they was only visitors, wouldn't stand it, and right too. I wouldn't, if I wasn't in the turf-cutting myself."

The places where the turf is principally cut are the fields, or plots, in the suburbs, in which may be seen a half-illegible board, inviting the attention of the class of speculating builders to an "eligible site" for villas. Some of these places are open, and have long been open, to the road; others are protected by a few crazy rails, and the turf-cutters consider that outside the rails, or between them and the road, they

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have a *right* to cut turf, unless forbidden by the police. The fact is, that they cut it on sufferance; but the policeman never interferes, unless required to do so by the proprietor of the land or his agent. One gentleman, who has the control over a considerable quantity of land "eligible" for building, is very inimical to the pursuits of the turf-cutters, who, of course, return his hostility. One man told me that he was required, late on a Saturday night, some weeks ago, to supply six dozen of turfs to a very respectable shopkeeper, by ten or eleven on the Sunday morning. The shopkeeper had an aristocratic connection, and durst not disappoint his customers in their demands for fresh turf on the Sunday, so that the cutter must supply it. In doing so, he encountered Mr. —— (the gentleman in question), who was exceedingly angry with him: "You d—d poaching thief!" said the gentleman, "if this is the way you pass your Sunday, I'll give you in charge." One turf-cutter, I was informed, had, within these eight years, paid *3l. 15s.* fines for trespassing, besides losing his barrow, &c., on every conviction: "But he's a most outdacious fellor," I was told by one of his mates, "and won't mind spoiling anybody's ground to save hisself a bit of trouble. There's too many that way, which gives us a bad name." Some of the managers of the land to be built upon give the turf-cutters free leave to labour in their vocation; others sell the sods for garden-plots, or use them to set out the gardens to any small houses they may be connected with, and with them the turf-cutters have no chance of turning a sod or a penny.

I accompanied a turf-cutter, to observe the manner of his work. We went to the neighbourhood of Highgate, which we reached a little before nine in the morning. There was nothing very remarkable to be observed, but the scene was not without its interest. Although it was nearly the middle of January, the grass was very green and the weather very mild. There happened to be no one on the ground but my companion and myself, and in some parts of our progress nothing was visible but green fields with their fringe of dark-coloured leafless trees; while in other parts, which were somewhat more elevated, glimpses of the crowded roof of an omnibus, or of a line of fleecy white smoke, showing the existence of a railway, testified to the neighbourhood of a city; but no sound was heard except, now and then, a distant railway whistle. The turf-cutter, after looking carefully about him—the result of habit, for I was told afterwards, by the policeman, that there was no trespass—set rapidly to work. His apparatus was a sharp-pointed table-knife of the ordinary size, which he inserted in the ground, and made it rapidly describe a half-circle; he then as rapidly ran his implement in the opposite half-circle, flung up the sod, and, after slapping it with his knife, cut off the lower part so as to leave it flat—working precisely as does a butcher cutting out a joint or a chop, and reducing the fat. Small holes are thus left in the ground—of such shape and size as if deep saucers were to be fitted into them—and in the event of a thunder-shower in droughty weather, they become filled with water, and have caused a puzzlement, I am told, to persons taking their quiet walk when the storm had ceased, to comprehend why the rain should be found to gather in little circular pools in some parts, and not in others.

The man I accompanied cut and shaped six of these turfs in about a minute, but he worked without intermission, and rather to show me with what rapidity and precision he could cut, than troubling himself to select what was saleable. After that we diverged in the direction of Hampstead; and in a spot not far from a temporary church, found three turf-cutters at work,—but they worked asunder, and without communication one with another. The turfs, as soon as they are cut and shaped, are thrown into a circular basket, and when the basket is full it is emptied on to the barrow (a costermonger's barrow), which is generally left untended at the nearest point: "We can trust one another, as far as I know," said one turf-man to me, "and nobody else would find it worth while to steal turfs." The largest number of men that my most intelligent informant had ever seen at work in one locality was fourteen, and that was in a field just about to be built over, and "where they had leave." Among the turf-purveyors there is no understanding as to where they are to "cut." Wet weather does not interfere with turf procuring; it merely adds to the weight, and consequently to the toil of drawing the barrow. Snow is rather an advantage to the street-seller, as purchasers are apt to fancy that if the storm continues, turfs will not be obtainable, and so they buy more freely. The turf-man clears the snow from the ground in any known locality—the cold pinching his ungloved hands—and cuts out the turf, "as green," I was told, "as an April sod." The weather most dreaded is that when hoar frost lies long and heavy on the ground, for the turf cut with the rime upon it soon turns black, and is unsaleable. Foggy dark weather is also prejudicial, "for then," one man said, "the days clips it uncommon short, and people won't buy by candlelight, no more will the shops. Birds has gone to sleep then, and them that's fondest on them says, 'We can get fresher turf to-morrow.'" The gatherers cannot work by moonlight; "for the clover leaves then shuts up," I was told by one who said he was a bit of a botanist, "like the lid of a box, and you can't tell them."

One of my informants told me that he cut 25 dozen turfs every Friday (the great working turf-day) of the year on an average (he sometimes cut on that day upwards of 30 dozen); 17 dozen on a Tuesday; and 6 dozen on the other days of the week, more or less, as the demand justified—but 6 dozen was an average. He had also cut a few turfs on a Sunday morning, but only at long intervals, sometimes only thrice a year. Thus one man will cut 2,496 dozen, or 29,952 turfs in a year, not reckoning

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the product of any Sunday. From the best information I could acquire, there seems no doubt but that one-half of the turf-cutters (20) exert a similar degree of industry to that detailed; and the other 20 procure a moiety of the quantity cut and disposed of by their stronger and more fortunate brethren. This gives an aggregate, for an average year, of 598,560 turfs, or including Sunday turf-cutting, of 600,000. Each turf is about 6 inches diameter at the least; so that the whole extent of turf cut for London birds yearly, if placed side by side, would extend fifty-six miles, or from London to Canterbury.

In wet weather, 6 dozen turfs weigh, on an average, 1 cwt.; in dry weather, 8 dozen weigh no more; if, therefore, we take 7 dozen as the usual hundred-weight, a turf-cutter of the best class carries, in basket-loads, to his barrow, and when his stock is completed, drags into town from the localities I have specified, upwards of 3½ cwt. every Friday, nearly 2½ every Tuesday, and about 7 cwt. in the course of a week; the smaller traders drag half the quantity,—and the total weight of turf disposed of for the cage-birds of London, every year, is 546 tons.

Of the supply of turf, obtained as I have described, at least three-fourths is sold to the bird-shops, who retail it to their customers. The price paid by these shopkeepers to the labourers for their turf trade is 2*d.* and 2½*d.* a dozen, but rarely 2½*d.* They retail it at from 3*d.* to 6*d.* a dozen, according to connection and locality. The remainder is sold by the cutters on their rounds from house to house, at two and three a penny.

None of the turf-cutters confine themselves to it. They sell in addition groundsel, chickweed, plaintain, very generally; and a few supply nettles, dandelion, ground-ivy, snails, worms, frogs, and toads. The sellers of groundsel and chickweed are far more numerous, as I have shown, than the turf-cutters—indeed many of them are incapable of cutting turf or of dragging the weight of the turfs.

Of the Experience and Customers of a Turf-Cutter.

A short but strongly-built man, of about thirty, with a very English face, and dressed in a smock-frock, wearing also very strong unblacked boots, gave me the following account:—

"My father," he said, "was in the Earl of ——'s service, and I was brought up to stable-work. I was employed in a large coaching inn, in Lancashire, when I was last employed in that way, but about ten years ago a railway line was opened, and the coaching was no go any longer; it hadn't a chance to pay, so the horses and all was sold, and I was discharged with a lot of others. I walked from Manchester to London—for I think most men when they don't know what in the world to do, come to London—and I lived a few months on what little money I had, and what I could pick up in an odd job about horses. I had some expectations when I came up that I might get something to do through my lord, or some of his people—they all knew me: but my lord was abroad, and his establishment wasn't in town, and I had to depend entirely on myself. I was beat out three or four times, and didn't know what to do, but somehow or other I got over it. At last—it's between eight and nine years ago—I was fairly beat out. I was taking a walk—I can't say just now in what way I went, for it was all one which way—but I remember I saw a man cutting turf, and I remembered then that a man that lived near me lived pretty middling by turf-cutting. So I watched how it was done, and then I inquired how I could get into it, and as I'd paid my way I could give reference to show I might be trusted; so I got a barrow on hire, and a basket, and bought a knife for 3*d.* at a marine-shop, and set to work. At first I only supplied shops, but in a little time I fell into a private round, and that pays better. I've been at it almost every day, I may say, ever since. My best customers are working people that's fond of birds; they're far the best. It's the ready penny with them, and no grumbling. I've lost money by trusting noblemen; of course I blame their servants. You'd be surprised, sir, to hear how often at rich folks' houses, when they've taken their turf or what they want, they'll take credit and say, 'O, I've got no change,' or 'I can't be bothered with ha'pence,' or 'you must call again.' There's one great house in Cavendish-square always takes a month's credit, and pays one month within another (pays the first month as the second is falling due), and not always that very regular. They can't know how poor men has to fight for a bit of bread. Some people are very particular about their turfs, and look very sharp for the small clover leaves. We never have turfs left on hand: in summer we water them to keep them fresh; in wet weather they don't require it; they'll keep without. I think I make on turf 9*s.* a week all the year round; the summer's half as good again as the winter. Supposing I make 3*s.* a week on groundsel, and chickweed, and snails, and other things, that's 12*s.*—but look you here, sir. I pay 3*s.* 6*d.* a week for my rent—it's a furnished room—and 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for my barrow; that's 5*s.* off the 12*s.*; and I've a wife and one little boy. My wife may get a day at least every week at charring; she has 1*s.* for it and her board. She helps me when she's not out, and if she is out, I sometimes have to hire a lad, so it's no great advantage the shilling a day. I've paid 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for my barrow—it's a very good and big one—for four years. Before that I paid 2*s.* a week. O yes, sir, I know very well, that at 1*s.* 6*d.* a week I've paid nearly 14*l.* for a barrow worth only 2*l.* 2*s.*; but I can't help it; I really can't. I've tried my hardest to get money to have one of my own, and to get a few sticks (furniture) of my own too. It's no use trying any more. If I have ever got a few shillings a-head, there's a pair of shoes wanted, or there's

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something else, or my wife has a fit of sickness, or my little boy has, or something's sure to happen that way, and it all goes. Last winter was a very hard time for people in my way, from hoar frost and fogs. I ran near *3l.* into debt; greater part of it for house-rent and my barrow; the rest was small sums borrowed of shopkeepers that I served. I paid all up in the summer, but I'm now 14*s.* in debt for my barrow; it always keeps me back; the man that owns it calls every Sunday morning, but he don't press me, if I haven't money. I would get out of the life if I could, but will anybody take a groom out of the streets? and I'm not master of anything but grooming. I can read and write. I was brought up a Roman Catholic, and was christened one. I never go to mass now. One gets out of the way of such things, having to fight for a living as I have. It seems like mocking going to chapel, when you're grumbling in your soul."

Of Plantain-Sellers.

Plantain is sold extensively, and is given to canaries, but water-cress is given to those birds more than any other green thing. It is the ripe seed, in a spike, of the "great" and the "ribbed" plantain. The green leaves of the last-mentioned plant used to be in demand as a styptick. Shenstone speaks of "plantain ribbed, that heals the reaper's wound." I believe that it was never sold in the streets of London. The most of the plantain is gathered in the brick-fields, wherever they are found, as the greater plantain, which gives three-fourths of the supply, loves an arid situation. It is sold in hands to the shops, about 60 "heads" going to a "hand," at a price, according to size, &c., from 1*d.* to 4*d.* On a private round, five or six are given for a halfpenny. It is, however, generally gathered and sold with chickweed, and along with chickweed I have shown the quantity used.

The money-value of the several kinds and quantities of "green-stuff" annually purchased in the streets of London is as follows:—

6,696,450 bunches of water-cresses, at ½*d.* per bunch	£13,949
5,616,000 „ groundsel, at ½*d.*	11,700
1,120,800 „ chickweed and plantain	2,335
660,000 turfs, at 2½*d.* per doz.	520
	28,504

Of the above amount, it may be said that upwards of 14,000*l.* are spent yearly on what may be called the bird-food of London.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF EATABLES AND DRINKABLES.

These dealers were, more numerous, even when the metropolitan population was but half its present extent. I heard several causes assigned for this,—such as the higher rate of earnings of the labouring people at that time, as well as the smaller number of shopkeepers who deal in such cheap luxuries as penny pies, and the fewer places of cheap amusement, such as the "penny gaffs." These places, I was told, "run away with the young people's pennies," which were, at one period, expended in the streets.

The class engaged in the manufacture, or in the sale, of these articles, are a more intelligent people than the generality of street-sellers. They have nearly all been mechanics who, from inability to procure employment at their several crafts—from dislike to an irksome and, perhaps, sedentary confinement—or from an overpowering desire "to be their own masters," have sought a livelihood in the streets. The purchase and sale of fish, fruit, or vegetables require no great training or deftness; but to make the dainties, in which street-people are critical, and to sell them at the lowest possible price, certainly requires some previous discipline to produce the skill to combine and the taste to please.

I may here observe, that I found it common enough among these street-sellers to describe themselves and their fraternity not by their names or callings, but by the article in which they deal. This is sometimes ludicrous enough: "Is the man you're asking about a pickled whelk, sir?" was said to me. In answer to another inquiry, I was told, "Oh, yes, I know him—he's a sweet-stuff." Such ellipses, or abbreviations, are common in all mechanical or commercial callings.

Men and women, and most especially boys, purchase their meals day after day in the streets. The coffee-stall supplies a warm breakfast; shell-fish of many kinds tempt to a luncheon; hot-eels or pea-soup, flanked by a potato "all hot," serve for a dinner; and cakes and tarts, or nuts and oranges, with many varieties of pastry, confectionary, and fruit, woo to indulgence in a dessert; while for supper there is a sandwich, a meat pudding, or a "trotter."

The street provisions consist of cooked or prepared victuals, which may be divided into solids, pastry, confectionary, and drinkables.

The "solids" however, of these three divisions, are such as only regular street-buyers consider to be sufficing for a substantial meal, for it will be seen that the comestibles accounted "good for dinner," are all of a *dainty*, rather than a solid character. Men whose lives, as I have before stated, are alternations of starvation

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and surfeit, love some easily-swallowed and comfortable food, better than the most approved substantiality of a dinner-table. I was told by a man, who was once foodless for thirty-eight hours, that in looking into the window of a cook-shop—he longed far more for a basin of soup than for a cut from the boiled round, or the roasted ribs, of beef. He felt a gnawing rather than a ravenous desire, and some tasty semi-liquid was the incessant object of his desires.

The solids then, according to street estimation, consist of hot-eels, pickled whelks, oysters, sheep's-trotters, pea-soup, fried fish, ham-sandwiches, hot green peas, kidney puddings, boiled meat puddings, beef, mutton, kidney, and eel pies, and baked potatos. In each of these provisions the street poor find a mid-day or midnight meal.

The pastry and confectionary which tempt the street eaters are tarts of rhubarb, currant, gooseberry, cherry, apple, damson, cranberry, and (so called) mince pies; plum dough and plum-cake; lard, currant, almond and many other varieties of cakes, as well as of tarts; gingerbread-nuts and heart-cakes; Chelsea buns; muffins and crumpets; "sweet stuff" includes the several kinds of rocks, sticks, lozenges, candies, and hard-bakes; the medicinal confectionary of cough-drops and horehound; and, lastly, the more novel and aristocratic luxury of street-ices; and strawberry cream, at 1*d*. a glass, (in Greenwich Park).

The drinkables are tea, coffee, and cocoa; ginger-beer, lemonade, Persian sherbet, and some highly-coloured beverages which have no specific name, but are introduced to the public as "cooling" drinks; hot elder cordial or wine; peppermint water; curds and whey; water (as at Hampstead); rice milk; and milk in the parks.

At different periods there have been attempts to introduce more substantial viands into the street provision trade, but all within these twenty years have been exceptional and unsuccessful. One man a few years back established a portable cook-shop in Leather-lane, cutting out portions of the joints to be carried away or eaten on the spot, at the buyer's option. But the speculation was a failure. Black puddings used to be sold, until a few years back, smoking from cans, not unlike potato cans, in such places as the New Cut; but the trade in these rather suspicious articles gradually disappeared.

Mr. Albert Smith, who is an acute observer in all such matters, says, in a lively article on the Street Boys of London:

"The kerb is his club, offering all the advantages of one of those institutions without any subscription or ballot. Had he a few pence, he might dine equally well as at Blackwall, and with the same variety of delicacies without going twenty yards from the pillars of St. Clement's churchyard. He might begin with a water *souchée* of eels, varying his first course with pickled whelks, cold fried flounders, or periwinkles. Whitebait, to be sure, he would find a difficulty in procuring, but as the more cunning gourmands do not believe these delicacies to be fish at all, but merely little bits of light pie-crust fried in grease;—and as moreover, the brown bread and butter is after all the grand attraction,—the boy might soon find a substitute. Then would come the potatos, apparently giving out so much steam that the can which contains them seems in momentary danger of blowing up; large, hot, mealy fellows, that prove how unfounded were the alarms of the bad-crop-ites; and he might next have a course of boiled feet of some animal or other, which he would be certain to find in front of the gin-shop. Cyder-cups perhaps he would not get; but there would be 'ginger-beer from the fountain, at 1*d*. per glass;' and instead of mulled claret, he could indulge in hot elder cordial; whilst for dessert he could calculate upon all the delicacies of the season, from the salads at the corner of Wych-street to the baked apples at Temple Bar. None of these things would cost more than a penny a piece; some of them would be under that sum; and since as at Verey's, and some other foreign restaurateurs, there is no objection to your dividing the "portions," the boy might, if he felt inclined to give a dinner to a friend, get off under 6*d*. There would be the digestive advantage too of moving leisurely about from one course to another; and, above all, there would be no fee to waiters." After alluding to the former glories of some of the street-stands, more especially of the kidney pudding establishments which displayed rude transparencies, one representing the courier of St. Petersburg riding six horses at once for a kidney pudding, Mr. Smith continues.—"But of all these eating-stands the chief favourite with the boy is the potato-can. They collect around it as they would do on 'Change, and there talk over local matters, or discuss the affairs of the adjacent cab-stand, in which they are at times joined by the waterman whom they respect, more so perhaps than the policeman; certainly more than they do the street-keeper, for him they especially delight to annoy, and they watch any of their fellows eating a potato, with a curiosity and an attention most remarkable, as if no two persons fed in the same manner, and they expected something strange or diverting to happen at every mouthful."

A gentleman, who has taken an artist's interest in all connected with the streets, and has been familiar with their daily and nightly aspect from the commencement of the present century, considers that the great change is not so much in what has ceased to be sold, but in the introduction of fresh articles into street-traffic—such as pine-apples and Brazil-nuts, rhubarb and cucumbers, ham-sandwiches, ginger-beer, &c. The coffee-stall, he represents, has but superseded the saloop-stall (of which I have previously spoken); while the class of street-customers who supported the saloop-dealer now support the purveyor of coffee. The *appearance* of the

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two stalls, however, seen before daybreak, with their respective customers, on a bleak winter's morning, was very different. Round the saloop-stall was a group—hardly discernible at a little distance in the dimly-lighted streets—the prominent figures being of two callings now extinct—the climbing-boy and the old hackney-coachman.

The little sweep *would* have his saloop smoking hot—and there was the common appliance of a charcoal grate—regaling himself with the savoury steam until the mess was cool enough for him to swallow; whilst he sought to relieve his naked feet from the numbing effects of the cold by standing now on the right foot and now on the left, and swinging the other to and fro, until a change of posture was necessitated; his white teeth the while gleamed from his sooty visage as he gleefully licked his lips at the warm and oily breakfast.

The old hackney-coachman was wrapped up in a many-caped great coat, drab—when it left the tailor's hands some years before—but then worn and discoloured, and, perhaps, patched or tattered; its weight alone, however, communicated a sort of warmth to the wearer; his legs were closely and artistically "wisped" with hay-bands; and as he kept smiting his chest with his arms, "to keep the cold out," while his saloop was cooling, he would, in no very gentle terms, express his desire to add to its comforting influence the stimulant of a "flash of lightning," a "go of rum," or a "glass of max,"—for so a dram of neat spirit was then called.

The old watchman of that day, too, almost as heavily coated as the hackneyman, would sometimes partake of the street "Saloop-loop-loop! *Sa*-loop!" The woman of the town, in "looped and windowed raggedness," the outcast of the very lowest class, was at the saloop, as she is now and then at the coffee-stall, waiting until daylight drove her to her filthy lodging-house. But the climbing-boy has, happily, left no successor; the hackneyman has been succeeded by the jauntier cabman; and the taciturn old watchman by the lounging and trim policeman.

Another class of street-sellers, no longer to be seen, were the "barrow-women." They sold fruit of all kinds, little else, in very clean white barrows, and their fruit was excellent, and purchased by the wealthier classes. They were, for the most part, Irish women, and some were remarkable for beauty. Their dress was usually a good chintz gown, the skirt being tidily tucked or pinned up behind, "in a way," said one informant, "now sometimes seen on the stage when correctness of costume is cared for." These women were prosperous in their calling, nor was there any imputation on their chastity, as the mothers were almost always wives.

Concerning the bygone street-cries, I had also the following account from the personal observation of an able correspondent:—

"First among the old 'musical cries,' may be cited the 'Tiddy Doll!'—immortalised by Hogarth—then comes the last person, who, with a fine bass voice, coaxed his customers to buy *sweets* with, 'Quack, quack, quack, quack! Browns, browns, browns! have you got any mouldy browns?' There was a man, too, who sold tripe, &c., in this way, and to some purpose; he was as fine a man as ever stepped, and his deep rich voice would ring through a whole street, 'Dog's-meat! cat's-meat! nice tripe! neat's feet! Come buy my trotters!' The last part would not have disgraced Lablache. He discovered a new way of pickling tripe—got on—made contracts for supplying the Navy during the war, and acquired a large property. One of our most successful artists is his grandson. Then there was that delight of our childhood—the eight o'clock 'Hot spiced gingerbread! hot spiced gingerbread! buy my spiced gingerbread! sm-o-o-king hot!'" Another informant remembered a very popular character (among the boys), whose daily cry was: "Hot spiced gingerbread nuts, nuts, nuts! If *one*'ll warm you, *wha-at*'ll a pound do?—*Wha-a-a-at*'ll a pound do?" Gingerbread was formerly in much greater demand than it is now.

Of the Street-sellers of Pea-Soup and Hot Eels.

Two of the condiments greatly relished by the chilled labourers and others who regale themselves on street luxuries, are "pea-soup" and "hot eels." Of these tradesmen there may be 500 now in the streets on a Saturday. As the two trades are frequently carried on by the same party, I shall treat of them together. The greatest number of these stands is in Old-street, St. Luke's, about twenty. In warm weather these street-cooks deal only in "hot eels" and whelks; as the whelk trade is sometimes an accompaniment of the others, for then the soup will not sell. These dealers are stationary, having stalls or stands in the street, and the savoury odour from them attracts more hungry-looking gazers and longers than does a cook-shop window. They seldom move about, but generally frequent the same place. A celebrated dealer of this class has a stand in Clare-street, Clare-market, opposite a cat's-meat shop; he has been heard to boast, that he wouldn't soil his hands at the business if he didn't get his 30*s*. a day, and his 2*l*. 10*s*. on a Saturday. Half this amount is considered to be about the truth. This person has mostly all the trade for hot eels in the Clare-market district. There is another "hot eel purveyor" at the end of Windmill-street, Tottenham-court-road, that does a very good trade. It is thought that he makes about 5*s*. a day at the business, and about 10*s*. on Saturday. There was, before the removals, a man who came out about five every afternoon, standing in the New-cut, nearly opposite the Victoria Theatre, his "girl" always attending to the stall. He had two or three lamps with "hot eels" painted upon them, and a handsome stall. He was considered to make about 7*s*. a day by the sale of eels alone, but he dealt in fried fish and pickled whelks as well, and often had a pile of fried fish a foot high. Near the

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Bricklayers' Arms, at the junction of the Old and New Kent-roads, a hot-eel man dispenses what a juvenile customer assured me was "as spicy as any in London, as if there was gin in it." But the dealer in Clare-market does the largest trade of all in the hot-eel line. He is "the head man." On one Saturday he was known to sell 100lbs. of eels, and on most Saturdays he will get rid of his four "draughts" of eels (a draught being 20lbs.) He and his son are dressed in Jenny Lind hats, bound with blue velvet, and both dispense the provisions, while the daughter attends to wash the cups. "On a Sunday, anybody," said my informant, "would think him the first nobleman or squire in the land, to see him dressed in his white hat, with black crape round it, and his drab paletot and mother-o'-pearl buttons, and black kid gloves, with the fingers too long for him."

I may add, that even the very poorest, who have only a halfpenny to spend, as well as those with better means, resort to the stylish stalls in preference to the others. The eels are all purchased at Billingsgate early in the morning. The parties themselves, or their sons or daughters, go to Billingsgate, and the watermen row them to the Dutch eel vessels moored off the market. The fare paid to the watermen is 1*d.* for every 10lbs. purchased and brought back in the boat, the passenger being gratis. These dealers generally trade on their own capital; but when some have been having "a flare up," and have "broke down for stock," to use the words of my informant, they borrow 1*l.*, and pay it back in a week or a fortnight at the outside, and give 2*s.* for the loan of it. The money is usually borrowed of the barrow, truck, and basket-lenders. The amount of capital required for carrying on the business of course depends on the trade done; but even in a small way, the utensils cost 1*l.* They consist of one fish-kettle and one soup-kettle, holding upon an average three gallons each; besides these, five basins and five cups and ten spoons are required, also a washhand basin to wash the cups, basins, and spoons in, and a board and tressel on which the whole stand. In a large way, it requires from 3*l.* to 4*l.* to fit up a handsome stall. For this the party would have "two fine kettles," holding about four gallons each, and two patent cast-iron fireplaces (the 1*l.* outfit only admits of the bottoms of two tin saucepans being used as fireplaces, in which charcoal is always burning to keep the eels and soup hot; the whelks are always eaten cold). The crockery and spoons would be in no way superior. A small dealer requires, over and above this sum, 10*s.* to go to market with and purchase stock, and the large dealer about 30*s.* The class of persons belonging to the business have either been bred to it, or taken to it through being out of work. Some have been disabled during their work, and have resorted to it to save themselves from the workhouse. The price of the hot eels is a halfpenny for five or seven pieces of fish, and three-parts of a cupfull of liquor. The charge for a half-pint of pea-soup is a halfpenny, and the whelks are sold, according to the size, from a halfpenny each to three or four for the same sum. These are put out in saucers.

The eels are Dutch, and are cleaned and washed, and cut in small pieces of from a half to an inch each. [The daughter of one of my informants was busily engaged, as I derived this information, in the cutting of the fish. She worked at a blood-stained board, with a pile of pieces on one side and a heap of entrails on the other.] The portions so cut are then boiled, and the liquor is thickened with flour and flavoured with chopped parsley and mixed spices. It is kept hot in the streets, and served out, as I have stated, in halfpenny cupfulls, with a small quantity of vinegar and pepper. The best purveyors add a little butter. The street-boys are extravagant in their use of vinegar.

To dress a draught of eels takes three hours—to clean, cut them up, and cook them sufficiently; and the cost is now 5*s.* 2*d.* (much lower in the summer) for the draught (the 2*d.* being the expense of "shoring"), 8*d.* for 4 lb. of flour to thicken the liquor, 2*d.* for the parsley to flavour it, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for the vinegar, spices, and pepper (about three quarts of vinegar and two ounces of pepper). This quantity, when dressed and seasoned, will fetch in halfpennyworths from 15*s.* to 18*s.* The profit upon this would be from 7*s.* to 9*s.* 6*d.*; but the cost of the charcoal has to be deducted, as well as the salt used while cooking. These two items amount to about 5*d.*

The pea-soup consists of split peas, celery, and beef bones. Five pints, at 3½*d.* a quart, are used to every three gallons; the bones cost 2*d.*, carrots 1*d.*, and celery ½*d.*—these cost 1*s.* 0½*d.*; and the pepper, salt, and mint, to season it, about 2*d.* This, when served in halfpenny basinfulls, will fetch from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*, leaving 1*s.* 1*d.* profit. But from this the expenses of cooking must be taken; so that the clear gain upon three gallons comes to about 11*d.* In a large trade, three kettles, or twelve gallons, of pea-soup will be disposed of in the day, and about four draughts, or 80 lbs., of hot eels on every day but Saturday,—when the quantity of eels disposed of would be about five draughts, or 100 lbs. weight, and about 15 gallons of pea-soup. Hence the profits of a good business in the hot-eel and pea-soup line united will be from 7*l.* to 7*l.* 10*s.* per week, or more. But there is only one man in London does this amount of business, or rather makes this amount of money. A small business will do about 15 lbs. of eels in the week, including Saturday, and about 12 gallons of soup. Sometimes credit is given for a halfpennyworth, or a pennyworth, at the outside; but very little is lost from bad debts. Boys who are partaking of the articles will occasionally say to the proprietor of the stall, "Well, master, they *are* nice; trust us another ha'-p'orth, and I'll pay you when I comes again;" but they are seldom credited, for the stall-keepers know well they would never see them again. Very often the stock cooked is not disposed of,

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and then it is brought home and eaten by the family. The pea-soup will seldom keep a night, but what is left the family generally use for supper.

The dealers go out about half-past ten in the morning, and remain out till about ten at night. Monday is the next best day to Saturday. The generality of the customers are boys from 12 to 16 years of age. Newsboys are very partial to hot eels—women prefer the pea-soup. Some of the boys will have as many as six halfpenny cupfulls consecutively on a Saturday night; and some women will have three halfpenny basins-full of soup. Many persons in the cold weather prefer the hot soup to beer. On wet, raw, chilly days, the soup goes off better than usual, and in fine weather there is a greater demand for the hot eels. One dealer assured me that he once *did* serve two gentlemen's servants with twenty-eight halfpenny cupfulls of hot eels one after another. One servant had sixteen, and the other twelve cupfulls, which they ate all at one standing; and one of these customers was so partial to hot eels, that he used to come twice a day every day for six months after that, and have eight cupfulls each day, four at noon and four in the evening. These two persons were the best customers my informant ever had. Servants, however, are not generally partial to the commodity. Hot eels are not usually taken for dinner, nor is pea-soup, but throughout the whole day, and just at the fancy of the passers-by. There are no shops for the sale of these articles. The dealers keep no accounts of what their receipts and expenditure are.

The best time of the year for the hot eels is from the middle of June to the end of August. On some days during that time a person in a small way of business will clear upon an average 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, on other days 1*s.*; on some days, during the month of August, as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* a day. Some cry out "Nice hot eels—nice hot eels!" or "Warm your hands and fill your bellies for a halfpenny." One man used to give his surplus eels, when he considered his sale completed on a night, to the poor creatures refused admission into a workhouse, lending them his charcoal fire for warmth, which was always returned to him. The poor creatures begged cinders, and carried the fire under a railway arch. The general rule, however, is for the dealer to be silent, and merely expose the articles for sale. "I likes better," said one man to me, "to touch up people's noses than their heyes or their hears." There are now in the trade almost more than can get a living at it, and their earnings are less than they were formerly. One party attributed this to the opening of a couple of penny-pie shops in his neighbourhood. Before then he could get 2*s.* 6*d.* a day clear, take one day with another; but since the establishment of the business in the penny-pie line he cannot take above 1*s.* 6*d.* a day clear. On the day the first of these pie-shops opened, it made as much as 10 lbs., or half a draught of eels, difference to him. There was a band of music and an illumination at the pie-shop, and it was impossible to stand against *that*. The fashionable dress of the trade is the "Jenny Lind" or "wide-awake" hat, with a broad black ribbon tied round it, and a white apron and sleeves. The dealers usually go to Hampton-court or Greenwich on a fine Sunday. They are partial to the pit of Astley's. One of them told his waterman at Billingsgate the other morning that "he and his good lady had been werry amused with the osses at Hashley's last night."

Of the Experience of a Hot-Eel and Pea-soup Man.

"I was a coalheaver," said one of the class to me, as I sat in his attic up a close court, watching his wife "thicken the liquor;" "I was a-going along the plank, from one barge to another, when the swell of some steamers throwed the plank off the 'horse,' and chucked me down, and broke my knee agin the side of the barge. Before that I was yarning upon an average my 20*s.* to 30*s.* a week. I was seven months and four days in King's College Hospital after this. I found they was a-doing me no good there, so I come out and went over to Bartholemy's Hospital. I was in there nineteen months altogether, and after that I was a month in Middlesex Hospital, and all on 'em turned me out oncurable. You see, the bone's decayed—four bits of bone have been taken from it. The doctor turned me out three times 'cause I wouldn't have it off. He asked my wife if she would give consent, but neither she nor my daughter would listen to it, so I was turned out on 'em all. How my family lived all this time it's hard to tell. My eldest boy did a little—got 3*s.* 6*d.* a week as an errand-boy, and my daughter was in service, and did a little for me; but that was all we had to live upon. There was six children on my hands, and however they *did* manage I can't say. After I came out of the hospital I applied to the parish, and was allowed 2*s.* 6*d.* a week and four loaves. But I was anxious to do something, so a master butcher, as I knowed, said he would get me 'a pitch' (the right to fix a stall), if I thought I could sit at a stall and sell a few things. I told him I thought I could, and would be very thankful for it. Well, I had heard how the man up in the market was making a fortune at the hot-eel and pea-soup line. [A paviour as left his barrow and two shovels with me told me to-day, said the man, by way of parenthesis — 'that he knowed for a fact he was clearing 6*l.* a week regular.'] So I thought I'd have a touch at the same thing. But you see, I never could rise money enough to get sufficient stock to make a do of it, and never shall, I expect—it don't seem like it, however. I ought to have 5*s.* to go to market with to-morrow, and I ain't got above 1*s.* 6*d.*; and what's that for stock-money, I'd like to know? Well, as I was saying, the master butcher lent me 10*s.* to

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start in the line. He was the best friend I ever had. But I've never been able to do anything at it—not to say to get a living." "He can't carry anything now, sir," said his wife, as the old man strove to get the bellows to warm up the large kettle of pea-soup that was on the fire. "Aye, I can't go without my crutch. My daughter goes to Billingsgate for me. I've got nobody else; and she cuts up the eels. If it warn't for her I must give it up altogether, and go into the workhouse outright. I couldn't fetch 'em. I ought to have been out to-night by rights till ten, if I'd had anything to have sold. My wife can't do much; she's troubled with the rheumatics in her head and limbs." "Yes," said the old body, with a sigh, "I'm never well, and never shall be again, I know." "Would you accept on a drop of soup, sir?" asked the man; "you're very welcome, I can assure you. You'll find it very good, sir." I told him I had just dined, and the poor old fellow proceeded with his tale. "Last week I earned clear about 8*s.*, and that's to keep six on us. I didn't pay no rent last week nor yet this, and I don't know when I shall again, if things goes on in this way. The week before there was a fast-day, and I didn't earn above 6*s.* that week, if I did that. My boy can't go to school. He's got no shoes nor nothing to go in. The girls go to the ragged-school, but we can't send them of a Sunday nowhere." "Other people can go," said one of the young girls nestling round the fire, and with a piece of sacking over her shoulders for a shawl—"them as has got things to go in; but mother don't like to let us go as we are." "She slips her mother's shoes on when she goes out. It would take 1*l.* to start me well. With that I could go to market, and buy my draught of eels a shilling cheaper, and I could afford to cut my pieces a little bigger; and people where they gets used well comes again—don't you see? I could have sold more eels if I'd had 'em to-day, and soup too. Why, there's four hours of about the best time to-night that I'm losing now 'cause I've nothing to sell. The man in the market can give more than we can. He gives what is called the lumping ha'p'orth—that is, seven or eight pieces; ah, that I daresay he does; indeed, some of the boys has told me he gives as many as eight pieces. And then the more eels you biles up, you see, the richer the liquor is, and in our little tin-pot way it's like biling up a great jint of meat in a hocean of water. In course we can't compete agin the man in the market, and so we're being ruined entirely. The boys very often comes and asks me if I've got a farden's-worth of heads. The woman at Broadway, they tells me, sells 'em at four a farden and a drop of liquor, but we chucks 'em away, there's nothing to eat on them; the boys though will eat anything."

In the hot-eel trade are now 140 vendors, each selling 6 lb. of eels daily at their stands; 60 sell 40 lb. daily; and 100 are itinerant, selling 5 lb. nightly at the public-houses. The first mentioned take 2*s.* daily; the second 16*s.*; and the third 1*s.* 8*d.* This gives a street expenditure in the trade in hot eels of 19,448*l.* for the year.

To start in this business a capital is required after this rate:—stall 6*s.*; basket 1*s.*; eel-kettle 3*s.* 6*d.*; jar 6*d.*; ladle 4*d.*; 12 cups 1*s.*; 12 spoons 1*s.*; stew-pan 2*s.*; chafing-dish 6*d.*; strainer 1*s.*; 8 cloths 2*s.* 8*d.*; a pair sleeves 4*d.*; apron 4*d.*; charcoal 2*s.* (4*d.* being an average daily consumption); ¼ cwt. coal 3½*d.*; ½ lb. butter (the weekly average) 4*d.*; 1 quartern flour 5*d.*; 4 oz. pepper 4*d.*; 1 quart vinegar 10*d.*; 1 lb. salt ½*d.*; 1 lb. candles for stall 6*d.*; parsley 3*d.*; stock-money 10*s.* In all 1*l.* 15*s.* In the course of a year the property which may be described as fixed, as in the stall, &c., and the expenditure daily occurring as for stock, butter, coal, according to the foregoing statement, amounts to 15,750*l.* The eels purchased for this trade at Billingsgate are 1,166,880 lb., costing, at 3*d.* per lb., 12,102*l.*

In the pea-soup trade there are now one half of the whole number of the hot-eel vendors; of whom 100 will sell, each 4 gallons daily; and of the remaining 50 vendors, each will sell upon an average 10 gallons daily. The first mentioned take 3*s.* daily; and the last 7*s.* 6*d.* This gives a street expenditure of 4,050*l.* during the winter season of five months.

To commence business in the street sale of pea-soup a capital is required after this rate: soup-kettle 4*s.*; peas 2*s.*; soup-ladle 6*d.*; pepper-box 1*d.*; mint-box 3*d.*; chafing-dish 6*d.*; 12 basons 1*s.*; 12 spoons 1*s.*; bones, celery, mint, carrots, and onions, 1*s.* 6*d.* In all 10*s.* 10*d.* The hot-eel trade being in conjunction with the pea-soup, the same stall, candles, towels, sleeves, and aprons, does for both, and the quantity of extra coal and charcoal; pepper and salt given in the summary of hot-eels serves in cooking, &c., both eels and pea-soup.

Of the Street-sellers of Pickled Whelks.

The trade in whelks is one of which the costermongers have the undisputed monopoly. The wholesale business is all transacted in Billingsgate, where this shell-fish is bought by the measure (a double peck or gallon), half-measure, or wash. A wash is four measures, and is the most advantageous mode of purchase; "It's so much cheaper by taking that quantity," I was told, "it's as good as having a half-measure in." An average price for the year may be 4*s.* the wash; "But I've given 21*s.* for three wash," said one costermonger, and he waxed indignant as he spoke, "one Saturday, when there was a great stock in too, just because there was a fair coming on on Monday, and the whelkmen, who are the biggest rogues in Billingsgate, always have the price up then, and hinder a poor man

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doing good—they've a great knack of that." A wash weighs about 60 lbs. On rare occasions it has been as low as 2*s.* 6*d.*, and even 1*s.* 6*d.*

About one-half of the whelks are sold alive (wholesale), and the other half "cooked" (boiled), some of the salesmen having "convenience for cooking" near the market; but they are all brought to London alive, "or what should be alive." When bought alive, which ensures a better quality, I was told—for "whelks'll boil after they're dead and gone, you see, sir, as if they was alive and hungry"—the costermonger boils them in the largest saucepan at his command for about ten minutes, and then leaves them until they cool. "They never kicks as they boils, like lobsters or crabs," said one whelk dealer, "they takes it quiet. A missionary cove said to me, 'Why don't you kill them first? it's murder.' *They* doesn't suffer; *I've* suffered more with a toothach than the whole of a measure of whelks has in a boiling, that I'm clear upon." The boiling is generally the work of the women. The next process is to place them in a tub, throw boiling water over them, and stir them up for ten or fifteen minutes with a broom-handle. If the quantity be a wash, two broom-handles, usually wielded by the man and his wife, are employed. This is both to clean them and "to make them come out easier to be wormed." The "worming" is equivalent to the removing of the beard of an oyster or mussel. The whelks are wormed one by one. The operator cuts into the fish, rapidly draws out the "worm," and pushes the severed parts together, which closes. The small whelks are not wormed, "because it's not reckoned necessary, and they're sold to poor lads and such like, that's not particular; but nearly all the women, and a good many of the boys, are very particular. They think the worm's poison." The whelks are next shaken in a tub, in cold water, and are then ready for sale. The same process, after the mere boiling, is observed, when the whelks are bought "cooked."

Some whelk-sellers, who wish to display a superior article, engage children for a few halfpence to rub the shell of every whelk, so that it looks clean and even bright.

I find a difficulty, common in the course of this inquiry, of ascertaining precisely the number of whelk-sellers, because the sale is often carried on simultaneously with that of other things, (stewed eels, for instance,) and because it is common for costermongers to sell whelks on a Saturday night only, both at stalls and "round to the public-houses," but only when they are cheap at Billingsgate. On a Saturday night there may be 300 whelk-sellers in the streets, nearly half at stalls, and half, or more, "working the public-houses." But of this number it must be understood that perhaps the wife is at the stall while the husband is on a round, and some whelks are sent out by a man having an extra stock. This, therefore, reduces the number of independent dealers, but not the actual number of sellers. On all other nights there may be half the number engaged in this traffic, in the streets regularly all the year; and more than half on a Monday, as regards the public-house business, in which little is done between Monday and Saturday nights. But a man will, in some instances, work the public-houses every night (the wife tending the stall), and the more assiduously if the weather be bad or foggy, when a public-house custom is the best. A fair week's earnings in whelks, "when a man's known," is 1*l.*; a bad week is from 5*s.* to 8*s.* I am assured that bad weeks are "as plenty as good, at least, the year round;" and thus the average to the street whelk-sellers, in whelks alone, is about 13*s.* when the trade is carried on daily and regularly, and 5*s.* a week by those who occasionally resort to it; and as the occasional hands are the more numerous, the average may be struck at 7*s.*

The whelks are sold at the stalls at two, three, four, six, and eight a penny, according to size. Four is an average pennyworth for good whelks; the six a penny are small, and the eight a penny very small. The principal place for their sale is in Old-street, City-road. The other principal places are the street-markets, which I have before particularised. The whelks are sold in saucers, generally small and white, and of common ware, and are contained in jars, ready to be "shelled" into any saucer that may have been emptied. Sometimes a small pyramid of shells, surmounted by a candle protected by a shade, attracts the regard of the passer-by. The man doing the best business in London was to be found, before the removals of which I have spoken, in Lambeth-walk, but he has now no fixed locality. His profits, I am informed, were regularly 3*l.* a week; but out of this he had to pay for the assistance of two or sometimes three persons, in washing his whelks, boiling them, &c.; besides that, his wife was as busy as himself. To the quality and cleanliness of his whelks he was very attentive, and would sell no mediocre article if better could be bought. "He deserved all he earned, sir," said another street-dealer to me; "why, in Old-street now they'll have the old original saucers, miserable things, such as they had fifty years back; but the man we're talking of, about two years ago, brought in very pretty plates, quite enterprising things, and they answered well. His example's spreading, but it's slowly." The whelks are eaten with vinegar and pepper.

For sale in the public-houses, the whelks are most frequently carried in jars, and transferred in a saucer to the consumer. "There's often a good sale," said a man familiar with the business, "when a public room's filled. People drinking there always want to eat. They buy whelks, not to fill themselves, but for a relish. A man that's used to the trade will often get off inferior sorts to the lushingtons; he'll have them to rights. Whelks is all the same, good, bad, or middling, when a man's drinking, if they're well seasoned with pepper and vinegar.

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Oh yes; any whelk-man will take in a drunken fellow, and he will do it all the same, if he's made up his mind to, get drunk hisself that very night."

The trade is carried on by the regular costers, but of the present number of whelk-sellers, about twenty have been mechanics or servants. The whelk-trade is an evening trade, commencing generally about six, summer and winter, or an hour earlier in winter.

The capital required to start in the whelk-business is: stall, 2*s.* 6*d.*; saucers, vinegar-bottle, jar, pepper-castor, and small watering-pan (used only in dusty weather), 2*s.* 6*d.*; a pair of stilts (supports for the stall), 1*s.* 6*d.*; stock-money, 5*s.*; pepper and vinegar, 6*d.*, or 12*s.* in all. If the trade be commenced in a round basket, for public-house sale, 7*s.* or 8*s.* only is required, but it is a hazardous experiment for a person unpractised in street business.

Of the Customers, etc., of Pickled Whelk-sellers.

An intelligent man gave me the following account. He had been connected with street-trading from his youth up, and is now about thirty:

"The chief customers for whelks, sir, are working people and poor people, and they prefer them to oysters; I do myself, and I think they're not so much eaten because they're not fashionable like oysters. But I've sold them to first-rate public-houses, and to doctors' shops—more than other shops, I don't know why—and to private houses. Masters have sent out their servant-maids to me for three or four penn'orths for supper. I've offered the maids a whelk, but they won't eat them in the street; I dare say they're afraid their young men may be about, and might think they wasn't ladies if they eat whelks in the street. Boys are the best customers for 'small,' but if you don't look sharp, you'll be done out of three-ha'porth of vinegar to a ha'porth of whelks. I can't make out why they like it so. They're particular enough in their way. If the whelks are thin, as they will be sometimes, the lads will say, 'What a lot of snails you've gathered to-night!' If they're plump and fine, then they'll say, 'Fat 'uns to-night—stunners!' Some people eat whelks for an appetite; they give me one, and more in summer than winter. The women of the town are good customers, at least they are in the Cut and Shoreditch, for I know both. If they have five-penn'orth, when they're treated perhaps, there's always sixpence. They come on the sly sometimes, by themselves, and make what's a meal, I'm satisfied, on whelks, and they'll want credit sometimes. I've given trust to a woman of that sort as far as 2*s.* 6*d.* I've lost very little by them; I don't know how much altogether. I keep no account, but carry any credit in my head. Those women's good pay, take it altogether, for they know how hard it is to get a crust, and have a feeling for a poor man, if they haven't for a rich one—that's my opinion, sir. Costermongers in a good time are capital customers; they'll buy five or six penn'orths at a time. The dust's a great injury to the trade in summer time; it dries the whelks up, and they look old. I wish whelks were cheaper at Billingsgate, and I could do more business; and I could do more if I could sell a few minutes after twelve on a Saturday night, when people must leave the public-house. I have sold three wash of a Saturday night, and cleared 15*s.* on them. I one week made 3*l.*, but I had a few stewed eels to help,—that is, I cleared 2*l.*, and had a pound's worth over on the Saturday night, and sent them to be sold—and they were sold—at Battersea on the Sunday; I never went there myself. I've had twenty people round my stall at one time on a Saturday. Perhaps my earnings on that (and other odd things) may come to 1*l.* a week, or hardly so much, the year round. I can't say exactly. The shells are no use. Boys have asked me for them 'to make sea-shells of,' they say — to hold them to their ears when they're big, and there's a sound like the sea rolling. Gentlemen have sometimes told me to keep a dozen dozen or twenty dozen, for borders to a garden. I make no charge for them—just what a gentleman may please to give.

The information given shows an outlay of 5,250*l.* yearly for street whelks, and as the return I have cited shows the money spent in whelks at Billingsgate to be 2,500*l.*, the number of whelks being 4,950,000, the account is correct, as the coster's usual "half-profits" make up the sum expended.

Of the Street Sellers, and of the Preparation of Fried Fish.

Among the cooked food which has for many years formed a portion of the street trade is fried fish. The sellers are about 350, as a maximum and 250 as a minimum, 300 being an average number. The reason of the variation in number is, that on a Saturday night, and occasionally on other nights, especially on Mondays, stall-keepers sell fried fish, and not as an ordinary article of their trade. Some men, too, resort to the trade for a time, when they cannot be employed in any way more profitable or suitable to them. The dealers in this article are, for the most part, old men and boys, though there may be 30 or 40 women who sell it, but only 3 or 4 girls, and they are the daughters of the men in the business as the women are the wives. Among the fried-fish sellers there are not half a dozen Irish people, although fish is so especial a part of the diet of the poor Irish. The men in the calling have been, as regards the great majority, mechanics or servants; none, I was told, had been fishmongers, or their assistants.

The fish fried by street dealers is known as "plaice dabs" and "sole dabs," which are merely plaice and soles, "dab" being a com-

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mon word for any flat fish. The fish which supplies upwards of one half the quantity fried for the streets is plaice; the other fishes used are soles, haddocks, whitings, flounders, and herrings, but very sparingly indeed as regards herrings. Soles are used in as large a quantity as the other kinds mentioned altogether. On my inquiry as to the precise quantity of each description fried, the answer from the traders was uniform: "I can't say, sir. I buy whatever's cheapest." The fish is bought at Billingsgate, but some of the street dealers obtain another and even a cheaper commodity than at that great mart. This supply is known in the trade as "friers," and consists of the overplus of a fishmonger's stock, of what he has not sold overnight, and does not care to offer for sale on the following morning, and therefore vends it to the costermongers, whose customers are chiefly among the poor. The friers are sometimes half, and sometimes more than half, of the wholesale price in Billingsgate. Many of the friers are good, but some, I was told, "in any thing like muggy or close weather were very queer fish, very queer indeed," and they are consequently fried with a most liberal allowance of oil, "which will conceal anything."

The fish to be fried is first washed and gutted; the fins, head, and tail are then cut off, and the trunk is dipped in flour and water, so that in frying, oil being always used, the skin will not be scorched by the, perhaps, too violent action of the fire, but merely browned. Pale rape oil is generally used. The sellers, however, are often twitted with using lamp oil, even when it is dearer than that devoted to the purpose. The fish is cooked in ordinary frying-pans. One tradesman in Cripplegate, formerly a costermonger, has on his premises a commodious oven which he had built for the frying, or rather baking, of fish. He supplies the small shopkeepers who deal in the article (although some prepare it themselves), and sells his fish retail also, but the street-sellers buy little of him, as they are nearly all "their own cooks." Some of the "illegitimates," however, lay in their stock by purchase of the tradesman in question. The fish is cut into portions before it is fried, and the frying occupies about ten minutes. The quantity prepared together is from six to twenty portions, according to the size of the pans; four dozen portions, or "pieces," as the street people call them, require a quart of oil.

The fried fish-sellers live in some out of the way alley, and not unfrequently in garrets; for among even the poorest class there are great objections to their being fellow-lodgers, on account of the odour from the frying. Even when the fish is fresh (as it most frequently is), and the oil pure, the odour is rank. In one place I visited, which was, moreover, admirable for cleanliness, it was very rank. The cooks, however, whether husbands or wives—for the women often attend to the pan—when they hear of this disagreeable rankness, answer that it may be so, many people say so; but for their parts they cannot smell it at all. The garments of the fried-fish sellers are more strongly impregnated with the smell of fish than were those of any "wet" or other fish-sellers whom I met with. Their residences are in some of the labyrinths of courts and alleys that run from Gray's-inn-lane to Leather-lane, and similar places between Fetter and Chancery-lanes. They are to be found, too, in the courts running from Cow-cross, Smithfield; and from Turnmill-street and Ray-street, Clerkenwell; also, in the alleys about Bishopsgate-street and the Kingsland-road, and some in the half-ruinous buildings near the Southwark and Borough-roads. None, or very few, of those who are their own cooks, reside at a greater distance than three miles from Billingsgate. A gin-drinking neighbourhood, one coster said, suits best, "for people hasn't their smell so correct there."

The sale is both on rounds and at stalls, the itinerants being twice as numerous as the stationary. The round is usually from public-house to public-house, in populous neighbourhoods. The itinerants generally confine themselves to the trade in fried fish, but the stall-keepers always sell other articles, generally fish of some kind, along with it. The sale in the public-houses is the greatest.

At the neighbouring races and fairs there is a great sale of fried fish. At last Epsom races, I was told, there were at least fifty purveyors of that dainty from London, half of them perhaps being costermongers, who speculated in it merely for the occasion, preparing it themselves. Three men joined in one speculation, expending 8*l.* in fish, and did well, selling at the usual profit of cent. per cent., but with the drawback of considerable expenses. Their customers at the races and fairs are the boys who hold horses or brush clothes, or who sell oranges or nuts, or push at roundabouts, and the costers who are there on business. At Epsom races there was plenty of bread, I was informed, to be picked up on the ground; it had been flung from the carriages after luncheon, and this, with a piece of fish, supplied a meal or "a relish" to hundreds.

In the public-houses, a slice of bread, 16 or 32 being cut from a quartern loaf—as they are whole or half slices—is sold or offered with the fish for a penny. The cry of the seller is, "fish and bread, a penny." Sometimes for an extra-sized piece, with bread, 2*d.* is obtained, but very seldom, and sometimes two pieces are given for 1½*d.* At the stalls bread is rarely sold with the edible in question.

For the itinerant trade, a neatly painted wooden tray, slung by a leathern strap from the neck, is used: the tray is papered over generally with clean newspapers, and on the paper is spread the shapeless brown lumps of fish. Parsley is often strewn over them, and a salt-box is placed at the discretion of the customer. The trays contain from two to five dozen pieces.

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THE BAKED POTATO MAN.

"Bakee 'taturs! All 'ot, all ot!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD]

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I understand that no one has a trade greatly in advance of his fellows. The whole body complain of their earnings being far less than was the case four or five years back.

The itinerant fried fish-sellers, when pursuing their avocation, wear generally a jacket of cloth or fustian buttoned round them, but the rest of their attire is hidden by the white sleeves and apron some wear, or by the black calico sleeves and dark woollen aprons worn by others.

The capital required to start properly in the business is:—frying-pan 2*s.* (second-hand 9*d.*); tray 2*s.* 6*d.* (second-hand 8*d.*); salt-box 6*d.* (second-hand 1*d.*); and stock-money 5*s.*—in all 10*s.* A man has gone into the trade, however, with 1*s.*, which he expended in fish and oil, borrowed a frying-pan, borrowed an old tea-board, and so started on his venture.

Of the Experience of a Fried Fish-seller, and of the Class of Customers.

The man who gave me the following information was well-looking, and might be about 45 or 50. He was poorly dressed, but his old brown surtout fitted him close and well, was jauntily buttoned up to his black satin stock, worn, but of good quality; and, altogether, he had what is understood among a class as "a *betterly* appearance about him." His statement, as well as those of the other vendors of provisions, is curious in its details of public-house vagaries:—

"I've been in the trade," he said, "seventeen years. Before that, I was a gentleman's servant, and I married a servant-maid, and we had a family, and, on that account, couldn't, either of us, get a situation, though we'd good characters. I was out of employ for seven or eight months, and things was beginning to go to the pawn for a living; but at last, when I gave up any hope of getting into a gentleman's service, I raised 10*s.*, and determined to try something else. I was persuaded, by a friend who kept a beer-shop, to sell oysters at his door. I took his advice, and went to Billingsgate for the first time in my life, and bought a peck of oysters for 2*s.* 6*d.* I was dressed respectable then—nothing like the mess and dirt I'm in now" [I may observe, that there was no dirt about him]; "and so the salesman laid it on, but I gave him all he asked. I know a deal better now. I'd never been used to open oysters, and I couldn't do it. I cut my fingers with the knife slipping all over them, and had to hire a man to open for me, or the blood from my cut fingers would have run upon the oysters. For all that, I cleared 2*s.* 6*d.* on that peck, and I soon got up to the trade, and did well; till, in two or three months, the season got over, and I was advised, by the same friend, to try fried fish. That suited me. I've lived in good families, where there was first-rate men-cooks, and I know what good cooking means. I bought a dozen plaice; I forget what I gave for them, but they were dearer then than now. For all that, I took between 11*s.* and 12*s.* the first night—it was Saturday—that I started; and I stuck to it, and took from 7*s.* to 10*s.* every night, with more, of course, on Saturday, and it was half of it profit then. I cleared a good mechanic's earnings at that time —30*s.* a week and more. Soon after, I was told that, if agreeable, my wife could have a stall with fried fish, opposite a wine-vaults just opened, and she made nearly half as much as I did on my rounds. I served the public-houses, and soon got known. With some landlords I had the privilege of the parlour, and tap-room, and bar, when other tradesmen have been kept out. The landlords will say to me still: '*You* can go in, Fishy.' Somehow, I got the name of 'Fishy' then, and I've kept it ever since. There was hospitality in those days. I've gone into a room in a public-house, used by mechanics, and one of them has said: 'I'll stand fish round, gentlemen;' and I've supplied fifteen penn'orths. Perhaps he was a stranger, such a sort of customer, that wanted to be agreeable. Now, it's more likely I hear: 'Jack, lend us a penny to buy a bit of fried;' and then Jack says: 'You be d—d! here, lass, let's have another pint.' The insults and difficulties I've had in the public-house trade is dreadful. I once sold 16*d.* worth to three rough-looking fellows I'd never seen before, and they seemed hearty, and asked me to drink with them, so I took a pull; but they wouldn't pay me when I asked, and I waited a goodish bit before I did ask. I thought, at first, it was their fun, but I waited from four to seven, and I found it was no fun. I felt upset, and ran out and told the policeman, but he said it was only a debt, and he couldn't interfere. So I ran to the station, but the head man there said the same, and told me I should hand over the fish with one hand, and hold out the other hand for my money. So I went back to the public-house, and asked for my money—and there was some mechanics that knew me there then—but I got nothing but '—— you's!' and one of 'em used most dreadful language. At last, one of the mechanics said: 'Muzzle him, Fishy, if he won't pay.' He was far bigger than me, him that was one in debt; but my spirit was up, and I let go at him and gave him a bloody nose, and the next hit I knocked him backwards, I'm sure I don't know how, on to a table; but I fell on him, and he clutched me by the coat-collar—I was respectable dressed then—and half smothered me. He tore the back of my coat, too, and I went home like Jim Crow. The potman and the others parted us, and they made the man give me 1*s.*, and the waiter paid me the other 4*d.*, and said he'd take his chance to get it—but he never got it. Another time I went into a bar, and there was a ball in the house, and one of the ball gents came down and gave my basket a kick without ever a word, and started the fish; and in a scuffle—he was a little fellow, but my master—I had this finger put out of joint—you can see that, sir, still—and was in the hospital a week from an injury to my leg; the tiblin bone was hurt, the doctors said" [the tibia.] "I've had my tray kicked over for a lark in a public-house, and a scramble for my

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fish, and all gone, and no help and no money for me. The landlords always prevent such things, when they can, and interfere for a poor man; but then it's done sudden, and over in an instant. That sort of thing wasn't the worst. I once had some powdery stuff flung sudden over me at a parlour door. My fish fell off, for I jumped, because I felt blinded, and what became of them I don't know; but I aimed at once for home—it was very late—and had to feel my way almost like a blind man. I can't tell what I suffered. I found it was something black, for I kept rubbing my face with my apron, and could just tell it came away black. I let myself in with my latch, and my wife was in bed, and I told her to get up and look at my face and get some water, and she thought I was joking, as she was half asleep; but when she got up and got a light, and a glass, she screamed, and said I looked such a shiny image; and so I did, as well as I could see, for it was black lead—such as they use for grates—that was flung on me. I washed it off, but it wasn't easy, and my face was sore days after. I had a respectable coat on then, too, which was greatly spoiled, and no remedy at all. I don't know who did it to me. I heard some one say: 'You're served out beautiful' Its men that calls themselves gentlemen that does such things. I know the style of them then—it was eight or ten years ago; they'd heard of Lord ——, and his goings on. That way it's better now, but worse, far, in the way of getting a living. I dare say, if I had dressed in rough corderoys, I shouldn't have been larked at so much, because they might have thought I was a regular coster, and a fighter; but I don't like that sort of thing—I like to be decent and respectable, if I can.

"I've been in the 'fried' trade ever since, except about three months that I tried the sandwiches. I didn't do so well in them, but it was a far easier trade; no carrying heavy weights all the way from Billingsgate: but I went back to the fried. Why now, sir, a good week with me—and I've only myself in the trade now" [he was a widower]—"is to earn 12*s.*, a poor week is 9*s.*; and there's as many of one as of the other. I'm known to sell the best of fish, and to cook it in the best style. I think half of us, take it round and round for a year, may earn as much as I do, and the other half about half as much. I think so. I might have saved money, but for a family. I've only one at home with me now, and he really *is* a good lad. My customers are public-house people that want a relish or a sort of supper with their beer, not so much to drinkers. I sell to tradesmen, too; 4*d.* worth for tea or supper. Some of them send to my place, for I'm known. The Great Exhibition can't be any difference to me. I've a regular round. I used to sell a good deal to women of the town, but I don't now. They haven't the money, I believe. Where I took 10*s.* of them, eight or ten years ago, I now take only 6*d.* They may go for other sorts of relishes now; I can't say. The worst of my trade is, that people must have as big penn'orths when fish is dear as when its cheap. I never sold a piece of fish to an Italian boy in my life, though they're Catholics. Indeed, I never saw an Italian boy spend a halfpenny in the streets on anything."

A working-man told me that he often bought fried fish, and accounted it a good to men like himself. He was fond of fried fish to his supper; he couldn't buy half so cheap as the street-sellers, perhaps not a quarter; and, if he could, it would cost him 1*d.* for dripping to fry the fish in, and he got it ready, and well fried, and generally good, for 1*d.*

Subsequent inquiries satisfied me that my informant was correct as to his calculations of his fellows' earnings, judging from his own. The price of plaice at Billingsgate is from ½*d.* to 2*d.* each, according to size (the fried fish purveyors never calculate by the weight), ¾*d.* being a fair average. A plaice costing 1*d.* will now be fried into four pieces, each 1*d.*; but the addition of bread, cost of oil, &c., reduces the "fried" peoples' profits to rather less than cent. per cent. Soles and the other fish are, moreover, 30 per cent. dearer than plaice. As 150 sellers make as much weekly as my informant, and the other 150 half that amount, we have an average yearly earning of 27*l.* 6*s.* in one case, and of 13*l.* 13*s.* in the other. Taking only 20*l.* a year as a medium earning, and adding 90 per cent for profit, the outlay on the fried fish supplied by London street-sellers is 11,400*l.*

Of the Preparation and Quantity of Sheep's Trotters, and of the Street-Sellers.

The sale of sheep's trotters, as a regular street-trade, is confined to London, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and a few more of our greater towns. The "trotter," as it is commonly called, is the boiled foot of the sheep. None of my readers can have formed any commensurate notion of the extent of the sale in London, and to some readers the very existence of such a comestible may be unknown. The great supply now required is readily attained. The wholesale trade is now in the hands of one fellmongering firm, though until within these twenty months or so there were two, and the feet are cut off the sheep-skins by the salesmen in the skin-market, in Bermondsey, and conveyed to the fellmonger's premises in carts and in trucks.

Sheep's trotters, one of my informants could remember, were sold in the streets fifty years ago, but in such small quantities that it could hardly be called a trade. Instead of being prepared wholesale as at present, and then sold out to the retailers, the trotters were then prepared by the individual retailers, or by small traders in tripe and cow-heel. Twenty-five years ago nearly all the sheep's trotters were "lined and prepared," when the skin came into the hands of the fellmonger, for the glue and size makers. Twenty years ago only about one-

twentieth of the trotters now prepared for eating were devoted to the same purpose; and it was not until about fifteen years back that the trade began to reach its present magnitude; and for the last twelve years it has been about stationary, but there were never more sold than last year.

From fifteen to twenty years ago glue and size, owing principally to improved modes of manufacture, became cheaper, so that it paid the fellmonger better to dispose of the trotters as an article "cooked" for the poor, than to the glue-boiler.

The process of cookery is carried on rapidly at the fellmonger's in question. The feet are first scalded for about half an hour. After that from ten to fifteen boys are employed in scooping out the hoofs, which are sold for manure or to manufacturers of Prussian blue, which is extensively used by painters. Women are then employed, forty being an average number, "to scrape the hair off,"—for hair it is called—quickly, but softly, so that the skin should not be injured, and after that the trotters are boiled for about four hours, and they are then ready for market.

The proprietor of this establishment, after he had obligingly given me the information I required, invited me to walk round his premises unaccompanied, and observe how the business was conducted. The premises are extensive, and are situated, as are nearly all branches of the great trade connected with hides and skins, in Bermondsey. The trotter business is kept distinct from the general fellmongering. Within a long shed are five coppers, each containing, on an average, 250 "sets," a set being the complement of the sheep's feet, four. Two of these coppers, on my visit, were devoted to the scalding, and three to the boiling of the trotters. They looked like what one might imagine to be witches' big caldrons; seething, hissing, boiling, and throwing forth a steam not peculiarly grateful to the nostrils of the uninitiated. Thus there are, weekly, "cooking" in one form or other, the feet of 20,000 sheep for the consumption of the poorer classes, or as a relish for those whose stomachs crave after edibles of this description. At one extremity of this shed are the boys, who work in a place open at the side, but the flues and fires make all parts sufficiently warm. The women have a place to themselves on the opposite side of the yard. The room where they work has forms running along its sides, and each woman has a sort of bench in front of her seat, on which she scrapes the trotters. One of the best of these workwomen can scrape 150 sets, or 600 feet in a day, but the average of the work is 500 sets a week, including women and girls. I saw no girls but what seemed above seventeen or eighteen, and none of the women were old. They were exceedingly merry, laughing and chatting, and appearing to consider that a listener was not of primary consequence, as they talked pretty much altogether. I saw none but what were decently dressed, some were good-looking, and none seemed sickly.

In this establishment are prepared, weekly, 20,000 sets, or 80,000 feet; a yearly average of 4,160,000 trotters, or the feet of 1,040,000 sheep. Of this quantity the street-folk buy seven-eighths; 3,640,000 trotters yearly, or 70,000 weekly. The number of sheep trotter-sellers may be taken at 300, which gives an average of nearly sixty sets a week per individual.

The wholesale price, at the "trotter yard," is five a penny, which gives an outlay by the street-sellers of 3,031*l.* 11*s.* yearly.

But this is not the whole of the trade. Lamb's trotters are also prepared, but only to one-twentieth of the quantity of sheep's trotters, and that for only three months of the year. These are all sold to the street-sellers. The lamb's foot is usually left appended to the leg and shoulder of lamb. It is weighed with the joint, but the butcher's man or boy will say to the purchaser: "Do you want the foot?" As the answer is usually in the negative, it is at once cut off and forms a "perquisite." There are some half dozen men, journeymen butchers not fully employed, who collect these feet, prepare and sell them to the street-people, but as the lamb's feet are very seldom as fresh as those of the sheep carried direct from the skin market to—so to speak—the great trotter kitchen, the demand for "lamb's" falls off yearly. Last year the sale may be taken at about 14,000 sets, selling, wholesale, at about 46*l.*, the same price as the sheep.

The sellers of trotters, who are stationary at publichouse and theatre doors, and at street corners, and itinerant, but itinerant chiefly from one public house to another are a wretchedly poor class. Three fourths of them are elderly women and children, the great majority being Irish people, and there are more boys than girls in the trade. The capital required to start in the business is very small. A hand basket of the larger size costs 1*s.* 9*d.*, but smaller or second-hand only 1*s.*, and the white cotton cloth on which the trotters are displayed costs 4*d.* or 6*d.*; stock-money need not exceed 1*s.*, so that 3*s.* is all that is required. This is one reason, I heard from several trotter-sellers, why the business is over-peopled.

Statements of Sheep's Trotter Women.

From one woman, who, I am assured, may be taken as a fair type of the better class of trotter-sellers—some of the women being sottish and addicted to penn'orths of gin beyond their means—I had the following statement. I found her in the top room of a lofty house in Clerkenwell. She was washing when I called, and her son, a crippled boy of 16, with his crutch by his side, was cleaning knives, which he had done for many months for a family in the neighbourhood, who paid for his labour in what the mother pronounced better than money—broken victuals, because they were of such good, wholesome quality. The room, which

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is of a good size, had its red-brown plaster walls, stained in parts with damp, but a great portion was covered with the cheap engravings "given away with No. 6" (or any other number) of some periodical "of thrilling interest;" while the narrow mantel-shelf was almost covered with pot figures of dumpy men, red-breeched and blue-coated, and similar ornaments. I have often noted such attempts to subdue, as it were, the grimness of poverty, by the poor who had "seen better days." The mother was tall and spare, and the boy had that look of premature sedateness, his face being of a sickly hue, common to those of quiet dispositions, who have been afflicted from their childhood:—

"I'm the widow of a sawyer, sir," said Mrs. ——, with a very slight brogue, for she was an Irishwoman, "and I've been a widow 18 long years. I'm 54, I believe, but that 18 years seems longer than all the rest of my life together. My husband earned hardly ever less than 30*s.* a week, sometimes 3*l.*, and I didn't know what pinching was. But I was left destitute with four young children, and had to bring them up as well as I could, by what I could make by washing and charing, and a hard fight it was. One of my children went for a soldier, one's dead, another's married, and that's the youngest there. Ah! poor fellow, what he's gone through! He's had 18 abscesses, one after another, and he has been four times in Bartholomew's. There's only God above to help him when I'm gone. My health broke six years ago, and I couldn't do hard work in washing, and I took to trotter selling, because one of my neighbours was in that way, and told me how to go about it. My son sells trotters too; he always sits at the corner of this street. I go from one public-house to another, and sometimes stand at the door, or sit inside, because I'm known and have leave. But I can't either sit, or stand, or walk long at a time, I'm so rheumatic. No, sir, I can't say I was ever badly insulted in a public-house; but I only go to those I know. Others may be different. We depend mostly on trotters, but I have a shilling and my meat, for charing, a day in every week. I've tried 'winks and whelks too, 'cause I thought they might be more in my pocket than trotters, but they don't suit a poor woman that's begun a street-trade when she's not very young. And the trotters can be carried on with so little money. It's not so long ago that I've sold three-penn'orth of trotters—that is, him and me has—pretty early in the evening; I'd bought them at Mr. ——'s, in Bermondsey, in the afternoon, for we can buy three penn'orth, and I walked there again—perhaps it's four miles there and back—and bought another 3*d.* worth. The first three-pence was all I could rise. It's a long weary way for me to walk, but some walk from Poplar and Limehouse. If I lay out 2*s.* on the Saturday—there's 15 sets for 1*s.*, that's 60 trotters—they'll carry us on to Monday night, and sometimes, if they'll keep, to Tuesday night. Sometimes I could sell half-a-crown's worth in less time. I have to go to Bermondsey three or four times a week. The trade was far better six years ago, though trotters were dearer then, only 13 sets 1*s.*, then 14, now 15. For some very few, that's very fine and very big, I get a penny a piece; for some I get 1½*d.* for two; the most's ½*d.* each; some's four for 1½*d.*; and some I have to throw into the dust-hole. The two of us earns 5*s.* a week on trotters, not more, I'm sure. I sell to people in the public-houses; some of them may be rather the worse for drink, but not so many; regular drunkards buys nothing but drink. I've sold them too to steady, respectable gentlemen, that's been passing in the street, who put them in their pockets for supper. My rent's 1*s.* a week."

I then had some conversation with the poor lad. He'd had many a bitter night, he told me, from half-past five to twelve, for he knew there was no breakfast for his mother and him if he couldn't sell some trotters. He had a cry sometimes. He didn't know any good it did him, but he couldn't help it. The boys gathered round him sometimes, and teased him, and snatched at his crutch; and the policeman said that he must make him "move on," as he encouraged the boys about him. He didn't like the boys any more than they were fond of the policemen. He had often sad thoughts as he sat with his trotters before him, when he didn't cry; he wondered if ever he would be better off; but what could he do? He could read, but not write; he liked to read very well when he had anything to read. His mother and he never missed mass.

Another old woman, very poorly, but rather tidily dressed, gave me the following account, which shows a little of public-house custom:—

"I've seen better days, sir, I have indeed; I don't like to talk about that, but now I'm only a poor sheep's trotter seller, and I've been one a good many years. I don't know how long, and I don't like to think about it. It's a shocking bad trade, and such insults as we have to put up with. I serve some public-houses, and I stand sometimes at a playhouse-door. I make 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* a week, and in a very good week 4*s.*, but, then, I sometimes make only 2*s.* I'm infirm now, God help me! and I can do nothing else. Another old woman and me has a room between us, at 1*s.* 4*d.* a week. Mother 's the best name I'm called in a public-house, and it ain't a respectable name. 'Here, mother, give us one of your b— trotters,' is often said to me. One customer sometimes says: 'The stuff'll choke me, but that's as good as the Union.' *He* ain't a bad man, though. He sometimes treats me. He'll bait my trotters, but that's his larking way, and then he'll say:

'A pennorth o' gin,
'll make your old body spin.'

It's his own poetry, he says. I don't know what he is, but he's often drunk, poor fellow. Women's far worse to please than men. I've known a woman buy a trotter, put her teeth into it, and then say it wasn't good, and return it. It wasn't paid for when she did so, and be-

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cause I grumbled, I was abused by her, as if I'd been a Turk. The landlord interfered, and he said, said he, 'I'll not have this poor woman insulted; she's here for the convenience of them as requires trotters, and she's a well-conducted woman, and I'll not have her insulted,' he says, says he, lofty and like a gentleman, sir. 'Why, who's insulting the old b—h?' says the woman, says she. 'Why, you are,' says the landlord, says he, 'and you ought to pay her for her trotter, or how is she to live?' 'What the b— h—ll do I care how she lives,' says the woman, 'its nothing to me, and I won't pay her.' 'Then I will,' says the landlord, says he, 'here's 6*d*.,' and he wouldn't take the change. After that I soon sold all my trotters, and some gave me double price, when the landlord showed himself such a gentleman, and I went out and bought nine trotters more, another woman's stock, that she was dreading she couldn't sell, and I got through them in no time. It was the best trotter night I ever had. She wasn't a woman of the town as used me so. I have had worse sauce from modest women, as they called themselves, than from the women of the town, for plenty of *them* knows what poverty is, and is civiler, poor things—yes, I'm sure of that, though it's a shocking life—O, shocking! I never go to the playhouse-door but on a fine night. Young men treats their sweethearts to a trotter, for a relish, with a drop of beer between the acts. Wet nights is the best for public-houses. 'They're not salt enough,' has been said to me, oft enough, 'they don't make a man thirsty.' It'll come to the workhouse with me before long, and, perhaps, all the better. It's warm in the public-house, and that draws me to sell my trotters there sometimes. I live on fish and bread a good deal."

The returns I collected show that there is expended yearly in London streets on trotters, calculating their sale, retail, at ½*d*. each, 6,500*l*., but though the regular price is ½*d*., some trotters are sold at four for 1½*d*., very few higher than ½*d*., and some are kept until they are unsaleable, so that the amount may be estimated at 6,000*l*., a receipt of 7*s*. 6*d*. weekly, per individual seller, rather more than one-half of which sum is profit.

Of the Street Trade in Baked Potatoes.

The *baked potato trade*, in the way it is at present carried on, has not been known more than fifteen years in the streets. Before that, potatoes were sometimes roasted as chestnuts are now, but only on a small scale. The trade is more profitable than that in fruit, but continues for but six months of the year.

The potatoes, for street-consumption, are bought of the greengrocers, at the rate of 5*s*. 6*d*. the cwt. They are usually a large-sized "fruit," running about two or three to the pound. The kind generally bought is what are called the "French Regent's." French potatoes are greatly used now, as they are cheaper than the English. The potatoes are picked, and those of a large size, and with a rough skin, selected from the others, because they are the mealiest. A waxy potato shrivels in the baking. There are usually from 280 to 300 potatoes in the cwt.; these are cleaned by the huckster, and, when dried, taken in baskets, about a quarter cwt. at a time, to the baker's, to be cooked. They are baked in large tins, and require an hour and a half to do them well. The charge for baking is 9*d*. the cwt., the baker usually finding the tins. They are taken home from the bakehouse in a basket, with a yard and a half of green baize in which they are covered up, and so protected from the cold. The huckster then places them in his can, which consists of a tin with a half-lid; it stands on four legs, and has a large handle to it, while an iron fire-pot is suspended immediately beneath the vessel which is used for holding the potatoes. Directly over the fire-pot is a boiler for hot water. This is concealed within the vessel, and serves to keep the potatoes always hot. Outside the vessel where the potatoes are kept is, at one end, a small compartment for butter and salt, and at the other end another compartment for fresh charcoal. Above the boiler, and beside the lid, is a small pipe for carrying off the steam. These potato-cans are sometimes brightly polished, sometimes painted red, and occasionally brass-mounted. Some of the handsomest are all brass, and some are highly ornamented with brass-mountings. Great pride is taken in the cans. The baked-potato man usually devotes half an hour to polishing them up, and they are mostly kept as bright as silver. The handsomest potato-can is now in Shoreditch. It cost ten guineas, and is of brass mounted with German silver. There are three lamps attached to it, with coloured glass, and of a style to accord with that of the machine; each lamp cost 5*s*. The expense of an ordinary can, tin and brass-mounted, is about 50*s*. They are mostly made by a tinman in the Ratcliffe-highway. The usual places for these cans to stand are the principal thoroughfares and street-markets. It is considered by one who has been many years at the business, that there are, taking those who have regular stands and those who are travelling with their cans on their arm, at least two hundred individuals engaged in the trade in London. There are three at the bottom of Farringdon-street, two in Smithfield, and three in Tottenham-court-road (the two places last named are said to be the best 'pitches' in all London), two in Leather-lane, one on Holborn-hill, one at King's-cross, three at the Brill, Somers-town, three in the New-cut, three in Covent-garden (this is considered to be on market-days the second-best pitch), two at the Elephant and Castle, one at Westminster-bridge, two at the top of Edgeware-road, one in St. Martin's-lane, one in Newport-market, two at the upper end of Oxford-street, one in Clare-market, two in Regent-street, one

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in Newgate-market, two at the Angel, Islington, three at Shoreditch church, four about Rosemary-lane, two at Whitechapel, two near Spitalfields-market, and more than double the above number wandering about London. Some of the cans have names—as the "Royal Union Jack" (engraved in a brass plate), the "Royal George," the "Prince of Wales," the "Original Baked Potatoes," and the "*Old* Original Baked Potatoes."

The business begins about the middle of August and continues to the latter end of April, or as soon as the potatoes get to any size,—until they are pronounced 'bad.' The season, upon an average, lasts about half the year, and depends much upon the weather. If it is cold and frosty, the trade is brisker than in wet weather; indeed then little is doing. The best hours for business are from half-past ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, and from five in the evening till eleven or twelve at night. The night trade is considered the best. In cold weather the potatoes are frequently bought to warm the hands. Indeed, an eminent divine classed them, in a public speech, among the best of modern improvements, it being a cheap luxury to the poor wayfarer, who was benumbed in the night by cold, and an excellent medium for diffusing warmth into the system, by being held in the gloved hand. Some buy them in the morning for lunch and some for dinner. A newsvender, who had to take a hasty meal in his shop, told me he was "always glad to hear the baked-potato cry, as it made a dinner of what was only a snack without it." The best time at night, is about nine, when the potatoes are purchased for supper.

The customers consist of all classes. Many gentlefolks buy them in the street, and take them home for supper in their pockets; but the working classes are the greatest purchasers. Many boys and girls lay out a halfpenny in a baked potato. Irishmen are particularly fond of them, but they are the worst customers, I am told, as they want the largest potatoes in the can. Women buy a great number of those sold. Some take them home, and some eat them in the street. Three baked potatoes are as much as will satisfy the stoutest appetite. One potato dealer in Smithfield is said to sell about 2½ cwt. of potatoes on a market-day; or, in other words, from 900 to 1,000 potatoes, and to take upwards of 2*l*. One informant told me that he himself had often sold 1½ cwt. of a day, and taken 1*l*. in halfpence. I am informed, that upon an average, taking the good stands with the bad ones throughout London, there are about 1 cwt. of potatoes sold by each baked-potato man—and there are 200 of these throughout the metropolis—making the total quantity of baked potatoes consumed every day 10 tons. The money spent upon these comes to within a few shillings of 125*l*. (calculating 300 potatoes to the cwt., and each of those potatoes to be sold at a halfpenny). Hence, there are 60 tons of baked potatoes eaten in London streets, and 750*l*. spent upon them every week during the season. Saturdays and Mondays are the best days for the sale of baked potatoes in those parts of London that are not near the markets; but in those in the vicinity of Clare, Newport, Covent-garden, Newgate, Smithfield, and other markets, the trade is briskest on the market-days. The baked-potato men are many of them broken-down tradesmen. Many are labourers who find a difficulty of obtaining employment in the winter time; some are costermongers; some have been artisans; indeed, there are some of all classes among them.

After the baked potato season is over, the generality of the hucksters take to selling strawberries, raspberries, or anything in season. Some go to labouring work. One of my informants, who had been a bricklayer's labourer, said that after the season he always looked out for work among the bricklayers, and this kept him employed until the baked potato season came round again.

"When I first took to it," he said, "I was very badly off. My master had no employment for me; and my brother was ill, and so was my wife's sister, and I had no way of keeping 'em, or myself either. The labouring men are mostly out of work in the winter time, so I spoke to a friend of mine, and he told me how he managed every winter, and advised me to do the same. I took to it, and have stuck to it ever since. The trade was much better then. I could buy a hundred-weight of potatoes for 1*s*. 9*d*. to 2*s*. 3*d*., and there were fewer to sell them. We generally use to a cwt. of potatoes three-quarters of a pound of butter—tenpenny salt butter is what we buy—a pennyworth of salt, a pennyworth of pepper, and five pennyworth of charcoal. This, with the baking, 9*d*., brings the expenses to just upon 7*s*. 6*d*. per cwt., and for this our receipts will be 12*s*. 6*d*., thus leaving about 5*s*. per cwt. profit." Hence the average profits of the trade are about 30*s*. a week—"and more to some," said my informant. A man in Smithfield-market, I am credibly informed, clears at the least 3*l*. a week. On the Friday he has a fresh basket of hot potatoes brought to him from the baker's every quarter of an hour. Such is his custom that he has not even time to take money, and his wife stands by his side to do so.

Another potato-vender who shifted his can, he said, "from a public-house where the tap dined at twelve," to another half-a-mile off, where it "dined at one, and so did the parlour," and afterwards to any place he deemed best, gave me the following account of his customers:—

"Such a day as this, sir [Jan. 24], when the fog's like a cloud come down, people looks very shy at my taties, very; they've been more suspicious ever since the taty rot. I thought I should never have rekivered it; never, not the rot. I sell most to mechanics—I was a grocer's porter myself before I was a baked taty—for their dinners, and they're on for good shops

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where I serves the taps and parlours, and pays me without grumbling, like gentlemen. Gentlemen does grumble though, for I've sold to them at private houses when they've held the door half open as they've called me—aye, and ladies too—and they've said, 'Is *that* all for 2*d.*?' If it 'd been a peck they'd have said the same, I know. Some customers is very pleasant with me, and says I'm a blessing. One always says he'll give me a ton of taties when his ship comes home, 'cause he can always have a hot murphy to his cold saveloy, when tin's short. He's a harness-maker, and the railways has injured him. There's Union-street and there's Pearl-row, and there's Market-street, now,—they're all off the Borough-road—if I go there at ten at night or so, I can sell 3*s.* worth, perhaps, 'cause they know me, and I have another baked taty to help there sometimes. They're women that's not reckoned the best in the world that buys there, but they pay me. I know why I got my name up. I had luck to have good fruit when the rot was about, and they got to know me. I only go twice or thrice a week, for it's two miles from my regular places. I've trusted them sometimes. They've said to me, as modest as could be, 'Do give me credit, and 'pon my word you shall be paid; there's a dear!' I am paid mostly. Little shopkeepers is fair customers, but I do best for the taps and the parlours. Perhaps I make 12*s.* or 15*s.* a week—I hardly know, for I've only myself and keep no 'count —for the season; money goes one can't tell how, and 'specially if you drinks a drop, as I do sometimes. Foggy weather drives me to it, I'm so worritted; that is, now and then, you'll mind, sir."

There are, at present, 300 vendors of hot baked potatoes getting their living in the streets of London, each of whom sell, upon an average, ¾ cwt. of potatoes daily. The average takings of each vendor is 6*s.* a day; and the receipts of the whole number throughout the season (which lasts from the latter end of September till March inclusive), a period of 6 months, is 14,000*l.*

A capital is required to start in this trade as follows:—can, 2*l.*; knife, 3*d.*; stock-money, 8*s.*; charge for baking 100 potatoes, 1*s.*; charcoal, 4*d.*; butter, 2*d.*; salt, 1*d.*, and pepper, 1*d.*; altogether, 2*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* The can and knife is the only property described as fixed, stock-money, &c., being daily occurring, amounts to 75*l.* during the season.

Of "Trotting," or "Hawking" Butchers.

These two appellations are, or have been, used somewhat confusedly in the meat trade. Thirty, or forty, or fifty years ago—for each term was mentioned to me—the butcher in question was a man who went "trotting" on his small horse to the mere distant suburbs to sell meat. This was when the suburbs, in any direction, were "not built up to" as they are now, and the appearance of the trotting butcher might be hailed as saving a walk of a mile, or a mile and a half, to a butcher's shop, for only tradesmen of a smaller capital then opened butcher's shops in the remoter suburbs. For a suburban butcher to send round "for orders" at that period would have occupied too much time, for a distance must be traversed; and to have gone, or sent, on horseback, would have entailed the keeping or hiring of a horse, which was in those days an expensive matter. One butcher who told me that he had known the trade, man and boy, for nearly fifty years, said: "As to 'trotting,' a small man couldn't so well do it, for if 20*l.* was offered for a tidy horse in the war time it would most likely be said, 'I'll get more for it in the cavaldry—for it was often called cavaldry then—there's better plunder there.' (*Plunder*, I may explain, is a common word in the horse trade to express *profit*.) So it wasn't so easy to get a horse." The trotting butchers were then men sent or going out from the more frequented parts to supply the suburbs, but in many cases only when a tradesman was "hung up" with meat. They carried from 20 to 100 lb. of meat generally in one basket, resting on the pommel of the saddle, and attached by a long leathern strap to the person of the "trotter." The trade, however, was irregular and, considering the expenses, little remunerative; neither was it extensive, but what might be the extent I could not ascertain. There then sprung up the class of butchers—or rather the class became greatly multiplied—who sent their boys or men on fast trotting horses to take orders from the dwellers in the suburbs, and even in the streets, not suburbs, which were away from the shop thoroughfares, and afterwards to deliver the orders—still travelling on horseback—at the customer's door. This system still continues, but to nothing like its former extent, and as it does not pertain especially to the street-trade I need not dwell upon it at present, nor on the competition that sprung up as to "trotting butcher's ponies,"—in the "matching" of which "against time" sporting men have taken great interest.

Of "trotting" butchers, keeping their own horses, there are now none, but there are still, I am told, about six of the class who contrive, by hiring, or more frequently borrowing, horses of some friendly butcher, to live by trotting. These men are all known, and all call upon known customers—often those whom they have served in their prosperity, for the trotting butcher is a "reduced" man—and are not likely to be succeeded by any in the same line, or—as I heard it called—"ride" of business. These traders not subsisting exactly upon street traffic, or on any adventure depending upon door by door, or street by street, commerce, but upon a *connection* remaining from their having been in business on their own accounts, need no further mention.

The present class of street-traders in raw meat are known to the trade as "hawking"

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butchers, and they are as thoroughly street-sellers as are the game and poultry "hawkers." Their number, I am assured, is never less than 150, and sometimes 200 or even 250. They have all been butchers, or journeymen butchers, and are broken down in the one case, or unable to obtain work in the other. They then "watch the turn of the markets," as small meat "jobbers," and—as on the Stock Exchange—"invest," when they account the market at the lowest. The meat so purchased is hawked in a large basket carried on the shoulders, if of a weight too great to be sustained in a basket on the arm. The sale is confined almost entirely to public-houses, and those at no great distance from the great meat marts of Newgate, Leadenhall, and Whitechapel. The hawkers do not go to the suburbs. Their principal trade is in pork and veal,—for those joints weigh lighter, and present a larger surface in comparison with the weight, than do beef or mutton. The same may be said of lamb; but of that they do not buy one quarter so much as of pork or veal.

The hawking butcher bought his meat last year at from 2½*d.* to 5½*d.* the pound, according to kind and quality. He seldom gave 6*d.*, even years ago, when meat was dearer; for it is difficult—I was told by one of these hawkers—to get more than 6*d.* per lb. from chance customers, no matter what the market price. "If I ask 7½*d.* or 7*d.*," he said, "I'm sure of one answer—'Nonsense!' I never goes no higher nor 6*d.*'" Sometimes—and especially if he can command credit for two or three days—the hawking butcher will buy the whole carcass of a sheep. If he reside near the market, he may "cut it up" in his own room; but he can generally find the necessary accommodation at some friendly butcher's block. If the weather be "bad for keeping," he will dispose of a portion of the carcass to his brother-hawkers; if cold, he will persevere in hawking the whole himself. He usually, however, buys only a hind or forequarter of mutton, or other meat, except beef, which he buys by the joint, and more sparingly than he buys any other animal food. The hawker generally has his joints weighed before he starts, and can remember the exact pounds and ounces of each, but the purchasers generally weigh them before payment; or, as one hawker expressed it, "They goes to the scales before they come to the tin."

Many of these hawkers drink hard, and, being often men of robust constitution, until the approach of age, can live "hard,"—as regards lodging, especially. One hawker I heard of slept in a slaughter-house, on the bare but clean floor, for nearly two years: "But that was seven years ago, and no butcher would allow it now."

Of the Experience of a Hawking Butcher.

A middle-aged man, the front of his head being nearly bald, and the few hairs there were to be seen shining strongly and lying flat, as if rubbed with suet or dripping, gave me the following account. He was dressed in the usual blue garb of the butcher:—

"I've hawked, sir—well, perhaps for fifteen years. My father was a journeyman butcher, and I helped him, and so grew up to it. I never had to call regular work, and made it out with hawking. Perhaps I've hawked, take it altogether, nearly three quarters of every year. The other times I've had a turn at slaughtering. But I haven't slaughtered for these three or four years; I've had turns as a butcher's porter, and wish I had more, as it's sure browns, if it's only 1*s.* 6*d.* a day: but there's often a bit of cuttings. I sell most pork of anything in autumn and winter, and most mutton in summer; but the summer isn't much more than half as good as the winter for my trade. When I slaughtered I had 3*s.* for an ox, 4*d.* for a sheep, and 1*s.* for a pig. Calves is slaughtered by the master's people generally. Well, I dare say it *is* cruel the way they slaughter calves; you would think it so, no doubt. I believe they slaughter cheaper now. If I buy cheap—and on a very hot day and a slow market, I have bought a fore, aye, and a hind, quarter of mutton, about two and a half stone each (8 lbs. to the stone), at 2*d.* a pound; but that's only very, very seldom—when I buy cheap sir, I aim at 2*d.* a pound over what I give, if not so cheap at 1*d.*, and then its low to my customers. But I cut up the meat, you see, myself, and I carry it. I sell eight times as much to public-houses and eating-houses as anywhere else; most to the publics if they've ordinaries, and a deal for the publics' families' eating, 'cause a landlord knows I wouldn't deceive *him*,—and there's a part of it taken out in drink, of course, and landlords is good judges. Trade was far better years back. I've heard my father and his pals talk about a hawking butcher that twenty years ago was imprisoned falsely, and got a honest lawyer to bring his haction, and had 150*l.* damages for false imprisonment. It was in the Lord Mayor's Court of Equity, I've heard. It was a wrong arrest. I don't understand the particulars of it, but it's true; and the damages was for loss of time and trade. I'm no lawyer myself; not a bit. I have sold the like of a loin of mutton, when it was small, in a tap-room, to make chops for the people there. They'll cook chops and steaks for a pint of beer, at a public; that is, you must order a pint—but I've sold it very seldom. When mutton was dearer it was easier to sell it that way, for I sold cheap; and at one public the mechanics—I hardly know just what they was, something about building—used to gather there at one o'clock and wait for Giblets'; so they called me there. I live a good bit on the cuttings of the meat I hawk, or I chop a meal off if I can manage or afford it, or my wife—(I've only a wife and she earns never less than 2*s.* a week in washing for a master butcher—I wish I was a master butcher,—and that covers the rent)—

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my wife makes it into broth. Take it all the year round, I s'pose I sell three stun a day (24 lb.), and at 1*d.* a pound profit. Not a farthing more go round and round. I don't think the others, altogether, do as much, for I'm known to a many landlords. But some make 3*s.* and 4*s.* a day oft enough. I've made as much myself sometimes. We all aim at 1*d.* a pound profit, but have to take less in hot weather sometimes. Last year 4*d.* the pound has been a haverage price to me for all sorts."

"Dead salesmen," as they are called—that is, the market salesmen of the meat sent so largely from Scotland and elsewhere, ready slaughtered —expressed to me their conviction that my informant's calculation was correct, and might be taken as an average; so did butchers. Thus, then, we find that the hawking butchers, taking their number at 150, sell 747,000 lbs. of meat, producing 12,450*l.* annually, one-fourth being profit; this gives an annual receipt of 83*l.* each, and an annual earning of 20*l.* 15*s.* The capital required to start in this trade is about 20*s.*, which is usually laid out as follows:—A basket for the shoulders, which costs 4*s.* 6*d.*; a leathern strap, 1*s.*; a basket for the arm, 2*s.* 6*d.*; a butcher's knife, 1*s.*; a steel, 1*s.* 6*d.*; a leather belt for the waist to which the knife is slung, 6*d.*; a chopper, 1*s.* 6*d.*; and a saw, 2*s.*; 6*s.* stock-money, though credit is sometimes given.

Of the Street-sellers of Ham-Sandwiches.

The ham-sandwich-seller carries his sandwiches on a tray or flat basket, covered with a clean white cloth; he also wears a white apron, and white sleeves. His usual stand is at the doors of the theatres.

The trade was unknown until eleven years ago, when a man who had been unsuccessful in keeping a coffee-shop in Westminster, found it necessary to look out for some mode of living, and he hit upon the plan of vending sandwiches, precisely in the present style, at the theatre doors. The attempt was successful; the man soon took 10*s.* a night, half of which was profit. He "attended" both the great theatres, and was "doing well;" but at five or six weeks' end, competitors appeared in the field, and increased rapidly, and so his sale was affected, people being regardless of his urging that he "was the original ham-sandwich." The capital required to start in the trade was small; a few pounds of ham, a proportion of loaves, and a little mustard was all that was required, and for this 10*s.* was ample. That sum, however, could not be commanded by many who were anxious to deal in sandwiches; and the man who commenced the trade supplied them at 6*d.* a dozen, the charge to the public being 1*d.* a-piece. Some of the men, however, murmured, because they thought that what they thus bought were not equal to those the wholesale sandwich-man offered for sale himself; and his wholesale trade fell off, until now, I am told, he has only two customers among street-sellers.

Ham sandwiches are made from any part of the bacon which may be sufficiently lean, such as "the gammon," which now costs 4*d.* and 5*d.* the pound. It is sometimes, but very rarely, picked up at 3½*d.* When the trade was first started, 7*d.* a pound was paid for the ham, but the sandwiches are now much larger. To make three dozen a pound of meat is required, and four quartern loaves. The "ham" may cost 5*d.*, the bread 1*s.* 8*d.* or 1*s.* 10*d.*, and the mustard 1*d.* The proceeds for this would be 3*s.*, but the trade is very precarious: little can be done in wet weather. If unsold, the sandwiches spoil, for the bread gets dry, and the ham loses its fresh colour; so that those who depend upon this trade are wretchedly poor. A first-rate week is to clear 10*s.*; a good week is put at 7*s.*; and a bad week at 3*s.* 6*d.* On some nights they do not sell a dozen sandwiches. There are halfpenny sandwiches, but these are only half the size of those at a penny.

The persons carrying on this trade have been, for the most part, in some kind of service—errand-boys, pot-boys, foot-boys (or pages), or lads engaged about inns. Some few have been mechanics. Their average weekly earnings hardly exceed 5*s.*, but some "get odd jobs" at other things.

"There are now, sir, at the theatres this (the Strand) side the water, and at Ashley's, the Surrey, and the Vic., two dozen and nine sandwiches." So said one of the trade, who counted up his brethren for me. This man calculated also that at the Standard, the saloons, the concert-rooms, and at Limehouse, Mile-end, Bethnal-green-road, and elsewhere, there might be more than as many again as those "working" the theatres—or 70 in all. They are nearly all men, and no boys or girls are now in the trade. The number of these people, when the large theatres were open with the others, was about double what it is now.

The information collected shows that the expenditure in ham-sandwiches, supplied by street-sellers, is 1,820*l.* yearly, and a consumption of 436,800 sandwiches.

To start in the ham-sandwich street-trade requires 2*s.* for a basket, 2*s.* for kettle to boil ham in, 6*d.* for knife and fork, 2*d.* for mustard-pot and spoon, 7*d.* for ¼ cwt. of coals, 5*s.* for ham, 1*s.* 3*d.* for bread, 4*d.* for mustard, 9*d.* for basket, cloth, and apron, 4*d.* for over-sleeves—or a capital of 12*s.* 11*d.*

Of the Experience of a Ham Sandwich-seller.

A young man gave me the following account. His look and manners were subdued; and, though his dress was old and worn, it was clean and unpatched:—

"I hardly remember my father, sir," he said; "but I believe, if he'd lived, I should have been better off. My mother couldn't keep my brother and me—he's older than me—when we grew to be twelve or thirteen, and we had to shift for ourselves. She works at the stays, and now

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makes only 3*s*. a week, and we can't help her. I was first in place as a sort of errand-boy, then I was a stationer's boy, and then a news agent's boy. I wasn't wanted any longer, but left with a good character. My brother had gone into the sandwich trade—I hardly know what made him—and he advised me to be a ham sandwich-man, and so I started as one. At first, I made 10*s*., and 7*s*., and 8*s*. a week—that's seven years, or so—but things are worse now, and I make 3*s*. 6*d*. some weeks, and 5*s*. others, and 6*s*. is an out-and-outer. My rent's 2*s*. a week, but I haven't my own things. I am so sick of this life, I'd do anything to get out of it; but I don't see a way. Perhaps I might have been more careful when I was first in it; but, really, if you do make 10*s*. a week, you want shoes, or a shirt—so what is 10*s*. after all? I wish I had it now, though. I used to buy my sandwiches at 6*d*. a dozen, but I found that wouldn't do; and now I buy and boil the stuff, and make them myself. What *did* cost 6*d*., now only costs me 4*d*. or 4½*d*. I work the theatres this side of the water, chiefly the 'Lympic and the 'Delphi. The best theatre I ever had was the Garding, when it had two galleries, and was dramatic—the operas there wasn't the least good to me. The Lyceum was good, when it was Mr. Keeley's. I hardly know what sort my customers are, but they're those that go to theaytres: shopkeepers and clerks, I think. Gentlemen don't often buy of me. They *have* bought, though. Oh, no, they never give a farthing over; they're more likely to want seven for 6*d*. The women of the town buy of me, when it gets late, for themselves and their fancy men. They're liberal enough when they've money. They sometimes treat a poor fellow in a public-house. In summer I'm often out 'till four in the morning, and then must lie in bed half next day. The 'Delphi was better than it is. I've taken 3*s*. at the first "turn out" (the leaving the theatre for a short time after the first piece), "but the turn-outs at the Garding was better than that. A penny pie-shop has spoiled us at the 'Delphi and at Ashley's. I go out between eight and nine in the evening. People often want more in my sandwiches, though I'm starving on them. 'Oh,' they'll say, 'you've been 'prenticed to Vauxhall, you have.' 'They're 1*s*. there,' says I, 'and no bigger. I haven't Vauxhall prices.' I stand by the night-houses when it's late—not the fashionables. Their customers would'nt look at me; but I've known women, that carried their heads very high, glad to get a sandwich afterwards. Six times I've been upset by drunken fellows, on purpose, I've no doubt, and lost all my stock. Once, a gent. kicked my basket into the dirt, and he was going off—for it was late—but some people by began to make remarks about using a poor fellow that way, so he paid for all, after he had them counted. I am *so* sick of this life, sir. I *do* dread the winter so. I've stood up to the ankles in snow till after midnight, and till I've wished I was snow myself, and could melt like it and have an end. I'd do anything to get away from this, but I can't. Passion Week's another dreadful time. It drives us to starve, just when we want to get up a little stock-money for Easter. I've been bilked by cabmen, who've taken a sandwich; but, instead of paying for it, have offered to fight me. There's no help. We're knocked about sadly by the police. Time's very heavy on my hands, sometimes, and that's where you feel it. I read a bit, if I can get anything to read, for I was at St. Clement's school; or I walk out to look for a job. On summer-days I sell a trotter or two. But mine's a wretched life, and so is most ham sandwich-men. I've no enjoyment of my youth, and no comfort

"Ah, sir! I live very poorly. A ha'porth or a penn'orth of cheap fish, which I cook myself, is one of my treats—either herrings or plaice—with a 'tatur, perhaps. Then there's a sort of meal, now and then, off the odds and ends of the ham, such as isn't quite viewy enough for the public, along with the odds and ends of the loaves. I can't boil a bit of greens with my ham, 'cause I'm afraid it might rather spoil the colour. I don't slice the ham till it's cold—it cuts easier, and is a better colour then, I think. I wash my aprons, and sleeves, and cloths myself, and iron them too. A man that sometimes makes only 3*s*. 6*d*. a week, and sometimes less, and must pay 2*s*. rent out of that, must look after every farthing. I've often walked eight miles to see if I could find ham a halfpenny a pound cheaper anywhere. If it was tainted, I know it would be flung in my face. If I was sick there's only the parish for me."

Of the Street-sellers of Bread.

The street-trade in bread is not so extensive as might be expected, from the universality of the consumption. It is confined to Petticoat-lane and the poorer districts in that neighbourhood. A person who has known the East-end of town for nearly fifty years, told me that as long as he could recollect, bread was sold in the streets, but not to the present extent. In 1812 and 1813, when bread was the dearest, there was very little sold in the streets. At that time, and until 1815, the Assize Acts, regulating the bread-trade, were in force, and had been in force in London since 1266. Previously to 1815 bakers were restricted, by these Acts, to the baking of three kinds of bread—wheaten, standard wheaten, and household. The wheaten was made of the best flour, the standard wheaten of the different kinds of flour mixed together, and the household of the coarser and commoner flour. In 1823, however, it was enacted that within the City of London and ten miles round, "it shall be lawful for the bakers to make and sell bread made of wheat, barley, rye, oats, buck-wheat, Indian-corn, peas, beans, rice, or potatoes, or any of them, along with common salt, pure-water, eggs, milk, barm-leaven, potato, or other yeast, and mixed in such proportions as they shall think fit." I mention this because my informant, as well as an old master baker with whom I conversed on the

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subject, remembered that every now and then, after 1823, but only for two or three years, some speculative trader, both in shops and in the streets, would endeavour to introduce an inferior, but still a wholesome, bread, to his customers, such as an admixture of barley with wheat-flour, but no one—as far as I could learn—persevered in the speculation for more than a week or so. Their attempts were not only unsuccessful but they met with abuse, from street-buyers especially, for endeavouring to palm off "brown" bread as "good enough for poor people." One of my elder informants remembered his father telling him that in 1800 and 1801, George III. had set the example of eating brown bread at his one o'clock dinner, but he was sometimes assailed as he passed in his carriage, with the reproachful epithet of "*Brown* George." This feeling continues, for the poor people, and even the more intelligent working-men, if cockneys, have still a notion that only "white" bread is fit for consumption. Into the question of the relative nutrition of breads, I shall enter when I treat of the bakers.

During a period of about four months in the summer, there are from twenty to thirty men daily selling stale bread. Of these only twelve sell it regularly every day of the year, and they trade chiefly on their own account. Of the others, some are sent out by their masters, receiving from 1*s.* to 2*s.* for their labour. Those who sell on their own account, go round to the bakers' shops about Stepney, Mile-end, and Whitechapel, and purchase the stale-bread on hand. It is sold to them at ½*d.*, 1*d.* and 1½*d.* per quartern less than the retail shop price; but when the weather is very hot, and the bakers have a large quantity of stale-bread on hand, the street-sellers sometimes get the bread at 2*d.* a quartern less than the retail price. All the street-sellers of bread have been brought up as bakers. Some have resorted to the street-trade, I am told, when unable to procure work: others because it is a less toilsome, and sometimes a more profitable means of subsistence, than the labour of an operative baker. It is very rarely that any of the street-traders leave their calling to resume working as journeymen. Some of these traders have baskets containing the bread offered for street-sale; others have barrows, and one has a barrow resembling a costermonger's, with a long basket made to fit upon it. The dress of these vendors is a light coat of cloth or fustian; corduroy, fustian, or cloth trousers, and a cloth cap or a hat, the whole attire being, what is best understood as "dusty," ingrained as it is with flour.

From one bread-seller, a middle-aged man, with the pale look and habitual stoop of a journeyman baker, I had the following account:

"I've known the street-trade a few years; I can't say exactly how many. I was a journeyman baker before that, and can't say but what I had pretty regular employment; but then, sir, what an employment it is! So much night-work, and the heat of the oven, with the close air, and sleeping on sacks at nights (for you can't leave the place), so that altogether it's a slave's life. A journeyman baker hasn't what can be called a home, for he's so much away at the oven; he'd better not be a married man, for if his wife isn't very careful there's talk, and there's unhappiness about nothing perhaps. I can't be thought to speak feelingly that way though, for I've been fortunate in a wife. But a journeyman baker's life drives him to drink, almost whether he will or not. A street life's not quite so bad. I was out of work two or three weeks, and I certainly lushed too much, and can't say as I tried very hard to get work, but I had a pound or two in hand, and then I began to think I'd try and sell stale bread in the streets, for it's a healthfuller trade than the other; so I started, and have been at it ever since, excepting when I work a few days, or weeks, for a master baker; but he's a relation, and I assist him when he's ill. My customers are all poor persons,—some in rags, and some as decent as their bad earnings 'll let them. No doubt about it, sir, there's poor women buy of me that's wives of mechanics working slop, and that's forced to live on stale bread. Where there's a family of children, stale bread goes so very much further. I think I sell to few but what has families, for a quartern's too much at a time for a single woman. I often hear my customers talk about their children, and say they must make haste, as the poor things are hungry, and they couldn't get them any bread sooner. O, it's a hard fight to live, all Spitalfields and Bethnal-green way, for I know it all. There are first the journeyman bakers over-worked and fretted into drinking, a-making the bread, and there are the poor fellows in all sorts of trade over-worked to get money to buy it. I've had women that looked as if they was 'reduced,' come to me of an evening as soon as it was dusk, and buy stale bread, as if they was ashamed to be seen. Yes, I give credit. Some has a week's credit regular, and pays every Saturday night. I lose very little in trusting. I sometimes have bread over and sell it—rather than hold it over to next day—for half what it cost me. I have given it away to begging people, sooner than keep it to be too stale, and they would get something for it at a lodging-house. The lodging-house keepers never buy of me that I know of. They can buy far cheaper than I can—you understand, sir. Perhaps, altogether, I make about a guinea every week; wet weather and short days are against me. I don't sell more, I think, on a Saturday than on other nights. The nights are much of a muchness that way."

The average quantity sold by each vendor during the summer months is 150 quarterns daily, usually at 4*d.*, but occasionally at 3*d.* the quartern. One man informed me that he had sold in one day 350 quarterns, receiving 5*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* for them.

The number of men (for if there be women they are the men's wives) engaged daily throughout the year in the street-sale of bread is 12.

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These sell upon an average 100 quarterns each per day: taking every day in the year 1*l.* 12*s.* each (a few being sold at 3*d.*)

Calculating then the four months' trade in summer at 150 quarterns per day per man, and reckoning 15 men so selling, and each receiving 45*s.* (thus allowing for the threepenny sale); and taking the receipts of the 12 regular traders at 1*l.* 12*s.* per day, we find nearly 9,000*l.* annually expended in the street purchase of 700,000 quartern loaves of bread. The profits of the sellers vary from 1*l.* to 2*l.* a week, according to the extent of their business.

To start in this branch of the street-trade a capital is required according to the following rate:—Stock-money for bread, average 1*l.*; (largest amount required, 5*l.*; smallest, 10*s.*); a basket, 4*s.* 6*d.* Of those who are employed in the summer, one-half have baskets, and the other half bakers' barrows; while of those who attend the year through, 8 have baskets at 4*s.* 6*d.* each, 3 have barrows at 40*s.* each, and one a barrow and the long basket, before mentioned. The barrow costs 30*s.*, and the basket 2*l.*

Of the Street-Sellers of Hot Green Peas.

The sale of hot green peas in the streets is of great antiquity, that is to say, if the cry of "hot peas-cod," recorded by Lydgate (and formerly alluded to), may be taken as having intimated the sale of the same article. In many parts of the country it is, or was, customary to have "*scaldings* of peas," often held as a sort of rustic feast. The peas were not shelled, but boiled in the pod, and eaten by the pod being dipped in melted butter, with a little pepper, salt, and vinegar, and then drawn through the teeth to extract the peas, the pod being thrown away. The mention of *peas-cod* (or pea-shell) by Lydgate renders it probable that the "scalding" method was that then in use in the streets. None of the street-sellers, however, whom I saw, remembered the peas being vended in any other form than shelled and boiled as at present.

The sellers of green peas have no stands, but carry a round or oval tin pot or pan, with a swing handle; the pan being wrapped round with a thick cloth, to retain the heat. The peas are served out with a ladle, and eaten by the customers, if eaten in the street, out of basins, provided with spoons, by the pea-man. Salt, vinegar, and pepper, are applied from the vendor's store, at the customer's discretion.

There are now four men carrying on this trade. They wear no particular dress, "just what clothes we can get," said one of them. One, who has been in the trade twenty-five years, was formerly an inn-porter; the other three are ladies' shoemakers in the day-time, and pea-sellers in the evening, or at early morning, in any market. Their average sale is three gallons daily, with a receipt of 7*s.* per man. Seven gallons a day is accounted a large sale; but the largest of all is at Greenwich fair, when each pea-man will take 35*s.* in a day. Each vendor has his district. One takes Billingsgate, Rosemary-lane, and its vicinity; another, the Old Clothes Exchange, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, and Bethnal-green; a third, Mile-end and Stepney; and a fourth, Ratcliffe-highway, Limehouse, and Poplar. Each man resides in his "round," for the convenience of boiling his peas, and introducing them to his customers "hot and hot."

The peas used in this traffic are all the dried field pea, but dried green and whole, and not split, or prepared, as are the yellow peas for soup or puddings. They are purchased at the corn-chandlers' or the seed-shops, the price being 2*s.* the peck (or two gallons.) The peas are soaked before they are boiled, and swell considerably, so that one gallon of the dried peas makes rather more than two gallons of the boiled. The hot green peas are sold in halfpennyworths; a halfpennyworth being about a quarter of a pint. The cry of the sellers is, "Hot green peas! all hot, all hot! Here's your peas hot, hot, hot!"

Of the Experience of a Hot Green Pea Seller.

The most experienced man in the trade gave me the following account:—

"Come the 25th of March, sir, and I shall have been 26 years in the business, for I started it on the 25th of March—it's a day easy for to remember, 'cause everybody knows it's quarter-day—in 1825. I was a porter in coaching-inns before; but there was a mishap, and I had to drop it. I didn't leave 'cause I thought the pea line might be better, but because I must do something, and knew a man in the trade, and all about it. It was a capital trade then, and for a good many years after I was in it. Many a day I've taken a guinea, and, sometimes, 35*s.*; and I have taken two guineas at Greenwich Fair, but then I worked till one or two in the morning from eleven the day before. Money wasn't so scarce then. Oh, sir, as to what my profit was or is, I never tell. I wouldn't to my own wife; neither her that's living nor her that's dead." [A person present intimated that the secret might be safely confided to the dead wife, but the pea-seller shook his head.] "Now, one day with another, except Sundays, when I don't work, I may take 7*s.* I always use the dried peas. They pay better than fresh garden-peas would at a groat a peck. People has asked for young green peas, but I've said that I didn't have them. Billingsgate's my best ground. I sell to the costers, and the roughs, and all the parties that has their dinners in the tap-rooms—they has a bit of steak, or a bit of cold meat they've brought with them. There's very little fish eat in Billingsgate, except, perhaps, at the ord'n'ries (ordinaries). I'm looked for as regular as dinner-time. The landlords tell me to give my customers plenty of pepper and salt, to make them thirsty. I go on board the Billingsgate ships, too, and sometimes sell 6*d.* worth to captain and crew. It's a treat, after a rough voyage. Oh, no, sir, I never go on

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board the Dutch eel-vessels. There's nothing to be got out of scaly fur'ners (foreigners.) I sell to the herring, and mackarel, and oyster-boats when they're up. My great sale is in public-houses, but I sometimes sell *2d.* or *3d.* worth to private houses. I go out morning, noon, and night; and at night I go my round when people's having a bite of supper, perhaps, in the public-houses. I sell to the women of the town then. Yes, I give them credit. To-night, now (Saturday), I expect to receive *2s. 3d.*, or near on to it, that I've trusted them this week. They mostly pay me on a Saturday night. I lose very little by them. I'm knocked about in public-houses by the Billingsgate roughs, and I've been bilked by the prigs. I've known at least six people try my trade, and fail in it, and I was glad to see them broke. I sell twice as much in cold weather as in warm."

I ascertained that my informant sold three times as much as the other dealers, who confine their trade principally to an evening round. Reckoning that the chief man of business sells 3 gallons a day (which, at *1d.* the quarter-pint, would be *8s.*, my informant said *7s.*), and that the other three together sell the same quantity, we find a street-expenditure on hot green peas of *250l.* and a street consumption of 1870 gallons. The peas, costing *2s.* the two gallons, are vended for *4s.* or *5s.*, at the least, as they boil into more than double the quantity, and a gallon, retail, is *2s. 8d.*; but the addition of vinegar, pepper, &c., may reduce the profit to cent. per cent., while there is the heaping up of every measure retail to reduce the profit. Thus, independent of any consideration as to the labour in boiling, &c. (generally done by the women), the principal man's profit is *21s.* a week; that of the others *7s.* each weekly.

The capital required to start in the business is—can, *2s. 6d.*; vinegar-bottle and pepper-box, *4d.*; saucers and spoons, *6d.*; stock-money, about *2s.*; cloth to wrap over the peas, *4d.* (a vendor wearing out a cloth in three months); or an average of *9s.* or *10s.*

Of Cats' and Dogs'-meat Dealers.

The supply of food for cats and dogs is far greater than may be generally thought. "Vy, sir," said one of the dealers to me, "can you tell me 'ow many people's in London?" On my replying, upwards of two millions; "I don't know nothing vatever," said my informant, "about millions, but I think there's a cat to every ten people, aye, and more than that; and so, sir, you can reckon." [I told him this gave a total of 200,000 cats in London; but the number of inhabited houses in the metropolis was 100,000 more than this, and though there was not a cat to every house, still, as many lodgers as well as householders kept cats, I added that I thought the total number of cats in London might be taken at the same number as the inhabited houses, or 300,000 in all.] "There's not near half so many dogs as cats. I must know, for they all knows me, and I sarves about 200 cats and 70 dogs. Mine's a middling trade, but some does far better. Some cats has a hap'orth a day, some every other day; werry few can afford a penn'orth, but times is inferior. Dogs is better pay when you've a connection among 'em."

The cat and dogs'-meat dealers, or "carriers," as they call themselves, generally purchase the meat at the knackers' (horse-slaughterers') yards. There are upwards of twenty of such yards in London; three or four are in Whitechapel, one in Wandsworth, two in Cow-cross—one of the two last mentioned is the largest establishment in London—and there are two about Bermondsey. The proprietors of these yards purchase live and dead horses. They contract for them with large firms, such as brewers, coal-merchants, and large cab and 'bus yards, giving so much per head for their old live and dead horses through the year. The price varies from *2l.* to *50s.* the carcass. The knackers also have contractors in the country (harness-makers and others), who bring or send up to town for them the live and dead stock of those parts. The dead horses are brought to the yard—two or three upon one cart, and sometimes five. The live ones are tied to the tail of these carts, and behind the tail of each other. Occasionally a string of fourteen or fifteen are brought up, head to tail, at one time. The live horses are purchased merely for slaughtering. If among the lot bought there should chance to be one that is young, but in bad condition, it is placed in the stable, fed up, and then put into the knacker's carts, or sold by them, or let on hire. Occasionally a fine horse has been rescued from death in this manner. One person is known to have bought an animal for *15s.*, for which he afterwards got *150l.* Frequently young horses that will not work in cabs—such as "jibs"—are sold to the horse-slaughterers as useless. They are kept in the yard, and after being well fed, often turn out good horses. The live horses are slaughtered by the persons called "knackers." These men get upon an average *4s.* a day. They begin work at twelve at night, because some of the flesh is required to be boiled before six in the morning; indeed, a great part of the meat is delivered to the carriers before that hour. The horse to be slaughtered has his mane clipped as short as possible (on account of the hair, which is valuable). It is then blinded with a piece of old apron smothered in blood, so that it may not see the slaughterman when about to strike. A pole-axe is used, and a cane, to put an immediate end to the animal's sufferings. After the animal is slaughtered, the hide is taken off, and the flesh cut from the bones in large pieces. These pieces are termed, according to the part from which they are cut, hind-quarters, fore-quarters, cram-bones, throats, necks, briskets, backs, ribs, kidney pieces, hearts, tongues, liver and lights. The bones (called "racks" by the knackers) are chopped up and boiled, in order to extract the fat, which is used for greasing common harness, and the wheels of carts and drags, &c. The bones themselves are sold for

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manure. The pieces of flesh are thrown into large coppers or pans, about nine feet in diameter and four feet deep. Each of these pans will hold about three good-sized horses. Sometimes two large brewers' horses will fill them, and sometimes as many as four "poor" cab-horses may be put into them. The flesh is boiled about an hour and 20 minutes for a "killed" horse, and from two hours to two hours and 20 minutes for a dead horse (a horse dying from age or disease). The flesh, when boiled, is taken from the coppers, laid on the stones, and sprinkled with water to cool it. It is then weighed out in pieces of 112, 56, 28, 21, 14, 7, and 3½ lbs. weight. These are either taken round in a cart to the "carriers," or, at about five, the carriers call at the yard to purchase, and continue doing so till twelve in the day. The price is 14*s.* per cwt. in winter, and 16*s.* in summer. The tripe is served out at 12 lb. for 6*d.* All this is for cats and dogs. The carriers then take the meat round town, wherever their "walk" may lie. They sell it to the public at the rate of 2½*d.* per lb., and in small pieces, on skewers, at a farthing, a halfpenny, and a penny each. Some carriers will sell as much as a hundred-weight in a day, and about half a hundred-weight is the average quantity disposed of by the carriers in London. Some sell much cheaper than others. These dealers will frequently knock at the doors of persons whom they have seen served by another on the previous day, and show them that they can let them have a larger quantity of meat for the same money. The class of persons belonging to the business are mostly those who have been unable to obtain employment at their trade. Occasionally a person is bred to it, having been engaged as a lad by some carrier to go round with the barrow and assist him in his business. These boys will, after a time, find a "walk" for themselves, beginning first with a basket, and ultimately rising to a barrow. Many of the carriers give light weight to the extent of 2 oz. and 4 oz. in the pound. At one yard alone near upon 100 carriers purchase meat, and there are, upon an average, 150 horses slaughtered there every week. Each slaughter-house may be said to do, one with another, 60 horses per week throughout the year, which, reckoning the London slaughter-houses at 12, gives a total of 720 horses killed every week in the metropolis, or, in round numbers, 37,500 in the course of the year.

The London cat and dogs'-meat carriers or sellers—nearly all men—number at the least 1,000.

The slaughtermen are said to reap large fortunes very rapidly—indeed, the carriers say they coin the money. Many of them retire after a few years, and take large farms. One, after 12 years' business, retired with several thousand pounds, and has now three large farms. The carriers are men, women, and boys. Very few women do as well as the men at it. The carriers "are generally sad drunkards." Out of five hundred, it is said three hundred at least spend 1*l.* a head a week in drink. One party in the trade told me that he knew a carrier who would often spend 10*s.* in liquor at one sitting. The profit the carriers make upon the meat is at present only a penny per pound. In the summer time the profit per pound is reduced to a halfpenny, owing to the meat being dearer on account of its scarcity. The carriers give a great deal of credit—indeed, they take but little ready money. On some days they do not come home with more than 2*s.* One with a middling walk pays for his meat 7*s.* 6*d.* per day. For this he has half a hundred-weight. This produces him as much as 11*s.* 6*d.*, so that his profit is 4*s.*; which, I am assured, is about a fair average of the earnings of the trade. One carrier is said to have amassed 1,000*l.* at the business. He usually sold from 1½ to 2 cwt. every morning, so that his profits were generally from 16*s.* to 1*l.* per day. But the trade is much worse now. There are so many at it, they say, that there is barely a living for any. A carrier assured me that he seldom went less than 30, and frequently 40 miles, through the streets every day. The best districts are among the houses of tradesmen, mechanics, and labourers. The coachmen in the mews at the back of the squares are very good customers. "The work lays thicker there," said my informant. Old maids are bad, though very plentiful, customers. They cheapen the carriers down so, that they can scarcely live at the business. "They will pay one halfpenny and owe another, and forget that after a day or two." The cats' meat dealers generally complain of their losses from bad debts. Their customers require credit frequently to the extent of 1*l.* "One party owes me 15*s.* now," said a carrier to me, "and many 10*s.*; in fact, very few people pay ready money for the meat."

The carriers frequently serve as much as ten pennyworths to one person in a day. One gentleman has as much as 4 lbs. of meat each morning for two Newfoundland dogs; and there was one woman—a black—who used to have as much as 16 pennyworth every day. This person used to get out on the roof of the house and throw it to the cats on the tiles. By this she brought so many stray cats round about the neighbourhood, that the parties in the vicinity complained; it was quite a nuisance. She *would* have the meat always brought to her before ten in the morning, or else she would send to a shop for it, and between ten and eleven in the morning the noise and cries of the hundreds of stray cats attracted to the spot was "terrible to hear." When the meat was thrown to the cats on the roof, the riot, and confusion, and fighting, was beyond description. "A beer-shop man," I was told, "was obliged to keep five or six dogs to drive the cats from his walls." There was also a mad woman in Islington, who used to have 14 lbs. of meat a day. The party who supplied her had his money often at 2*l.* and 3*l.* at a time. She had as many as thirty cats at times in her house. Every stray one that came she would take in and support. The stench was so great

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that she was obliged to be ejected. The best days for the cats' meat business are Mondays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays. A double quantity of meat is sold on the Saturday; and on that day and Monday and Tuesday the weekly customers generally pay.

"My father was a baker by trade," said a carrier to me, "but through an enlargement of the heart he was obliged to give up working at his trade; leaning over the trough increased his complaint so severely, that he used to fail down, and be obliged to be brought home. This made him take to the cats' and dogs' meat trade, and he brought me up to it. I do pretty comfortably. I have a very good business, having been all my life at it. If it wasn't for the bad debts I should do much better; but some of the people I trust leave the houses, and actually take in a double quantity of meat the day before. I suppose there is at the present moment as much as 20*l.* owing to me that I never expect to see a farthing of."

The generality of the dealers wear a shiny hat, black plush waistcoat and sleeves, a blue apron, corduroy trousers, and a blue and white spotted handkerchief round their necks. Some, indeed, will wear two and three handkerchiefs round their necks, this being fashionable among them. A great many meet every Friday afternoon in the donkey-market, Smithfield, and retire to a public-house adjoining, to spend the evening.

A "cats' meat carrier" who supplied me with information was more comfortably situated than any of the poorer classes that I have yet seen. He lived in the front room of a second floor, in an open and respectable quarter of the town, and his lodgings were the perfection of comfort and cleanliness in an humble sphere. It was late in the evening when I reached the house. I found the "carrier" and his family preparing for supper. In a large morocco leather easy chair sat the cats' meat carrier himself; his "blue apron and black shiny hat" had disappeared, and he wore a "dress" coat and a black satin waistcoat instead. His wife, who was a remarkably pretty woman, and of very attractive manners, wore a "Dolly Varden" cap, placed jauntily at the back of her head, and a drab merino dress. The room was cosily carpeted, and in one corner stood a mahogany "crib" with cane-work sides, in which one of the children was asleep. On the table was a clean white table-cloth, and the room was savoury with the steaks, and mashed potatoes that were cooking on the fire. Indeed, I have never yet seen greater comfort in the abodes of the poor. The cleanliness and wholesomeness of the apartment were the more striking from the unpleasant associations connected with the calling.

It is believed by one who has been engaged at the business for 25 years, that there are from 900 to 1,000 horses, averaging 2 cwt. of meat each—little and big—boiled down every week; so that the quantity of cats' and dogs' meat used throughout London is about 200,000 lbs. per week, and this, sold at the rate of 2½*d.* per lb., gives 2,000*l.* a week for the money spent in cats' and dogs' meat, or upwards of 100,000*l.* a year, which is at the rate of 100*l.*-worth sold annually by each carrier. The profits of the carriers may be estimated at about 50*l.* each per annum.

The capital required to start in this business varies from 1*l.* to 2*l.* The stock-money needed is between 5*s.* and 10*s.* The barrow and basket, weights and scales, knife and steel, or black-stone, cost about 2*l.* when new, and from 15*s.* to 4*s.* second-hand.

OF THE STREET-SALE OF DRINKABLES.

THE street-sellers of the drinkables, who have now to be considered, belong to the same class as I have described in treating of the sale of street-provisions generally. The buyers are not precisely of the same class, for the street-eatables often supply a meal, but with the exception of the coffee-stalls, and occasionally of the rice-milk, the drinkables are more of a luxury than a meal. Thus the buyers are chiefly those who have "a penny to spare," rather than those who have "a penny to dine upon." I have described the different classes of purchasers of each potable, and perhaps the accounts—as a picture of street-life—are even more curious than those I have given of the purchasers of the eatables—of (literally) the diners *out*.

OF COFFEE-STALL KEEPERS.

THE vending of tea and coffee, in the streets, was little if at all known twenty years ago, saloop being then the beverage supplied from stalls to the late and early wayfarers. Nor was it until after 1842 that the stalls approached to anything like their present number, which is said to be upwards of 300—the majority of the proprietors being women. Prior to 1824, coffee was in little demand, even among the smaller tradesmen or farmers, but in that year the duty having been reduced from 1*s* to 6*d.* per lb., the consumption throughout the kingdom in the next seven years was nearly trebled, the increase being from 7,933,041 lbs., in 1824, to 22,745,627 lbs., in 1831. In 1842, the duty on coffee, was fixed at 4*d.*, from British possessions, and from foreign countries at 6*d.*

But it was not owing solely to the reduced price of coffee, that the street-vendors of it increased in the year or two subsequent to 1842, at least 100 per cent. The great facilities then offered for a cheap adulteration, by mixing ground chicory with the ground coffee, was an enhancement of the profits, and a greater temptation to embark in the business, as a smaller amount of capital would suffice. Within these two or three years, this cheapness has been still further promoted, by the medium of adulteration, the chicory itself being, in its turn, adulterated by the admixture of baked carrots, and the like saccharine roots, which, of course, are not subjected to any duty, while

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foreign chicory is charged 6*d.* per lb. English chicory is not chargeable with duty, and is now cultivated, I am assured, to the yield of between 4,000 and 5,000 tons yearly, and this nearly all used in the adulteration of coffee. Nor is there greater culpability in this trade among street-venders, than among "respectable" shopkeepers; for I was assured, by a leading grocer, that he could not mention twenty shops in the city, of which he could say: "You can go and buy a pound of ground coffee there, and it will not be adulterated." The revelations recently made on this subject by the *Lancet* are a still more convincing proof of the *general* dishonesty of grocers.

The coffee-stall keepers generally stand at the corner of a street. In the fruit and meat markets there are usually two or three coffee-stalls, and one or two in the streets leading to them; in Covent-garden there are no less than four coffee-stalls. Indeed, the stalls abound in all the great thoroughfares, and the most in those not accounted "fashionable" and great "business" routes, but such as are frequented by working people, on their way to their day's labour. The best "pitch" in London is supposed to be at the corner of Duke-street, Oxford-street. The proprietor of that stall is said to take full 30*s.* of a morning, in halfpence. One stall-keeper, I was informed, when "upon the drink" thinks nothing of spending his 10*l.* or 15*l.* in a week. A party assured me that once, when the stall-keeper above mentioned was away "on the spree," he took up his stand there, and got from 4*s.* to 5*s.* in the course of ten minutes, at the busy time of the morning.

The coffee-stall usually consists of a spring-barrow, with two, and occasionally four, wheels. Some are made up of tables, and some have a tressel and board. On the top of this are placed two or three, and sometimes four, large tin cans, holding upon an average five gallons each. Beneath each of these cans is a small iron fire-pot, perforated like a rushlight shade, and here charcoal is continually burning, so as to keep the coffee or tea, with which the cans are filled, hot throughout the early part of the morning. The board of the stall has mostly a compartment for bread and butter, cake, and ham sandwiches, and another for the coffee mugs. There is generally a small tub under each of the stalls, in which the mugs and saucers are washed. The "grandest" stall in this line is the one before-mentioned, as standing at the corner of Duke-street, Oxford-street (of which an engraving is here given). It is a large truck on four wheels, and painted a bright green. The cans are four in number, and of bright polished tin, mounted with brass-plates. There are compartments for bread and butter, sandwiches, and cake. It is lighted by three large oil lamps, with bright brass mountings, and covered in with an oil-cloth roof. The coffee-stalls, generally, are lighted by candle-lamps. Some coffee-stalls are covered over with tarpaulin, like a tent, and others screened from the sharp night or morning air by a clothes-horse covered with blankets, and drawn half round the stall.

Some of the stall-keepers make their appearance at twelve at night, and some not till three or four in the morning. Those that come out at midnight, are for the accommodation of the "night-walkers"—"fast gentlemen" and loose girls; and those that come out in the morning, are for the accommodation of the working men.

It is, I may add, piteous enough to see a few young and good-looking girls, some without the indelible mark of habitual depravity on their countenances, clustering together for warmth round a coffee-stall, to which a penny expenditure, or the charity of the proprietor, has admitted them. The thieves do not resort to the coffee-stalls, which are so immediately under the eye of the policeman.

The coffee-stall keepers usually sell coffee and tea, and some of them cocoa. They keep hot milk in one of the large cans, and coffee, tea, or cocoa in the others. They supply bread and butter, or currant cake, in slices—ham sandwiches, water-cresses, and boiled eggs. The price is 1*d.* per mug, or ½*d.* per half-mug, for coffee, tea, or cocoa; and ½*d.* a slice the bread and butter or cake. The ham sandwiches are 2*d.* (or 1*d.*) each, the boiled eggs 1*d.*, and the water-cresses a halfpenny a bunch. The coffee, tea, cocoa, and sugar they generally purchase by the single pound, at a grocer's. Those who do an extensive trade purchase in larger quantities. The coffee is usually bought in the berry, and ground by themselves. All purchase chicory to mix with it. For the coffee they pay about 1*s.*; for the tea about 3*s.*; for the cocoa 6*d.* per lb.; and for the sugar 3½*d.* to 4*d.* For the chicory the price is 6*d.* (which is the amount of the duty alone on foreign chicory), and it is mixed with the coffee at the rate of 6 ozs. to the pound; many use as much as 9 and 12 ozs. The coffee is made of a dark colour by means of what are called "finings," which consist of burnt sugar—such, as is used for browning soups. Coffee is the article mostly sold at the stalls; indeed, there is scarcely one stall in a hundred that is supplied with tea, and not more than a dozen in all London that furnish cocoa. The stall-keepers usually make the cake themselves. A 4 lb. cake generally consists of half a pound of currants, half a pound of sugar, six ounces of beef dripping, and a quartern of flour. The ham for sandwiches costs 5½*d.* or 6*d.* per lb.; and when boiled produces in sandwiches about 2*s.* per lb. It is usually cut up in slices little thicker than paper. The bread is usually "second bread;" the butter, salt, at about 8*d.* the pound. Some borrow their barrows, and pay 1*s.* a week for the hire of them. Many borrow the capital upon which they trade, frequently of their landlord. Some get credit for their grocery—some for their bread. If they borrow, they pay about 20 per cent. per week for the loan. I was told of one man that makes a practice of lending

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money to the coffee-stall-keepers and other hucksters, at the rate of at least 20 per cent. a week. If the party wishing to borrow a pound or two is unknown to the money-lender, he requires security, and the interest to be paid him weekly. This money-lender, I am informed, has been transported once for receiving stolen property, and would now purchase any amount of plate that might be taken to him.

The class of persons usually belonging to the business have been either cab-men, policemen, labourers, or artisans. Many have been bred to dealing in the streets, and brought up to no other employment, but many have taken to the business owing to the difficulty of obtaining work at their own trade. The generality of them are opposed to one another. I asked one in a small way of business what was the average amount of his profits, and his answer was,—

"I usually buy 10 ounces of coffee a night. That costs, when good, 1*s.* 0½*d.* With this I should make five gallons of coffee, such as I sell in the street, which would require 3 quarts of milk, at 3*d.* per quart, and 1½ lb. of sugar, at 3½*d.* per lb., there is some at 3*d.* This would come to 2*s.* 2¾*d.*; and, allowing 1¼*d.* for a quarter of a peck of charcoal to keep the coffee hot, it would give 2*s.* 4*d.* for the cost of five gallons of coffee. This I should sell out at about 1½*d.* per pint; so that the five gallons would produce me 5*s.*, or 2*s.* 8*d.* clear. I generally get rid of one quartern loaf and 6 oz. of butter with this quantity of coffee, and for this I pay 5*d.* the loaf and 3*d.* the butter, making 8*d.*; and these I make into twenty-eight slices at ½*d.* per slice; so the whole brings me in 1*s.* 2*d.*, or about 6*d.* clear. Added to this, I sell a 4 lb. cake, which costs me 3½*d.* per lb. 1*s.* 2*d.* the entire cake; and this in twenty-eight slices, at 1*d.* per slice, would yield 2*s.* 4*d.*, or 1*s.* 2*d.* clear; so that altogether my clear gains would be 4*s.* 4*d.* upon an expenditure of 2*s.* 2*d.*—say 200 per cent."

This is said to be about the usual profit of the trade. Sometimes they give credit. One person assured me he trusted as much as 9½*d.* that morning, and out of that he was satisfied there was 4*d.*, at least, he should never see. Most of the stalls are stationary, but some are locomotive. Some cans are carried about with yokes, like milk-cans, the mugs being kept in a basket. The best district for the night-trade is the City, and the approaches to the bridges. There are more men and women, I was told, walking along Cheapside, Aldersgate-street, Bishopsgate-street, and Fleet-street. In the latter place a good trade is frequently done between twelve at night and two in the morning. For the morning trade the best districts are the Strand, Oxford-street, City-road, New-road (from one end to the other), the markets, especially Covent Garden, Billingsgate, Newgate, and the Borough. There are no coffee-stalls in Smithfield. The reason is that the drovers, on arriving at the market, are generally tired and cold, and prefer sitting down to their coffee in a warm shop rather than drink it in the open street. The best days for coffee-stalls are market-mornings, viz. Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. On these days the receipts are generally half as much again as those of the other mornings. The best time of the year for the business is the summer. This is, I am told, because the workpeople and costermongers have more money to spend. Some stall-keepers save sufficient to take a shop, but these are only such as have a "pitch" in the best thoroughfares. One who did a little business informed me that he usually cleared, including Sunday, 11*s.*—last week his gains were 15*s.*; the week before that he could not remember. He is very frequently out all night, and does not earn sixpence. This is on wet and cold nights, when there are few people about. His is generally the night-trade. The average weekly earnings of the trade, throughout the year, are said to be 1*l.* The trade, I am assured by all, is overstocked. They are half too many, they say. "Two of us," to use their own words, "are eating one man's bread." "When coffee in the streets first came up, a man could go and earn," I am told, "his 8*s.* a night at the very lowest; but now the same class of men cannot earn more than 3*s.*" Some men may earn comparatively a large sum, as much as 38*s.* or 2*l.*, but the generality of the trade cannot make more than 1*l.* per week, if so much. The following is the statement of one of the class:—

"I was a mason's labourer, a smith's labourer, a plasterer's labourer, or a bricklayer's labourer. I was, indeed, a labouring man. I could not get employment. I was for six months without any employment. I did not know which way to support my wife and child (I have only one child). Being so long out of employment, I saw no other means of getting a living but out of the streets. I was almost starving before I took to it—that I certainly was. I'm not ashamed of telling anybody that, because it's true, and I sought for a livelihood wherever I could. Many said they wouldn't do such a thing as keep a coffee-stall, but I said I'd do anything to get a bit of bread honestly. Years ago, when I was a boy, I used to go out selling water-cresses, and apples, oranges, and radishes, with a barrow, for my landlord; so I thought, when I was thrown out of employment, I would take to selling coffee in the streets. I went to a tinman, and paid him 10*s.* 6*d.* (the last of my savings, after I'd been four or five months out of work) for a can. I didn't care how I got my living so long as I could turn an honest penny. Well; I went on, and knocked about, and couldn't get a pitch anywhere; but at last I heard that an old man, who had been in the habit of standing for many years at the entrance of one of the markets, had fell ill; so, what did I do, but I goes and pops into his pitch, and there I've done better than ever I did afore. I get 20*s.* now where I got 10*s.* one time; and

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if I only had such a thing as 5*l.* or 10*l.*, I might get a good living for life. I cannot do half as much as the man that was there before me. He used to make his coffee down there, and had a can for hot water as well; but I have but one can to keep coffee and all in; and I have to borrow my barrow, and pay 1*s.* a week for it. If I sell my can out, I can't do any more. The struggle to get a living is so great, that, what with one and another in the coffee-trade, it's only those as can get good 'pitches' that can get a crust at it."

As it appears that each coffee-stall keeper on an average, clears 1*l.* a week, and his takings may be said to be at least double that sum, the yearly street expenditure for tea, coffee, &c., amounts to 31,200*l.* The quantity of coffee sold annually in the streets, appears to be about 550,000 gallons.

To commence as a coffee-stall keeper in a moderate manner requires about 5*l.* capital. The truck costs 2*l.*, and the other utensils and materials 3*l.* The expense of the cans is near upon 16*s.* each. The stock-money is a few shillings.

Of the Street Sale of Ginger-beer, Sherbet, Lemonade, &c.

The street-trade in ginger-beer—now a very considerable traffic—was not known to any extent until about thirty years ago. About that time (1822) a man, during a most sultry drought, sold extraordinary quantities of "cool ginger-beer" and of "soda-powders," near the Royal Exchange, clearing, for the three or four weeks the heat continued, 30*s.* a day, or 9*l.* weekly. Soda-water he sold "in powders," the acid and the alkali being mixed in the water of the glass held by the customer, and drunk whilst effervescing. His prices were 2*d.* and 3*d.* a glass for ginger-beer; and 3*d.* and 4*d.* for soda-water, "according to the quality;" though there was in reality no difference whatever in the quality—only in the price. From that time, the numbers pursuing this street avocation increased gradually; they have however fallen off of late years.

The street-sellers who "brew their own beer" generally prepare half a gross (six dozen) at a time. For a "good quality" or the "penny bottle" trade, the following are the ingredients and the mode of preparation:—3 gallons of water; 1 lb. of ginger, 6*d.*; lemon-acid, 2*d.*; essence of cloves, 2*d.*; yeast, 2*d.*; and 1 lb. of raw sugar, 7*d.* This admixture, the yeast being the last ingredient introduced, stands 24 hours, and is then ready for bottling. If the beverage be required in 12 hours, double the quantity of yeast is used. The bottles are filled only "to the ridge," but the liquid and the froth more than fill a full-sized half-pint glass. "Only half froth," I was told, "is reckoned very fair, and it's just the same in the shops." Thus, 72 bottles, each to be sold at 1*d.*, cost—apart from any outlay in utensils, or any consideration of the value of labour—only 1*s.* 7*d.*, and yield, at 1*d.* per bottle, 6*s.* For the cheaper beverage—called "playhouse ginger-beer" in the trade—instead of sugar, molasses from the "private distilleries" is made available. The "private" distilleries are the illicit ones: "'Jiggers,' we call them," said one man; "and I could pass 100 in 10 minutes' walk from where we're talking." Molasses, costing 3*d.* at a jigger's, is sufficient for a half-gross of bottles of ginger-beer; and of the other ingredients only half the quantity is used, the cloves being altogether dispensed with, but the same amount of yeast is generally applied. This quality of "beer" is sold at ½*d.* the glass.

About five years ago "fountains" for the production of ginger-beer became common in the streets. The ginger-beer trade in the open air is only for a summer season, extending from four to seven months, according to the weather, the season last year having been over in about four months. There were then 200 fountains in the streets, all of which, excepting 20 or 30 of the best, were hired of the ginger-beer manufacturers, who drive a profitable trade in them. The average value of a street-fountain, with a handsome frame or stand, which is usually fixed on a wheeled and movable truck, so as one man's strength may be sufficient to propel it, is 7*l.*; and, for the rent of such a fountain, 6*s.* a week is paid when the season is brisk, and 4*s.* when it is slack; but last summer, I am told, 4*s.* 6*d.* was an average. The largest and handsomest ginger-beer fountain in London was—I speak of last summer—in use at the East-end, usually standing in Petticoat-lane, and is the property of a dancing-master. It is made of mahogany, and presents somewhat the form of an upright piano on wheels. It has two pumps, and the brass of the pump-handles and the glass receivers is always kept bright and clean, so that the whole glitters handsomely to the light. Two persons "serve" at this fountain; and on a fine Sunday morning, from six to one, that being the best trading time, they take 7*l.* or 8*l.* in halfpennies—for "the beer" is ½*d.* a glass—and 2*l.* each other day of the week. This machine, as it may be called, is drawn by two ponies, said to be worth 10*l.* a-piece; and the whole cost is pronounced—perhaps with a sufficient exaggeration—to have been 150*l.* There were, in the same neighbourhood, two more fountains on a similar scale, but commoner, each drawn by only one pony instead of the aristocratic "pair."

The ingredients required to feed the "ginger-beer" fountains are of a very cheap description. To supply 10 gallons, 2 quarts of lime-juice (as it is called, but it is, in reality, lemon-juice), costing 3*s.* 6*d.*, are placed in the recess, sometimes with the addition of a pound of sugar (4*d.*); while some, I am assured, put in a smaller quantity of juice, and add twopennyworth of oil of vitriol, which "brings out the sharpness of the lime-juice." The rest is water. No process of brewing or fermentation is necessary, for the fixed air pumped into

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THE LONDON COFFEE-STALL.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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the liquid as it is drawn from the fountain, communicates a sufficient briskness or effervescence. "The harder you pumps," said one man who had worked a fountain, "the frothier it comes; and though it seems to fill a big glass—and the glass an't so big for holding as it looks—let it settle, and there's only a quarter of a pint." The hirer of a fountain is required to give security. This is not, as in some slop-trades, a deposit of money; but a householder must, by written agreement, make himself responsible for any damage the fountain may sustain, as well as for its return, or make good the loss: the street ginger-beer seller is alone responsible for the rent of the machine. It is however, only men that are known, who are trusted in this way. Of the fountains thus hired, 50 are usually to be found at the neighbouring fairs and races. As the ginger-beer men carry lime-juice, &c., with them, only water is required to complete the "brewing of the beer" and so conveyance is not difficult.

There is another kind of "ginger-beer," or rather of "small acid tiff," which is sold out of barrels at street-stalls at ½*d.* the glass. To make 2½ gallons of this, there is used ½lb. tartaric, or other acid, 1*s.*; ½ lb. alkali (soda), 10*d.*; ½ lb. lump sugar, bruised fine, 4*d.*; and yeast 1*d.* Of these "barrel-men" there are now about one hundred.

Another class of street-sellers obtain their stock of ginger-beer from the manufacturers. One of the largest manufacturers for the street-trade resides near Ratcliffe-highway, and another in the Commercial-road. The charge by the wholesale traders is 8*d.* the doz., while to a known man, or for ready money, 13 are given to the dozen. The beer, however, is often let out on credit—or in some cases security is given in the same way as for the fountains—and the empty bottles must be duly returned. It is not uncommon for two gross of beer to be let out in this way at a time. For the itinerant trade these are placed on a truck or barrow, fitted up with four shelves, on which are ranged the bottles. These barrows are hired in the same way as the costers' barrows. Some sell their beer at stalls fitted up exclusively for the trade, a kind of tank being let into the centre of the board and filled with water, in which the glasses are rinsed or washed. Underneath the stall there is usually a reserve of the beer, and a keg containing water. Some of the best frequented stalls were in Whitechapel, Old-street-road, City-road, Tottenham-court-road, the New-cut, Elephant and Castle, the Commercial-road, Tower-hill, the Strand, and near Westminster-bridge.

The stationary beer business is, for the most part, carried on in the more public streets, such as Holborn and Oxford-street, and in the markets of Covent-garden, Smithfield, and Billingsgate; while the peripatetic trade, which is briskest on the Sundays—when, indeed, some of the stationary hands become itinerant—is more for the suburbs; Victoria-park, Battersea-fields, Hampstead-heath, Primrose-hill, Kennington-common, and Camberwell-green, being approved Sunday haunts.

The London street-sellers of ginger-beer, say the more experienced, may be computed at 3,000—of whom about one-third are women. I heard them frequently estimated at 5,000, and some urged that the number was at least as near 5,000 as 3,000. For my own part I am inclined to believe that half the smaller number would be nearer the truth. Judging by the number of miles of streets throughout the metropolis, and comparing the street-sellers of ginger-beer with the fruit-stall keepers, I am satisfied that in estimating the ginger-beer-sellers at 1,500 we are rather over than under the truth. This body of street-sellers were more numerous five years back by 15 or 20 per cent., but the introduction of the street fountains, and the trade being resorted to by the keepers of coal-sheds and the small shopkeepers—who have frequently a stand with ginger-beer in front of their shops —have reduced the amount of the street-sellers. In 1842, there were 1,200 ginger-beer sellers in the streets who had attached to their stalls or trucks labels, showing that they were members —or assumed to be members—of the Society of Odd Fellows. This was done in hopes of a greater amount of custom from the other members of the Society, but the expectation was not realised—and so the Odd Fellowship of the ginger-beer people disappeared. Of the street-traders 200 work fountains; and of the remaining portion the stationary and the itinerant are about equally divided. Of the whole number, however, not above an eighth confine themselves to the trade, but usually sell with their "pop" some other article of open-air traffic—fruit, sweet-stuff, or shell-fish. There are of the entire number about 350, who, whenever the weather permits, stay out all night with their stands or barrows, and are to be found especially in all the approaches to Covent-garden, and the other markets to which there is a resort during the night or at day-break. These men, I was told by one of their body, worked from eight in the evening to eight or ten next morning, then went to bed, rose at three, and "plenty of 'em then goes to the skittles or to get drunk."

The character of the ginger-beer-sellers does not differ from what I have described as pertaining to the costermonger class, and to street-traders generally. There is the same admixture of the reduced mechanic, the broken-down gentleman's servant, the man of any class in life who cannot brook the confinement and restraint of ordinary in-door labour, and of the man "brought up to the streets." One experienced and trustworthy man told me that from his own knowledge he could count up twenty "classical men," as he styled them, who were in the street ginger-beer-trade, and of these four had been, or were said to have been "parsons," two being of the same name (Mr. S ——); but my informant did not know if they stood in any degree of consanguinity one

to another. The women are the wives, daughters, or other connections of the men.

Some of the stalls at which ginger-beer is sold —and it is the same at the coal-sheds and the chandlers' shops—are adorned pictorially. Erected at the end of a stall is often a painting, papered on a board, in which a gentleman, with the bluest of coats, the whitest of trousers, the yellowest of waistcoats, and the largest of guard-chains or eye-glasses, is handing a glass of ginger-beer, frothed up like a pot of stout, and containing, apparently, a pint and a half, to some lady in flowing white robes, or gorgeous in purple or orange.

To commence in this branch of the street business requires, in all 18*s.* 3*d.*: six glasses, 2*s.* 9*d.*; board, 5*s.*; tank, 1*s.*; keg, 1*s.*; gross of beer, 8*s.* (this is where the seller is not also the maker); and for towels, &c., 6*d.*; if however the street-seller brew his own beer, he will require half a gross of bottles, 5*s.* 6*d.*; and the ingredients I have enumerated, 1*s.* 7*d.*

In addition to the street-sale of ginger-beer is that of other summer-drinks. Of these, the principal is lemonade, the consumption of which is as much as that of all the others together. Indeed, the high-sounding names given to some of these beverages—such as "Nectar" and "Persian Sherbet"—are but other names for lemonade, in a slightly different colour or fashion.

Lemonade is made, by those vendors who deal in the best articles, after the following method: 1 lb. of carbonate of soda, 6*d.*; 1 lb. of tartaric acid, 1*s.* 4*d.* ("at least," said an informant, '*I* pay 1*s.* 4*d.* at 'Pothecaries Hall, but it can be had at 1*s.*"); 1 lb. of loaf-sugar, 5½*d.*; essence of lemon, 3*d.* This admixture is kept, in the form of a powder, in a jar, and water is drawn from what the street-sellers call a "stone-barrel"—which is a stone jar, something like the common-shaped filters, with a tap—and a larger or smaller spoonful of the admixture in a glass of water supplies an effervescing draught for 1*d.* or ½*d.* "There's sometimes shocking roguishness in the trade," said one man, "and there is in a many trades—some uses vitriol!" Lemonade, made after the recipe I have given, is sometimes bottled by the street-sellers, and sold in the same way as ginger-beer. It is bought, also, for street sale of the ginger-beer manufacturers—the profit being the same—but so bought to less than a twentieth of the whole sale. The water in the stone barrel is spring-water, obtained from the nearest pump, and in hot weather obtained frequently, so as to be "served" in as cool a state as possible. Sometimes lemonade powders are used; they are bought at a chemist's, at 1*s.* 6*d.* the pound. "Sherbet" is the same admixture, with cream of tartar instead of tartaric acid. "Raspberry" has, sometimes, the addition of a few crusted raspberries, and a colouring of cochineal, with, generally, a greater degree of sweetening than lemonade. "If cochineal is used for colouring," said one man, "it sometimes turns brown in the sun, and the rasberry don't sell. A little lake's better." "Lemon-juice" is again lemonade, with a slight infusion of saffron to give it a yellow or pale orange colour. "Nectar," in imitation of Soyer's, has more sugar and less acid than the lemonade; spices, such as cinnamon, is used to flavour it, and the colouring is from lake and saffron.

These "cooling drinks" are sold from the powder or the jar, as I have described, from fountains, and from bottles. The fountain sale is not above a tenth of the whole. All is sold in ½*d.* and 1*d.* glasses, except the nectar, which is never less than 1*d.* The customers are the same as those who buy ginger-beer; but one "lemonader" with whom I conversed, seemed inclined to insist that they were a "more respectabler class." Boys are good customers—better, perhaps, than for the beer,—as "the colour and the fine names attracts them."

The "cooling drink" season, like that of the ginger-beer, is determined by the weather, and last summer it was only four months. It was computed for me that there were 200 persons, chiefly men, selling solely lemonade, &c., and an additional 300 uniting the sale with that of ginger-beer. One man, whose statement was confirmed by others, told me that on fine days he took 3*s.* 6*d.*, out of which he cleared 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; and he concluded that his brother tradesmen cleared as much every fine day, and so, allowing for wet weather and diminished receipts, made 10*s.* a week. The receipts, then, for this street luxury—a receipt of 17*s.* 6*d.* affording a profit of 10*s.*—show a street expenditure in such a summer as the last, of 2,800*l.*, by those who do not unite ginger-beer with the trade. Calculating that those who do unite ginger beer with it sell only one-half as much as the others, we find a total outlay of 4,900*l.* One of the best trades is in the hands of a man who "works" Smithfield, and on the market days clears generally from 6*s.* to 9*s.*

The stalls, &c., are of the same character as those of the ginger-beer sellers. The capital required to start is:—stone barrel, with brass tap, 5*s.* 6*d.*; stand and trestle, 6*s.*; 6 tumbler glasses, 2*s.* 3*d.*; 2 towels, 6*d.*; stock money, 2*s.* 6*d.*; jar, 2*s.*; 12 bottles (when used), 3*s.* 6*d.*; in all, about a guinea.

In showing the money expended in the ginger-beer trade it must be borne in mind that a large portion of the profits accrues to persons who cannot be properly classed with the regular street-traders. Such is the proprietor of the great fountain of which I have spoken, who is to be classed as a speculative man, ready to embark capital in any way—whether connected with street-traffic or not—likely to be remunerative. The other and large participants in the profits are the wholesale ginger-beer manufacturers, who are also the letters-out of fountains, one of them having generally nine let out at a time. For a street trader to sell three gross of ginger-beer in bottle is now accounted a *good* week, and for that the receipts

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will be 36*s.* with a profit in the penny bottle trade, to the seller, if he buy of a manufacturer, of 12*s.*; if he be his own brewer—reckoning a fair compensation for labour, and for money invested in utensils, and in bottles, &c., of 20*s.* An ordinary week's sale is two gross, costing the public 24*s.*, with the same proportion of profit in the same trade to the seller. In a *bad* week, or "in a small way to help out other things," not more than one gross is sold.

The fountain trade is the most profitable to the proprietors, whether they send out their machines on their own account, or let them out on hire; but perhaps there are only an eighth of the number not let out on hire. Calculating that a fountain be let out for three successive seasons of twenty weeks each, at only 4*s.* the week, the gross receipts are 12*l.* for what on the first day of hire was worth only 7*l.*; so that the returns from 200 machines let out for the same term, would be 2,400*l.*, or a profit of 1,000*l.* over and above the worth of the fountain, which having been thus paid for is of course in a succeeding year the means of a clear profit of 4*l.* I am assured that the weekly average of "a fountain's takings," when in the hands of the regular street-dealers, is 18*s.*

The barrel traders may be taken as in the average receipt of 6*s.* a week.

The duration of the season was, last year, only sixteen weeks. Calculating from the best data I could acquire, it appears that for this period 200 street-sellers of ginger-beer in the bottle trade of the penny class take 30*s.* a week each (thus allowing for the inferior receipts in bad weather); 300 take 20*s.* each, selling for the most part at ½*d.* the bottle, and that the remaining 400 "in a small way" take 6*s.* each; hence we find 11,480*l.* expended in the bottled ginger-beer of the streets. Adding the receipts from the fountains and the barrels, the barrel season continuing only ten weeks, the total sum expended annually in street ginger-beer is altogether 14,660*l.* The bottles of ginger-beer sold yearly in the streets will number about 4,798,000, and the total street consumption of the same beverage may be said to be about 250,000 gallons per annum.

Of the Experience and Customers of a Ginger-beer Seller.

A slim, well-spoken man, with a half-military appearance, as he had a well trimmed moustache, and was very cleanlily dressed, gave me the following account: "I have known the ginger-beer trade for eight years, and every branch of it. Indeed I think I've tried all sorts of street business. I've been a costermonger, a lot-seller, a nut-seller, a secret-paper-seller (with straws, you know, sir), a cap-seller, a street-printer, a cakeman, a clown, an umbrella-maker, a toasting-fork maker, a sovereign seller, and a ginger-beer seller. I hardly know what I haven't been. I made my own when last I worked beer. Sunday was my best day, or rather Sunday mornings when there's no public-houses open. Drinking Saturday nights make dry Sunday mornings. Many a time men have said to me: 'Let's have a bottle to quench a spark in my throat,' or 'My mouth's like an oven.' I've had to help people to lift the glass to their lips, their hands trembled so. They couldn't have written their names plain if there was a sovereign for it. But these was only chance customers; one or two in a morning, and five or six on a Sunday morning. I've been a teetotaller myself for fifteen years. No, sir, I didn't turn one—but I never was a drinker—not from any great respect for the ginger-beer trade, but because I thought it gave one a better chance of getting on. I once had saved money, but it went in a long sickness. I used to be off early on Sunday mornings sometimes to Hackney Marsh, and sell my beer there to gentlemen—oldish gentlemen some of them—going a fishing. Others were going there to swim. One week I took 35*s.* at 1*d.* a bottle, by going out early in a morning; perhaps 20*s.* of it was profit, but my earnings in the trade in a good season wasn't more than 12*s.* one week with another. All the trades in the streets are bad now, I think. Eight years back I could make half as much more in ginger-beer as could be made last summer. Working people and boys were my other customers. I stuck to ginger-beer in the season and then went into something else, for I can turn my hand to anything. I began a street life at eight years old by selling memorandum-books in the bull-ring at Birmingham. My parents were ill and hadn't a farthing in the house. I began with 1*d.* stock-money, and I bought three memorandum-books for it at Cheap Jack's thatched house. I've been in London seventeen or eighteen years. I'm a roulette-maker now; I mean the roulette boxes that gentlemen take with them to play with when travelling on a railway or such times. I make loaded dice, too, and supply gaming-houses. I think I know more gaming-houses than any man in London. I've sold them to gentlemen and to parsons, that is ministers of religion. I can prove that. I don't sell those sort of things in the streets. I could do very well in the trade, but it's so uncertain and so little's wanted compared to what would keep a man going, and I have a mother that's sixty to support. Altogether my present business is inferior to the ginger-beer; but the fountains will destroy all the fair ginger-beer trade."

Of the Street-sellers of Hot Elder Wine.

The sale of hot elder wine in the streets is one of the trades which have been long established, but it is only within these eight or ten years that it has been carried on in its present form. It continues for about four months in the winter.

Elder wine is made from the berries of the elder-tree. Elder syrup—also made from the

berries — was formerly famous in the north of England as a curative for colds, and was frequently taken, with a small admixture of rum, at bedtime. Some of the street-sellers make the wine themselves; the majority, however, buy it of the British wine makers. The berries must be gathered when fully ripe, and on a dry day. They are picked, measured, and put into a copper, two gallons of water being added to every gallon of berries. They are then boiled till the berries are quite soft, when the liquor is strained and pressed from them through a strong hair sieve. The liquor thus expressed is again put into the copper, boiled an hour, skimmed, and placed in a tub along with a bread toast, on which yeast is spread thickly; it then stands two days, and is afterwards put into a cask, a few cloves and crusted ginger being hung in a muslin bag from the bung-hole, so as to flavour the liquor. Sometimes this spicing is added afterwards, when the liquor is warmed. The berries are sold in the markets, principally in Covent-garden,—the price varying, according to the season, from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* a gallon. Of all elder-wine makers the Jews are the best as regards the street commodity. The costermongers say they "have a secret;" a thing said frequently enough when superior skill is shown, and especially when, as in the case of the Jews' elder wine, better pennyworths are given. The Jews, I am told, add a small quantity of raspberry vinegar to their "elder," so as to give it a "sharp pleasant twang." The heat and pungency of the elder wine sold in the streets is increased by some street-sellers by means of whole black pepper and capsicums.

The apparatus in which the wine is now kept for sale in the streets is of copper or brass, and is sometimes "handsome." It is generally an urn of an oblong form, erected on a sort of pedestal, with the lid or top ornamented with brass mouldings, &c. Three plated taps give vent to the beverage. Orifices are contrived and are generally hidden, or partially hidden, with some ornament, which act as safety-valves, or, as one man would have it, "chimneys." The interior of these urns holds three or four quarts of elder wine, which is surrounded with boiling water, and the water and wine are kept up to the boiling pitch by means of a charcoal fire at the foot of the vessel. Fruit of some kind is generally sold by the elder-wine men at their stand.

The elder wine urn is placed on a stand covered with an oil-cloth, six or eight glasses being ranged about it. It is sold at a halfpenny and a penny a glass; but there is "little difference in some elder wines," I was told, "between the penn'orths and the ha'porths." A wine glass of the "regular" size is a half-quartern, or the eighth of a pint.

Along with each glass of hot elder wine is given a small piece of toasted bread. Some buyers steep this bread in the wine, and so imbibe the flavour. "It ain't no good as I know on," said an elder-wine seller, "but it's the fashion, and so people must have it." The purchasers of elder wine are the working classes—but not the better order of them—and the boys of the street. Some of these lads, I was told, were very choice and critical in their elder wines. Some will say: "It ain't such bad wine, but not the real spicy."—"The helder I thinks," said another, "is middlin', but somehow there's nothing but hotness for to taste."

Of these traders there are now perhaps fifty in London. One man counted up thirty of his brethren whom he knew personally, or knew to be then "working elder," and he thought that there might be as many more, but I am assured that fifty is about the mark. The sellers of elder wine have been for the most part mechanics who have adopted the calling for the reasons I have often given. None of them, in the course of my inquiry, depended entirely upon the sale of the wine, but sold fruit in addition to it. All complained of the bad state of trade. One man said, that four or five years back he had replenished the wine in a three quart urn twelve times a day, a jar of the wine being kept at the stall in readiness for that purpose. This amounted to 576 glasses sold in the course of the day, and a receipt—reckoning each glass at a penny—of 48*s.*; but probably not more than 40*s.* would be taken, as some would have halfpenny glasses. Now the same man rarely sells three quarts in a day, except perhaps on a Saturday, and on wet days he sells none at all. The elder wine can be bought at almost any price at the wine makers, from 4*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* the quart. The charge in the public-houses is twice as high as in the streets, but the inn wine, I was told by a person familiar with the trade, contains spirit, and is more highly spiced.

A decent-looking middle-aged man who had been in a gentleman's service, but was disabled by an accident which crushed his hand, and who thereupon resorted to street-selling and had since continued in it, in different branches, from fifteen to twenty years, gave me an account of his customers. He had not been acquainted with the elder-wine trade above four or five years when he bought an elder can for about 15*s.* among a cheap miscellaneous "lot" in Smithfield one Friday afternoon, and so he commenced:

"It's a poor trade, sir," he said. "I don't suppose any of us make 10*s.* a week at it alone, but it's a good help to other things, and I do middling. I should say less than a 1*s.* a day was above the average profits of the trade. Say 5*s.* a week, for on wet days we can't sell at all. No one will stop to drink elder wine in the wet. They'll rather have a pennor'th of gin, or half a pint of beer with the chill off, under shelter. I sell sometimes to people that say they're teetotallers and ask if there's any spirit in my wine. I assure them there's not, just the juice of the berry. I start when I think the weather's

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cold enough, and keep at it as long as there's any demand. My customers are boys and poor people, and I sell more ha'porths than pennor'ths. I've heard poor women that's bought of me say it was the only wine they ever tasted. The boys are hard to please, but I won't put up with their nonsense. It's not once in fifty times that a girl of the town buys my wine. It's not strong enough for her, I fancy. A sharp frosty dry day suits me best. I may then sell three or four quarts. I don't make it, but buy it. It's a poor trade, and I think it gets worse every year, though I believe there's far fewer of us."

One elder-wine stand in Tottenham-court-road cost, when new, 7*l.*, but that was six or seven years ago. Calculating that 50 persons clear 5*s.* a week for 16 weeks, their profit being at least cent. per cent., the street outlay in this very British wine will be only 200*l.*, and the street-consumption of it in the course of the year 1,500 gallons.

Of the Street Sale of Peppermint-Water.

Perhaps the only thing which can be called a cordial or a liqueur sold in the streets (if we except elder wine), is peppermint-water, and of this the sale is very limited. For the first 15 or 20 years of the present century, I was told by one who spoke from a personal knowledge, "a peppermінter" had two little taps to his keg, which had a division in the interior. From one tap was extracted "peppermint-water;" from the other, "strong peppermint-water." The one was at that time 1*d.* a glass, the other from 2*d.* to 4*d.*, according to the size of the glass. With the "strong" beverage was mixed smuggled spirit, but so strongly impregnated with the odour of the mint, that a passer-by could not detect the presence of the illicit compound. There are six persons selling peppermint-water in the winter, and only half that number in the summer. The trade is irregular, as some pursue it only of a night, and generally in the street markets; others sell at Billingsgate, and places of great traffic, when the traffic is being carried on. They are stationary for awhile, but keep shifting their ground. The vendors generally "distilled their own mint," when the sale was greater, but within these six or eight years they have purchased it at a distilling chemist's, and have only prepared it for sale. Water is added to the distilled liquid bought of the chemist, to increase the quantity; but to enhance the heat of the draught—which is a draw to some buyers—black pepper (unground), or ginger, or, but rarely, capsicums, are steeped in the beverage. The peppermint-water is lauded by the vendors, when questioned concerning it, as an excellent stomachic; but nothing is said publicly of its virtues, the cry being merely, "Pep-permint water, a halfpenny a glass."

The sellers will generally say that they distil the peppermint-water themselves, but this is not now commonly the case. The process, however, is simple enough. The peppermint used is gathered just as it is bursting into flower, and the leaves and buds are placed in a tub, with just water enough to cover them. This steeping continues 24 hours, and then a still is filled three-parts full, and the water is "over" drawn very slowly.

The price at the chemist's is 1*s.* a quart for the common mint-water; the street price is ½*d.* a glass, containing something short of the eighth of a pint. What costs 1*s.*, the street-seller disposes of for 2*s.*, so realising the usual cent. per cent.

To take 2*s.* is now accounted "a tidy day's work;" and calculating that four "peppermінters" take that amount the year round, Sundays excepted, we find that nearly 125*l.* is spent annually in peppermint-water and 900 gallons of it consumed every year in the streets of London.

The capital required is, keg, 3*s.* 6*d.*, or jar, 2*s.* (for they are used indifferently); four glasses, 1*s.*; towel, 4*d.*, and stock-money, 4*s.*; or, in all, about 8*s.* The "water"-keg, or jar, is carried by the vendor, but sometimes it is rested on a large stool carried for the purpose. A distilling apparatus, such as the street-sellers used, was worth about 10*s.* The vendors are of the same class of street-sellers as the ginger-beer people.

Of Milk Selling in St. James's Park.

The principal sale of milk from the cow is in St. James's Park. The once fashionable drink known as syllabubs—the milk being drawn warm from the cow's udder, upon a portion of wine, sugar, spice, &c.—is now unknown. As the sellers of milk in the park are merely the servants of cow-keepers, and attend to the sale as a part of their business, no lengthened notice is required.

The milk-sellers obtain leave from the Home Secretary, to ply their trade in the park. There are eight stands in the summer, and as many cows, but in the winter there are only four cows. The milk-vendors sell upon an average, in the summer, from eighteen to twenty quarts per day; in the winter, not more than a third of that quantity. The interrupted milking of the cows, as practised in the Park, often causes them to give less milk, than they would in the ordinary way. The chief customers are infants, and adults, and others, of a delicate constitution, who have been recommended to take new milk. On a wet day scarcely any milk can be disposed of. Soldiers are occasional customers.

A somewhat sour-tempered old woman, speaking as if she had been crossed in love, but experienced in this trade, gave me the following account:

"It's not at all a lively sort of life, selling milk from the cows, though some thinks it's a gay time in the Park! I've often been dull enough, and could see nothing to interest one, sitting alongside a cow. People drink new milk for their health, and I've served a good many such. They're mostly young women, I think, that's de-

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licate, and makes the most of it. There's twenty women, and more, to one man what drinks new milk. If they was set to some good hard work, t would do them more good than new milk, or ass's milk either, I think. Let them go on a milk-walk to cure them—that's what I say. Some children come pretty regularly with their nurses to drink new milk. Some bring their own china mugs to drink it out of; nothing less was good enough for them. I've seen the nurse-girls frightened to death about the mugs. I've heard one young child say to another: 'I shall tell mama that Caroline spoke to a mechanic, who came and shook hands with her.' The girl was as red as fire, and said it was her brother. Oh, yes, there's a deal of brothers comes to look for their sisters in the Park. The greatest fools I've sold milk to is servant-gals out for the day. Some must have a day, or half a day, in the month. Their mistresses ought to keep them at home, I say, and not let them out to spend their money, and get into nobody knows what company for a holiday; mistresses is too easy that way. It's such gals as makes fools of themselves in liking a soldier to run after them. I've seen one of them—yes, some would call her pretty, and the prettiest is the silliest and easiest tricked out of money, that's my opinion, anyhow—I've seen one of them, and more than one, walk with a soldier, and they've stopped a minute, and she's taken something out of her glove and given it to him. Then they've come up to me, and he's said to her, 'Mayn't I treat you with a little new milk, my dear?' and he's changed a shilling. Why, of course, the silly fool of a gal had given him that there shilling. I thought, when Annette Myers shot the soldier, it would be a warning, but nothing's a warning to some gals. *She* was one of those fools. It was a good deal talked about at the stand, but I think none of us know'd her. Indeed, we don't know our customers but by sight. Yes, there's now and then some oldish gentlemen—I suppose they're gentlemen, anyhow, they're idle men—lounging about the stand: but there's no nonsense there. They tell me, too, that there's not so much lounging about as there was; those that's known the trade longer than me thinks so. Them children's a great check on the nusses, and they can't be such fools as the servant-maids. I don't know how many of them I've served with milk along with soldiers: I never counted them. They're nothing to me. Very few elderly people drink new milk. It's mostly the young. I've been asked by strangers when the Duke of Wellington would pass to the Horse-Guards or to the House of Lords. He's pretty regular. I've had 6*d.* given me—but not above once or twice a year—to tell strangers where was the best place to see him from as he passed. I don't understand about this Great Exhibition, but, no doubt, more new milk will be sold when it's opened, and that's all I cares about."

OF THE STREET SALE OF MILK.

DURING the summer months milk is sold in Smithfield, Billingsgate, and the other markets, and on Sundays in Battersea-fields, Clapham-common, Camberwell-green, Hampstead-heath, and similar places. About twenty men are engaged in this sale. They usually wear a smock frock, and have the cans and yoke used by the regular milk-sellers; they are not itinerant. The skim milk—for they sell none else—is purchased at the dairies at 1½*d.* a quart, and even the skim milk is also further watered by the street-sellers. Their cry is "Half-penny half-pint! Milk!" The tin measure however in which the milk-and-water is served is generally a "slang," and contains but half of the quantity proclaimed. The purchasers are chiefly boys and children; rarely men, and never costermongers, I was told, "for they reckon milk sickly." These street-sellers—who have most of them been employed in the more regular milk-trade—clear about 1*s.* 6*d.* a day each, for three months; and as the profit is rather more than cent. per cent. it appears that about 4,000 gallons of milk are thus sold, and upwards of 260*l.* laid out upon these persons, yearly in its purchase.

A pair of cans with the yoke cost 15*s.*, and 1*l.* is amply sufficient as capital to start in this trade, as the two measures used may be bought for 2*s.*; and 3*s.* can be devoted to the purchase of the liquid.

OF THE STREET-SALE OF CURDS AND WHEY.

THE preparations of milk which comprise the street-trade, are curds and whey and rice-milk, the oldest street-sellers stating that these were a portion of the trade in their childhood. The one is a summer, and the other a winter traffic, and both are exclusively in the hands of the same middle-aged and elderly women. The vendors prepare the curds and whey in all cases themselves. "Skim-milk," purchased at the dairies, is used by the street-purveyors, a gallon being the quantity usually prepared at a time. This milk gallon is double the usual quantity, or eight quarts. The milk is first "scalded," the pan containing it being closely watched, in order that the contents may not boil. The scalding occupies 10 or 15 minutes, and it is then "cooled" until it attains the lukewarmness of new milk. Half a pound of sugar is then dissolved in the milk, and a tea-spoonful of rennet is introduced, which is sufficient to "turn" a gallon. In an hour, or in some cases two, the milk is curded, and is ready for use. The street-sale is confined to stalls; the stall, which is the ordinary stand, being covered with a white cloth, or in some cases an oil-cloth, and on this the curds, in a bright tin kettle or pan, are deposited. There are six mugs on the board, and a spoon in each, but those who affect a more modern style have glasses. One of the neatest stalls, as regards the display of glass, and the bright cleanliness

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of the vessel containing the curds, is in Holborn; but the curd-seller there has only an average business. The mugs or glasses hold about the third of a pint, and "the full of one" is a pennyworth; for a halfpenny-worth the vessel is half filled. The season is during the height of summer, and continues three or four months, or, as one woman tersely and commercially expressed it, "from Easter to fruit." The number of street-saleswomen is about 100. Along with the curds they generally sell oranges, or such early fruit as cherries.

A woman who had sold "cruds"—as the street-people usually call it—for eighteen years, gave me the following account:—"Boys and girls is my best customers for cruds, sir. Perhaps I sell to them almost half of all I get rid of. Very little fellows will treat girls, often bigger than themselves, at my stall, and they have as much chaffing and nonsense about it's being 'stunning good for the teeth,' and such like, as if they was grown-up. Some don't much like it at first, but they gets to like it. One boy, whose young woman made faces at it—and it *was* a little sour to be sure that morning—got quite vexed and said, 'Wot a image you're a-making on yourself!' I don't know what sort the boys are, only that they're the street-boys mostly. Quiet working people are my other customers, perhaps rather more women than men. Some has told me they was teetotallers. Then there's the women of the town of the poorer sort, *they're* good customers,—as indeed I think they are for most cooling drinks at times, for they seem to me to be *always* thirsty. I never sell to dustmen or that sort of people. Saturday is my best day. If it's fine and warm, I sell a gallon then, which makes about 40 penn'orths: sometimes it brings me 3*s.*, sometimes 3*s.* 6*d.*; it's rather more than half profits. Take it altogether, I sell five gallons in fine dry weeks, and half that in wet; and perhaps there's what I call a set down wet week for every two dry. Nobody has a better right to pray against wet weather than poor women like me. Ten years ago I sold almost twice as much as I can now. There's so many more of us at present, I think, and let alone that there's more shops keeps it too."

Another old woman told me, that she used, "when days was longest," to be up all night, and sell her "cruds" near Drury-lane theatre, and often received in a few hours 5*s.* or 6*s.*, from "ladies and gentlemen out at night." But the men were so rackety, she said, and she'd had her stall so often kicked over by drunken people, and no help for it, that she gave up the night-trade, and she believed it was hardly ever followed now.

To start in the curds and whey line requires the following capital:—Saucepan, for the scalding and boiling, 2*s.*; stall, 5*s*; 6 mugs, 6*d.*; or 6 glasses, 2*s.* 6*d.*; 6 spoons, 3*d.*; tin kettle on stall, 3*s.* 6*d.*; pail for water to rinse glasses, 1*s.* Then for stock-money: 1 gallon skimmed milk, 1*s.* 6*d.* or 1*s.* 8*d.*; and ½ lb. sugar, 2*d.* In all, 14*s.* 1*d.*, reckoning the materials to be of the better sort.

Of the whole number of street curd-sellers, 50 dispose of as much as my informant, or 12½ gallons in 3 weeks; the other 50 sell only half as much. Taking the season at 3 months, we find the consumption of curds and whey in the street to be 2,812 double gallons (as regards the ingredient of milk), at a cost to the purchasers of 421*l.*, half of which is the profit accruing to the street-seller. The receipts of those having the better description of business being 9*s.* 4*d.* weekly; those of the smaller traders being 4*s.* 8*d.* There is a slight and occasional loss by the "cruds" being kept until unsaleable, in which case they are "fit for nothing but the hog-wash man."

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF RICE-MILK.

To make rice-milk, the street-seller usually boils four quarts, of the regular measure, of "skim" with one pound of rice, which has been previously boiled in water. An hour suffices for the boiling of the milk; and the addition of the rice, swollen by the boiling water, increases the quantity to six quarts. No other process is observed, except that some sweeten their rice-milk before they offer it for sale; the majority, however, sweeten it to the customer's liking when he is "served," unless—to use the words of one informant—"he have a werry, werry sweet tooth indeed, sir; and that can't be stood." For the sweetening of six quarts, half a pound of sugar is used; for the "spicing," half an ounce of allspice, dashed over the milk freely enough from a pepper-castor. Rice-milk is always sold at stalls arranged for the purpose, and is kept in a tin pan fitted upon a charcoal brazier, so that the "drinkable" is always hot. This apparatus generally stands on the ground alongside the stall, and is elevated only by the feet of the brazier. The "rice-milk woman,"—for the street-sellers are generally females,—dips a large breakfast-cup, holding half a pint, into the pan, puts a tea-spoonful of sugar into it, browns the whole with allspice, and receives 1*d.*; a halfpennyworth is, of course, half the quantity. The rice-milk women are also sellers of oranges, chestnuts, apples, or some other fruit, as well as the rice-milk; but, sometimes, when the weather is *very* cold and frosty, they sell rice-milk alone. There are fifty street-sellers of rice-milk in London. Saturday night is the best time of sale, when it is not uncommon for a rice-milk woman to sell six quarts; but, in a good trade, four quarts a day for six days of the week is an average. The purchasers are poor people; and a fourth of the milk is sold to boys and girls, to whom it is often a meal. "Ah, sir," said one woman, "you should have seen how a poor man, last winter, swallowed a penn'orth. He'd been a-wandering all night, he said, and he looked it, and a gentleman gave him 2*d.*, for he took pity on his hungry look, and he spent 1*d.* with me, and I gave him another

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cup for charity. 'God bless the gentleman and you!' says he, 'it's saved my life; if I'd bought a penny loaf, I'd have choked on it.' He wasn't a beggar, for I never saw him before, and I've never seen him again from that day to this." The same informant told me, that she believed no rice-milk was bought by the women of the town: "it didn't suit the likes of them." Neither is it bought by those who are engaged in noisome trades. If there be any of the rice-milk left at night, and the saleswoman have doubts of its "keeping," it is re-boiled with fresh rice and milk. The profit is considerable; for the ingredients, which cost less than 1*s.* 6*d.*, are made into 96 pennyworths, and so to realize 8*s.* In some of the poorer localities, however, such as Rosemary-lane, only ½*d.* the half-pint can be obtained, and 4*s.* is then the amount received for six quarts, instead of 8*s.*

To start "in rice-milk" requires 13*s.* capital, which includes a pan for boiling the milk, 2*s.*; a kettle, with brazier, for stall, 4*s.*; stall or stand, 5*s.*; six cups, 9*d.*; for stock-money 15½*d.*, with which is bought 4 quarts of skim-milk, 9*d.*; 1 lb. of rice, 3*d.*; ½ lb. of sugar, 2*d.*; allspice, 1*d.*

The season continues for four months; and calculating—a calculation within the mark—that one half of the 50 sellers have as good a trade as my informant—24 quarts weekly—and that, of the remaining 25, one half sell 12 quarts each weekly, at 1*d.* the half-pint, and the other half vend 24 quarts at ½*d.* the half-pint, we find that 320*l.* is annually spent in rice-milk and about 3,000 gallons of it yearly consumed in the streets of London.

Of Water-Carriers.

It may surprise many to learn that there are still existing water-carriers in London, and some of them depending upon the trade for a livelihood; while others, the "odd men" of the neighbourhood, carry pails of spring water to the publicans or eating-house keepers, who may not have servants to send to the nearest pump for it, and who require it fresh and cool for those who drink it at their meals. Of these men there are, as near as I can ascertain, from 100 to 150; their charge is 1*d.* per pail. Their earnings per day 6*d.* to 1*s.*. Perhaps none of them depend solely upon this labour for their support.

It is otherwise at Highgate and Hampstead, for in those places both men and women depend entirely for their daily bread on water carrying. At Hampstead the supply is derived from what may be called a double well, known as "the Conduit." The ground is flagged, and the water is seen at each corner of a wall built to the surface of the ground (about eight feet) and surmounted by an iron rail. The water is covered over, in one corner and not in the other, and the carrier descends a step or two, dips in his pails and walks away with them when filled. The water is carried by means of a "yoke," in the same way as we see the milk-pails carried in every street in London. The well and the field in which the Hampstead water is situated are the property of the Church, and the water is free to any one, in any quantity, either for sale or any other purpose, "without leave." In droughts or frosts the supply fails, and the carriers have sometimes to wait hours for their "turn," and then to bale the water into their pails with a basin. The nearest street to which the water is carried is half a mile distant. Some is carried three quarters of a mile, and some (occasionally) a mile. The two pails full, which contain seven gallons, are sold at 1½*d.* The weight is about 70 lbs. Seventeen years ago the price was 3*d.*; after which it fell to 2½*d.*, then to 2*d.*, and has been 1½*d.* these five or six years, while now there are three or four carriers who even "carry" at two pails a-penny to the nearer places. The supply of the well (apart from drought or frost) is fifty-six gallons an hour. The principal customers are the laundresses; but in wet weather their cisterns and water-tubs are filled, and the carriers, or the major part of them, are idle. The average earnings of the carriers are 5*s.* a week the year through. Two of them are men of seventy. There is a bench about midway to Hampstead, at which these labourers rest; and here on almost every fine day sits with them a palsied old soldier, a pensioner of about eighty, who regales them, almost daily, with long tales of Vinegar Hill, and Jemmy O'Brien (the informer), and all the terrors of the terrible times of the Irish rebellion of 1798; for the old man (himself an Irishman) had served through the whole of it. This appears to be a somewhat curious theme for constant expatiation to a band of London water-carriers.

There are now twenty individuals, fourteen men and six women, carrying at Hampstead, and twice that number at Highgate. Some leave the carrying when they get better work,—but three-fourths of the number live by it entirely. The women are the wives and widows of carriers. The men have been either mechanics or labourers, except six or eight youths (my informant was not certain which) who had been "brought up to the water, but would willingly get away from it if they could."

A well-spoken and intelligent-looking man, dressed in thick fustian, old and greasy, "but good enough for the carrying," gave me the following account.

"I was a copper-plate printer," he said, "and twenty years ago could earn my 25*s.* a week. But employment fell off. The lithographic injured it, and at last I could get very little work, and then none at all, so I have been carrying now between three and four years. My father-in-law was in the trade, and that made me think of it. My best day's work, and it's the same with all, is 2*s.*, which is sixteen turns. It's not possible to do more. If that could be done every day it would be very well, but in wet weather when the laundresses, who are my

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customers, don't want water, I can't make 1*s.* a week. Then in a drought or a frost one has to wait such a long time for his turn, that it's not 6*d.* a day; a dry spring's the worst. Last March I had many days to wait six turns, and it takes well on to an hour for a turn then. We sit by the well and talk when we're waiting. O, yes, sir, the Pope has had his turn of talk. There's water companies both at Hampstead and Highgate, but our well water (Hampstead) is asked for, for all that. It's so with Highgate. It is beautiful water, either for washing or drinking. Perhaps it's better with a little drop of spirit for drinking, but I seldom taste it that way. The fatigue's so great that we *must* take a little drop of spirit on a long day. No, sir, we don't mix it; that spoils two good things. I've been at the well first light in the morning, and in summer I've been at work at it all night. There's no rule among us, but it's understood that every one has his turn. There's a little chaff sometimes, and some get angry at having to wait, but I never knew a fight. I have a wife and three children. She works for a laundress, and has 2*s.* 6*d.* a day. She has two days regular every week, and sometimes odd turns as well. I think that the women earn more than the men in Hampstead. My rent is 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for an unfurnished room. There is no trade on Sundays, but on fine summer Sundays old —— attends at the well and sells glasses of cool water. He gets 2*s.* 6*d.* some days. He makes no charge; just what any one pleases to give. Any body might do it, but the old gentleman would grumble that they were taking his post."

Computing the number of water carriers at the two places at sixty, and their average earnings through the year at 5*s.* a week, it appears that these men receive 1,452*l.* yearly. The capital required to start in the business is 9*s.*, the cost of a pair of pails and a yoke.

The old man who sells water on the summer Sunday mornings, generally leaving off his sale at church-time, told me that his best customers were ladies and gentlemen who loved an early walk, and bought of him "as it looked like a bit of country life," he supposed, more than from being thirsty. When such customers were not inhabitants of the neighbourhood, they came to him to ask their way, or to make inquiries concerning the localities. Sometimes he dispensed water to men who "looked as if they had been on the loose all night." One gentleman," he said, "looks sharp about him, and puts a dark-coloured stuff—very likely it's brandy—into the two or three glasses of water which he drinks every Sunday, or which he used to drink rather, for I missed him all last summer, I think. His hand trembled like a aspen; he mostly gave me 6*d.*" The water-seller spoke with some indignation of boys, and sometimes men, going to the well on a Sunday morning and "drinking out of their own tins that they'd taken with 'em."

Of the Street-sellers of Pastry and Confectionary.

The cooked provisions sold in the streets, it has been before stated, consist of three kinds—solids, liquids, and pastry and confectionary. The two first have now been fully described, but the last still remains to be set forth.

The street pastry may be best characterised as of a *strong* flavour. This is, for the most part, attributable to the use of old or rancid butter,—possessing the all-important recommendation of cheapness,—or to the substitution of lard, dripping, or some congenial substance. The "strong" taste, however, appears to possess its value in the estimation of street pastry-buyers, especially among the boys. This may arise from the palates of the consumers having been unaccustomed to more delicate flavours, and having become habituated to the relish of that which is somewhat rank; just in the same way as the "*fumet*" of game or venison becomes dear to the palate of the more aristocratic *gourmand.* To some descriptions of street pastry the epithet strong-flavoured may seem inappropriate, but it is appropriate to the generality of these comestibles,—especially to the tarts, which constitute a luxury, if not to the meat pies or puddings that may supply a meal.

The articles of pastry sold in the London streets are meat and fruit pies, boiled meat and kidney puddings, plum "duff" or pudding, and an almost infinite variety of tarts, cakes, buns, and biscuits; while the confectionary consists of all the several preparations included under the wide denomination of "sweet-stuff," as well as the more "medicinal" kind known as "cough drops;" in addition to these there are the more "aristocratic" delicacies recently introduced into street traffic, viz., penny raspberry creams and ices.

Of Street Piemen.

The itinerant trade in pies is one of the most ancient of the street callings of London. The meat pies are made of beef or mutton; the fish pies of eels; the fruit of apples, currants, gooseberries, plums, damsons, cherries, raspberries, or rhubarb, according to the season—and occasionally of mince-meat. A few years ago the street pie-trade was very profitable, but it has been almost destroyed by the "pie-shops," and further, the few remaining street-dealers say "the people now haven't the pennies to spare." Summer fairs and races are the best places for the piemen. In London the best times are during any grand sight or holiday-making, such as a review in Hyde-park, the Lord Mayor's show, the opening of Parliament, Greenwich fair, &c. Nearly all the men of this class, whom I saw, were fond of speculating as to whether the Great Exposition would be "any good" to them, or not.

The London piemen, who may number about forty in winter, and twice that number in summer, are seldom stationary. They go along with

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their pie-cans on their arms, crying, "Pies all 'ot! eel, beef, or mutton pies! Penny pies, all 'ot—all 'ot!" The "can" has been before described. The pies are kept hot by means of a charcoal fire beneath, and there is a partition in the body of the can to separate the hot and cold pies. The "can" has two tin drawers, one at the bottom, where the hot pies are kept, and above these are the cold pies. As fast as the hot dainties are sold, their place is supplied by the cold from the upper drawer.

A teetotal pieman in Billingsgate has a pony and "shay cart." His business is the most extensive in London. It is believed that he sells 20*s.* worth or 240 pies a day, but his brother tradesmen sell no such amount. "I was out last night," said one man to me, "from four in the afternoon till half-past twelve. I went from Somers-town to the Horse Guards, and looked in at all the public-houses on my way, and I didn't take above 1*s.* 6*d.* I have been out sometimes from the beginning of the evening till long past midnight, and haven't taken more than 4*d.*, and out of that I have to pay 1*d.* for charcoal."

The pie-dealers usually make the pies themselves. The meat is bought in "pieces," of the same part as the sausage-makers purchase—the "stickings"—at about 3*d.* the pound. "People, when I go into houses," said one man, "often begin crying, 'Mee-yow,' or 'Bow-wow-wow!' at me; but there's nothing of that kind now. Meat, you see, is so cheap." About five-dozen pies are generally made at a time. These require a quartern of flour at 5*d.* or 6*d.*; 2 lbs. of suet at 6*d.*; 1½ lb. meat at 3*d.*, amounting in all to about 2*s.* To this must be added 3*d.* for baking; 1*d.* for the cost of keeping hot, and 2*d.* for pepper, salt, and eggs with which to season and wash them over. Hence the cost of the five dozen would be about 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the profit the same. The usual quantity of meat in each pie is about half an ounce. There are not more than 20 *hot*-piemen now in London. There are some who carry pies about on a tray slung before them; these are mostly boys, and, including them, the number amounts to about sixty all the year round, as I have stated.

The penny pie-shops, the street men say, have done their trade a great deal of harm. These shops have now got mostly all the custom, as they make the pies much larger for the money than those sold in the streets. The pies in Tottenham-court-road are very highly seasoned. "I bought one there the other day, and it nearly took the skin off my mouth; it was full of pepper," said a street-pieman, with considerable bitterness, to me. The reason why so large a quantity of pepper is put in is, because persons can't exactly tell the flavour of the meat with it. Piemen generally are not very particular about the flavour of the meat they buy, as they can season it up into anything. In the summer, a street pieman thinks he is doing a good business if he takes 5*s.* per day, and in the winter if he gets half that. On a Saturday night, however, he generally takes 5*s.* in the winter, and about 8*s.* in the summer. At Greenwich fair he will take about 14*s.* At a review in Hyde-park, if it is a good one, he will sell about 10*s.* worth. The generality of the customers are the boys of London. The women seldom, if ever, buy pies in the streets. At the public-houses a few pies are sold, and the pieman makes a practice of "looking in" at all the taverns on his way. Here his customers are found principally in the tap-room. "Here's all 'ot!" the pieman cries, as he walks in; "toss or buy! up and win 'em!" This is the only way that the pies can be got rid of. "If it wasn't for tossing we shouldn't sell one."

To "toss the pieman" is a favourite pastime with costermongers' boys and all that class; some of whom aspire to the repute of being gourmands, and are critical on the quality of the comestible. If the pieman win the toss, he receives 1*d.* without giving a pie; if he lose, he hands it over for nothing. The pieman himself never "tosses," but always calls head or tail to his customer. At the week's end it comes to the same thing, they say, whether they toss or not, or rather whether they win or lose the toss: "I've taken as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* at tossing, which I shouldn't have had if I had'nt done so. Very few people buy without tossing, and the boys in particular. Gentlemen 'out on the spree' at the late public-houses will frequently toss when they don't want the pies, and when they win they will amuse themselves by throwing the pies at one another, or at me. Sometimes I have taken as much as half-a-crown, and the people of whom I had the money has never eaten a pie. The boys has the greatest love of gambling, and they seldom, if ever, buys without tossing." One of the reasons why the street boys delight in tossing, is, that they can often obtain a pie by such means when they have only a halfpenny wherewith to gamble. If the lad wins he gets a penny pie for his halfpenny.

For street mince-meat pies the pieman usually makes 5lb. of mince-meat at a time, and for this he will put in 2 doz. of apples, 1lb. of sugar, 1lb. of currants, 2lb. of "critlings" (critlings being the refuse left after boiling down the lard), a good bit of spice to give the critlings a flavour, and plenty of treacle to make the mince-meat look rich.

The "gravy" which used to be given with the meat-pies was poured out of an oil-can, and consisted of a little salt and water browned. A hole was made with the little finger in the top of the meat pie, and the "gravy" poured in until the crust rose. With this gravy a person in the line assured me that he has known pies four days old to go off very freely, and be pronounced excellent. The street piemen are mostly bakers, who are unable to obtain employment at their trade. "I myself," said one, "was a bread and biscuit baker. I have been at the pie business now about two years and a

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half, and I can't get a living at it. Last week my earnings were not more than 7*s.* all the week through, and I was out till three in the morning to get that." The piemen seldom begin business till six o'clock, and some remain out all night. The best time for the sale of pies is generally from ten at night to one in the morning.

Calculating that there are only fifty street piemen plying their trade in London, the year through, and that their average earnings are 8*s.* a week, we find a street expenditure exceeding 3,000*l.*, and a street consumption of pies amounting nearly to three quarters of a million yearly.

To start in the penny pie business of the streets requires 1*l.* for a "can," 2*s.* 6*d.* for a "turn-halfpenny" board to gamble with, 12*s.* for a gross of tin pie-dishes, 8*d.* for an apron, and about 6*s.* 6*d.* for stock money—allowing 1*s.* for flour, 1*s.* 3*d.* for meat, 2*d.* for apples, 4*d.* for eels, 2*s.* for pork flare or fat, 2*d.* for sugar, ½*d.* for cloves, 1*d.* for pepper and salt, 1*d.* for an egg to wash the pies over with, 6*d.* for baking, and 1*d.* for charcoal to keep the pies hot in the streets. Hence the capital required would be about 2*l.* in all.

Of the Street-sellers of Boiled Puddings.

The sale of *boiled* puddings, meat and currant —which might perhaps be with greater correctness called dumplings—has not been known in London, I was informed by one in the trade, more than twelve or fourteen years. The ingredients for the meat puddings are not dissimilar to those I have described as required for the meat pies, but the puddings are boiled, in cotton bags, in coppers or large pans, and present the form of a round ball. The charge is a halfpenny each. Five or six years back a man embarked his means—said to be about 15*l.*—in the meat-pudding line, and prepared a superior article, which was kept warm in the street by means of steam, in a manner similar to that employed by the pieman. A mechanic out of work was engaged by this projector to aid him in the sale of his street luxuries, and the mechanic and his two boys made a living by this sale for two or three years. The original pudding-projector relinquished the street trade to go into business as a small shopkeeper, and the man who sold for him on a sort of commission, earning from 12*s.* to 18*s.* a week, made the puddings on his own account. His earnings, however, on his own account were not above from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week beyond what he earned by commission, and a little while back he obtained work again at his own business, but his two boys still sell puddings in the street.

The sale of boiled meat puddings is carried on only in the autumn and winter months, and only in the evenings, except on Saturdays, when the business commences in the afternoon. The sale, I was informed by one of the parties, has been as many as forty-five dozen puddings on a Saturday evening. The tins in which the puddings are carried about hold from four to six dozen, and are replenished from the pans—the makers always living contiguous to the street where the vend takes place—as fast as the demand requires such replenishment. An average sale on a fine dry winter Saturday evening is thirty dozen, but then, as in most street callings, "the weather"—a remark often made to me—"has considerable to do with it." A frost, I was told, helped off the puddings, and a rain kept them back. Next to Saturday the best business night is Monday; but the average sale on the Monday is barely half that on the Saturday, and on the other evenings of the week about a third. This gives a weekly sale by each street-seller of 85 dozen, or 1,020 puddings, and as I am informed there are now but six street-sellers (regularly) of this comestible, the weekly aggregate would be—allowing for bad weather—5,400, or 129,600 in a season of 24 weeks; an expenditure on the part of the street boys and girls (who are the principal purchasers), and of the poor persons who patronise the street-trade, of about 270*l.* per annum. The wandering street-musicians of the poorer class—such as "Old Sarey" and the Italian boys—often make their dinner off a meat pudding purchased on their rounds; for it is the rule with such people never to return home after starting in the morning till their day's work is done.

The boys who ply their callings in the street, or are much in the open air, are very fond of these puddings, and to witness the way in which they throw the pudding, when very hot, from hand to hand, eyeing it with an expression that shows an eagerness to eat with a fear of burning the mouth, is sometimes laughable and sometimes painful, because not unfrequently there is a look of keen hunger about the—probably outcast—lad. The currant puddings are, I believe, sold only at Billingsgate and Petticoat-lane.

Of the Street-sellers of Plum "Duff" or Dough.

Plum dough is one of the street-eatables—though perhaps it is rather a violence to class it with the street-pastry — which is usually made by the vendors. It is simply a boiled plum, or currant, pudding, of the plainest description. It is sometimes made in the rounded form of the plum-pudding; but more frequently in the "roly-poly" style. Hot pudding used to be of much more extensive sale in the streets. One informant told me that twenty or thirty years ago, batter, or Yorkshire, pudding, "with plums in it," was a popular street business. The "plums," as in the orthodox plum-puddings, are raisins. The street-vendors of plum "duff" are now very few, only six as an average, and generally women, or if a man be the salesman he is the woman's husband. The sale is for the most part an evening sale, and some vend the plum dough only on a Saturday

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night. A woman in Leather-lane, whose trade is a Saturday night trade, is accounted "one of the best plum duffs" in London, as regards the quality of the comestible, but her trade is not considerable.

The vendors of plum dough are the street-sellers who live by vending other articles, and resort to plum dough, as well as to other things, "as a help." This dough is sold out of baskets in which it is kept hot by being covered with cloths, sometimes two and even three, thick; and the smoke issuing out of the basket, and the cry of the street-seller, "Hot plum duff, hot plum," invite custom. A quartern of flour, *5d.*; ½ lb. Valentia raisins, *2d.*; dripping and suet in equal proportions, *2½d.*; treacle, *½d.*; and all-spice, *½d.*—in all *10½d.*; supply a roly-poly of twenty pennyworths. The treacle, however, is only introduced "to make the dough look rich and spicy," and must be used sparingly.

The plum dough is sold in slices at *½d.* or 1*d.* each, and the purchasers are almost exclusively boys and girls—boys being at least three-fourths of the revellers in this street luxury. I have ascertained—as far as the information of the street-sellers enables me to ascertain—that take the year through, six "plum duffers" take 1*s.* a day each, for four winter months, including Sundays, when the trade is likewise prosecuted. Some will take from 4*s.* to 10*s.* (but rarely 10*s.*) on a Saturday night, and nothing on other nights, and some do a little in the summer. The vendors, who are all stationary, stand chiefly in the street-markets and reside near their stands, so that they can get relays of hot dough.

If we calculate then 42*s.* a week as the takings of six persons, for five months, so including the summer trade, we find that upwards of 200*l.* is expended in the street purchase of plum dough, nearly half of which is profit. The trade, however, is reckoned among those which will disappear altogether from the streets.

The capital required to start is: basket, 1*s.* 9*d.*; cloths, 6*d.*; pan for boiling, 2*s.*; knife, 2*d.*; stock-money, 2*s.*; in all about, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Of the Street-sellers of Cakes, Tarts, &c.

These men and boys—for there are very few women or girls in the trade—constitute a somewhat numerous class. They are computed (including Jews) at 150 at the least, all regular hands, with an addition, perhaps, of 15 or 20, who seek to earn a few pence on a Sunday, but have some other, though poorly remunerative, employment on the week-days. The cake and tart-sellers in the streets have been, for the most part, mechanics or servants; a fifth of the body, however, have been brought up to this or to some other street-calling.

The cake-men carry their goods on a tray slung round their shoulders when they are offering their delicacies for sale, and on their heads when not engaged in the effort to do business. They are to be found in the vicinity of all public places. Their goods are generally arranged in pairs on the trays; in bad weather they are covered with a green cloth.

None of the street-vendors make the articles they sell; indeed, the diversity of those articles renders that impossible. Among the regular articles of this street-sale are "Coventrys," or three-cornered puffs with jam inside; raspberry biscuits; cinnamon biscuits; "chonkeys," or a kind of mince-meat baked in crust; Dutch butter-cakes; Jews' butter-cakes; "bowlas," or round tarts made of sugar, apple, and bread; "jumbles," or thin crisp cakes made of treacle, butter, and flour; and jams, or open tarts with a little preserve in the centre.

All these things are made for the street-sellers by about a dozen Jew pastry-cooks, the most of whom reside about Whitechapel. They confine themselves to the trade, and make every description. On a fine holiday morning their shops, or rather bake-houses, are filled with customers, as they supply the small shops as well as the street-sellers of London. Each article is made to be sold at a halfpenny, and the allowance by the wholesale pastry-cook is such as to enable his customers to realise a profit of 4*d.* in 1*s.*; thus he charges 4*d.* a dozen for the several articles. Within the last seven years there has been, I am assured, a great improvement in the composition of these cakes, &c. This is attributable to the Jews having introduced superior dainties, and, of course, rendered it necessary for the others to vie with them; the articles vended by these Jews (of whom there are from 20 to 40 in the streets) are still pronounced, by many connoisseurs in street-pastry, as the best. Some sell penny dainties also, but not to a twentieth part of the halfpenny trade. One of the wholesale pastry-cooks takes 40*l.* a week. These wholesale men, who sometimes credit the street-people, buy ten, fifteen, or twenty sacks of flour at a time whenever a cheap bargain offers. They purchase as largely in Irish butter, which they have bought at 3*d.* or 2½*d.* the pound. They buy also "scrapings," or what remains in the butter-firkins when emptied by the butter-sellers in the shops. "Good scrapings" are used for the best cakes; the jam they make themselves. To commence the wholesale business requires a capital of 600*l.* To commence the street-selling requires a capital of only 10*s.*; and this includes the cost of a tray, about 1*s.* 9*d.*; a cloth 1*s.*; and a leathern strap, with buckle, to go round the neck, 6*d.*; while the rest is for stock, with a shilling, or two as a reserve. All the street-sellers insist upon the impossibility of any general baker making cakes as cheap as those they vend. "It's impossible, sir," said one man to me, "it's a trade by itself; nobody else can touch it. They was miserable little things seven years ago."

An acute-looking man, decently dressed, gave me the following account. He resided with his wife—who went out charing—in a decent little back-room at the East-end, for which he paid 1*s.* a week. He had no children:—

"I'm a 'translator' (a species of cobbler) by

trade," he said, "but I've been a cake and a tart-seller in the streets for seven or eight years. I couldn't make 1*s.* 3*d.* a day of twelve hours' work, and sometimes nothing, by translating. Besides, my health was failing; and, as I used to go out on a Sunday with cakes to sell for a cousin of mine, I went into the trade myself, because I'd got up to it. I did middling the first three or four years, and I'd do middling still, if it wasn't for the bad weather and the police. I've been up three times for 'obstructing.' Why, sir, I never obstructed a quarter as much as the print-shops and newspaper-shops down there" (pointing to a narrow street in the City). "But the keepers of them shops can take a sight at the Lord Mayor from behind their tills. The first time I was up before the Lord Mayor—it's a few years back—I thought he talked like an old wife. 'You mustn't stand that way,' he says, 'and you mustn't do this, and you mustn't do that.' 'Well, my lord,' says I, 'then I mustn't live honestly. But if you'll give me 9*s.* a week, I'll promise not to stand here, and not to stand there; and neither to do this, nor that, nor anything at all, if that pleases you better.' They was shocked, they said, at my impudence—so young a fellow, too! I got off each time, but a deal of my things was spoiled. I work the City on week-days, and Victoria Park on Sundays. In the City, my best customers is not children, but young gents; real gents, some of them with gold watches. They buys twopenn'orth, mostly—that's four of any sort, or different sorts. They're clerks in banks and counting-houses, I suppose, that must look respectable like on a little, and so feeds cheap, poor chaps! for they dine or lunch off it, never doubt. Or they may be keeping their money for other things. To sell eleven dozen is a first-rate days' work; that's 1*s.* 9*d.* or 1*s.* 10*d.* profit. But then comes the wet days, and I can't trade at all in the rain; and so the things get stale, and I have to sell them in Petticoat-lane for two a halfpenny. Victoria Park—I'm not let inside with my tray—is good and bad as happens. It's chiefly a tossing trade there. Oh, I dare say I toss 100 times some Sundays. I don't like tossing the coster lads, they're the wide-awakes that way. The thieves use 'grays.' They're ha'pennies, either both sides heads or both tails. Grays sell at from 2*d.* to 6*d.* I'm not often had that way, though. Working-people buy very few of me on Sundays; it's mostly boys: and next to the gents., why, perhaps, the boys is my best customers in the City. Only on Monday a lad, that had been lucky 'fiddling'" (holding horses, or picking up money anyhow) "spent a whole shilling on me. I clear, I think—and I'm among the cakes that's the top of the tree—about 10*s.* a week in summer, and hardly 7*s.* a week in winter. My old woman and me makes both ends meet, and that's all."

Reckoning 150 cake-sellers, each clearing 6*s.* a week, a sufficiently low average, the street outlay will be 2,340*l.*, representing a street-consumption of 1,123,200 cakes, tarts, &c.

Of other Cake-sellers in the Streets.

The street cake-selling of London is not *altogether* confined to the class I have described; but the others engaged in it are not regular pursuers of the business, and do not exceed thirty in number. Some stock their trays with flare-cakes, which are round cakes, made of flour and "unrendered" (unmelted) lard, and stuck over freely with currants. They are sold at a farthing and a halfpenny each. Others, again, carry only sponge-cakes, made of flour and eggs, packed closely and regularly together, so as to present an uniform and inviting surface. Others carry only gingerbread, made of flour and treacle. These small trades are sometimes resorted to for a temporary purpose, rather than a street-seller's remaining in compulsory idleness. I learned also that cake-sellers in the regular line, when unable to command sufficient capital to carry on their trade in the way they have been accustomed to, sell "flayers," so called from being made with pig's or sheep's "flay," or any other cheap cakes, and so endeavour to retrieve themselves. The profits on these plainer sorts is 1*d.* in 1*s.* more than that on the others, but the sale rarely exceeds half as much. I heard, however, of one man who deposited in pence, in eight days, 1*s.* 10*d.* with a wholesale pastry-cook. He had saved this sum by almost starving himself, on the sale of the inferior cakes, and the dealer trusted him the 10*d.* to make up eight dozen in the regular cake business. To commence the street sale of cheap cakes requires a capital of less than 5*s.*; for tray, 1*s.* 6*d.*; cloth, 6*d.*; strap, 6*d.*; and stock-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Three or four men are occupied in selling plum-cakes. These are generally sold in halfpenny and penny lots. The plum-cake is made by the same class of pastrycooks whom I have described as supplying the tarts, puffs, &c., and sold on the same terms. The profits are fifty per cent.—what cost 4*s.* bringing in 6*s.* One man who travels to all the fairs and races, and is more in the country than town in the summer and autumn, sells large quantities of plum-cake in Smithfield when in town, sometimes having 2*l.* worth and more on his stall. He sells cakes of a pound (ostensibly) at 4*d.*, 6*d.*, and 8*d.*, according to quality. He sometimes supplies the street-sellers on the same terms as the pastrycooks, for he was once a baker.

From the best data at my command, it appears that the sale of these inferior cakes does not realise above a fifth of that taken by the other sellers, of whom I have treated, amounting to about 450*l.* in all.

Of the Street-sellers of Gingerbread-nuts, &c.

The sale of gingerbread, as I have previously observed, was much more extensive in the

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streets than it is at present. Indeed, what was formerly known in the trade as "toy" gingerbread is now unseen in the streets, except occasionally, and that only when the whole has not been sold at the neighbouring fairs, at which it is still offered. But, even at these fairs, the principal, and sometimes the only, toy gingerbread that is vended is the "cock in breeches;" a formidable-looking bird, with his nether garments of gold. Twenty or thirty years ago, "king George on horseback" was popular in gingerbread. His Majesty, wearing a gilt crown, gilt spurs, and a gilt sword, bestrode the gilt saddle of his steed, and was eaten with great relish by his juvenile subjects. There were also sheep, and dogs, and other animals, all adorned in a similar manner, and looking as if they had been formed in close and faithful imitation of children's first attempts at cattle drawing. These edible toys were then sold in "white," as well as in "brown" gingerbread, the white being the same in all other respects as the brown, except that a portion of sugar was used in its composition instead of treacle.

There are now only two men in London who make their own gingerbread-nuts for sale in the streets. This preparation of gingerbread is called by the street-sellers, after a common elliptical fashion, merely "nuts." From the most experienced man in the street trade I had the following account: he was an intelligent, well-mannered, and well-spoken man, and when he laughed or smiled, had what may be best described as a pleasant look. After he had initiated me into the art and mystery of gingerbread making—which I shall detail separately—he said,

"I've been in the 'nut' trade 25 years, or thereabouts, and have made my own nuts for 20 years of that time. I bought of a gingerbread baker at first—there was plenty of them in them days—and the profit a living profit, too. Certainly it was, for what I bought for 5*s.* I could sell for 16*s.* I was brought up a baker, but the moment I was out of my time I started in the street nut trade for myself. I knew the profits of it, and thought it better than the slavery of a journeyman baker's life. You've mentioned, sir, in your work, a musical sort of a street-crier of gingerbread (see p. 160), and I think, and indeed I'm pretty certain, that it's the same man as was my partner 20 years back; aye, more than 20, but I can't tell about years." [The reader will have remarked how frequently this oblivion as to dates and periods characterises the statements of street-sellers. Perhaps no men take less note of time.] "At that time he was my partner in the pig trade. Dairy-fed, d'you say, sir? Not in the slightest. The outsides of the hanimals was paste, and the insides on 'em was all mince-meat. Their eyes was currants. We two was the original pigs, and, I believe, the only two pigs in the streets. We often made 15*s.* between us, in a day, in pigs alone. The musical man, as you call him—poor fellow, he dropped down dead in the street one day as he was crying; he was regular worn out—cried himself into his grave you *may* say—poor fellow, he used to sing out

'Here's a long-tailed pig, and a short-tailed pig,
And a pig with a curly tail:
Here's a Yorkshire pig, and a Hampshire pig,
And a pig without e'er a tail.'

"When I was first in the trade, I sold twice as many nuts as I do now, though my nuts was only 12 a penny then, and they're now 40. A little larger the 12 were, but not very much. I have taken 20*s.* and 24*s.* many and many a Saturday. I then made from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.* a week by sticking to it, and money might have been saved. I've taken between 7*l.* and 8*l.* at a Greenwich Fair in the three days, in them times, by myself. Indeed, last Easter, my wife and me—for she works as well as I do, and sells almost as much—took 5*l.* But gingerbread was money in the old times, and I sold 'lumps' as well as 'nuts;' but now lumps won't go off—not in a fair, no how. I've been in the trade ever since I started in it, but I've had turns at other things. I was in the service of a Custom-house agency firm; but they got into bother about contrabands, and the revenue, and cut off to America—I believe they took money with them, a good bit of it—and I was indicted, or whatever they call it, in the Court of Exchequer—I never was in the Court in my life—and was called upon, one fine day, to pay to the Crown 1,580*l.*, and some odd pounds and shillings besides! I never understood the rights of it, but it was about smuggling. I was indicted by myself, I believe. When Mr. Candy, and other great houses in the City, were found out that way, *they* made it all right; paid something, as I've heard, and sacked the profits. Well; when *I* was called on, it wasn't, I assure you, sir—ha, ha, ha!—at all convenient for a servant—and I was only that—to pay the fifteen hundred and odd; so I served 12 months and 2 days in prison for it. I'd saved a little money, and wasn't so uncomfortable in prison. I could get a dinner, and give a dinner. When I came out, I took to the nuts. It was lucky for me that I had a trade to turn to; for, even if I could have shown I wasn't at all to blame about the Exchequer, I could never have got another situation—never. So the streets saved me: my nuts was my bread.

"At this present time, sir, if I make, the year through, 9*s.* a week, and my wife 1*s.* or 2*s.* less, that's the extent. When the Queen opened Parliament, the two on us took 10*s.* The Queen's good for that, anyhow, in person. If the opening was by proclamation" [so he called it, three or four times], "it wouldn't have been worth while going to—not at all. If there's not a crowd, the police interfere, and 'move on!' is the order. The Queen's popular with me, for her opening Parliament herself. I count it her duty. The police are a great trouble. I can't say they disturb me in the place (never mind mentioning it, sir) where you've seen me, but they do in

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other places. They say there's no rest for the wicked; but, in the streets, there's no rest for a man trying to make an honest living, as I'm sure I do. I could pitch anywhere, one time.

"My chief dependence is on working-men, who buys my nuts to take home to their young 'uns. I never sell for parties, or desserts, that I know of. I take very little from boys—very little. The women of the town buy hardly any of me. I used to sell a good many pigs to them, in some of the streets about Brunswick-square; kept misses, and such like—and very pleasant customers they was, and good pay: but that's all over now. *They* never 'bated me—never."

To make about 56 lbs. of the gingerbread-nuts sold by my informant, takes 28 lbs. of treacle, 7*s.*; 48 lbs. of flour, 14*s.*; ½ lb. of ginger, 4*d.*; and ½ lb. of allspice, 4*d.* From 18 to 20 dozen of small nuts go to the pound. This quantity, at 40 a penny, reckoning 18 dozen to a pound, realises about 5*d.* per pound; or about 25*s.* for an outlay of 11*s.* 8*d.* The expense of baking, however, and of "appurtenances," reduces the profit to little more than cent. per cent.

The other nut-sellers in the streets vend the "almond nuts." Of these vendors there are not less than 150; of them, 100 buy their goods of the bakers (what they sell for 1*s.* costing them 4*d.*), and the other 50 make their own. The materials are the same as those of the gingerbread, with the addition of 4 lbs. of butter, 8*d.* per lb.; 1 lb. of almonds, 1*s.* 4*d.*; and 2 lbs. of volatile salts, 8*d.* Out of this material, 60 lbs. of "almond nuts" may be made. A split almond is placed in the centre of each of these nuts; and, as they are three times as large as the gingerbread nuts, 12 a penny is the price. To sell 36 dozen a day—and so clearing 2*s.*—is accounted a "very tidy day's work." With the drawback of wet weather, the average weekly earnings of the almond nut-sellers are, perhaps, the same as the gingerbread nut man's—9*s.* weekly. These almond nut-sellers are, for the most part, itinerant, their localities of sale being the same as in the "cake and tart" line. They carry their goods, neatly done up in paper, on trays slung from the shoulder. The gingerbread-nuts are carried in a large basket, and are ready packed in paper bags.

Some of the "almond" men call at the public-houses, but the sale in such places is very small. Most of those who make their own nuts have been brought up as bakers—a class of workmen who seem to resort and adapt themselves to a street trade more readily than others. The nuts are baked in the usual way, spread on tin trays. To erect a proper oven for the purpose costs about 5*l.*, but most of the men hire the use of one.

I have already specified the materials required to make 56 lb. of gingerbread nuts, the cost being 11*s.* 8*d.* To that, the capital required to start in the business must be added, and this consists of basket, 6*s.*; baize cloth, 1*s.*; pan for dough, 1*s.*; rolling-pin, 3*d.*, and baking-tins, 1*s.* In all about 21*s.* To begin in a small way in the "almond" line, buying the nuts ready made, requires as capital: tray, 2*s.*; leather strap, 6*d.*; baize, 1*s.*; stock-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*—in all 5*s.* The sale is prosecuted through the year, but hot weather is unfavourable to it, as the nuts then turn soft.

Calculating that 150 of these street-dealers take 17*s.* each weekly (clearing 9*s.*), we find 6,630*l.* spent yearly in "spice" nuts in the streets of London.

Of the Street-sellers of Hot-Cross Buns, and of Chelsea Buns.

Perhaps no cry—though it is only for one morning—is more familiar to the ears of a Londoner, than that of "One-a-penny, two-a-penny, hot-cross buns," on Good Friday. The sale is unknown in the Irish capital; for among Roman Catholics, Good Friday, I need hardly say, is a strict fast, and the eggs in the buns prevent their being used. One London gentleman, who spoke of fifty years ago, told me that the street-bun-sellers used to have a not unpleasing distich. On reflection, however, my informant could not be certain whether he had heard this distich cried, or had remembered hearing the elders of his family speak of it as having been cried, or how it was impressed upon his memory. It seems hardly in accordance with the usual style of street poetry:—

> "One-a-penny, two-a-penny, hot-cross buns!
> If your daughters will not eat them, give them to your sons.
> But if you hav'n't any of those pretty little elves,
> You cannot then do better than eat them all yourselves."

A tradesman who had resided more than fifty years in the Borough had, in his boyhood, heard, but not often, this ridiculous cry:—

> "One-a-penny, poker; two-a-penny, tongs!
> One-a-penny; two-a-penny, hot-cross buns."

The sellers of the Good Friday buns are principally boys, and they are of mixed classes—costers' boys, boys habitually and boys occasionally street-sellers, and boys street-sellers for that occasion only. One great inducement to embark in the trade is the hope of raising a little money for the Greenwich Fair of the following Monday.

I am informed that 500 persons are employed on Good Friday in the streets of London in the sale of hot-cross buns, each itinerant selling upon the day's average six dozen halfpenny, and seven dozen penny buns, for which he will take 12*s.* 6*d.* (his profits being 3*d.* in the shilling or 3*s.* 1½*d.*). One person informed me that last Good Friday he had sold during the day forty dozen penny buns, for which he received 50*s.*

The bun-selling itinerants derive their supplies principally from the wholesale pastrycooks, and, in a less degree, from the small bakers and pastrycooks, who work more for "the trade" than themselves. The street hot-cross bun trade is less than it was seven or eight

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years ago, as the bakers have entered into it more freely, and send round for orders: so that the itinerants complain that they have lost many a good customer. One informant (a master pastry-cook, who had been in the business nearly fifty years) said to me: "Times are sadly altered to what they were when I was a boy. Why I have known my master to bake five sacks of flour in nothing but hot-cross buns, and that is sufficient for 20,000 buns" (one sack of flour being used for 4,000 buns, or 500 lbs. of raw material to the same quantity of buns). The itinerants carry their baskets slung on their arm, or borne upon the head. A flannel or green baize is placed at the bottom of the basket and brought over the buns, after which a white cloth is spread over the top of the baize, to give it a clean appearance.

A vendor of "hot-cross buns" has to provide himself with a basket, a flannel (to keep the buns warm), and a cloth, to give a clean appearance to his commodities. These articles, if bought for the purpose, cost—basket, 2*s.* 6*d.*; flannel and cloth, 2*s.*; stock-money, average, 5*s.* (largest amount 15*s.*, smallest 2*s.* 6*d.*); or about 10*s.* in all.

There is expended in one day, in hot-cross buns purchased in the London streets, 300*l.*, and nearly 100,000 buns thus bought.

The Chelsea buns are now altogether superseded by the Bath and Alexander's buns. "People," the street-sellers say, "want so much for their money." There are now but two Chelsea bun-houses; the one at Pimlico, and the other at Chelsea. The principal times Chelsea buns were sold in the streets was Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and, with the exception of Good Friday, the great sales were at Greenwich Fair, and then they were sold with other cakes and sweetmeats. I am informed that twenty years ago there was one man, with a rich musical voice, who sold these buns, about Westminster principally, all the year round; his cry—which was one of the musical ones—was, "One a penny, two a penny, hot Chelsea buns! Burning hot! smoking hot! r-r-r-reeking hot! hot Chelsea buns!"

Of Muffin and Crumpet-selling in the Streets.

The street-sellers of muffins and crumpets rank among the old street-tradesmen. It is difficult to estimate their numbers, but they were computed for me at 500, during the winter months. They are for the most part boys, young men, or old men, and some of them infirm. There are a few girls in the trade, but very few women.

The ringing of the muffin-man's bell—attached to which the pleasant associations are not a few—was prohibited by a recent Act of Parliament, but the prohibition has been as inoperative as that which forbad the use of a drum to the costermonger, for the muffin bell still tinkles along the streets, and is rung vigorously in the suburbs. The sellers of muffins and crumpets are a mixed class, but I am told that more of them are the children of bakers, or worn-out bakers, than can be said of any other calling. The best sale is in the suburbs. "As far as I know, sir," said a muffin-seller, "it's the best Hackney way, and Stoke Newington, and Dalston, and Balls Pond, and Islington; where the gents that's in banks—the steady coves of them—goes home to their teas, and the missuses has muffins to welcome them; that's my opinion."

I did not hear of any street-seller who made the muffins or crumpets he vended. Indeed, he could not make the small quantity required, so as to be remunerative. The muffins are bought of the bakers, and at prices to leave a profit of 4*d.* in 1*s.* Some bakers give thirteen to the dozen to the street-sellers whom they know. The muffin-man carries his delicacies in a basket, wherein they are well swathed in flannel, to retain the heat: "People likes them warm, sir," an old man told me, "to satisfy them they're fresh, and they almost always *are* fresh; but it can't matter so much about their being warm, as they have to be toasted again. I only wish good butter was a sight cheaper, and that would make the muffins go. Butter's half the battle." The basket and flannels cost the muffin-man 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* His bell stands him in from 4*d.* to 2*s.*, "according as the metal is." The regular price of good-sized muffins from the street-sellers is a half-penny each; the crumpets are four a penny. Some are sold cheaper, but these are generally smaller, or made of inferior flour. Most of the street-sellers give thirteen, and some even fourteen to the dozen, especially if the purchase be made early in the day, as the muffin-man can then, if he deem it prudent, obtain a further supply.

A sharp London lad of fourteen, whose father had been a journeyman baker, and whose mother (a widow) kept a small chandler's shop, gave me the following account:—

"I turns out with muffins and crumpets, sir, in October, and continues until it gets well into the spring, according to the weather. I carries a fust-rate article; werry much so. If you was to taste 'em, sir, you'd say the same. If I sells three dozen muffins at ½*d.* each, and twice that in crumpets, it's a werry fair day, werry fair; all beyond that is a *good* day. The profit on the three dozen and the others is 1*s.*, but that's a great help, really a wonderful help, to mother, for I should be only mindin' the shop at home. Perhaps I clears 4*s.* a week, perhaps more, perhaps less; but that's about it, sir. Some does far better than that, and some can't hold a candle to it. If I has a hextra day's sale, mother 'll give me 3*d.* to go to the play, and that hencourages a young man, you know, sir. If there's any unsold, a coffee-shop gets them cheap, and puts 'em off cheap again next morning. My best customers is genteel houses, 'cause I sells a genteel thing. I likes wet days best, 'cause there's werry respectable ladies what don't

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keep a servant, and they buys to save themselves going out. We're a great conwenience to the ladies, sir—a great conwenience to them as likes a slap-up tea. I *have* made 1*s*. 8*d*. in a day; that was my best. I once took only 2½*d*.—I don't know why—that was my worst. The shops don't love me—I puts their noses out. Sunday is no better day than others, or werry little. I can read, but wish I could read easier."

Calculating 500 muffin-sellers, each clearing 4*s*. a week, we find 300*l*. a week expended on the metropolitan street sale of muffins; or, in the course of twenty weeks, 2,000*l*. Five shillings, with the price of a basket, &c., which is about 3*s*. 6*d*. more, is the capital required for a start.

Of the Street Sale of Sweet-stuff.

In this sale there are now engaged, as one of the most intelligent of the class calculated, 200 individuals, exclusive of twenty or thirty Jew boys. The majority of the sellers are also the manufacturers of the articles they vend. They have all been brought up to the calling, their parents having been in it, or having been artizans (more especially bakers) who have adopted it for some of the general reasons I have before assigned. The non-makers buy of the cheap confectioners.

The articles now vended do not differ materially, I am informed by men who have known the street trade for forty years, from those which were in demand when they began selling in the streets.

A very intelligent man, who had succeeded his father and mother in the "sweet-stuff" business—his father's drunkenness having kept them in continual poverty—showed me his apparatus, and explained his mode of work. His room, which was on the second-floor of a house in a busy thoroughfare, had what I have frequently noticed in the abodes of the working classes—the decency of a turn-up bedstead. It was a large apartment, the rent being 3*s*. 6*d*. a week, unfurnished. The room was cheerful with birds, of which there were ten or twelve. A remarkably fine thrush was hopping in a large wicker cage, while linnets and bullfinches showed their quick bright eyes from smaller cages on all sides. These were not kept for sale but for amusement, their owner being seldom able to leave his room. The father and mother of this man cleared, twenty years ago, although at that time sugar was 6*d*. or 7*d*. the pound, from 2*l*. to 3*l*. a week by the sale of sweet-stuff; half by keeping a stall, and half by supplying small shops or other stall-keepers. My present informant, however, who has—not the best—but one of the best businesses in London, makes 24*s*. or 25*s*. a week from October to May, and sarcely 12*s*. a week during the summer months, "when people love to buy any cool fresh fruit instead of sweet-stuff." The average profits of the generality of the trade do not perhaps exceed 10*s*. 6*d*. or 12*s*. a week, take the year round. They reside in all parts.

Treacle and sugar are the ground-work of the manufacture of all kinds of sweet-stuff. "Hardbake," "almond toffy," "halfpenny lollipops," "black balls," the cheaper "bulls eyes," and "squibs" are all made of treacle. One informant sold more of treacle rock than of anything else, as it was dispensed in larger halfpennyworths, and no one else made it in the same way. Of peppermint rock and sticks he made a good quantity. Half-a-crown's worth, as retailed in the streets, requires 4 lbs. of rough raw sugar at 4½*d*. per lb., 1½*d*. for scent (essence of peppermint), 1½*d*. for firing, and ½*d*. for paper—in all 1*s*. 8½*d*. calculating nothing for the labour and time expended in boiling and making it. The profit on the other things was proportionate, except on almond rock, which does not leave 2½*d*. in a shilling—almonds being dear. Brandy balls are made of sugar, water, peppermint, and a little cinnamon. Rose acid, which is a "transparent" sweet, is composed of loaf sugar at 6½*d*. per lb., coloured with cochineal. The articles sold in "sticks" are pulled into form along a hook until they present the whitish, or speckled colour desired. A quarter of a stone of materials will, for instance, be boiled for forty minutes, and then pulled a quarter of an hour, until it is sufficiently crisp and will "set" without waste. The flavouring—or "scent" as I heard it called in the trade—now most in demand is peppermint. Gibraltar rock and Wellington pillars used to be flavoured with ginger, but these "sweeties" are exploded.

Dr. Pereria, in his "Treatise on Diet," enumerates as many as ten different varieties and preparations of sugar used for dietetical purposes. These are (1) purified or refined sugar; (2) brown or raw sugar; (3) molasses or treacle—or fluid sugar; (4) aqueous solutions of sugar—or syrups; (5) boiled sugars, or the softer kinds of confectionary; (6) sugar-candy, or crystallized cane sugar; (7) burnt sugar, or caramel; (8) hard confectionary; (9) liquorice; (10) preserves. The fifth and eighth varieties alone concern us here.

Of the several preparations of *boiled sugar*, the Doctor thus speaks, "If a small quantity of water be added to sugar, the mixture heated until the sugar dissolves, and the solution boiled to drive off part of the water, the tendency of the sugar to crystallise is diminished, or, in some cases, totally destroyed. To promote this effect, confectioners sometimes add a small portion of cream of tartar to the solution while boiling. Sugar, thus altered by heat, and sometimes variously flavoured, constitutes several preparations sold by the confectioner. *Barley-sugar* and *acidulated drops* are prepared in this way from white sugar: powdered tartaric acid being added to the sugar while soft. *Hardbake* and *toffee* are made by a similar process from brown sugar. Toffee differs from hardbake from containing butter.

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The ornamented sugar pieces, or *caramel*-tops, with which pastrycooks decorate their tarts, &c., are prepared in the same way. If the boiled and yet soft sugar be rapidly and repeatedly extended, and pulled over a hook, it becomes opaque and white, and then constitutes *pulled sugar*, or *penides*. Pulled sugar, variously flavoured and coloured, is sold in several forms by the preparers of hard confectionary.

"Concerning this *hard confectionary*," Dr. Pereira says, "sugar constitutes the base of an almost innumerable variety of hard confectionary, sold under the names of *lozenges*, *brilliants*, *pipe*, *rock*, *comfits*, *nonpareils*, &c. Besides sugar, these preparations contain some flavouring ingredient, as well as flour or gum, to give them cohesiveness, and frequently colouring matter. Carraway, fruits, almonds, and pine seeds, constitute the nuclei of some of these preparations."

One of the appliances of the street sweet-stuff trade which I saw in the room of the seller before mentioned was—Acts of Parliament. A pile of these, a foot or more deep, lay on a shelf. They are used to wrap up the rock, &c., sold. The sweet-stuff maker (I never heard them called confectioners) bought his "paper" of the stationers, or at the old book-shops. Sometimes, he said, he got works in this way in sheets which had never been cut (some he feared were stolen,) and which he retained to read at his short intervals of leisure, and then used to wrap his goods in. In this way he had read through two Histories of England! He maintained a wife, two young children, and a young sister, who could attend to the stall; his wife assisted him in his manufactures. He used 1 cwt. of sugar a week on the year's average, ½ cwt. of treacle, and 5 oz. of scents, each 8*d*. an oz.

The man who has the best trade in London streets, is one who, about two years ago, introduced—after much study, I was told—short sentences into his "sticks." He boasts of his secret. When snapped asunder, in any part, the stick presents a sort of coloured inscription. The four I saw were: "Do you love me?" The next was of less touching character, "Do you love sprats?" The others were, "Lord Mayor's Day," and "Sir Robert Peel." This man's profits are twice those of my respectable informant's.

Of the Customers of the Sweet-stuff Street-sellers.

Another sweet-stuff man, originally a baker, but who, for a fortnight before I saw him, had been attending upon an old gentleman, disabled from an accident, gave me the following account of his customers. What I heard from the other street-sellers satisfies me of the correctness of the statement. It will be seen that he was possesed of some humour and observation:

"Boys and girls are my best customers, sir, and mostly the smallest of them; but then, again, some of them's fifty, aye, turned fifty; Lor' love you. An old fellow, that hasn't a stump of a tooth in front, why, *he'll* stop and buy a ha'porth of hard-bake, and he'll say, 'I've a deal of the boy left about me still.' He doesn't show it, anyhow, in his look. I'm sometimes a thinking I'll introduce a softer sort of toffy—boiled treacle, such as they call Tom Trot in some parts, but it's out of fashion now, just for old people that's 'boys still.' It was rolled in a ha'penny stick, sir, and sold stunnin'. The old ones wants something to suck, and not to chew. Why, when I was a lad at school, there was Jews used to go about with boxes on their backs, offering rings and pencil-cases, and lots of things that's no real use to nobody, and they told everybody they asked to buy 'that they sold everything, and us boys used to say—'Then give's a ha'porth of boiled treacle.' It was a regular joke. I wish I'd stuck more to my book then, but what can't be cured must be endured, you know. Now, those poor things that walks down there" (intimating, by a motion of the head, a thoroughfare frequented by girls of the town), "they're often customers, but not near so good as they was ten year ago; no, indeed, not six or eight year. *They* like something that bites in the mouth, such as peppermint-rock, or ginger-drops. They used to buy a penn'orth or two and offer it to people, but they don't now, I think. I've trusted them ha'pennies and pennies, sometimes. They always paid me. Some that held their heads high like, might say: 'I really have no change; I'll pay you to-morrow.' She hadn't no change, poor lass, sure enough, and she hadn't nothing to change either, I'll go bail. I've known women, that seemed working men's or little shopkeeper's wives, buy of me and ask which of my stuffs took greatest hold of the breath. I always knew what they was up to. They'd been having a drop, and didn't want it to be detected. Why, it was only last Saturday week two niceish-looking and niceish-dressed women, comes up to me, and one was going to buy peppermint-rock, and the other says to her: 'Don't, you fool, he'll only think you've been drinking gin-and-peppermint. Coffee takes it off best.' So I lost my customers. They hadn't had a *single* drain that night, I'll go bail, but still they didn't look like regular lushingtons at all. I make farthing's-worths of sweet-stuff, for children, but I don't like it; it's an injury to trade. I *was* afraid that when half-farthings was coined, they'd come among children, and they'd want half a farthing of brandy-balls. Now, talking of brandy-balls, there's a gentleman that sometimes has a minute's chat with me, as he buys a penn'orth to take home to his children—(every reasonable man ought to marry and have children for the sake of the sweet-trade, but it ain't the women's fault that many's single still)—when one gentleman I knows buys brandy-balls, he says, quite grave, 'What kind o' brandy do you put in them?' 'Not a drop of British,' says I, 'I

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THE COSTER BOY AND GIRL TOSSING THE PIE-MAN.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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can assure you; not a single drop.' He's not finely dressed; indeed, he's a leetle seedy, but I know he's a gentleman, or what's the same thing, if he ain't rich; for a common fellow 'll never have his boots polished that way, every day of his life; *his* blacking bills must come heavy at Christmas. I can tell a gentleman, too, by his way of talk, 'cause he's never bumptious. It's the working people's children that's my great support, and they was a better support, by 2*s.* in every 10*s.*, and more, when times was better; and next to them among my patrons is poor people. Perhaps, this last year, I've cleared 11*s.* a week, not more, all through. I make my own stuffs, except the drops, and they require machinery. I would get out of the streets if I could."

Another of these traders told me, that he took more in farthings, than in halfpennies or pennies.

Calculating 200 sweet-stuff sellers, each clearing 10*s.* weekly, the outlay in rocks, candies, hard-bakes, &c., in the streets is 5,200*l.* yearly, or nearly two and a half millions of halfpenny-worths.

To start in the sweet-stuff business requires a capital of 35*s.*, including a saucepan in which to boil sugar, 2*s.*; weights and scales, 4*s.*; stock-money (average), 4*s.*; and barrow, 25*s.* If the seller be not his own manufacturer, then a tray, 1*s.* 9*d.*; and stock-money, 1*s.* 6*d.*; or 3*s.* 3*d.* in all will be sufficient.

Of the Street-sellers of Cough Drops and of Medical Confectionary.

Mr. Strutt, in his "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England" (1800), says of the Mountebank: "It is uncertain at what period this vagrant dealer in physic made his appearance in England; it is clear, however, that he figured away with much success in this country during the last two centuries. . . . . . The mountebanks usually preface the vending of their medicines with pompous orations, in which they pay as little regard to truth as to propriety." I am informed by a gentleman observant of the matter, that within his knowledge, which extends to the commencement of the present century, no mountebank (proper) had appeared in the streets of London proclaiming the virtues of his medicines; neither with nor without his "fool." The last seen by my informant, perhaps the latest mountebank in England, was about twenty years ago, in the vicinity of Yarmouth. He was selling "cough drops" and infallible cures for asthma, and was dressed in a periwig and an embroidered coat, with ruffles at his wrist, a sword to his side, and was a representation, in shabby genteel, of the fine gentleman of the reign of Queen Anne. The mountebank's most legitimate successor in the street cajolery of London, as regards his "orations," is the "Patterer," as I shall show in my account of the street trade in stationery literature. His successor in the vending of curative confectionaries and (in a small degree) of nostrums, salves, ointments, &c., are the sellers of "cough drops" and "horehound candy," and of the corn salves, and cures for bruises, sprains, burns, &c., &c., &c.

The street-traders in cough drops and their accompaniments, however, do not now exceed six, and of them only two—who are near relatives—manufacture their own stock-in-trade. I here treat of the street trade in "cough drops," as a branch of the itinerant sweet-stuff trade. The "mountebank" part of the business—that is to say, "the prefacing the vending of the medicines with *pompous orations*," I shall reserve till its proper place—viz. the "*pattering*" part of the street trade, of which an account will be given in the next Chapter.

The two principal vendors of cough drops wheel their stalls, which are fixed upon barrows, to different parts of town, but one principal stand is in Holborn. On their boards are displayed the cough cures, both in the form of "sticks" and "drops," and a model of a small distillery. The portion inclosing the still is painted to resemble brick-work, and a tin tube, or worm, appears to carry the distillation to a receiver. Horehound, colts-foot, and some other herbs lie in a dried state on the stall, but principally horehound, to which popular (street) opinion seems to attach the most and the greatest virtues. There are also on the stalls a few bottles, tied up in the way they are dispensed from a regular practitioner, while the cough drops are in the form of sticks (½*d.* each), also neatly wrapped in paper. The cry is both expressive and simply descriptive—"Long life candy! Candy from herbs!"

From the most experienced person in this curious trade, I had the following statement. He entertained a full assurance, as far as I could perceive, of the excellence of his remedies, and of the high art and mystery of his calling. In persons of his class, professing to heal, no matter in what capacity, or what may be the disease, this is an important element of success. My informant, whether answering my questions or speaking of his own accord, always took time to consider, and sometimes, as will be seen, declined replying to my inquiries. From him I received the following account:—

"The cough drop and herb trade is nothing now to what it was long ago. Thirty or forty years ago, it was as good as 3*l.* or 4*l.* a week to a person, and was carried on by respectable men. I know nothing of any 'humbugs' in the respectable part of the trade. What's done by those who are ignorant, and not respectable, is nothing to me. I don't know how many there were in the trade thirty or forty years ago; but I know that, ten or eleven years since, I supplied seven persons who sold cough drops, and such like, in the streets, and now I supply only myself and another. I sell only four or five months in the year—the cold months, in course; for, in the summer, people are not so subject to coughs and colds. I am the 'original' maker of my goods. I will cure any child of the hooping-

cough, and very speedily. I defy any medical man to dispute it, and I'll do it—'no cure, no pay.' I never profess to cure asthma. Nobody but a gravedigger can put an end to that there; but I can relieve it. It's the same with consumption; it may be relieved, but the gravedigger is the only man as can put a stop to it. Many have tried to do it, but they've all failed. I sell to very respectable people, and to educated people, too; and, what's more, a good deal (of cough drops) to medical men. In course, they can analyse it, if they please. They can taste the bitter, and judge for themselves, just as they can taste wine in the Docks. Perhaps the wives of mechanics are among my best customers. They are the most numerous, but they buy only ha'porths and penn'orths. Very likely, they would think more of the remedy if they had to pay 13½*d.* for it, instead of the 1½*d.* The Government stamp makes many a stuff sell. Oh! I know nothing about quackery: you must inquire at the Stamp-office, if you want to know about them kind of medicines. *They're* the people that help to sell them. Respectable people will pay me 1*s.* or 2*s.* at a time; and those who buy once, buy again. I'm sent to from as far off as Woolwich. I'll undertake to cure, or afford relief, in coughs, colds, or wind in the chest, or forfeit 1*s.* I can dispel wind in two minutes. I sell bottles, too, for those cures (as well as the candy from herbs): I manufacture them myself. They're decoctions of herbs, and the way to prepare them is my secret. I sell them at from 2*d.* to 1*s.* Why, I use one article that costs 24*s.* a pound, foreign, and twice that English. I've sold hundred weights. The decoctions are my secret. I will instruct any person—and have instructed a good many—when I'm paid for it. In course, it would never do to publish it in your work, for thousands would then learn it for 2*d.* My secret was never given to any person—only with what you may call a fee—except one, and only to him when he got married, and started in the line. He's a connection of mine. All *we* sell is genuine.

"I sell herbs, too, but it's not a street sale: I supply them to orders from my connection. It's not a large trade. I sell horehound, for tea or decoctions; coltsfoot, for smoking as herb tobacco (I gather the coltsfoot myself, but buy the horehound of a shopkeeper, as it's cultivated); ground-ivy is sold only for the blood (but little of it); hyssop for wind; and Irish moss for consumption. I'm never asked for anything improper. They won't ask *me* for —— or ——. And I'm never asked for washes or cosmetics; but a few nettles are ordered of me for complexions.

"Well, sir, I'd rather not state the quantities I sell, or my profits, or prices. I make what keeps myself, my wife, and seven children, and that's all I need say about it. I'd rather say no more on that part of the business: and so, I'm sure you won't press me. I don't know what others in the trade make. They buy of confectioners, and are only imitators of me. They buy coltsfoot-candy, and such like; how it's made so cheap, I don't know. In the summer, I give up cough-drop selling, and take to gold fish."

I am told that the cough-drop-makers, who are also street-sellers, prepare their sticks, &c., much in the same method as the manufacturers of the ordinary sweet-stuff (which I have described), using the decoction, generally of horehound or coltsfoot, as the "scents" are used. In the old times, it would appear that the preparation of a medicinal confection was a much more elaborate matter, if we may judge by the following extract from an obsolete medical work treating of the matter. The author styles such preparations "lohochs," which is an Arabic word, he says, and signifies "a thing to be licked." It would appear that the lohoch was not so hard as the present cough-drop. The following is one of the receipts, "used generally against diseases in the breast and lungs:"—

"Lohoch de farfara," the Lohoch of Coltsfoot.

Take of coltsfoot roots cleansed 8 ozs., marsh-mallow roots 4 ozs., boil them in a sufficient quantity of water, and press the pulp through a sieve, dissolve it again in the decoction, and let it boil once or twice; then take it from the fire, and add 2 lbs. of white sugar, honey of raisins 14 ozs., juice of liquorice 2½ drams, stir them well with a wooden pestle, sprinkling in of saffron and cloves in powder, of each 1 scruple, cinnamon and mace, of each 2 scruples; make them into a lohoch according to art. It is good for a cough and roughness of the windpipe.

Without wishing to infringe upon professional secrets, I may mention that the earnings of the principal man in the trade may be taken at 30*s.* a week for 20 weeks; that of another at 15*s.* for the same period; and those of the remaining four at 5*s.* each, weekly; but the latter sell acid drops, and other things bought of the chemists. Allowing the usual cent. per cent., we then find 130*l.* expended by street-buyers on cough-drops.

The best cough-drop stall seen in the streets is a kind of barrow, which can be shut up like a piano: it cost 3*l.* 10*s.* complete with the distilling apparatus before described. Scales and weights cost 5*s.*, and the stock-money for the supply of such a stall need not exceed 10*s.*; or, in all, about 4*l.* 10*s.* For an ordinary trade—ready-made articles forming the stock — the capital would be, stall and trestle, 7*s.*; scales and weights (which are not always used), 3*s.* 6*d.*, and stock-money, 2*s.* 6*d.*; in all, 13*s*

Of the Street-Sellers of Ices and of Ice Creams.

I have already treated of the street luxury of pine-apples, and have now to deal with the greater street rarity of ice-creams.

A quick-witted street-seller—but not in the "provision" line—conversing with me upon this subject, said: "Ices in the streets! Aye, and there'll be jellies next, and then mock turtle, and then the real ticket, sir. I don't know nothing of the difference between the real thing and the mock, but I once had some cheap mock in an eating-house, and it tasted like stewed tripe with a little glue. You'll keep

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your eyes open, sir, at the Great Exhibition; and you'll see a new move or two in the streets, take my word for it. Penny glasses of cham pagne, I shouldn't wonder."

Notwithstanding the sanguine anticipations of my street friend, the sale of ices in the streets has not been such as to offer any great encouragement to a perseverance in the traffic.

The sale of ice-creams was unknown in the streets until last summer, and was first introduced, as a matter of speculation, by a man who was acquainted with the confectionary business, and who purchased his ices of a confectioner in Holborn. He resold these luxuries daily to street-sellers, sometimes to twenty of them, but more frequently to twelve. The sale, however, was not remunerative, and had it not been generally united with other things, such as ginger-beer, could not have been carried on as a means of subsistence. The supplier of the street-traders sometimes went himself, and sometimes sent another to sell ice-cream in Greenwich Park on fine summer days, but the sale was sometimes insufficient to pay his railway expenses. After three or four weeks' trial, this man abandoned the trade, and soon afterwards emigrated to America.

Not many weeks subsequent to "the first start," I was informed, the trade was entered into by a street-seller in Petticoat-lane, who had become possessed, it was said, of Masters's Freezing Apparatus. He did not vend the ices himself for more than two or three weeks, and moreover confined his sale to Sunday mornings; after a while he employed himself for a short time in making ices for four or five street-sellers, some of whom looked upon the preparation as a wonderful discovery of his own, and he then discontinued the trade.

There were many difficulties attending the introduction of ices into street-traffic. The buyers had but a confused notion how the ice was to be swallowed. The trade, therefore, spread only very gradually, but some of the more enterprising sellers purchased stale ices from the confectioners. So little, however, were the street-people skilled in the trade, that a confectioner told me they sometimes offered ice to their customers in the streets, and could supply only water! Ices were sold by the street-vendors generally at 1*d.* each, and the trade left them a profit of 4*d.* in 1*s.*, when they served them "without waste," and some of the sellers contrived, by giving smaller modicums, to enhance the 4*d.* into 5*d.*; the profit, however, was sometimes what is expressively called "nil." Cent. per cent.—the favourite and simple rate known in the streets as "half-profits" was rarely attained.

From a street-dealer I received the following account:—

"Yes, sir, I mind very well the first time as I ever sold ices. I don't think they'll ever take greatly in the streets, but there's no saying. Lord! how I've seen the people splntter when they've tasted them for the first time. I did as much myself. They get among the teeth and make you feel as if you tooth-ached all over. I sold mostly strawberry ices. I haven't an idee how they're made, but it's a most wonderful thing in summer—freezing fruits in that way. One young Irish fellow—I think from his look and cap he was a printer's or stationer's boy—he bought an ice of me, and when he had scraped it all together with the spoon, he made a pull at it as if he was a drinking beer. In course it was all among his teeth in less than no time, and he stood like a stattey for a instant, and then he roared out,—'Jasus! I'm kilt. The could shivers is on to me!' But I said, 'O, you're all right, you are;' and he says, 'What d'you mane, you horrid horn,* by selling such stuff as that. An' you must have the money first, bad scran to the likes o' you!'

"The persons what enjoyed their ices most," the man went on, "was, I think, servant maids that gulped them on the sly. Pr'aps they'd been used, some on 'em, to get a taste of ices on the sly before, in their services. We sees a many dodges in the streets, sir—a many. I knew one smart servant maid, treated to an ice by her young man—they seemed as if they was keeping company—and he soon was stamping, with the ice among his teeth, but she knew how to take hern, put the spoon right into the middle of her mouth, and when she'd had a clean swallow she says: 'O, Joseph, why didn't you ask *me* to tell you how to eat your ice?' The conceit of sarvant gals is ridiculous. Don't you think so, sir? But it goes out of them when they gets married and has to think of how to get broth before how to eat ices. One hot day, about eleven, a thin tall gentleman, not very young, threw down 1*d.* to me, and says, says he, 'As much ice as you can make for that.' He knew how to take it. When he'd done, he says, says he, 'By G—, my good feller, you've saved my life. I've been keeping it up all night, and I was dying of a burnt-up throat, after a snooze, and had only 1*d.* So sick and hot was my stomach, I could have knelt down and taken a pull at the Thames'—we was near it at the time—'You've saved my life, and I'll see you again.' But I've never see'd him since. He was a gentleman, I think. He was in black, and wore a big black and gold ring—only one.

"The rest of my customers for ices, was people that bought out of curiosity, and there was gentlemen's servants among 'em, very little fellows some of 'em; and doctors' boys; and mechanics as was young and seemed of a smartish sort; and boys that seemed like schoolboys; and a few women of the town,—but mine's not much of a pitch for them."

From the information I obtained, I may state

* I inquired as to what was meant by the reproachful appellation, "horrid horn," and my informant declared that "to the best of his hearing," those were the words used; but doubtless the word was "omadhaun," signifying in the Erse tongue, a half-witted fellow. My informant had often sold fruit to the same lad, and said he had little of the brogue, or of "old Irish words," unless "his temper was riz, and then it came out powerful."

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that, if the sale of street ices be calculated at twenty persons *taking*, not earning, 1*s*. 6*d*. daily for four weeks, it is as near the mark as possible. This gives an expenditure of 42*l*. in street ices, with a profit to the vendors of from 10 to 25 per cent. I am told that an unsuccessful start has characterised other street trades — rhubarb for instance, both in the streets and markets—which have been afterwards successful and remunerative.

For capital in the ice trade a small sum was necessary, as the vendors had all stalls and sold other commodities, except the "original street ice man," who was not a regular street trader, but a speculator. A jar—in which the ices were neither sufficiently covered nor kept cooled, though it was often placed in a vessel or "cooler," containing cold water—cost 1*s*., three cups, 3*d*. (or three glasses, 1*s*.), and three spoons, 3*d*., with 2*s*. stock-money; the total is, presuming glasses were used, 4*s*., or, with a vessel for water, 5*s*.

OF THE CAPITAL AND INCOME OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF EATABLES AND DRINKABLES.

I now give a summary of the Capital and Income of the street-sellers of eatables and drinkables. But, first, I will endeavour to arrive at an estimate of the total number of people belonging to the class.

The street-sellers engaged in the sale of eatables and drinkables, are, summing the several items before given, altogether 6,347: of whom 300 sell pea-soup and hot eels; 150, pickled whelks; 300, fried fish; 300, sheeps trotters; 60, ham-sandwiches; 200, baked 'tatoes; 4, hot green peas; 150, meat; 25, bread; 1,000, cat and dogs' meat; 300, coffee and tea; 1,700, ginger-beer, lemonade, sherbet, &c.; 50, elder-wine; 4, peppermint-water; 28, milk; 100, curds and whey and rice-milk; 60, water; 50, pies; 6, boiled pudding; 6, plum "duff"; 150, cakes and tarts; 4, plum-cakes; 30, other cheaper cakes; 150, gingerbread-nuts; 500, cross-buns; 500, muffins and crumpets; 200, sweet stuff; 6, cough-drops; 20, ice-creams. But many of the above are only temporary trades. The street-sale of hot cross-buns, for instance, lasts only for a day; that of muffins and crumpets, baked potatoes, plum-"duff," cough-drops, elder-wine, and rice-milk, are all purely winter trades, while the sale of ginger-beer, lemonade, ice-creams, and curds and whey, is carried on solely in the summer. By this means the number of the street-sellers of eatables and drinkables, never at any one time reaches the amount before stated. In summer there are, in addition to the 10,000 costers before mentioned, about 3,000 people, and in winter between 4,000 and 5,000, engaged in the eatable and drinkable branch of the street-traffic.

As regards the Capital and Income, many minute accounts have been prepared.

To show the care, as well as the fulness with which these returns have been made, I give one of the Tables in its integrity, merely remarking, that similar tables relative to all the other articles have been made; but I condense the details, lest a repetition, however curious in its statistics, should prove wearisome:

CAPITAL, OR STOCK IN TRADE, OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF EATABLES AND DRINKABLES.

Street-sellers of Hot Eels.	£	s.	d.
200 stalls, at 6*s*.	60	0	0
100 baskets, at 1*s*.	5	0	0
200 eel-kettles, at 3*s*. 6*d*.	35	0	0
100 jars for itinerants, at 6*d*.	2	10	0
300 stew-pans, at 2*s*.	30	0	0
300 strainers, at 1*s*.	15	0	0
300 ladles, at 4*d*.	5	0	0
2,400 cups, at 1*d*.	10	0	0
2,400 spoons, at 1*d*.	10	0	0
200 chafing-dishes, at 6*d*.	5	0	0
200 glasses for candles, at 3*d*.	2	10	0
240 vendors' stock-money, at 5*s*. each	60	0	0
60 ditto, at 25*s*. each.	75	0	0
100 itinerants' ditto, at 2*s*. each	10	0	0
300 cloths, at 4*d*. each	5	0	0
300 pairs of sleeves, at 4*d*. per pair	5	0	0
300 aprons at 4*d*. each	5	0	0
	£339	10	0

Street-sellers of Pea Soup.

	£	s.	d.
150 soup-kettles, 4*s*. each; 150 ladles, 6*d*. each; 150 pepper-boxes, 1*d*. each; 150 mint-boxes, 3*d*. each; 150 chafing-dishes, 6*d*. each; 1,800 basons, 1*d*. each; 1,800 spoons, 1*d*. each; stock-money, 3*s*. 6*d*. each*	81	5	0

Street-sellers of Pickled Whelks.

	£	s.	d.
100 stalls, 4*s*. each; 150 baskets, 2*s*. 6*d*. each; 150 tin boilers, 2*s*. 6*d*. each; 75 pans, 9*d*. each; 150 jars, 6*d*. each; 150 flour-dredgers, 4*d*. each; 1,800 saucers, ½*d*. each; 150 table-spoons, 2*d*. each; 150 knives, 2*d*. each; 150 vinegar-bottles, 1*d*. each; 150 serge aprons, 2*s*. each; stock-money, for 150 vendors, 5*s*. each	125	18	9

Street-sellers of Fried Fish.

	£	s.	d.
300 trays, 1*s*. 6*d*. each; 300 frying-pans, 1*s*. 6*d*. each; 300 salt-dredgers, 3*d*. each; 300 knives, 2*d*. each; 300 earthenware pans, 1*s*. each; 300 shallows, 1*s*. each; stock-money, for 150 vendors, 5*s*. each	156	5	0

* The hot-eel trade being in conjunction with the pea-soup, the same stall, candles, towels, sleeves, and aprons do for both.

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Street-sellers of Sheeps' Trotters.

300 baskets, 1*s.* 4*d.* each; 300 cotton cloths, 4*d.* each; 300 forks, 2*d.* each; 300 knives, 3*d.* each; 300 pepper-boxes, 1*d.* each; 300 salt-cellars, 1*d.* each; stock-money, for 300 sellers, 1*s.* each . . . . . £48 15*s.* 0*d.*

Street-sellers of Ham Sandwiches.

60 baskets, 2*s.* each; 60 tin boilers, 2*s.* each; 60 knives and forks, 6*d.* per pair; 60 mustard-pots, 1*d.* each; 60 spoons, 1*d.* each; 60 cloths, 5*d.* each; 60 aprons, 4*d.* each; 60 pairs of sleeves, 4*d.* per pair; stock-money for 60 vendors, 7*s.* 2*d.* weekly . . 38 15 0

Street-sellers of Baked 'Tatoes.

300 cans, 2*l.* each; 300 knives, 3*d.* each; 300 pepper-boxes, 1*d.* each; stock-money for 300 vendors, 10*s.* each 755 0 0

Street-sellers of Hot Green Peas.

4 cans, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 4 vinegar-bottles, 1*d.* each: 4 pepper-boxes, 3*d.* each; 12 saucers, 1*d.* each; 12 spoons, 1*d.* each; 4 cloths, 4*d.* each; stock-money for 4 vendors, 2*s.* each 1 2 8

Street-sellers of Meat ("Hawking Butchers.")

150 baskets, 4*s.* 6*d.* each; 150 saws, 2*s.* each; 150 cleavers, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; 150 steels, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; 150 belts for baskets, 1*s.* each; 150 do. for waist, 6*d.* each; 150 cloths, 6*d.* each; 150 aprons, 6*d.* each; 150 pairs of sleeves, 4*d.* per pair; 150 vendors' stock-money, 6*s* each per day 138 5 0

Street-sellers of Bread.

12 baskets, 4*s.* 6*d.* each; 12 barrows, 40*s.* each; 1 long bread-basket, 40*s.*; 1 barrow, 30*s.*; 13 sacks, 1*s.* each; stock-money for 25 vendors, at 1*l.* each 55 17 0

Street-sellers of Cats' and Dogs'-meat.

500 barrows, 18*s.* each; 1,000 baskets, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; 500 sets of weights and scales, 4*s.* each; 1,000 knives, 8*d.* each; 1,000 steels, 1*s.* each; stock-money of 1,500 vendors, 7*s.* 6*d.* per head 1,083 6 8

Street-sellers of Coffee and Tea.

150 tables, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 75 stalls, 6*s.* each; 75 coffee-barrows, 1*l.* each; 400 coffee-cans (100 vendors having two cans, and 200 only one), 8*s.* each; 1,200 half-pint cups and saucers, 3*d.* each, and 900 pints, 6*d.* each; 2,100 spoons, 1*d.* each; 900 plates, 1½*d.* each; 300 knives, 2*d.* each; 300 pans, 9*d.* each; 600 canisters, 5*d.* each; 50 screens, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; stock-money of 300 vendors, 5*s.* each . 435 12 0

Street-sellers of Ginger-beer.

300 barrows, 1*l.* each; 1,000 stalls, 5*s.* each; 175 fountains, 7*l.* each; 20 ditto, 20*l.* each; 3 ditto, 100*l.* each; 9,000 glasses, 5*d.* each; 1,500 tanks, 1*s.* each; 3,000 towels, 6*d.* each; 500 sets of brewing utensils, corks, &c., 5*s.* each; 500 gross of bottles, 10*s.* per gross, and stock-money for 1,500 vendors, 5*s.* each . . . . £3,562 10*s.* 0*d.*

*Street-sellers of Lemonade, Nectar, Sherbet, &c.**

200 stalls, 6*s.* each; 500 stone barrels, 5*s.* 6*d.* each; 1,200 glasses, 4½*d.* each; 400 towels, 6*d.* each; 200 jars, 2*s.* each; 2,400 glass bottles, 3*d.* each; stock-money for 200 vendors, 2*s.* 6*d.* each 305 0 0

Street-sellers of Elder-wine.

3 elder-wine carriages and apparatus, 7*l.* each; 47 ditto ditto, 3*l.* 10*s.* each; 300 small wine-glasses, 2*d.* each; stock-money, 3*s.* per head . 195 10 0

Street-sellers of Peppermint-water.

2 kegs, 3*s.* 6*d.* each; 2 jars, 2*s.* each; 16 glasses, 3*d.* each; 4 cloths, 4*d.* each; stock-money, for four vendors, 1*s.* each 1 0 4

Milk-sellers in the Park.

16 cows, 20*l.* each; 8 lockers, 3*l.* each; 32 fixed seats, 3*s.* each; 48 forms, 3*s* each; 48 glasses, 4½*d.* each; 96 cups, 1*d.* each; 8 halters, for cows, 6*d.* each; 8 pans, 1*s.* each; 16 towels, 6*d.* each 358 6 0

Milk-sellers in Markets, &c.

20 yokes and pairs of cans, 15*s.* each; 20 sets of measures, 2*s.* per set; stock-money for 20 vendors, 3*s.* each 20 0 0

Street-sellers of Curds and Whey.

100 stalls, 5*s.* each; 100 saucepans, to scald the milk in, 2*s.* each; 300 cups, 1*d.* each; 300 glasses, 5*d.* each; 600 spoons, ½*d.* each; 100 tin kettles, for stalls, at 3*s.* 6*d.* each; 100 small tubs, 1*s* each; 100 cloths, 3*d.* each; stock-money for 100 vendors, at 2*s.* each 77 10 0

Street-sellers of Rice-milk. †

50 kettles and braziers, for stall, 4*s.* the two; 300 spice or peppermint-boxes, 1*d.* each; stock-money for fifty vendors, 1*s.* 3*d.* each . . . 14 7 6

Water-carriers.

120 pails, 2*s.* each; 60 yokes, 5*s.* each 27 0 0

* There are altogether 500 vendors of emonade in the streets, but 300 of these sell also ginger-beer, and consequently do not have separate stalls, &c.

† The street-sellers of rice-milk are included in the street-sellers of curds and whey; hence the stalls, saucepans, cups, &c., of the two classes are the same.

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Street Piemen.

	£	s.	d.
50 pie-cans, 1*l.* each; 25 turn halfpenny boards, to gamble with, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 50 gross of tin pie-dishes, 12*s.* per gross; 50 aprons, 8*d.* each; 100 tins, 1*s.* each (for baking pies upon), stock-money, for 50 vendors, 6*s.* 6*d.* each	106	0	10

Street-sellers of Boiled Puddings.

	£	s.	d.
6 stands, 6*s.* each; 6 cans, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 6 pots (tin), 2*s.* each; 6 chafing-dishes and stands, 5*d.* each; 6 forks, 2*d.* each; 6 cloths, 6*d.* each; stock-money, for 6 vendors, 2*s.* 6*d.* each	4	4	6

Street-sellers of Plum-duff.

	£	s.	d.
6 baskets, 1*s.* 9*d.* each; 6 saucepans, 2*s.* each; 6 cloths, 6*d.* each; 6 knives, 2*d.* each; stock-money, for 6 vendors, 2*s.* each	1	18	6

Street-sellers of Cakes, Tarts, &c.

	£	s.	d.
150 trays, 1*s.* 9*d.* each; 150 cloths, 1*s.* 3*d.* each; 150 straps, 6*d.* each; stock-money, 16*s.* 6*d.* each . . .	150	0	0

Other and inferior Cake-sellers.

	£	s.	d.
30 trays, 1*s.* 9*d.* each; 30 straps, 6*d.* each; stock-money, 2*s.* 6*d.* each	7	2	6

Street-sellers of Plum-cake.

	£	s.	d.
4 trays, 1*s.* 9*d.* each; 4 baskets, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; 4 cloths (oil-cloth covers for baskets), 1*s.* each; 4 knives, 2*d.* each; stock-money, for 4 sellers, 4*s.* each	1	18	8

Gingerbread-nut Makers and Sellers.

	£	s.	d.
50 ovens, 5*l.* each; 50 peels and rakes, 3*s.* the two; 750 tins, 1*s.* each; 50 lamps, for fairs, 6*s.* each; 50 stalls, 6*s.* each; 50 sets of scales and 100 sets of weights, half of them false, 7*s.* 6*d.* each; 100 canisters, 2*s.* each; 50 barrows, 30*s.* each; 50 baskets, 6*s.* each; 50 baizes, 1*s.* each; 50 cloths to cover stall, 1*s.* each; stock-money, for 50 makers and sellers, 14*s.* each.	483	15	0

Gingerbread-nut Sellers (not Makers.)

	£	s.	d.
150 trays, 1*s.* 9*d.* each; 150 straps, 6*d.* each; stock-money, for 150 sellers, 1*s.* 6*d.* each	28	5	6

Street-sellers of Hot cross Buns.

	£	s.	d.
500 baskets, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 500 flannels and cloths, 2*s.* the two; stock-money, for 500 sellers, 2*s.* 6*d.* each	175	0	0

Street-sellers of Muffins and Crumpets.

	£	s.	d.
500 baskets, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 500 cloths, 1*s.* each; stock-money, for 500 sellers, 5*s.* each	212	10	0

Street-sellers of Sweet-stuff.

	£	s.	d.
6 barrows, 1*l.* 10*s.* each; 150 trays, 1*s.* 9*d.* each; 50 saucepans, 2*s.* each; 18 canisters (long tin), 2*s.* each; 44 stalls, at 4*s.* each; 50 sets of weights and scales, at 4*s.* each; stock-money, for 150 vendors, 3*s.* each	70	4	6

Street-sellers of Cough Drops.

	£	s.	d.
2 stills and barrows, 3*l.* 10*s.* each; 4 stalls, 7*s.* each; 6 weights and scales, 3*s.* 6*d.* each; stock-money, for 6 sellers, 2*s.* 6*d.* each	10	4	0

Street-sellers of Ices.

	£	s.	d.
20 jars, 1*s.* each; 20 coolers, 2*s.* each; 30 cups, 1*d.* each, and 30 glasses, 4*d.* each; 60 spoons, 1*d.* each; stock-money, for 20 vendors, 2*s.* per head	5	17	6
TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTED IN THE STREET SALE OF EATABLES AND DRINKABLES . . .	9,077	12	5

INCOME, OR "TAKINGS," OF STREET-SELLERS OF EATABLES AND DRINKABLES.

Street-sellers of Hot Eels.

There are upwards of 1,000,000 lbs. weight of hot eels sold yearly in the streets of London. 140 vendors each sell 6 lbs. of eels daily at their stands; 60 sell 40 lbs. daily; and 100 itinerant sell 5 lbs. nightly at the public-houses. The first mentioned take on an average 2*s.* daily; the second 16*s.*; and the third 1*s.* 8*d.* This gives a yearly street expenditure in the trade in hot eels amounting to £19,448

Street-sellers of Pea-soup.

The annual street consumption of pea-soup amounts to 1,680 gallons. 100 vendors sell each 4 gallons daily; and 50 vendors, each sell upon an average 10 gallons daily. The first mentioned take 3*s.* a day; and the last, 7*s.* 6*d.* This gives a street expenditure during the winter season of five months, of . . £4,050

Street-sellers of Pickled Whelks.

According to the Billingsgate returns, there are nearly 5,000,000 of whelks sold yearly in the streets of London. These are retailed in a boiled state, and flavoured with vinegar, at four a penny. 150 vendors take on an average 13*s.* weekly. This gives an annual street expenditure, of £5,000

Street-sellers of Fried Fish.

150 sellers make 10*s.* 6*d.* weekly, or yearly 27*l.* 6*s.*; and 150 sellers make half that amount, 13*l.* 13*s.* per annum. Reckoning 20*l.* a year as a medium earning, and adding 90 per cent. for

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profit, the annual consumption of fried fish supplied by London street-sellers amounts to 684,000 lbs., and the sum expended thereupon to £11,400

Street-sellers of Sheep's Trotters.

In the wholesale "trotter" establishment there are prepared, weekly, 20,000 sets, or 80,000 feet; giving a yearly average of 4,160,000 trotters, or the feet of 1,040,000 sheep. Of this quantity the street-folk buy seven-eighths, or 3,640,000 trotters yearly. The number of sheep trotter-sellers may be taken at 300; which gives an average of nearly 60 sets a week per individual. There is then expended yearly in London streets on trotters, calculating their sale, retail, at ½*d.* each, 6,500*l.*; but though the regular price is ½*d.*, some trotters are sold at four for 1½*d.*, very few higher than ½*d.*, and some are kept until they are unsaleable, so that the amount thus expended may be estimated at £6,000

Street-sellers of Ham-sandwiches.

60 vendors, take 8*s.* a week, and sell annually 486,800 sandwiches, at a cost of £1,800

Street-sellers of Baked 'Tatoes.

300 vendors, sell upon an average ¾ cwt. of baked potatoes daily, or 1,755 tons in the season. The average takings of each vendor amount to 6*s.* a day; and the receipts of the whole number throughout the season (which lasts from the latter end of September till March inclusive), a period of 6 months, are . .£14,000

The Street-sellers of Hot Green Peas.

The chief man of business sells 3 gallons a day (which, at 1*d.* the quarter-pint, would be 8*s.*, my informant said 7*s.*), the other three together sell the same quantity; hence there is an annual street consumption of 1,870 gallons, and a street expenditure on "hot green peas" of £250

Street-sellers of Meat.

The hawking butchers, taking their number at 150, sell 747,000 lbs. of meat, and take annually £12,450

Street-sellers of Bread.

25 men take 45*s.* a day for five months in the summer, and 12 regular traders take 1*l.* 12*s.* per day; this gives an annual street consumption of 700,000 quartern loaves of bread, and a street expenditure of £9,000

Street-sellers of Cats and Dogs' Meat.

There are 300,000 cats in the metropolis, and from 900 to 1,000 horses, averaging 2 cwt. of meat each, boiled down every week; the quantity of cats' and dogs' meat used throughout London is about 200,000 lbs. per week, and this, sold at the rate of 2½*d.* per lb., gives 2,000*l.* a week for the money spent in cats' and dogs' meat, or per year, upwards of £100,000

Street-sellers of Coffee, Tea, &c.

Each coffee-stall keeper on an average clears 1*l.* a week, and his takings may be said to be at least double that sum; hence the quantity of coffee sold annually in the streets, is about 550,000 gallons, while the yearly street expenditure for tea, coffee, &c., amounts to . . .£31,200

Street-sellers of Ginger-beer.

The bottles of ginger-beer sold yearly in the streets number about 4,798,000, and the total street consumption of the same beverage may be said to be about 250,000 gallons per annum. 200 street-sellers of ginger-beer in the bottle trade of the penny class take 30*s.* a week each (thus allowing for inferior receipts in bad weather); 300 take 20*s.* each, selling their "beer" for the most part at ½*d.* the bottle, while the remaining 400 "in a small way" take 6*s.* each; hence there is expended in the bottled ginger-beer of the streets 11,480*l.* Adding the receipts from the fountains and the barrels, the barrel season continuing only ten weeks, the total sum expended annually in street ginger-beer amounts altogether to £14,660

Street-sellers of Lemonade, Sherbet, Nectar, &c.

There are 200 persons, chiefly men, selling solely lemonade, &c., and an additional 300 uniting the sale with that of ginger-beer. Their average receipts on fine days are 3*s.* 6*d.* a day, or, allowing for wet weather and diminished receipts, 10*s.* a week. The receipts, then, for this street luxury, show a street expenditure in such a summer as the last, of 2,800*l.*, among those who do not unite ginger-beer with the trade. Calculating that those who *do* unite ginger-beer with it sell only one-half as much as the others, we find a total outlay of £4,900

Street-sellers of Elder-wine.

50 vendors clear 5*s.* a week for 16 weeks by the sale of elder-wine in the streets, their profit being at least cent. per cent.; hence the street consumption of this beverage in the course of the year is 1,500 gallons, and the outlay . . . £200

Street-sellers of Peppermint-water.

Calculating that 4 "pepperminters" take 2*s.* a day the year round, Sundays excepted, we find that 900 gallons of peppermint-water are consumed every year in the streets of London, while the sum expended in it amounts annually to £125

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Street-sellers of Milk in the Markets, Parks, &c.

The vendors in the markets clear about 1*s.* 6*d.* a day each, for three months; and as the profit is rather more than cent. per cent., there are about 4,000 gallons of milk thus sold yearly. The quantity sold in the park averages 20 quarts a day for a period of nine months, or 1,170 gallons in the year. This is retailed at 4*d.* per quart; hence the annual expenditure is . . . £344

Street-sellers of Curds and Whey.

50 sellers dispose of 12½ gallons in 3 weeks; the other 50 sell only half as much. Taking the season at 3 months, the annual consumption of curds and whey in the streets is 2,812 double gallons (as regards the ingredients of milk), which is retailed at a cost to the purchasers of £412

Street-sellers of Rice-milk.

Calculating that 50 sellers dispose of 24 quarts weekly, while one-half of the remaining 25 sell 12 quarts each per week at 1*d.* the half-pint, and the other half vend 24 quarts at ½*d.* the half-pint, there are about 3,000 gallons of rice-milk yearly consumed in the streets of London, while the expenditure amounts to £320

Water-carriers.

The number of water-carriers are sixty, and their average earnings through the year 5*s.* a week; hence the sum annually expended in water thus obtained amounts to £780

Street Piemen.

There are fifty street piemen plying their trade in London, the year through, their average takings are one guinea a week; hence there is an annual street consumption of pies of nearly to three-quarters of a million, and a street expenditure amounting to £3,000

Street-sellers of Meat and Currant Puddings.

Each street-seller gets rid of, on an average, 85 dozen, or 1,020 puddings; there are now but six street-sellers (regularly) of these comestibles; hence the weekly aggregate would be—allowing for bad weather—5,400, and the total 129,600 meat and currant puddings sold in the streets, in a season of 24 weeks. This gives an annual expenditure on the part of the street boys and girls (who are the principal purchasers), and of the poor persons who patronise the street-trade, of about £270

Street-sellers of Plum "duff."

Calculating 42*s.* a week as the takings of six persons, for five months, we find there is yearly expended in the street purchase of plum dough upwards of . £250

Street-sellers of Cakes, Tarts, &c.

Reckoning 150 cake-sellers, each taking 6*s.* a week—a sufficiently low average—the street consumption of cakes, tarts, &c., will be 1,123,200 every year, and the street outlay about . . £2,350

Street-sellers of other and inferior Cakes.

The sale of the inferior street cakes realises about a fifth of that taken by the other cake-sellers; hence it may be estimated yearly at £450

Street-sellers of Gingerbread-nuts.

150 gingerbread-nut-sellers take 17*s.* each weekly (clearing 9*s.*); at this rate the sum spent yearly in "spice" nuts in the streets of London amounts to . £6,630

Street-sellers of Hot-cross Buns.

There are nearly 100,000 hot-cross buns sold every Good Friday in the streets of London; hence there is expended in one day, upon the buns thus bought about £300

Street-sellers of Muffins and Crumpets.

There are 500 muffin-sellers, each clearing 4*s.* and taking 12*s.* a week on an average; hence the metropolitan street sale of muffins and crumpets will be in 20 weeks about 120,000 dozen, and the sum expended thereon . . . £6,000

Street-sellers of Sweet-stuff.

The number of sweet-stuff sellers in London amounts to 200, each of whom, on an average, clears 10*s.*, and takes 20*s.* weekly; the yearly consumption, therefore, of rocks, candies, hard-bakes, &c., purchased in the streets is nearly two and a half millions of halfpenny-worths, or (at the rate of ½*d.* an ounce) about 70 tons weight per annum, costing the consumers about £10,000

Street-sellers of Cough-drops.

The earnings of the principal man in the "cough-drop" street trade may be taken at 30*s.* a week for twenty weeks; that of another at 15*s.* for the same period; and those of the remaining four street-sellers of the same compound at 5*s.* each, weekly; allowing the usual cent. per cent., we find there is annually expended by street-buyers on cough-drops £130

Street-sellers of Ice Creams.

The sale of street ices may be calculated at twenty persons, taking 1*s.* 6*d.* daily for four weeks. This gives a street consumption of 10,000 penny ices, and an annual expenditure thereon of . £42

TOTAL SUM EXPENDED YEARLY ON STREET EATABLES AND DRINKABLES £203,115

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OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF STATIONERY, LITERATURE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

We now come to a class of street-folk wholly distinct from any before treated of. As yet we have been dealing principally with the uneducated portion of the street-people—men whom, for the most part, are allowed to remain in nearly the same primitive and brutish state as the savage—creatures with nothing but their appetites, instincts, and passions to move them, and made up of the same crude combination of virtue and vice—the same generosity combined with the same predatory tendencies as the Bedouins of the desert—the same love of revenge and disregard of pain, and often the same gratitude and susceptibility to kindness as the Red Indian—and, furthermore, the same insensibility to female honour and abuse of female weakness, and the same utter ignorance of the Divine nature of the Godhead as marks either Bosjesman, Carib, or Thug.

The costers and many other of the street-sellers before described, however, are bad—not so much from their own perversity as from our selfishness. That they partake of the natural evil of human nature is not their fault but ours,—who would be like them if we had not been taught by others better than ourselves to controul the bad and cherish the good principles of our hearts.

The street-sellers of stationery, literature, and the fine arts, however, differ from all before treated of in the *general*, though far from universal, education of the sect. They constitute principally the class of street-orators, known in these days as "patterers," and formerly termed "mountebanks,"—people who, in the words of Strutt, strive to "help off their wares by pompous speeches, in which little regard is paid either to truth or propriety." To patter, is a slang term, meaning to speak. To indulge in this kind of oral puffery, of course, requires a certain exercise of the intellect, and it is the consciousness of their mental superiority which makes the patterers look down upon the costermongers as an inferior body, with whom they object either to be classed or to associate. The scorn of some of the "patterers" for the mere costers is as profound as the contempt of the pickpocket for the pure beggar. Those who have not witnessed this pride of class among even the most degraded, can form no adequate idea of the arrogance with which the skilled man, no matter how base the art, looks upon the unskilled. "We are the haristocracy of the streets," was said to me by one of the street-folks, who told penny fortunes with a bottle. "People don't pay us for what we gives 'em, but only to hear us talk. We live like yourself, sir, by the hexercise of our hintellects—we by talking, and you by writing."

But notwithstanding the self-esteem of the patterers, I am inclined to think that they are less impressionable and less susceptible of kindness than the costers whom they despise. Dr. Conolly has told us that, even among the insane, the educated classes are the most difficult to move and govern through their affections. They are invariably suspicious, attributing unworthy motives to every benefit conferred, and consequently incapable of being touched by any sympathy on the part of those who may be affected by their distress. So far as my experience goes it is the same with the street-patterers. Any attempt to befriend them is almost sure to be met with distrust. Nor does their mode of life serve in any way to lessen their misgivings. Conscious how much their own livelihood depends upon assumption and trickery, they naturally consider that others have some "dodge," as they call it, or some latent object in view when any good is sought to be done them. The impulsive costermonger, however, approximating more closely to the primitive man, moved solely by his feelings, is as easily humanized by any kindness as he is brutified by any injury.

The patterers, again, though certainly more intellectual, are scarcely less immoral than the costers. Their superior cleverness gives them the power of justifying and speciously glossing their evil practices, but serves in no way to restrain them; thus affording the social philosopher another melancholy instance of the evil of developing the intellect without the conscience—of teaching people to *know* what is morally beautiful and ugly, without teaching them at the same time to feel and delight in the one and abhor the other—or, in other words, of quickening the cunning and checking the emotions of the individual.

Among the patterers marriage is as little frequent as among the costermongers; with the exception of the older class, who "were perhaps married before they took to the streets." Hardly one of the patterers, however, has been bred to a street life; and this constitutes another line of demarcation between them and the costermongers.

The costers, we have seen, are mostly hereditary wanderers—having been as it were born to frequent the public thoroughfares; some few of the itinerant dealers in fish, fruit, and vegetables, have it is true been driven by want of employment to adopt street-selling as a means of living, but these are, so to speak, the aliens rather than the natives of the streets. The patterers, on the other hand, have for the most part neither been born and bred nor driven to a street life—but have rather *taken* to it from a natural love of what they call "roving." This propensity to lapse from a civilized into a nomad state—to pass from a settler into a wanderer—is a peculiar charac-

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teristic of the pattering tribe. The tendency however is by no means extraordinary; for ethnology teaches us, that whereas many abandon the habits of civilized life to adopt those of a nomadic state of existence, but few of the wandering tribes give up vagabondising and betake themselves to settled occupations. The innate "love of a roving life," which many of the street-people themselves speak of as the cause of their originally taking to the streets, appears to be accompanied by several peculiar characteristics; among the most marked of these are an indomitable "self-will" or hatred of the least restraint or controul—an innate aversion to every species of law or government, whether political, moral, or domestic—a stubborn, contradictory nature—an incapability of continuous labour, or remaining long in the same place occupied with the same object, or attending to the same subject—an unusual predilection for amusements, and especially for what partakes of the ludicrous—together with a great relish of all that is ingenious, and so finding extreme delight in tricks and frauds of every kind. There are two patterers now in the streets (brothers)—well-educated and respectably connected — who candidly confess they prefer that kind of life to any other, and would not leave it if they could.

Nor are the patterers less remarkable than the costermongers for their utter absence of all religious feeling. There is, however, this distinction between the two classes—that whereas the creedlessness of the one is but the consequence of brutish ignorance, that of the other is the result of natural perversity and educated scepticism—as the street-patterers include many men of respectable connections, and even classical attainments. Among them, may be found the son of a military officer, a clergyman, a man brought up to the profession of medicine, two Grecians of the Blue-coat School, clerks, shopmen, and a class who have been educated to no especial calling—some of the latter being the natural sons of gentlemen and noblemen—and who, when deprived of the support of their parents or friends, have taken to the streets for bread. Many of the younger and smarter men, I am assured, reside with women of the town, though they may not be dependent for their livelihood on the wages got by the infamy of these women. Not a few of the patterers, too, in their dress and appearance, present but little difference to that of the "gent." Some wear a moustache, while others indulge in a Henri-Quatre beard. The patterers are, moreover, as a body, not distinguished by that good and friendly feeling one to another which is remarkable among costermongers. If an absence of heartiness and good fellowship be characteristic of an aristocracy—as some political philosophers contend—then the patterers may indeed be said to be the aristocrats of the streets.

The patterers or oratorical street-sellers include among their class many itinerant traders, other than the wandering "paper-workers"—as those vending the several varieties of street-literature are generally denominated. The Cheap Jacks, or oratorical hucksters of hardware at fairs and other places, are among the most celebrated and humorous of this class. The commercial arts and jests of some of these people, display considerable cleverness. Many of their jokes, it is true, are traditional—and as purely a matter of parrotry as the witticisms of the "funny gentlemen" on the stage, but their ready adaptation of accidental circumstances to the purposes of their business, betrays a modicum of wit far beyond that which falls to the share of ordinary "low comedians." The street-vendors of cough drops—infallible cures for the toothache and other ailments—also belong to the pattering class. These are, as was before stated, the remains of the obsolete mountebanks of England and the *saltinbanque* of France—a class of *al fresco* orators who derived their names from the *bench*—the street pulpit, rostrum, or platform—that they ascended, in order the better to deliver their harangues. The street jugglers, actors, and showmen, as well as the street-sellers of grease-removing compositions, corn-salve, razor-paste, plating-balls, waterproof blacking, rat poisons, sovereigns sold for wagers, and a multiplicity of similar street-trickeries—such as oratorical begging — are other ingenious and wordy members of the same chattering, jabbering, or "pattering" fraternity. These will all be spoken of under the head of the different things they respectively sell or do. For the present we have only to deal with that portion of the "pattering" body who are engaged in the street sale of literature—or the "paper-workers" as they call themselves. The latter include the "running patterers," or "death-hunters;" being men (no women) engaged in vending last dying speeches and confessions—in hawking "se-cond edi-tions" of newspapers—or else in "working," that is to say, in getting rid of what are technically termed "cocks;" which, in polite language, means accounts of fabulous duels between ladies of fashion—of apochryphal elopements, or fictitious love-letters of sporting noblemen and certain young milliners not a hundred miles from the spot—"cooked" assassinations and sudden deaths of eminent individuals—pretended jealous affrays between Her Majesty and the Prince Consort (but these papers are now never worked) — or awful tragedies, including mendacious murders, impossible robberies, and delusive suicides.

The sellers of these choice articles, however, belong more particularly to that order or species of the pattering genus known as "running patterers," or "flying stationers," from the fact of their being continually on the move while describing the attractions of the "papers" they have to sell. Contradistinguished from them, however, are the "standing patterers," or those for whose less startling announcements a crowd is necessary, in order that the audience may have time to swallow the many marvels worked by

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their wares. The standing patterers require, therefore, what they term a "pitch," that is to say a fixed locality, where they can hold forth to a gaping multitude for, at least, some few minutes continuously. They are mainly such street-sellers as deal in nostrums and the different kinds of street "wonders." Occasionally, however, the running patterer (who is especially literary) transmigrates into a standing one, betaking himself to "board work," as it is termed in street technology, and stopping at the corners of thoroughfares with a large pictorial placard raised upon a pole, and glowing with a highly-coloured exaggeration of the interesting terrors of the pamphlet he has for sale. This is either "The Life of Calcraft, the Hangman," "The Diabolical Practices of Dr. —— on his Patients when in a state of Mesmerism," or "The Secret Doings at the White House, Soho," and other similar attractively-repulsive details. Akin to this "board work" is the practice of what is called "strawing," or selling straws in the street, and giving away with them something that is either really or fictionally forbidden to be sold,—as indecent papers, political songs, and the like. This practice, however, is now seldom resorted to, while the sale of "secret papers" is rarely carried on in public. It is true, there are three or four patterers who live chiefly by professing to dispose of "sealed packets" of obscene drawings and cards for gentlemen; but this is generally a trick adopted to extort money from old debauchees, young libertines, and people of degraded or diseased tastes; for the packets, on being opened, seldom contain anything but an odd number of some defunct periodical. There is, however, a large traffic in such secret papers carried on in what is called "the public-house trade," that is to say, by itinerant "paper-workers" (mostly women), who never make their appearance in the streets, but obtain a livelihood by "busking," as it is technically termed, or, in other words, by offering their goods for sale only at the bars and in the tap-rooms and parlours of taverns. The excessive indulgence of one appetite is often accompanied by the disease of a second; the drunkard, of course, is super-eminently a sensualist, and is therefore easily taken by anything that tends to stimulate his exhausted desires: so sure is it that one form of bestiality is a necessary concomitant of another. There is another species of patterer, who, though usually included among the standing patterers, belongs rather to an intermediate class, viz., those who neither stand nor "*run*," as they descant upon what they sell; but those walk at so slow a rate that, though never stationary, they can hardly be said to move. These are the reciters of dialogues, litanies, and the various street "squibs" upon passing events; they also include the public propounders of conundrums, and the "hundred and fifty popular song" enumerators—such as are represented in the engraving here given. Closely connected with them are the "chaunters," or those who do not cry, but (if one may so far stretch the English language) *sing* the contents of the "papers" they vend.

These traffickers constitute the principal street-sellers of literature, or "paper-workers," of the "pattering" class. In addition to them there are many others vending "papers" in the public thoroughfares, who are mere traders resorting to no other acts for the disposal of their goods than a simple cry or exposition of them; and many of these are but poor, humble, struggling, and inoffensive dealers. They do not puff or represent what they have to sell as what it is not—(allowing them a fair commercial latitude). They are not of the "enterprising" class of street tradesmen. Among these are the street-sellers of stationery—such as note-paper, envelopes, pens, ink, pencils, sealing-wax, and wafers. Belonging to the same class, too, are the street-vendors of almanacs, pocket-books, memorandum and account-books. Then there are the sellers of odd numbers of periodicals and broadsheets, and those who vend either playing cards, conversation cards, stenographic cards, and (at Epsom, Ascot, &c.) racing cards. Besides these, again, there are the vendors of illustrated cards, such as those embellished with engravings of the Crystal Palace, Views of the Houses of Parliament, as well as the gelatine poetry cards—all of whom, with the exception of the racing-card sellers (who belong generally to the pattering tribe), partake of the usual characteristics of the street-selling class.

After these may be enumerated the vendors of old engravings out of inverted umbrellas, and the hawkers of coloured pictures in frames. Then there are the old book-stalls and barrows, and "the pinners-up," as they are termed, or sellers of old songs pinned against the wall, as well as the vendors of manuscript music. Moreover, appertaining to the same class, there are the vendors of playbills and "books of the performance" outside the theatre; and lastly, the pretended sellers of tracts—such as the Lascars and others, who use this kind of street traffic as a cloak for the more profitable trade of begging. The street-sellers of images, although strictly comprised within those who vend fine art productions in the public thoroughfares will be treated of under the head of THE STREET ITALIANS, to which class they mostly belong.

OF THE FORMER AND PRESENT STREET-PATTERERS.

OF the street-patterers the running (or flying) trader announces the contents of the paper he is offering for sale, as he proceeds on his mission. It is usually the detail of some "barbarious and horrible murder," or of some extraordinary occurrence—such as the attack on Marshal Haynau—which has roused public attention; or the paper announced as descriptive of a murder, or of some exciting event, may in reality be some odd number of a defunct periodical. "It's astonishing," said one patterer to me, "how few people ever complain of having been took in. It hurts their feelings to lose a halfpenny, but it

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hurts their pride too much, when they're had, to grumble in public about it." On this head, then, I need give no further general explanation.

In times of excitement the running patterer (or "stationer," as he was and is sometimes called) has reaped the best harvest. When the Popish plot agitated England in the reign of Charles II. the "Narratives" of the design of a handful of men to assassinate a whole nation, were eagerly purchased in the streets and taverns. And this has been the case during the progress of any absorbing event subsequently. I was told by a very old gentleman, who had heard it from his grandfather, that in some of the quiet towns of the north of England, in Durham and Yorkshire, there was the greatest eagerness to purchase from the street-sellers any paper relative to the progress of the forces under Charles Edward Stuart, in 1745. This was especially the case when it became known that the "rebels" had gained possession of Carlisle, and it was uncertain what might be their route southward. About the period of the "affair of the '45," and in the autumn following the decisive battle of Culloden (in April, 1746), the "Northern Lights" were more than usually brilliant, or more than usually remarked, and a meteor or two had been seen. The street-sellers were then to be found in fairs and markets, vending wonderful accounts of these wonderful phenomena.

I have already alluded to the character of the old mountebank, and to his "pompous orations," having "as little regard to truth as to propriety." There certainly is little pompousness in the announcements of the patterers, though in their general disregard of truth they resemble those of the mountebank. The mountebank, however, addressed his audience from a stage, and made his address attractive by mixing up with it music, dancing, and tumbling; sometimes, also, equestrianism on the green of a village; and by having always the services of a merry-andrew, or clown. The nostrums of these quacks were all as unequalled for cheapness as for infallibility, and their impudence and coolness ensured success. Their practices are as well exposed in some of the *Spectators* of 1711-12 as the puppet-playing of Powel was good-humouredly ridiculed. One especial instance is cited, where a mountebank, announcing himself a native of Hammersmith, where he was holding forth, offered to make a present of 5*s.* to every brother native of Hammersmith among his audience. The mountebank then drew from a long bag a handful of little packets, each of which, he informed the spectators, was constantly sold for 5*s.* 6*d.*, but that out of love to his native hamlet he would bate the odd 5*s.* to every inhabitant of the place. The whole assembly immediately closed with his generous offer."

There is a scene in Moncrieff's popular farce of "*Rochester*," where the hero personates a mountebank, which may be here cited as affording a good idea of the "pompous orations" indulged in by the street orators in days of yore:

"Silence there, and hear me, for my words are more precious than gold; I am the renowned and far-famed Doctor Paracelsus Bombastes Esculspus Galen dam Humbug von Quack, member of all the colleges under the Moon: M.D., L.M.D., F.R.S., L.L.D., *A.S.S.*—and all the rest of the letters in the alphabet: I am the seventh son of a seventh son—kill or cure is my motto—and I always do it; I cured the great Emperor of Nova Scotia, of a polypus, after he had been given over by all the faculty—he lay to all appearance dead: the first pill he took, he opened his eyes; the second, he raised his head; and the third, he jumped up and danced a hornpipe. I don't want to sound my own praise—blow the trumpet, Balaam (*Balaam blows trumpet*); but I tapped the great Cham of Tartary at a sitting, of a terrible dropsy, so that I didn't leave a drop in him! I cure the palsy, the dropsy, the lunacy, and all the sighs, without costing anybody a sigh: vertigo, pertigo, lumbago, and all the other go's are sure to go, whenever I come."

In his unscrupulousness and boldness in street announcements, and sometimes in his humour and satire, we find the patterer of the present day to be the mountebank of old descended from his platform into the streets—but without his music, his clown, or his dress.

There was formerly, also, another class, differing little from the habits of that variety of patterers of the present day who "busk" it, or "work the public-houses."

"The jestours," says Mr. Strutt, in his "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England," "or, as the word is often written in the old English dialect, 'gesters,' were the relaters of the gestes, that is, the actions of famous persons, whether fabulous or real; and these stories were of two kinds, the one to excite pity, and the other to move laughter, as we learn from Chaucer:

> 'And jestours that tellen tales,
> Both of wepying and of game.'

The tales of 'game,' as the poet expresses himself were short jocular stories calculated to promote merriment, in which the reciters paid little respect to the claims of propriety or even of common decency. The tales of 'game,' however, were much more popular than those of weeping, and probably for the very reason that ought to have operated the most powerfully for their suppression. The gestours, whose powers were chiefly employed in the hours of conviviality, finding by experience that lessons of instruction were much less seasonable at such times, than idle tales productive of mirth and laughter, accommodated their narrations to the general taste of the times, regardless of the mischiefs they occasioned by vitiating the morals of their hearers. Hence it is that the author of the 'Vision of Pierce the Ploughman' calls them contemptibly 'japers and juglers, and janglers of gests.' He describes them as haunters of taverns and common ale-houses, amusing the lower classes of the people with 'myrth of minstrelsy and losels' tales,' (loose vulgar tales,) and calls them tale-tellers and 'tutelers in ydell,' (tutors of idleness,) occasioning their auditory, 'for love of tales, in tavernes to drink,' where they learned from them to jangle and to jape, instead of attending to their more serious duties.

"The japers, I apprehend, were the same as the bourdours, or rybauders, an inferior class of minstrels, and properly called jesters in the modern acceptation of the word; whose wit, like that of the merry-andrews of the present day (1800) consisted in low obscenity accompanied with ludicrous gesticulation. They sometimes, however, found admission into the houses of the opulent. Knighton, indeed, mentions one of these japers who was a favourite in the English court, and could obtain any grant from the king 'a burdando,' that is, by jesting. They are well described by the poet:

> 'As japers and janglers, Judas' chyldren,
> Fayneth them fantasies, and fooles them maketh.'"

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"It was a very common and a very favourite amusement, so late as the 16th century, to hear the recital of verses and moral speeches, learned for that purpose by a set of men who obtained their livelihood thereby, and who, without ceremony, intruded themselves, not only into taverns and other places of public resort, but also into the houses of the nobility"

The resemblance of the modern patterer to the classes above mentioned will be seen when I describe the public-house actor and reciter of the present day, as well as the standing patterer, who does not differ so much from the running patterer in the quality of his announcements, as in his requiring more time to make an impression, and being indeed a sort of lecturer needing an audience; also of the present reciters "of verses and moral speeches." But of these curious classes I shall proceed to treat separately.

Of the Habits, Opinions, Morals, and Religion of Patterers generally.

In order that I might omit nothing which will give the student of that curious phase of London life in London streets—the condition of the patterers—a clear understanding of the subject, I procured the following account from an educated gentleman (who has been before alluded to in this work), and as he had been driven to live among the class he describes, and to support himself by street-selling, his remarks have of course all the weight due to personal experience, as well as to close observation:—

"If there is any truth in phrenology," writes the gentleman in question, "the patterers—to a man—are very large in the organ of 'self-esteem,' from which suggestion an enquiry arises, viz., whether they possess that of which they may justly pique themselves. To arrive at truth about the patterers is very difficult, and indeed the persons with whom they live are often quite in the dark about the history, or in some cases the pursuits of their lodgers.

"I think that the patterers may be divided into three classes. First,—those who were well born and brought up. Secondly, — those whose parents have been dissipated and gave them little education. Thirdly,—those who—whatever their early history—will not be or do anything but what is of an itinerant character. I shall take a glance at the *first* of these classes, presupposing that they were cradled in the lap of indulgence, and trained to science and virtue.

"If these people take to the streets, they become, with here and there an exception, the most reprobate and the least reclaimable. I was once the inmate of a lodging-house, in which there were at one time five University-men, three surgeons, and several sorts of broken-down clerks, or of other professional men. Their general habits were demoralised to the last degree—their oaths more horrid, extravagant, and far-fetched than anything I ever heard: they were stupid in logic, but very original in obscenity. Most of them scoffed at the Bible, or perverted its passages to extenuate fraud, to justify violence, or construct for themselves excuses for incontinence and imposition. It will appear strange that these educated persons, when they turn out upon the street, generally sell articles which have no connection with literature, and very little with art. The two brothers, who sell that wonder-working paste which removes grease from the outside of your collar by driving it further in, were both scholars of Christ's Hospital. They were second Grecians, and might have gone to college; but several visits to suburban fairs, and their accompanying scenes of debauch, gave them a *penchant* for a vagabond life, and they will probably never relinquish it. The very tall man—there are several others—who sells razors and paste on a red pagoda-looking stall, was apprenticed to a surgeon in Colchester, with a premium of 300 guineas; and the little dark-visaged man, who sells children's money-boxes and traps to catch vermin, is the son of a late upholsterer in Bath, who was also a magistrate of that city. The poor man alluded to was a law-student, and kept two terms in Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Many similar cases might be mentioned — cases founded on real observation and experience. Some light may be thrown upon this subject by pointing out the *modus operandi* by which a friend of mine got initiated into the 'art and mystery of patterism.' 'I had lived,' he said, 'more than a year among the tradesmen and tramps, who herd promiscuously together in low lodging-houses. One afternoon I was taking tea at the same table with a brace of patterers. They eyed me with suspicion; but, determined to know their proceedings, I launched out the only cant word I had then learned. They spoke of going to Chatham. Of course, I knew the place, and asked them, "Where do you stall to in the huey?" which, fairly translated, means, "Where do you lodge in the town?" Convinced that I was "fly," one of them said, "We drop the main toper (go off the main road) and slink into the crib (house) in the back drum (street)." After some altercation with the "mot" of the "ken" (mistress of the lodging-house) about the cleanliness of a knife or fork, my new acquaintance began to arrange "ground," &c., for the night's work. I got into their confidence by degrees; and I give below a vocabulary of their talk to each other:'

Word.	Meaning.
Crabshells	Shoes.
Kite	Paper.
Nests	Varieties.
Sticky	Wax.
Toff	Gentleman.
Burerk	Lady.
Camister	Minister.
Crocus	Doctor.
Bluff	An excuse.
Balmy	Insane.
Mill Tag	A shirt.
Smeesh	A shift.
Hay-bag	A woman.
Doxy	A wife.
Flam	A lie.
Teviss	A shilling

Bull . . . . A crown.
Flag . . . . An apron.

"The cant or slang of the patterer is not the cant of the costermonger, but a system of their own. As in the case of the costers, it is so interlarded with their general remarks, while their ordinary language is so smothered and subdued, that unless when they are professionally engaged and talking of their wares, they might almost pass for foreigners.

"There can be no doubt," continues my informant, "that the *second* class of street-patterers, to whom nature, or parents, or circumstances have been unpropitious, are the most moral, and have a greater sense of right and wrong, with a quicksightedness about humane and generous things, to which the 'aristocratic' patterer is a stranger. Of the dealers in useful or harmless wares—although, of course, they use allowable exaggeration as to the goodness of the article—many are devout communicants at church, or members of dissenting bodies; while others are as careless about religion, and are still to be found once or twice a week in the lecture-rooms of the Mechanics' Institute nearest to their residence. Orchard-street, Westminster, is a great locality for this sort of patterers. Three well-known characters,—Bristol George, Corporal Casey, and Jemmy the Rake, with a very respectable and highly-informed man called 'Grocer,' from his having been apprenticed to that business,—have maintained a character for great integrity among the neighbours for many years.

"I come now to the *third* class of patterers,—those who, whatever their early pursuits and pleasures, have manifested a predilection for vagrancy, and neither can nor will settle to any ordinary calling. There is now on the streets a man scarcely thirty years old, conspicuous by the misfortune of a sabre-wound on the cheek. He is a native of the Isle of Man. His father was a captain in the Buffs, and himself a commissioned officer at seventeen. He left the army, designing to marry and open a boarding-school. The young lady to whom he was betrothed died, and *that* event *might* affect his mind; at any rate, he has had 38 situations in a dozen years, and will not keep one a week. He has a mortal antipathy to good clothes, and will not keep them one hour. He sells anything—chiefly needle-cases. He 'patters' very little in a *main drag* (public street); but in the little private streets he preaches an outline of his life, and makes no secret of his wandering propensity. His aged mother, who still lives, pays his lodgings in Old Pye-street.

"From the hasty glance I have taken at the patterers, any well-constructed mind may deduce the following inference: because a great amount of intelligence sometimes consists with a great want of principle, that no education, or *mis*-education, leaves man, like a reed floating on the stream of time, to follow every direction which the current of affairs may give him.

"There is yet another and a larger class, who are wanderers from choice,—who would rather be street-orators, and quacks, and performers, than anything else in the world. In nine cases out of ten, the street-patterers are persons of intemperate habits, no veracity, and destitute of any desire to improve their condition, even where they have the chance. One of this crew was lately engaged at a bazaar; he had 18*s*. a week, and his only work was to walk up and down and extol the articles exhibited. This was too monotonous a life; I happened to pass him by as he was taking his wages for the week, and heard him say, 'I shall cut this b—y work; I can earn more on the streets, and be my own master.'"

It would be a mistake to suppose that the patterers, although a vagrant, are a disorganized class. There is a telegraphic dispatch between them, through the length and breadth of the land. If two patterers (previously unacquainted) meet in the provinces, the following, or something like it, will be their conversation:—"Can you 'voker romeny' (can you speak cant)? What is your 'monekeer' (name)?"—Perhaps it turns out that one is "White-headed Bob," and the other "Plymouth Ned." They have a "shant of gatter" (pot of beer) at the nearest "boozing ken" (ale-house), and swear eternal friendship to each other. The old saying, that "When the liquor is in, the wit is out," is remarkably fulfilled on these occasions, for they betray to the "flatties" (natives) all their profits and proceedings.

It is to be supposed that, in country districts, where there are no streets, the patterer is obliged to call at the houses. As they are mostly without the hawker's licence, and sometimes find wet linen before it is lost, the rural districts are not fond of their visits; and there are generally two or three persons in a village reported to be "gammy," that is (unfavourable). If a patterer has been "crabbed," that is (offended) at any of the "cribbs" (houses), he mostly chalks a signal on or near the door. I give one or two instances:

◊ "Bone," meaning good.

▽ "Cooper'd," spoiled by the imprudence of some other patterer.

□ "Gammy," likely to have you taken up.

⊙ "Flummut," sure of a month in quod.

In most lodging-houses there is an old man who is the guide to every "walk" in the vicinity, and who can tell every house, on every round, that is "good for a cold 'tater." In many cases there is over the kitchen mantle-piece a map of the district, dotted here and there with memorandums of failure or success.

Patterers are fond of carving their names and avocations about the houses they visit. The old jail at Dartford has been some years a "padding-ken." In one of the rooms appears the following autographs:

"Jemmy, the Rake, bound to Bristol; bad beds, but no bugs. Thank God for all things."

"Razor George and his moll slept here the

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day afore Christmas; just out of 'stir' (jail), for 'muzzling a peeler.'"

"Scotch Mary, with 'driz' (lace), bound to Dover and back, please God."

Sometimes these inscriptions are coarse and obscene; sometimes very well written and orderly. Nor do they want illustrations.

At the old factory, Lincoln, is a portrait of the town beadle, formerly a soldier; it is drawn with different-coloured chalks, and ends with the following couplet:

"You are a B for false swearing,
In hell they'll roast you like a herring."

Concubinage is very common among patterers, especially on their travels; they have their regular rounds, and call the peregrination "going on circuit." For the most part they are early risers; this gives them a facility for meeting poor girls who have had a night's shelter in the union workhouses. They offer such girls some refreshment,—swear they are single men,—and promise comforts certainly superior to the immediate position of their victims. Consent is generally obtained; perhaps a girl of 14 or 15, previously virtuous, is induced to believe in a promise of constant protection, but finds herself, the next morning, ruined and deserted; nor is it unlikely that, within a month or two, she will see her seducer in the company of a dozen incidental wives. A gray-headed miscreant called "Cutler Tom" boasts of 500 such exploits; and there is too great reason to believe that the picture of his own drawing is not greatly overcharged.

Some of the patterers are married men, but of this class very few are faithful to the solemn obligation. I have heard of a renowned patterer of this class who was married to four women, and had lived in criminal intercourse with his own sister, and his own daughter by one of the wives. This sad rule has, however, I am happy to state, some splendid exceptions. There is a man called "Andy"—well known as the companion of "Hopping Ned;" this "Andy" has a wife of great personal attractions, a splendid figure, and teeth without a parallel. She is a strictly-virtuous woman, a most devoted wife, and tender mother; very charitable to any one in want of a meal, and very constant (she is a Catholic) in her religious duties. Another man of the same school, whose name has escaped me, is, with his wife, an exception to the stigma on almost the whole class; the couple in question have no children. The wife, whose name is Maria, has been in every hospital for some complaint in her knees, probably white swelling: her beauty is the theme of applause, and whenever she opens her mouth silence pervades the "paddin' ken." Her common conversation is music and mathematics combined, her reading has been masculine and extensive, and the whisper of calumny has never yet attacked her own demeanour or her husband's.

Of patterers who have children, many are very exemplary; sending them to Day and Sunday-schools, causing them to say grace before and after meals, to attend public worship, and always to speak the truth: these, instances, however, stand in fearful contrast with the conduct of other parents.

"I have seen," proceeds my reverend informant, "fathers and mothers place their boys and girls in positions of incipient enormity, and command them to use language and gestures to each other, which would make an harlot blush, and almost a heathen tremble. I have hitherto viewed the patterer as a salesman,—having something in his hand, on whose merits, real or pretended, he talks people out of their money. By slow degrees prosperity rises, but rapid is the advance of evil. The patterer sometimes gets 'out of stock,' and is obliged, at no great sacrifice of conscience, to 'patter' in another strain. In every large town sham official documents, with crests, seals, and signatures, can be got for half-a-crown. Armed with these, the patterer becomes a 'lurker,'—that is, an impostor; his papers certify any and every 'ill that flesh is heir to.' Shipwreck is called a 'shake lurk;' loss by fire is a 'glim.' Sometimes the petitioner has had a horse, which has dropped dead with the mad staggers; or has a wife ill or dying, and six or seven children at once sickening of the small-pox. Children are borrowed to support the appearance; the case is certified by the minister and churchwardens of a parish which exists only in imagination; and as many people dislike the trouble of investigation, the patterer gets enough to raise a stock in trade, and divides the spoil between the swag-shop and the gin-palace. Sometimes they are detected, and get a 'drag' (three months in prison). They have many narrow escapes: one occurs to me, of a somewhat ludicrous character. A patterer and lurker (now dead) known by the name of 'Captain Moody,' unable to get a 'fakement' written or printed, was standing almost naked in the streets of a neighbouring town. A gentleman stood still and heard his piteous tale, but having been 'done' more than once, he resolved to examine the affair, and begged the petitioner to conduct him to his wife and children, who were in a garret on a bed of languishing, with neither clothes, food, nor fire, but, it appeared, with faith enough to expect a supply from 'Him who feedeth the ravens,' and in whose sacred name even a cold 'tater was implored. The patterer, or half-patterer and half-beggar, took the gentleman (who promised a sovereign if every thing was square) through innumerable and intricate windings, till he came to an outhouse or sort of stable. He saw the key outside the door, and begged the gentleman to enter and wait till he borrowed a light of a neighbour, to show him up-stairs. The illumination never arrived, and the poor charitable man found that the miscreant had locked him into the stable. The patterer went to the padding-ken,—told the story with great glee, and left that locality within an hour of the occurrence."

[Concerning the mendicancy and vagrancy of

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patterers, I shall have more to say when I speak of vagrancy in general, and when I describe the general state and characteristics of the low lodging-houses in London, and those in the country, which are in intimate connection with the metropolitan abodes of the vagrant. My present theme is the London patterer, who is also a street-seller.]

Of the Publishers and Authors of Street-Literature.

The best known, and the most successful printer and publisher of all who have directed their industry to supply the "paper" in demand for street sale, and in every department of street literature, was the late "Jemmy Catnach," who is said to have amassed upwards of 10,000*l.* in the business. He is reported to have made the greater part of this sum during the trial of Queen Caroline, by the sale of whole-sheet "papers," descriptive of the trial, and embellished with "splendid illustrations." The next to Catnach stood the late "Tommy Pitt," of the noted toy and marble-warehouse. These two parties were the Colburn and Bentley of the "paper" trade. Catnach retired from business some years ago, and resided in a country-house at Barnet, but he did not long survive his retirement. "He was an out and out sort," said one old paper-worker to me, "and if he knew you—and he could judge according to the school you belonged to, if he hadn't known you long—he was friendly for a bob or two, and sometimes for a glass. He knew the men that was stickers though, and there was no glass for them. Why, some of his customers, sir, would have stuck to him long enough, if there'd been a chance of another glass—supposing they'd managed to get *one*—and then would have asked him for a coach home! When I called on him, he used to say, in his north country way—he wasn't Scotch, but somewhere north of England—and he was pleasant with it, 'Well, d— you, how are you?' He got the cream of the pail, sir."

The present street literature printers and publishers are, Mrs. Ryle (Catnach's niece and successor), Mr. Birt, and Mr. Paul (formerly with Catnach), all of the Seven Dials; Mr. Powell (formerly of Lloyd's), Brick-lane, Whitechapel; and Mr. Good, Aylesbury-street, Clerkenwell. Mr. Phairs, of Westminster; Mr. Taylor, of the Waterloo-road; and Mr. Sharp, of Kent-street, Borough, have discontinued street printing. One man greatly regretted Mr. Taylor's discontinuing the business; "he was so handy for the New-cut, when it *was* the New-cut." Some classes of patterers, I may here observe, work in "schools" or "mobs" of two, three, or four, as I shall afterwards show.

The authors and poets who give its peculiar literature, alike in prose or rhyme, to the streets, are now six in number. They are all in some capacity or other connected with street-patter or song, and the way in which a narrative or a "copy of werses" is prepared for press is usually this:—The leading members of the "schools," some of whom refer regularly to the evening papers, when they hear of any out-of-the-way occurrence, resort to the printer and desire its publication in a style proper for the streets. This is usually done very speedily, the school (or the majority of them) and the printer agreeing upon the author. Sometimes an author will voluntarily prepare a piece of street literature and submit it to a publisher, who, as in the case of other publishers, accepts or declines, as he believes the production will or will not prove remunerative. Sometimes the school carry the manuscript with them to the printer, and undertake to buy a certain quantity, to insure publication. The payment to the author is the same in all cases—a shilling.

Concerning the history and character of our street and public-house literature, I shall treat hereafter, when I can comprise the whole, and after the descriptions of the several classes engaged in the trade will have paved the way for the reader's better appreciation of the curious and important theme. I say, *important;* because the street-ballad and the street-narrative, like all popular things, have their influence on masses of the people. Specimens will be found adduced, as I describe the several classes, or in the statements of the patterers.

It must be borne in mind that the street author is closely restricted in the quality of his effusion. It must be such as the patterers approve, as the chaunters can chaunt, the ballad-singers sing, and—above all—such as street-buyers will buy. One chaunter, who was a great admirer of the "Song of the Shirt," told me that if Hood himself had written the "Pitiful Case of Georgy Sloan and his Wife," it would not have sold so well as a ballad he handed to me, from which I extract a verse:

> "Jane Wilbred we did starve and beat her very hard
> I confess we used her very cruel,
> But now in a jail two long years we must bewail,
> We don't fancy mustard in the gruel."

What I have said of the *necessity* which controls street authorship, may also be said of the art which is sometimes called in to illustrate it.

The paper now published for the streets is classed as quarter sheets, which cost (wholesale) 1*s.* a gross; half sheets, which cost 2*s.*; and whole or broad sheets (such as for executions), which cost 3*s.* 6*d.* a gross the first day, and 3*s.* the next day or two, and afterwards, but only if a ream be taken. 5*s.* 6*d.*; a ream contains forty dozen. When "illustrated," the charge is from 3*d.* to 1*s.* per ream extra. The books, for such cases as the Sloanes, or the murder of Jael Denny, are given in books—which are best adapted for the suburban and country trade, when London is "worked" sufficiently—are the "whole sheet" printed so as to fold into eight pages, each side of the paper being then, of course, printed upon. A book is charged from 6*d.* to 1*s.* extra (to a whole sheet) per gross, and afterwards the same extra per ream.

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OF LONG SONG-SELLERS.

I have this week given a daguerreotype of a well-known long-song seller, and have preferred to give it as the trade, especially as regards London, has all but disappeared, and it was curious enough. "Long songs" first appeared between nine and ten years ago.

The long-song sellers did not depend upon patter—though some of them pattered a little—to attract customers, but on the veritable cheapness and novel form in which they vended popular songs, printed on paper rather wider than this page, "three songs abreast," and the paper was about a yard long, which constituted the "three" yards of song. Sometimes three slips were pasted together. The vendors paraded the streets with their "three yards of new and popular songs" for a penny. The songs are, or were, generally fixed to the top of a long pole, and the vendor "cried" the different titles as he went along. This branch of "the profession" is confined solely to the summer; the hands in winter usually taking to the sale of song-books, it being impossible to exhibit "the three yards" in wet or foggy weather. The paper songs, as they fluttered from a pole, looked at a little distance like huge much-soiled white ribbons, used as streamers to celebrate some auspicious news. The cry of one man, in a sort of recitative, or, as I heard it called by street-patterers, "sing-song," was, "Three yards a penny! Three yards a penny! Beautiful songs! Newest songs! Popular Songs! Three yards a penny! Song, song, songs!" Others, however, were generally content to announce merely "Three yards a penny!" One cried "Two under fifty a fardy!" As if two hundred and fifty songs were to be sold for a farthing. The whole number of songs was about 45. They were afterwards sold at a halfpenny, but were shorter and fewer. It is probable that at the best had the songs been subjected to the admeasurement of a jury, the result might have been as little satisfactory as to some tradesmen who, however, after having been detected in attempts to cheat the poor in weights and scales, and to cheat them hourly, are still "good men and true" enough to be jurymen and parliamentary electors. The songs, I am informed, were often about 2½ yards, (not as to paper but as to admeasurement of type); 3 yards, occasionally, at first, and not often less than 2 yards.

The crying of the titles was not done with any other design than that of expressing the great number of songs purchasable for "the small charge of one penny." Some of the patterers I conversed with would have made it sufficiently droll. One man told me that he had cried the following songs in his three yards, and he believed in something like the following order, but he had cried penny song books, among other things, lately, and might confound his more ancient and recent cries:

"I sometimes began," he said, "with singing, or trying to sing, for I'm no vocalist, the first few words of any song, and them quite loud. I'd begin

> 'The Pope he leads a happy life,
> He knows no care'——

'Buffalo gals, come out to-night;' 'Death of Nelson;' The gay cavalier;' 'Jim along Josey;' 'There's a good time coming;' 'Drink to me only;' 'Kate Kearney;' 'Chuckaroo-choo, choo-choo-choot-lah;' 'Chockala-roony-ninkaping-nang;' 'Paga-daway-dusty-kanty-key;' 'Hottypie-gunnypo-china-coo' (that's a Chinese song, sir); 'I dreamed that I dwelt in marble halls;' 'The standard bearer:' 'Just like love;' 'Whistle o'er the lave o't;' 'Widow Mackree;' 'I've been roaming;' 'Oh! that kiss;' 'The old English gentleman,' &c., &c. &c. I dares say they was all in the three yards, or was once, and if they wasn't there was others as good."

The chief purchasers of the "long songs" were boys and girls, but mostly boys, who expended 1*d.* or ½*d.* for the curiosity and novelty of the thing, as the songs were not in the most readable form. A few working people bought them for their children, and some women of the town, who often buy anything fantastic, were also customers.

When "the three yards was at their best," the number selling them was about 170; the wholesale charge is from 3*d.* to 5*d.* a dozen, according to size. The profit of the vendors in the first instance was about 8*d.* a dozen. When the trade had all the attractions of novelty, some men sold ten dozen on fine days, and for three or four of the summer months; so clearing between 6*s.* and 7*s.* a day. This, however, was not an average, but an average might be at first 21*s.* a week profit. I am assured that if twenty persons were selling long songs in the street last summer it was "the outside," as long songs are now "for fairs and races and country work." Calculating that each cleared 9*s.* in a week, and to clear that took 15*s.*, the profit being smaller than it used to be, as many must be sold at ½*d.* each—we find 120*l.* expended in long songs in the streets. The character of the vendor is that of a patterer of inferior genius.

The stock-money required is 1*s.* to 2*s.*; which with 2*d.* for a pole, and ½*d.* for paste, is all the capital needed. Very few were sold in the public-houses, as the vendors scrupled to expose them there, "for drunken fellows would snatch them, and make belts of them for a lark."

OF RUNNING PATTERERS.

Few of the residents in London—but chiefly those in the quieter streets—have not been aroused, and most frequently in the evening, by a hurly-burly on each side of the street. An attentive listening will not lead any one to an accurate knowledge of what the clamour is about. It is from a "mob" or "school" of the running patterers (for both those words are

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used), and consists of two, three, or four men. All these men state that the greater the noise they make, the better is the chance of sale, and better still when the noise is on each side of a street, for it appears as if the vendors were proclaiming such interesting or important intelligence, that they were vieing with one another who should supply the demand which must ensue. It is not possible to ascertain with any certitude *what* the patterers are so anxious to sell, for only a few leading words are audible. One of the cleverest of running patterers repeated to me, in a subdued tone, his announcements of murders. The words "Murder," "Horrible," "Barbarous," "Love," "Mysterious," "Former Crimes," and the like, could only be caught by the ear, but there was no announcement of anything like "particulars." If, however, the "paper" relate to any well-known criminal, such as Rush, the name is given distinctly enough, and so is any new or pretended fact. The running patterers describe, or profess to describe, the contents of their papers as they go rapidly along, and they seldom or ever stand still. They usually deal in murders, seductions, crim.-cons., explosions, alarming accidents, "assassinations," deaths of public characters, duels, and love-letters. But popular, or notorious, murders are the "great goes." The running patterer cares less than other street-sellers for bad weather, for if he "work" on a wet and gloomy evening, and if the work be "a cock," which is a fictitious statement or even a pretended fictitious statement, there is the less chance of any one detecting the *ruse*. But of late years no new "cocks" have been printed, excepting for temporary purposes, such as I have specified as under its appropriate head in my account of "Death and Fire-Hunters." Among the old stereotyped "cocks" are love-letters. One is well known as "The Husband caught in a Trap," and being in an epistolary form subserves any purpose: whether it be the patterer's aim to sell the "Love Letters" of any well-known person, such as Lola Montes, or to fit them for a local (pretended) scandal, as the "Letters from a Lady in this neighbourhood to a Gentleman not 100 miles off."

Of running patterers there are now in London from 80 to 100. They reside—some in their own rooms, but the majority in lodging-houses —in or near Westminster, St. Giles's, Whitechapel, Stratford, Deptford, Wandsworth, and the Seven Dials. The "Dials," however, is their chief locality, being the residence of the longest-established printers, and is the "head meet" of the fraternity.

It is not easy to specify with exactitude the number of running or flying patterers at any one time in London. Some of these men become, occasionally, standing patterers, chaunters, or ballad-singers—classes I shall subsequently describe—and all of them resort at intervals to country rounds. I heard, also, many complaints of boys having of late "taken to the running patter" when anything attractive was before the public, and of ignorant fellows—that wouldn't have thought of it at one time—"trying their hands at it." Waiving these exceptional augmentations of the number, I will take the body of running patterers, generally employed in their peculiar craft in London, at 90. To ascertain their earnings presents about the same difficulties as to ascertain their number; for as all they earn is spent—no patterer ever saving money—they themselves are hardly able to tell their incomes. If any new and exciting fact be before the public, these men may each clear 20*s.* a week; when there is no such fact, they may not earn 5*s.* The profit is contingent, moreover, upon their being able to obtain 1*d.*, or only ½*d.*, for their paper. Some represented their average weekly earnings at 12*s.* 6*d.* the year through; some at 10*s.* 6*d.*; and others at less than half of 12*s.* 6*d.* Reckoning, however, that only 9*s.* weekly is an average profit per individual, and that 14*s.* be taken to realise that profit, we find 3,276*l.* expended yearly on running patterers in London; but in that sum the takings of the chaunters must be included, as they are members of the same fraternity, and work with the patterers.

The capital required to commence as a running patterer is but the price of a few papers—from 2*d.* to 1*s.* The men have no distinctive dress: "our togs," said one of them, "is in the latest fashion of Petticoat-lane;" unless on the very rare occasions, when some character has to be personated, and then coloured papers and glazed calicoes are made available. But this is only a venture of the old hands.

Experience of a Running Patterer.

From a running patterer, who has been familiar with the trade for many years, I received, upwards of a twelvemonth ago, the following statement. He is well known for his humour, and is a leading man in his fraternity. After some conversation about "cocks," the most popular of which, my informant said, was the murder at Chigwell-row, he continued:

"That's a trump, to the present day. Why, I'd go out now, sir, with a dozen of Chigwell-rows, and earn my supper in half an hour off of 'em. The murder of Sarah Holmes at Lincoln is good, too—that there has been worked for the last five year successively every winter. Poor Sarah Holmes! Bless her! she has saved me from walking the streets all night many a time. Some of the best of these have been in work twenty years—the Scarborough murder has full twenty years. It's called 'The Scarborough Tragedy.' I've worked it myself. It's about a noble and rich young naval officer seducing a poor clergyman's daughter. She is confined in a ditch, and destroys the child. She is taken up for it, tried, and executed. This has had a great run. It sells all round the country places, and would sell now if they had it out. Mostly all our customers is females. They are the chief

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LONG-SONG SELLER.

"Two under fifty for a fardy'!"

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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dependence we have. The Scarborough Tragedy is very attractive. It draws tears to the women's eyes to think that a poor clergyman's daughter, who is remarkably beautiful, should murder her own child; it's very touching to every feeling heart. There's a copy of verses with it, too. Then there's the Liverpool Tragedy—that's very attractive. It's a mother murdering her own son, through gold. He had come from the East Indies, and married a rich planter's daughter. He came back to England to see his parents after an absence of thirty years. They kept a lodging-house in Liverpool for sailors; the son went there to lodge, and meant to tell his parents who he was in the morning. His mother saw the gold he had got in his boxes, and cut his throat—severed his head from his body; the old man, upwards of seventy years of age, holding the candle. They had put a washing-tub under the bed to catch his blood. The morning after the murder, the old man's daughter calls and inquires for a young man. The old man denies that they have had any such person in the house. She says he had a mole on his arm, in the shape of a strawberry. The old couple go up-stairs to examine the corpse, and find they have murdered their own son, and then they both put an end to their existence. This is a deeper tragedy than the Scarborough Murder. That suits young people better; they like to hear about the young woman being seduced by the naval officer; but the mothers take more to the Liverpool Tragedy—it suits them better. Some of the 'cocks' were in existence long before ever I was born or thought of. The 'Great and important battle between the two young ladies of fortune,' is what we calls 'a ripper.' I should like to have that there put down correct," he added, "'cause I've taken a tidy lot of money out of it."

My informant, who had been upwards of 20 years in the running patter line, told me that he commenced his career with the "Last Dying Speech and Full Confession of William Corder." He was sixteen years of age, and had run away from his parents. "I worked that there," he said, "down in the very town (at Bury) where he was executed. I got a whole hatful of halfpence at that. Why, I wouldn't even give 'em seven for sixpence—no, that I wouldn't. A gentleman's servant come out and wanted half a dozen for his master and one for himself in, and I wouldn't let him have no such thing. We often sells more than that at once. Why, I sold six at one go to the railway clerks at Norwich about the Manning affair, only a fortnight back. But Steinburgh's little job—you know he murdered his wife and family, and committed suicide after—that sold as well as any 'die.' Pegsworth was an out-and-out lot. I did tremendous with him, because it happened in London, down Ratcliff-highway — that's a splendid quarter for working—there's plenty of feelings—but, bless you, some places you go to you can't move no how, they've hearts like paving-stones. They wouldn't have 'the papers' if you'd give them to 'em — especially when they knows you. Greenacre didn't sell so well as might have been expected, for such a diabolical out-and-out crime as he committed; but you see he came close after Pegsworth, and that took the beauty off him. Two murderers together is never no good to nobody. Why there was Wilson Gleeson, as great a villain as ever lived—went and murdered a whole family at noon-day—but Rush coopered him—and likewise that girl at Bristol—made it no draw to any one. Daniel Good, though, was a first-rater; and would have been much better if it hadn't been for that there Madam Toosow. You see, she went down to Rochampton, and guv 2*l.* for the werry clogs as he used to wash his master's carriage in; so, in course, when the harristocracy could go and see the real things—the werry identical clogs—in the Chamber of 'Orrors, why the people wouldn't look at our authentic portraits of the fiend in human form. Hocker wasn't any particular great shakes. There was a deal expected from him, but he didn't turn out well. Courvoisier was much better; he sold wery well, but nothing to Blakesley. Why I worked him for six weeks. The wife of the murdered man kept the King's Head that he was landlord on open on the morning of the execution, and the place was like a fair. I even went and sold papers outside the door myself. I thought if she war'n't ashamed, why should I be? After that we had a fine 'fake'—that was the fire of the Tower of London—it sold rattling. Why we had about forty apprehended for that—first we said two soldiers was taken up that couldn't obtain their discharge, and then we declared it was a well-known sporting nobleman who did it for a spree. The boy Jones in the Palace wasn't much of an affair for the running patterers; the ballad singers—or street screamers, as we calls 'em—had the pull out of that. The patter wouldn't take; they had read it all in the newspapers before. Oxford, and Francis, and Bean were a little better, but nothing to crack about. The people doesn't care about such things as them. There's nothing beats a stunning good murder, after all. Why there was Rush—I lived on him for a month or more. When I commenced with Rush, I was 14*s.* in debt for rent, and in less than fourteen days I astonished the wise men in the east by paying my landlord all I owed him. Since Dan'el Good there had been little or nothing doing in the murder line—no one could cap him—till Rush turned up a regular trump for us. Why I went down to Norwich expressly to work the execution. I worked my way down there with '*a sorrowful lamentation*' of his own composing, which I'd got written by the blind man expressly for the occasion. On the morning of the execution we beat all the regular newspapers out of the field; for we had the full, true, and particular account down, you see, by our own express, and that can beat anything that ever they can publish; for we gets it printed several days afore it comes off,

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and goes and stands with it right under the drop; and many's the penny I've turned away when I've been asked for an account of the whole business *before* it happened. So you see, for herly and correct hinformation, we can beat the *Sun*—aye, or the moon either, for the matter of that. Irish Jem, the Ambassador, never goes to bed but he blesses Rush the farmer; and many's the time he's told me we should never have such another windfall as that. But I told him not to despair; there's a good time coming, boys, says I, and, sure enough, up comes the Bermondsey tragedy. We might have done very well, indeed, out of the Mannings, but there was too many examinations for it to be any great account to us. I've been away with the Mannings in the country ever since. I've been through Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk, along with George Frederick Manning and his wife—travelled from 800 to 1,000 miles with 'em, but I could have done much better if I had stopped in London. Every day I was anxiously looking for a confession from Mrs. Manning. All I wanted was for her to clear her conscience afore she left this here whale of tears (that's what I always calls it in the patter), and when I read in the papers (mind they was none of my own) that her last words on the brink of heternity was, 'I've nothing to say to you, Mr. Rowe, but to thank you for your kindness,' I guv her up entirely—had completely done with her. In course the public looks to us for the last words of all monsters in human form, and as for Mrs. Manning's, they were not worth the printing."

Of the Recent Experience of a Running Patterer.

From the same man I had the following account of his vocation up to the present time:

"Well, sir," he said, "I think, take them altogether, things hasn't been so good this last year as the year before. But the Pope, God bless him! he's been the best friend I've had since Rush, but Rush licked his Holiness. You see, the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman is a one-sided affair; of course the Catholics won't buy anything against the Pope, but *all* religions could go for Rush. Our mob once thought of starting a cardinal's dress, and I thought of wearing a red hat myself. I did wear a shovel hat when the Bishop of London was our racket; but I thought the hat began to feel too hot, so I shovelled it off. There was plenty of paper that would have suited to work with a cardinal's hat. There was one,—'Cardinal Wiseman's Lament,'—and it was giving his own words like, and a red hat would have capped it. It used to make the people roar when it came to snivelling, and grumbling at little Jack Russell—by Wiseman, in course; and when it comes to this part—which alludes to that 'ere thundering letter to the Bishop of Durham—the people was stunned:

> 'He called me a buffalo, bull, and a monkey,
> And then with a soldier called Old Arthur conkey
> Declared they would buy me a ninepenny donkey,
> And send me to Rome to the Pope.'

"They shod me, sir. *Who's* they? Why, the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman. I call my clothes after them I earn money by to buy them with. My shoes I call Pope Pius; my trowsers and braces, Calcraft; my waistcoat and shirt, Jael Denny; and my coat, Love Letters. A man must show a sense of gratitude in the best way he can. But I didn't start the cardinal's hat; I thought it might prove disagreeable to Sir Robert Peel's dress lodgers." [What my informant said further of the Pope, I give under the head of the Chaunter.] "There was very little doing," he continued, "for some time after I gave you an account before; hardly a slum worth a crust and a pipe of tobacco to us. A slum's a paper fake,—make a foot-note of that, sir. I think Adelaide was the first thing I worked after I told you of my tomfooleries. Yes it was,—her helegy. She weren't of no account whatsomever, and Cambridge was no better nor Adelaide. But there was poor Sir Robert Peel,—he *was* some good; indeed, I think he was as good as *5s.* a day to me for the four or five days when he was freshest. Browns were thrown out of the windows to us, and one copper cartridge was sent flying at us with 13½*d.* in it, all copper, as if it had been collected. I worked Sir Robert at the West End, and in the quiet streets and squares. Certainly we had a most beautiful helegy. Well, poor gentleman, what we earned on him was some set-off to us for his starting his new regiment of the Blues—the Cook's Own. Not that they've troubled me much. I was once before Alderman Kelly, when he was Lord Mayor, charged with obstructing, or some humbug of that sort. 'What are you, my man?' says he quietly, and like a gentleman. 'In the same line as yourself, my lord,' says I. 'How's that?' says he. 'I'm a paper-worker for my living, my lord,' says I. I was soon discharged; and there was such fun and laughing, that if I'd had a few slums in my pocket, I believe I could have sold them all in the justice-room.

"Haynau was a stunner, and the drayman came their caper just in the critical time for us, as things was growing very taper. But I did best with him in chaunting; and so, as you want to hear about chaunting, I'll tell you after. We're forced to change our patter—first running, then chaunting, and then standing—oftener than we used to.

"Then Calcraft was pretty tidy browns. He was up for starving his mother,—and what better can you expect of a hangman? Me and my mate worked him down at Hatfield, in Essex, where his mother lives. It's his native, I believe. We sold her one. She's a limping old body. I saw the people look at her, and they told me arterards who she was. 'How much?' says she. 'A penny, marm,' say I. 'Sarve him right,' says she. We worked it, too, in the street in Hoxton where he lives, and he sent out for two, which shows he's a sensible sort of character in some points, after all. Then we had a 'Woice from the Gaol! or the Horrors

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of the Condemned Cell! Being the Life of William Calcraft, the present Hangman.' It's written in the high style, and parts of it will have astonished the hangman's nerves before this. Here's a bit of the patter, now:

"Let us look at William Calcraft," says the eminent author, "in his earliest days. He was born about the year 1801, of humble but industrious parents, at a little village in Essex. His infant ears often listened to the children belonging to the Sunday schools of his native place, singing the well-known words of Watt's beautiful hymn,

'When e'er I take my walks abroad,
How many poor I see, &c.'

But alas for the poor farmer's boy, he never had the opportunity of going to that school to be taught how to shun 'the broad way leading to destruction.' To seek a chance fortune he travelled up to London where his ignorance and folorn condition shortly enabled that fell demon which ever haunts the footsteps of the wretched, to mark him for her own."

"Isn't that stunning, sir? Here it is in print for you. 'Mark him for her own!' Then, poor dear, he's so sorry to hang anybody. Here's another bit:

'But in vain he repents, he has no real friend in the world but his wife, to whom he can communicate his private thoughts, and in return receive consolation, can any lot be harder than this? Hence his nervous system is fast breaking down, every day rendering him less able to endure the excruciating and agonizing torments he is hourly suffering, he is haunted by remorse heaped upon remorse, every fresh victim he is required to strangle being so much additional fuel thrown upon that mental flame which is scorching him.'

"You may believe me, sir, and I can prove the fact—the author of that beautiful writing ain't in parliament! Think of the mental flame, sir! O, dear."

"Sirrell was no good either. Not salt to a herring. Though we worked him in his own neighbourhood, and pattered about gold and silver all in a row. 'Ah!' says one old woman, 'he was a 'spectable man.' 'Werry, marm,' says I.

"Hollest weren't no good either, 'cause the wictim was a parson. If it had happened a little later, *we'd* have had it to rights; the newspapers didn't make much of it. We'd have shown it was the 'Commencement of a Most Horrid and Barbarious Plot got up by the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman *for-r* the Mas-ser-cree-ing of all good Protestant Ministers.' That would have been the dodge, sir! A beautiful idear, now, isn't it? But the murder came off badly, and you can't expect fellows like them murderers to have any regard for the interest of art and literature. Then there's so long to wait between the murder and the trial, that unless the fiend in human form keeps writing beautiful love-letters, the excitement can't be kept up. *We* can write the love-letters for the fiend in human? That's quite true, and we once had a great pull that way over the newspapers. But Lord love you, there's plenty of 'em gets more and more into our line. They treads in our footsteps, sir; they follows our bright example. O! isn't there a nice rubbing and polishing up. This here copy won't do. This must be left out, and that put in; 'cause it suits the walk of the paper. Why, you must know, sir. *I* know. Don't tell me. You can't have been on the *Morning Chronicle* for nothing.

"Then there was the 'Horrid and Inhuman Murder, Committed by T. Drory, on the Body of Jael Denny, at Donninghurst, a Village in Essex.' We worked it in every way. Drory had every chance given to him. We had half-sheets, and copies of werses, and books. A very tidy book it was, setting off with showing how 'The secluded village of Donninghurst has been the scene of a most determined and diabolical murder, the discovery of which early on Sunday, the 12th, in the morning has thrown the whole of this part of the country into a painful state of excitement.' Well, sir, well—very well; that bit was taken from a newspaper. Oh, we're not above acknowledging when we condescends to borrow from any of 'em. If you remember, when I saw you about the time, I told you I thought Jael Denny would turn out as good as Maria Martin. And without any joke or nonsense, sir, it really is a most shocking thing. But she didn't. The weather coopered her, poor lass! There was money in sight, and we couldn't touch it; it seemed washed away from us, for you may remember how wet it was. I made a little by her, though. For all that, I haven't done with Master Drory yet. If God spares my life, he shall make it up to me. Why, now, sir, is it reasonable, that a poor man like me should take so much pains to make Drory's name known all over the country, and walk miles and miles in the rain to do it, and get only a few bob for my labour? It can't be thought on. When the Wile and Inhuman Seducer takes his trial, he must pay up my just claims. I'm not going to take all that trouble on his account, and let him off so easy."

My informant then gave me an account of his sale of papers relating to the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, but as he was then a chaunter, rather than a patterer (the distinction is shown under another head), I give his characteristic account, as the statement of a chaunter. He proceeded after having finished his recital of the street business relating to the Pope, &c.:

"My last paying caper was the Sloanes. They beat Haynau. I declare to you, sir, the knowingest among us couldn't have invented a cock to equal the conduct of them Sloanes. Why, it's disgusting to come near the plain truth about them. I think, take it altogether, Sloane was as good as the Pope, but he had a stopper like Pius the Ninth, for that was a one-sided affair, and the Catholics wouldn't buy; and Sloane was too disgusting for the gentry, or better sort, to buy him. But I've been in little streets where some of the windows was without sashes, and some that had sashes had stockings thrust between the frames, and I've taken half a bob in ha'pennies. Oh! you should have heard what poor women said about

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him, for it was women that bought him most They was more savage against him than against her. Why, they had fifty deaths for him. Rolling in a barrel, with lots of sharp nails inside, down Primrose-hill, and turned out to the women on Kennington-common, and boiled alive in oil or stuff that can't be mentioned, or hung over a slow fire. 'O, the poor dear girl,' says they, 'what she's suffered.' We had accounts of Mistress Sloane's apprehension before the papers. We had it at Jersey, and they had it at Boulogne, but we were first. Then we discovered, because we *must* be in advance of the papers, that Miss Devaux was Sloane's daughter by a former wife, and Jane Wilbred was Mrs. Sloane's daughter by a former husband, and was entitled to 1,000*l.* by rights. Haynau was a fool to Sloane.

"I don't know of anything fresh that's in hand, sir. One of our authors is coming out with something spicy, against Lord John, for doing nothing about Wiseman; 'cause he says as no one thing that he's written for Lord John ever sold well, something against him may."

Of the Chaunters.

"As the minstrel's art," writes Mr. Strutt, in his "Sports and Pastimes," "consisted of several branches, the professors were distinguished by different denominations, as 'rimours, *chanterres*, conteours, jougleours or jongleurs, jestours, lecours, and troubadours or trouvers:' in modern language, rhymers, singers, story-tellers, jugglers, relaters of heroic actions, buffoons, and poets; but all of them were included under the general name of minstrel. An eminent French antiquary says of the minstrels, that some of them themselves composed the subjects they sang or related, as the trouvers and the conteurs; and some of them used the compositions of others, as the jougleours and the chanteurs. He further remarks, that the trouvers may be said to have embellished their productions with rhyme, while the conteurs related their histories in prose; the jougleours, who in the middle ages were famous for playing upon the vielle" [a kind of hurdy-gurdy], "accompanied the songs of the trouvers. These jougleours were also assisted by the chanteurs; and this union of talents rendered the compositions more harmonious and more pleasing to the auditory, and increased their rewards, so that they readily joined each other, and travelled together in large parties. It is, however, very certain that the poet, the songster, and the musician were frequently united in the same person." My account of the authors, &c., of street literature shows that the analogy still holds.

The French antiquary quoted was Fauchet, in his "Origine de la Langue et Poësie Françoise" (1581); and though he wrote concerning his own country, his descriptions apply equally to the English minstrels, who were principally Normans, for many reigns after the Conquest, and were of the same race, and habits, and manners as on the French side of the Channel.

Of the minstrels, I shall have more to say when I treat of the ballad-singers and the bands of street and public-house musicians of to-day, between whom and the minstrels of old there is, in many respects, a somewhat close resemblance. Minstrelsy fell gradually from its high estate, and fell so low that, in the 39th year of Elizabeth's reign—a period when the noblest poetry of any language was beginning to command the ear of the educated in England—the minstrels were classed in a penal statute with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars! Putenham, in his "Arte of English Poesie" (1589), speaks of "taverne minstrels that give a fit of mirth for a groat." One of the statutes enacted in Cromwell's Protectorate was directed against all persons "commonly called fidlers or minstrells."

In the old times, then, the jougeleurs and jestours were assisted by the chanteurs. In the present day the running patterer—who, as I have shown, is the sufficiently legitimate descendant of the jestour, and in some respects of the mountebank—is accompanied generally by a chaunter, so presenting a further point of resemblance between ancient and modern street-folk. The chaunter now not only sings, but fiddles, for within these few years the running patterers, to render their performances more attractive, are sometimes accompanied by musicians. The running performer then, instead of hurrying along with the members of his mob, making sufficient noise to arouse a whole street, takes his stand with the chaunter in any promising place, and as the songs which are the most popular are—as is the case at many of the concert-rooms—sometimes "spoken" as well as sung, the performers are in their proper capacity, for the patterer not only "speaks," but speaks more than is set down for him, while the chaunter fiddles and sings. Sometimes the one patters while the other sings, and their themes are the same.

I am told, however, that there are only fifty running patterers who are regularly their own chaunters, fiddling to their songs, while the mob work as usual, or one man sings, or speaks and sings, with the chaunter. Two of these men are known as Brummagem Jack, and the Country Paganini. From twenty to thirty patterers, however, are chaunters also, when they think the occasion requires it.

Further to elucidate chaunting, and to show the quality of the canticles, and the way of proceeding, I cite a statement of his experience as a chaunter, from the running patterer, whose details of his more especial business I have already given, but who also occasionally chaunts:—

Of the Experience of a Chaunter.

"The Pope, sir," he began, "was as one-sided to chaunt as to patter, in course. We had the Greeks (the lately-arrived Irish) down upon us more than once. In Liverpool-street, on the night of the meeting at Guildhall about

the Papal Aggression, we had a regular skrimmage. One gentleman said: 'Really, you shouldn't sing such improper songs, my men.' Then up comes another, and he was a little crusted with port wine, and he says: 'What, against that cove the Pope! Here, give me half a dozen of the papers.' The city was tidy for the patter, sir, or the chaunt; there was sixpences; but there was shillings at the West End. And for the first time in their innocent lives, the parsons came out as stunning patrons of the patter. One of 'em as we was at work in the street give a bit of a signal and was attended to without any parade to the next street, and was good for half-a-crown! Other two stopped, that wery same day, and sent a boy to us with a Joey. Then me and my mate went to the Rev. W.'s, him as came it so strong for the fire-works on the Fifth of November. And we pattered and we pattered, and we chaunted and we chaunted, but no go for a goodish bit. His servant said he weren't at home. In course *that* wouldn't do for us, so down he came his-self at last, and says, werry soft: 'Come to-morrow morning, my men, and there'll be two gentlemen to hear you.' We stuck to him for something in hand, but he said the business had cost him so much already, he really couldn't. Well, we bounced a bob out of him, and didn't go near him again. After all we did for his party, a shilling was black ingratitude. Of course *we* has no feeling either for or agin the Pope. *We* goes to it as at an election; and let me tell you, sir, we got very poorly paid, it couldn't be called paid, for working for Lord John at the City Election; and I was the original of the live rats, which took well. But there's a good time coming to pay Lord Johnny off.

"Some of the tunes—there's no act of parliament about tunes, you know, sir—was stunners on the fiddle; as if a thousand bricks was falling out of a cart at once. I think 'The Pope and Cardinal Wiseman,' one of the first of the songs, did as well as any. This werse was greatly admired:—

'Now Lord John Russell did so bright,
to the Bishop of Durham a letter write
Saying while I've a hand I'll fight,
The pope and cardinal wiseman,
Lord John's ancestor as I tell,
Lord William Russell then known well
His true religion would not sell,
A martyr he in glory fell,
And now Lord John so bold and free,
Has got a rope as we may see,
To hang up on each side of a tree,
The pope and cardinal wiseman.'

"This finishing werse, too, was effective, and out came a few browns:—

'Now we don't care a fig for Rome,
why can't they let the girls alone,
And mind their business at home,
the pope and cardinal wiseman.
With their monsical red cardinals hat,
And lots of wafers in a sack,
If they come here with all their clack,
we'll wound them fil fal la ra whack,
In England they shall not be loose,
Their hum bugging is all no use,
If they come here we'll cook their goose,
The pope and Cardinal Wiseman.

CHORUS
Monks and Nuns and fools afloat,
We'll have no bulls shoved down our throat,
Cheer up and shout down with the Pope,
And his bishop cardinal Wiseman.'

"Then there was another, sir. 'The Pope he is coming; oh, crikey, oh dear!' to the tune of the 'Camels are coming.' There was one bit that used to tickle them. I mayn't exactly remember it, for I didn't do anything beyond a spurt in it, and haven't a copy for you, but it tickled 'em with others. This was the bit:—

'I've heard my old grandmother's grandmother say,
They burnt us in Smithfield full ten every day.
O, what shall I do, for I feel very queer,
The Pope he's a-coming, oh! crikey, oh, dear!'

"Bless you, sir, if I see a smart dressed servant girl looking shyly out of the street-door at us, or through the area railings, and I can get a respectful word in and say, 'My good young lady, do buy of a poor fellow, we haven't said a word to your servants, we hasn't seen any on 'em,' then she's had, sir, for 1*d*. at least, and twice out of thrice; that 'good young lady' chloroforms her.

"Then this one, now, is stunning. It's part of what the Queen was a going to sing at the opening of the parliament, but she changed her mind, and more's the pity, for it would have had a grand effect. It's called 'The Queen, the Pope, and the Parliament,' and these is the best of the stanzas; I calls them werses in common, but stanzas for Wick:

'My lords and my gentlemen all,
The bishops and great house of commons
On you for protection I call,
For you know I am only a woman,
I am really quite happy indeed—
To meet you like birds of a feather,
So I hope you will all struggle with me,
And pull away boys altogether,
My name is Victoria the Queen.

'Our bishops and deans did relent,
And say they for ever was undone,
Bishop Philpott a long challenge sent
To his lordship the bishop of London,
To fight him on Hounslow Heath—
But the bishop of London was coosey,
He gave him one slap in the mouth,
And then sent a letter to pusey,
No humbuggery stories for vick—

'I heard my old grandfather say
His great grandmother easily loved reckon
When they made a fool run away,
Whose name was king Jemmy the second.
Billy gave him a ticket for soup,
Though Bill married old Jemmy's daughter
He knocked him from old Palace yard,
To Ireland, across the Boyne water,
Long life to Victoria the Queen.

'Come here my old friend Joey Hume,
I know you in silence wont mope now,
Go up and get inside the moon
And make fast a great torry rope now,
And then give a spring and a jump
And you to a peerage shall rise then,
For we'll swing up old Pius the Pope
And his eminence cardinal Wiseman,
Old England and down with the Pope.'

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"Then there wasn't no risk with Haynau—I told you of the Pope first, 'cause he was most chaunted—no fear of a *ferricadouzer* for the butcher. How is it spelled, sir? Well, if you can't find it in the dictionary, you must use your own judgment. What does it mean? It means a dewskitch (a good thrashing). I've been threatened with dark nights about the Pope, after the Greeks has said: 'Fat have you to say agin the holy gintleman? To the divil wid all the likes o' ye.' Haynau was a fair stage and no favour. This werse was best liked:—

'The other day as you must know,
In Barclay's brewhouse he did go
And signed his bloody name "Haynau.
The fellow that flogged the women.
Baron Rothchild did him shend,
And in the letter which he penn'd
He shaid the sheneral wash his friend,
And so good a man he could not mend.

CHORUS
Rumpsey bumsy—bang him well—
Make his back and sides to swell
Till he roars aloud with dreadful yell,
The fellow that flogged the women.'

"The women bought very free; poor women, mostly; we only worked him to any extent in the back drags. One old body at Stepney was so pleased that she said, 'O, the bloody-minded willain! Whenever you come this way again, sir, there's always 1*d*. for you.' She didn't pay in advance though.

"Then it ended, sir, with a beautiful moral as appeals to every female bosom:—

'That man who would a female harm,
Is never fit to live.'

"We always likes something for the ladies, bless 'em. They're our best customers.

"Then there was poor Jael Denny, but she was humped, sir, and I've told you the reason. Her copy of werses began:—

'Since Corder died on Buystree,
No mortal man did read or see,
Of such a dreadful tragedy,
As I will now unfold.
A maid in bloom—to her silent tomb,
Is hurried in the prime of life,
How could a villain cause such strife
She worthy was a famous wife.
The like was seldom told.

CHORUS.
She was young and gay,
Like the flowers of may,
In youth and vigour health and bloom,
She is hurried to the silent tomb.
Through Essex, such a dreadfull gloom,
Jael Denny's murder caused.'

"My last chaunt was Jane Wilbred; and her werses—and they did tidy well—began:—

'A Case like this you seldom read,
Or one so sad and true,
And we sincerely hope the perper-
trators both will rue
To serve a friendless servant girl,
Two years they did engage,
Her name it is Jane Willbred,
And eighteen years of age.'

"What do you think of the Great Exhibition, sir? I shall be there. Me and my mates. We are going to send in a copy of werses in letters of gold for a prize. *We'll* let the foreigners know what the real native melodies of England is, and no mistake."

OF THE DEATH AND FIRE HUNTERS.

I have described the particular business of the running patterer, who is known by another and a very expressive cognomen — as a "Death Hunter." This title refers not only to his vending accounts of all the murders that become topics of public conversation, but to his being a "murderer" on his own account, as in the sale of "cocks" mentioned incidentally in this narrative. If the truth be saleable, a running patterer prefers selling the truth, for then—as one man told me—he can "go the same round comfortably another day." If there be no truths for sale—no stories of criminals' lives and loves to be condensed from the diffusive biographies in the newspapers—no "helegy" for a great man gone—no prophecy and no crim. con.—the death hunter invents, or rather announces, them. He puts some one to death for the occasion, which is called "a cock." The paper he sells may give the dreadful details, or it may be a religious tract, "brought out in mistake," should the vendor be questioned on the subject; or else the poor fellow puts on a bewildered look and murmurs, "O, it's shocking to be done this way—but I can't read." The patterers pass along so rapidly that this detection rarely happens.

One man told me that in the last eight or ten years, he, either singly or with his "mob," had twice put the Duke of Wellington to death, once by a fall from his horse, and the other time by a "sudden and myst-erious" death, without any condescension to particulars. He had twice performed the same mortal office for Louis Phillipe, before that potentate's departure from France; each death was by the hands of an assassin; "one was stabbing, and the other a shot from a distance." He once thought of poisoning the Pope, but was afraid of the street Irish. He broke Prince Albert's leg, or arm, (he was not sure which), when his royal highness was out with his harriers. He never had much to say about the Queen; "it wouldn't go down," he thought, and perhaps nothing had lately been said. "Stop, there, sir," said another patterer, of whom I inquired as to the correctness of those statements, (after my constant custom in sifting each subject thoroughly.) "stop, stop, sir. I *have* had to say about the Queen lately. In coorse, nothing can be said against her, and nothing ought to; that's true enough, but the last time she was confined, I cried her *accouchement* (the word was pronounced as spelt to a merely English reader, or rather more broadly) of *three!* Lord love you, sir, it would have been no use crying *one;* people's so used to that; but a Bobby came up and he stops me, and said it was some impudence about the Queen's *coachman!* Why look at it, says I, fat-head—I knew I was safe—and see if there's

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anything in it about the Queen or her coachman! And he looked, and in coorse there was nothing. I forget just now what the paper *was* about." My first-mentioned informant had apprehended Feargus O'Connor on a charge of high treason. He assassinated Louis Napoleon, "from a *fourth* edition of the *Times*," which "did well." He caused Marshal Haynau to die of the assault by the draymen. He made Rush hang himself in prison. He killed Jane Wilbred, and put Mrs. Sloane to death; and he announced the discovery that Jane Wilbred was Mrs. Sloane's daughter.

This informant did not represent that he had originated these little pieces of intelligence, only that he had been a party to their sale, and a party to originating one or two. Another patterer and of a higher order of genius—told me that all which was stated was undoubtedly correct, "but me and my mates, sir," he said, "did Haynau in another style. A splendid slum, sir! Capital! We assassinated him—*mys*-terious. Then about Rush. His hanging hisself in prison was a fake, I know; but we've had him lately. His ghost appeared—as is shown in the Australian papers—to Emily Sandford, and threatened her; and took her by the neck, and there's the red marks of his fingers to be seen on her neck to this day!" The same informant was so loud in his praise of the "Ass-sass-sination" of Haynau that I give the account. I have little doubt it was his own writing. It is confused in passages, and has a blending of the "I" and the "we:"—

"We have just received upon undisputed authority, that, that savage and unmanly tyrant, that enemy to civil and religious liberty, the inhuman Haynau has at last finished his career of guilt by the hand of an assassin, the term assassin I have no doubt will greet harshly upon the ears of some of our readers, yet never the less I am compelled to use it although I would gladly say the *average* of outraged innocence, which would be a name more suitable to one who has been the means of ridden the world of such a despicable monster."

[My informant complained bitterly, and not without reason, of the printer. "Average," for instance (which I have *italicised*), should be "avenger." The "average of outraged innocence!"]

"It appears by the Columns of the Corour le Constituonal of Brussels," runs the paper, "that the evening before last, three men one of which is supposed to be the miscreant, Haynau entered a Cafe in the Neighbourhood of Brussels kept by a man in the name of Priduex, and after partaking of some refreshments which were ordered by his two companions they desired to be shown to their chambers, during their stay in the public or Travellers Room, they spoke but little and seemed to be very cautious as to joining in the conversations which was passing briskly round the festive board, which to use the landlord's own words was rather strange, as his Cafe was mostly frequented by a set of jovial fellows, M. Priduex goes on to state that after the three strangers had retired to rest some time a tall and rather noble looking man enveloped in a large cloak entered and asked for a bed, and after calling for some wine he took up a paper and appeared to be reading it very attentively, in due time he was shown to bed and all passed on without any appearance of anything wrong until about 6 o'clock in the morning, when the landlord and his family, were roused by a noise over head and cries of murder, and upon going up stairs to ascertain the cause, he discovered the person who was [known] to be Marshal Haynau, lying on his bed with his throat cut in a frightful manner, and his two companions standing by his bed side bewailing his loss. On the table was discovered a card, on which was written these words 'Monster, I am avenged at last. Suspicion went upon the tall stranger, who was not anywhere to be found, the Garde arms instantly were on the alert, and are now in active persuit of him but up to the time of our going to press nothing further has transpired."

It is very easy to stigmatise the death-hunter when he sets off all the attractions of a real or pretended murder,—when he displays on a board, as does the standing patterer, "illustrations" of "the 'dentical pick-axe" of Manning, or the stable of Good,—or when he invents or embellishes atrocities which excite the public mind. He does, however, but follow in the path of those who are looked up to as "the press,"—as the "fourth estate." The conductors of the *Lady's Newspaper* sent an artist to Paris to give drawings of the scene of the murder by the Duc de Praslin,—to "illustrate" the blood-stains in the duchess's bed-chamber. The *Illustrated London News* is prompt in depicting the locality of any atrocity over which the curious in crime may gloat. The *Observer*, in costly advertisements, boasts of its 20 columns (sometimes with a supplement) of details of some vulgar and mercenary bloodshed,—the details being written in a most honest deprecation of the morbid and savage tastes to which the writer is pandering. Other weekly papers have engravings—and only concerning murder—of any wretch whom vice has made notorious. Many weekly papers had expensive telegraphic despatches of Rush's having been hung at Norwich, which event, happily for the interest of Sunday newspapers, took place in Norwich at noon on a Saturday. [I may here remark, that the patterers laugh at telegraphs and express trains for rapidity of communication, boasting that the press strives in vain to rival *them*,—as at a "hanging match," for instance, the patterer has the full particulars, dying speech, and confession included—if a confession be feasible—ready for his customers the moment the drop falls, and while the criminal may still be struggling, at the very scene of the hanging. At a distance he sells it before the hanging. "If the *Times* was cross-examined about it," observed one patterer, "he must confess he's outdone, though he's a rich *Times*, and we is poor fellows." But to resume—]

A penny-a-liner is reported, and without contradiction, to have made a large sum by having hurried to Jersey in Manning's business, and by being allowed to accompany the officers when they conducted that paltry tool of a vindictive woman from Jersey to Southampton by steamer, and from Southampton to London by "special engine," as beseemed the popularity of so distinguished a rascal and homicide; and next morning the daily papers, in all the typographical honour of "leads" and "a good place," gave details of this fellow's—this Manning's—conversation, looks, and demeanour.

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Until the "respectable" press become a more healthful public instructor, we have no right to blame the death-hunter, who is but an imitator —a follower—and that for a meal. So strong has this morbid feeling about criminals become, that an earl's daughter, who had "an order" to see Bedlam, would not leave the place until she had obtained Oxford's autograph for her album! The rich vulgar are but the poor vulgar—without an excuse for their vulgarity.

"Next to murders, fires are tidy browns," I was told by a patterer experienced both in "murders" and "fires." The burning of the old Houses of Parliament was very popular among street-sellers, and for the reason which ensures popularity to a commercial people; it was a source of profit, and was certainly made the most of. It was the work of incendiaries,—of ministers, to get rid of perplexing papers,—of government officers with troublesome accounts to balance,—of a sporting lord, for a heavy wager,—of a conspiracy of builders,—and of "a unsuspected party." The older "hands" with whom I conversed on the subject, all agreed in stating that they "did well" on the fire. One man said, "No, sir, it wasn't only the working people that bought of me, but merchants and their clerks. I s'pose they took the papers home with 'em for their wives and families, which is a cheap way of doing, as a newspaper costs *3d.* at least. But stop, sir,—stop; there wasn't no threepennies then,—nothing under *6d.*, if they wasn't more; I can't just say, but it was better for us when newspapers was high. I never heard no sorrow expressed,—not *in* the least. Some said it was a good job, and they wished the ministers was in it." The burning of the Royal Exchange was not quite so beneficial to the street-sellers, but "was uncommon tidy." The fire at the Tower, however, was almost as great a source of profit as that of the Houses of Parliament, and the following statement shows the profit reaped.

My informant had been a gentleman's servant, his last place being with a gentleman in Russell-square, who went to the East Indies, and his servant was out of a situation so long that he "parted with everything." When he was at the height of his distress, he went to see the fire at the Tower, as he "had nothing better to do." He remained out some hours, and before he reached his lodging, men passed him, crying the full and true particulars of the fire. "I bought one," said the man, "and changed my last shilling. It was a sudden impulse, for I saw people buy keenly. I never read it, but only looked at the printer's name. I went to him at the Dials, and bought some, and so I went into the paper trade. I made *6s.* or *7s.* some days, while the Tower lasted; and *3s.* and *4s.* other days, when the first polish was off. I sold them mostly at *1d.* a piece at first. It was good money then. The Tower was good, or middling good, for from 14 to 20 days. There was at least 100 men working nothing but the Tower. There's no great chance of any more great buildings being burnt; worse luck. People don't care much about private fires. A man in this street don't heed so much who's burnt to death in the next. But the foundation-stone of the new Royal Exchange—fire led to that—was pretty fair, and portraits of Halbert went off, so that it was for two or three days as good as the Tower. Fires is our best friends next to murders, if they're *good* fires. The hopening of the Coal Exchange was rather tidy. I've been in the streets ever since, and don't see how I could possibly get out of them. At first I felt a great degradation at being driven to the life. I shunned grooms and coachmen, as I might be known to them. I didn't care for others. That sort of feeling wears out though. I'm a widower now, and my family feels, as I did at first, that what I'm doing is 'low.' They won't assist—though they may give me *1s.* now and then—but they won't assist me to leave the streets. They'll rather blame me for going into them, though there was only that, or robbing, or starving. The fire at Ben. Caunt's, where the poor children was burnt to hashes, was the best of the private house fires that I've worked, I think. I made *4s.* on it one day. He was the champion once, and was away at a fight at the time, and it was a shocking thing, and so people bought."

After the burning of York Minster by Jonathan Martin, I was told by an old hand, the (street) destruction of the best known public buildings in the country was tried; such as Canterbury Cathedral, Dover Castle, the Brighton Pavilion, Edinburgh Castle, or Holyrood House—all known to "travelling" patterers—but the success was not sufficiently encouraging. It was no use, I was told, firing such places as Hampton Court or Windsor Castle, for unless people *saw* the reflection of a great fire, they wouldn't buy.

Of the Sellers of Second Editions.

These "second editions" are, and almost universally, second or later editions of the newspapers, morning and evening, but three-fourths of the sale may be of the evening papers, and more especially of the *Globe* and *Standard.*

I believe that there is not now in existence—unless it be in a workhouse and unknown to his fellows, or engaged in some other avocation and lost sight of by them—any one who sold "second editions" (the *Courier* evening paper being then in the greatest demand) at the time of the Duke of York's Walcheren expedition, at the period of the battle of the Nile, during the continuance of the Peninsular war, or even at the battle of Waterloo. There were a few old men—some of whom had been soldiers or sailors, and others who have simulated it—surviving within these 5 or 6 years, and some later, who "worked Waterloo," but they were swept off, I was told, by the cholera.

"I was assured by a gentlemen who had a perfect remembrance of the "second editions"

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(as they were generally called) sold in the streets, and who had often bought them upwards of forty years ago, that a sketch in the "Monthly Review," in a notice of Scott's "Lord of the Isles" (published in 1815), gave the best notion he had met with of what the second edition sale really was. At the commencement of the sixth canto of his poem, Sir Walter, somewhat too grandiloquently, in the judgment of his reviewer, asks—

"O who, that shared them, ever shall forget
The emotions of the spirit-rousing time,
When breathless in the mart the couriers met,
Early and late, at evening and at prime?"

"Who," in his turn asks the reviewer, "can avoid conjuring up the idea of men with broad sheets of foolscap, scored with 'VICTORIES' rolled round their hats, and horns blowing loud defiance in each other's mouth, from the top to the bottom of Pall-mall or the Haymarket, when he reads such a passage? We actually hear the Park and Tower guns, and the clattering of ten thousand bells, as we read, and stop our ears from the close and sudden intrusion of some hot and *horn-fisted* patriot, blowing ourselves, as well as Bonaparte to the devil!"

The horn carried by these "*horn*-fisted" men was a common tin tube, from two to three feet long, and hardly capable of being made to produce any sound beyond a sudden and discordant "trump, trump." The men worked with papers round their hats, in a way not very dissimilar to that of the running patterers of to-day.

The "editions" cried by these men during the war-time often contained spurious intelligence, but for that the editors of the journals were responsible—or the stock-jobbers who had imposed upon them. Any one who has consulted a file of newspapers of the period to which I have referred, will remember how frequent, and how false, were the announcements, or the rumours, of the deaths of Bonaparte, his brothers, or his marshals, in battle or by assassination.

As there was no man who was personally conversant with this traffic in what is emphatically enough called the "war-time," I sought out an old street-patterer who had been acquainted with the older hands in the trade, whose experience stretched to the commencement of the present century, and from him I received the following account:

"Oh, yes," he began, "I've worked 'seconds.' We used to call the editions generally seconds, and cry them sometimes, as the *latest* editions, whatever it was. There was Jack Griffiths, sir,—now wasn't he a hand at a second edition? I believe you. I do any kind of patter now myself, but I've done tidy on second editions, when seconds was to be had. Why, Jack Griffiths, sir—he'd been a sailor and was fond of talking about the sea—Jack Griffiths—you would have liked to have heard him—Jack told me that he once took 10*s.* 6*d.*—it was Hyde Park way—for a second edition of a paper when Queen Caroline's trial was over. Besides Jack, there was Tom Cole, called the Wooden Leg (he'd been a soldier I believe), and Whitechapel, and Old Brummagem, and Hell-fire Jack. Hell-fire Jack was said to be something to a man that was a trainer, and a great favourite of the old Duke of Queensberry, and was called Hell-fire Dick; but I can't say how it was. I began to work second editions, for the first time when George IV. died. They went off pretty well at 1*s.* a piece, and for three or four I got 2*s.* 6*d.* If it's anything good I get 1*s.* still, but very seldom any more. I always show anybody that asks that the paper *is* just what I've cried it. There's no regular cry; we cries what's up: '*Here's* the second edition of the *Globe* with the full perticlers of the death of his Majesty King George IV.' We work much in the same way as the running patter. Three of us shouts in the same spot. I was one of three who one night sold five quires, mostly *Globe* and *Standard*. It was at the Reform Bill time, and something about the Reform Bill. I never much heeded what the paper was about. I only wanted the patter, and soon got it. A mate, or any of us, looks out for anything good in the evening papers, to be ready. Why that night I speak of I was kept running backards and for'ards to the newspaper offices—and how they does keep you waiting at times!—mostly the *Globe* and *Standard*; we worked them all at the West End. There's twenty-seven papers to a quire, and we gave 4*d.* a piece for 'em and sold none, as well as I mind, for under 1*s.* I carried them mostly under my arm or in my hat, taking care they wasn't spoiled. Belgrave-square way, and St. George's, Hanover-square way, and Hyde Park way, are the best. The City's no good. There's only sixpences there. The coffee-shops has spoiled the City, as I'm afeard they will other parts. Murders in second editions don't sell now, and aren't tried much, beyond a few, if there's a late verdict. Curviseer (Courvoisier) was tidy. The trial weren't over 'til evening, and I sold six papers, and got 7*s.* for them, to gentlemen going away by the mail. I've heard that Greenacre was good in the same way, but I wasn't in town at the time. The French Revolution—the last one—was certainly a fairish go. Lewis Fillup was good many ways. When he used to be shot at—if the news weren't too early in the day—and when he got to England, and when he was said to have got back, or to have been taken. Why, of course he wern't to compare with Rush in the regular patter, but he was very fair. I have nothing to say against him, and wish he was alive, and could do it all over again. Lord Brougham's death wern't worth much to us. You remember the time, I dare say, sir, when they said he killed hisself in the papers, to see what folks would say on him. The resignation of a prime minister is mostly pretty good. Lord Melbourne was, and so was Sir Robert Peel. There's always somebody to say,

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'Hurra! that's right!' and to buy a paper because he's pleased. I had a red paper in my hat when I worked the French Revolution. French news is generally liked in a fashionable drag. Irish news is no good, for people don't seem to believe it. Smith O'Brien's battle, though, did sell a little. It's not possible to tell you exactly what I've made on seconds. How can I? One week I may have cleared 1*l.* in them, and for six months before not a blessed brown. Perhaps—as near as I can recollect and calculate—I've cleared 3*l.* (if that) each year, one with another, in second editions in my time, and perhaps twenty others has done the same."

Another man who also knew the old hands said to me: "Lord bless us, how times is changed! you should have heard Jack Griffiths tell how he cried his gazettes: '*He-ere's* the *London Gazette* Ex-teromary, containing the hof-ficial account of the bloody and decisive wictory of Sally-manker.' Something that way. Patter wern't required then; the things sold theirselves. Why, the other day I was talking to a young chap that conceits hisself to be a hout-and-houter in patter, and I mentions Jack's crying *Gazettes* and getting 5*s.* apiece for many a one on 'em, and this young chap says, says he: '*Gazettes!* What did they cry *Gazettes?*—bankrupts, and all that?' 'Bankrupts be blowed!' said I, 'wictories!' I heerd Waterloo cried when I was a little 'un. The speeches on the opening of parliament, which the newspapers has ready, has no sale in the crowd to what they had. I only sold two papers at 6*d.* each this last go. I ventured on no more, or should have been a loser. If the Queen isn't there, none's sold. But we always has a speech ready, as close as can be got from what the morning papers says. One gent. said to me: 'But that ain't the real speech!' 'It's a far better,' says I, and so it is. Why now, sir, there's some reading and spirit in this bit. The Queen says:

'It is my determination by the assistance of divine providence to uphold and protect the Protestant Church of the British Empire, which has been enjoyed three hundred years without interruption, the Religion which our ancestors struggled to obtain. And as long as it shall please God to spare me, I will endeavour to maintain the rights and perogatives of our holy Protestant Church. And now my Lords, I leave you to your duties, to the helm of the state, to the harbour of peace, and happiness.'"

This man showed me the street speech, which was on a broad sheet set off with the royal arms. The topics and arrangement were the same as those in the speech delivered by her Majesty.

On Monday morning last (Feb. 24), I asked the man who told me that prime ministers' resignations were "pretty good" for the street traffic, if he had been well remunerated by the sale of the evening papers of Saturday, with the account of Lord John Russell's resignation. "It wern't tried, sir," he answered; "there was nothing new in the evenings, and we thought nobody seemed to care about it. The newspaper offices and their boarders (as he called the men going about with announcements on boards) didn't make very much of it, so we got up a song instead; but it was no good,—not salt to a fresh herring—for there was some fresh herrings in. It was put strong, though. This was the last verse:

'From the House to the Palace it has caused a bother,
Old women are tumbling one over another,
The Queen says it is with her, one thing or 'tother,
They must not discharge Little John;
Her Majesty vows that she is not contented,
And many ere long will have cause to repent it,
Had she been in the house she would nobly resent it,
And fought like a brick for Lord John.'"

Adopting the calculation of my first informant, and giving a profit of 150 per cent., we find 150*l.* yearly expended in the streets, in second editions, or probably it might be more correct to say 200*l.* in a year of great events, and 50*l.* in a year when such events are few.

Of the Standing Patterers.

The standing patterer I have already described in his resemblance to the mountebank of old, and how, like his predecessor, he required a "pitch" and an audience. I need but iterate that these standing patterers are men who remain in one place, until they think they have exhausted the custom likely to accrue there, or until they are removed by the police; and who endeavour to attract attention to their papers, or more commonly pamphlets, either by means of a board with coloured pictures upon it, illustrative of the contents of what they sell, or else by gathering a crowd round about them, in giving a lively or horrible description of the papers or books they are "working." The former is what is usually denominated in street technology, "board work." A few of the standing patterers give street recitations or dialogues.

Some of the "illustrations" most "in vogue" of late for the boards of the standing patterers were,—the flogging of the nuns of Minsk, the blood streaming from their naked shoulders, (anything against the Emperor of Russia, I was told, was a good street subject for a painting); the young girl, Sarah Thomas, who murdered her mistress in Bristol, dragged to the gallows by the turnkeys and Calcraft, the hangman; Calcraft himself, when charged with "starving his mother;" Haynau, in the hands of the draymen; the Mannings, and afterwards the Sloanes. The two last-mentioned were among the most elaborate, each having a series of "compartments," representing the different stages of the events in which those heroes and heroines flourished. I shall speak afterwards of street-artists who are the painters of these boards, and then describe the pictures more fully. There are also, as before alluded to, what may be called "cocks" in street paintings, as well as street literature.

Two of the most favourite themes of the standing patterers were, however, the "Annals of the White House in Soho-square," and the

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"Mysteries of Mesmerism." Both supplied subjects to the boards.

The White House was a notorious place of ill fame. Some of the apartments, it is said, were furnished in a style of costly luxury; while others were fitted up with springs, traps, and other contrivances, so as to present no appearance other than that of an ordinary room, until the machinery was set in motion. In one room, into which some wretched girl might be introduced, on her drawing a curtain as she would be desired, a skeleton, grinning horribly, was precipitated forward, and caught the terrified creature in his, to all appearance, bony arms. In another chamber the lights grew dim, and then seemed gradually to go out. In a little time some candles, apparently self-ignited, revealed to a horror stricken woman, a black coffin, on the lid of which might be seen, in brass letters, ANNE, or whatever name it had been ascertaind the poor wretch was known by. A sofa, in another part of the mansion, was made to descend into some place of utter darkness; or, it was alleged, into a room in which was a store of soot or ashes.

Into the truth or exaggeration of these and similar statements, it is not my business to inquire; but the standing patterer made the most of them. Although the house in question has been either rebuilt or altered—I was told that each was the case—and its abominable character has ceased to apply to it for some years, the patterer did not scruple to represent it as still in existence (though he might change the venue as to the square at discretion) and that all the atrocities perpetrated—to which I have not ventured even to allude—were still the ordinary procedures of "high life." Neither did the standing patterer scruple, as one man assured me, to "name names;" to attribute vile deeds to any nobleman or gentleman whose name was before the public; and to embellish his story by an allusion to a recent event. He not unfrequently ended with a moral exhortation to all ladies present to avoid this "abode of iniquity for the rich." The board was illustrated with skeletons, coffins, and other horrors; but neither on it, nor in a hardly intelligible narrative which the patterer sold, was there anything indecent.

The "Mysteries of Mesmerism" was an account of the marvels of that "newly-discovered and most wonderful power in natur and art." With it Dr. Elliotson's, or some well-known name, was usually associated, and any marvel was "pattered," according to the patterer's taste and judgment. The illustrations were of persons, generally women, in a state of coma, but in this also there was no indecency; nor was there in the narrative sold.

Of these two popular exhibitions there are, I am informed, none now in town, and both, I was told, was more the speculations of a printer, who sent out men, than in the hands of the regular patterers.

It may tend somewhat to elucidate the character of the patterers, if I here state, that in my conversation with the whole of them, I heard from their lips strong expressions of disgust at Sloane,—far stronger than were uttered in abhorrence of any murderer. Rush, indeed, was, and is, a popular man among them. One of them told me, that not long before Madame Tussaud's death, he thought of calling upon that "wenerable lady," and asking her, he said, "to treat me to something to drink the immortal memory of Mr. Rush, my friend and her'n."

It is admitted by all concerned in the exercise of street elocution, that "the stander" must have "the best of patter." He usually works alone,—there are very rarely two at standing patter,—and beyond his board he has no adventitious aids, as in the running patter, so that he must be all the more effective; but the board is pronounced "as good as a man." When the standing patterer visits the country, he is accompanied by a mate, and the "copy of werses" is then announced as being written by an "underpaid curate" within a day's walk. "It tells mostly, sir," said one man; "for it's a blessing to us that there always is a journeyman parson what the people knows, and what the patter fits." Sometimes the poetry is attributed to a sister of mercy, or to a popular poetess; very frequently, by the patterers who best understand the labouring classes, to Miss Eliza Cook. Sometimes the verses are written by "a sympathising gent. in that parish," but his name wasn't to be mentioned. Another intelligent patterer whom I questioned on the subject, told me that my information was correct. "It's just the same in the newspapers," he continued; "why the 'sympathising gent.' is the same with us as what in the newspapers is called "other intelligence (about any crime), to publish which might defeat the ends of justice." That means, they know nothing at all about it, and can't so much as venture on a guess. I've known a little about it for the papers, sir,—it doesn't matter in what line."

Some standing patterers are brought up to the business from childhood. Some take to it through loss of character, or through their inability to obtain a situation from intemperate habits, and some because "a free life suits me best." In a former inquiry into a portion of this subject, I sought a standing patterer, whom I found in a threepenny lodging-house in Mint-street, Southwark. On my inquiring what induced him to adopt, or pursue, that line of life, he said:—

"It was distress that first drove me to it. I had learnt to make willow bonnets, but that branch of trade went entirely out. So, having a wife and children, I was drove to write out a paper that I called 'The People's Address to the King on the Present State of the Nation.' I got it printed, and took it into the streets and sold it. I did very well with it, and made 5*s.* a day while it lasted. I never was brought up to any mechanical trade. My father was a cler-

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gyman" [here he cried bitterly]. "It breaks my heart when I think of it. I have as good a wife as ever lived, and I would give the world to get out of my present life. It would be heaven to get away from the place where I am. I am obliged to cheer up my spirits. If I was to give way to it, I shouldn't live long. It's like a little hell to be in the place where we live" [crying], "associated with the ruffians that we are. My distress of mind is awful, but it won't do to show it at my lodgings—they'd only laugh to see me down-hearted; so I keep my trouble all to myself. Oh, I am heartily sick of this street work—the insults I have to put up with—the drunken men swearing at me. Yes, indeed, I am heartily sick of it."

This poor man had some assistance forwarded to him by benevolent persons, after his case had appeared in my letter in the *Morning Chronicle*. This was the means of his leaving the streets, and starting in the "cloth-cap trade." He seemed a deserving man.

Experience of a Standing Patterer.

From one of this body I received, at the period just alluded to, the following information:—

"I have taken my 5*s*. a day (said my informant); but 'paper' selling now isn't half so good as it used to be. People haven't got the money to lay out; for it all depends with the working man. The least we take in a day is, upon an average, sixpence; but taking the good and bad together, I should say we take about 10*s*. a week. I know there's some get more than that, but then there's many take less. Lately, I know, I haven't taken 9*s*. a week myself, and people reckon me one of the best patterers in the trade. I'm reckoned to have the gift—that is, the gift of the gab. I never works a last dying speech on any other than the day of execution—all the edge is taken off of it after that. The last dying speeches and executions are all printed the day before. They're always done on the Sunday, if the murderers are to be hung on the Monday. I've been and got them myself on the Sunday night, over and over again. The flying stationers goes with the papers in their pockets, and stand under the drop, and as soon as ever it falls, and long before the breath is out of the body, they begin bawling out." [Here my informant gave a further account of the flying stationers under the gallows, similar to what I have given. He averred that they "invented every lie likely to go down."] "'Here you have also an exact likeness,' they say, 'of the murderer, taken at the bar of the Old Bailey!' when all the time it is an old wood-cut that's been used for every criminal for the last forty years. I know the likeness that was given of Hocker was the one that was given for Fauntleroy; and the wood-cut of Tawell was one that was given for the Quaker that had been hanged for forgery twenty years before. Thurtell's likeness was done expressly for the 'papers;' and so was the Mannings' and Rush's likenesses too. The murders are bought by men, women, and children. Many of the tradespeople bought a great many of the affair of the Mannings. I went down to Deptford with mine, and did uncommonly well. I sold all off. Gentlefolks won't have anything to do with murders sold in the street; they've got other ways of seeing all about it. We lay on the horrors, and picture them in the highest colours we can. We don't care what's in the 'papers' in our hands. All we want to do is to sell 'em; and the more horrible we makes the affairs, the more sale we have. We do very well with 'love-letters.' They are 'cocks;' that is, they are all fictitious. We give it out that they are from a tradesman in the neighbourhood, not a hundred yards from where we are a-standing. Sometimes we say it's a well-known sporting butcher; sometimes it's a highly respectable publican—just as it will suit the tastes of the neighbourhood. I got my living round Cornwall for one twelvemonth with nothing else than a love-letter. It was headed, 'A curious and laughable love-letter and puzzle, sent by a sporting gentleman to Miss H—s—m, in *this* neighbourhood;' that suits any place that I may chance to be in; but I always patter the name of the street or village where I may be. This letter, I say, is so worded, that had it fallen into the hands of her mamma or papa, they could not have told what it meant; but the young lady, having so much wit, found out its true meaning, and sent him an answer in the same manner. You have here, we say, the number of the house, the name of the place where she lives (there is nothing of the kind, of course), and the initials of all the parties concerned. We dare not give the real names in full, we tell them; indeed, we do all we can to get up the people's curiosity. I did very well with the 'Burning of the House of Commons.' I happened by accident to put my pipe into my pocket amongst some of my papers, and burnt them. Then, not knowing how to get rid of them, I got a few straws. I told the people that my burnt papers were parliamentary documents that had been rescued from the flames, and that, as I dare not sell them, I would let them have a straw for a penny, and give them one of the papers. By this trick I got rid of my stock twice as fast, and got double the price that I should have done. The papers had nothing at all to do with the House of Commons. Some was 'Death and the Lady,' and 'Death and the Gentleman,' and others were the 'Political Catechism,' and 365 lies, Scotch, English, and Irish, and each lie as big round as St. Paul's. I remember a party named Jack Straw, who laid a wager, half-a-gallon of beer, that he'd bring home the money for two dozen blank papers in one hour's time. He went out into the Old-street-road, and began a patter about the political affairs of the nation, and Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington, telling the public that he dared not sell his papers, they were treasonable; so he gave them with a straw—that he sold for one penny. In less than the hour he was sold clean out, and returned and drank the beer. The

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chief things that I work are quarter-sheets of recitations and dialogues. One is 'Good Advice to Young Men on Choosing their Wives.' I have done exceedingly well with that—it's a good moral thing. Another is the 'Drunkard's Catechism;' another is 'The Rent Day; or, the Landlord gathering his Rents.' This is a dialogue between the landlord and his tenant, beginning with 'Good morning, Mrs. Longface; have you got my rent ready, ma'am?' The next one is 'The Adventures of Larry O'Flinn.' It's a comic story, and a very good got-up thing. Another is 'A Hint to Husbands and Wives;' and 'A Pack of Cards turned into a Bible, a Prayer-book, and an Almanack.' These cards belonged to Richard Middleton, of the 60th regiment of foot, who was taken a prisoner for playing at cards in church during divine service. But the best I do is 'The Remarkable Dream of a Young Man of loose character, who had made an agreement to break into a gentleman's house at twelve at night on Whitsun Monday, but, owing to a little drink that he took, he had a remarkable dream, and dreamed he was in hell. The dream had such influence on his mind that he refused to meet his comrade. His comrade was taken up for the burglary, found guilty, and executed for it. This made such an impression on the young man's mind that he became a reformed character.' There is a very beautiful description of hell in this paper," said my informant, "that makes it sell very well among the old women and the apprentice lads, for the young man was an apprentice himself. It's all in very pretty poetry, and a regular 'cock.' The papers that I work chiefly are what are called 'the standing patters;' they're all of 'em stereotype, and some of them a hundred years old. We consider the 'death hunters' are the lowest grade in the trade. We can make most money of the murders while they last, but they don't last, and they merely want a good pair of lungs to get them off. But it's not every one, sir, that can work the standing patters. Many persons I've seen try at it and fail. One old man I knew tried the 'Drunkard's Catechism' and the 'Soldier's Prayer-book and Bible.' He could manage to patter these because they'll almost work themselves; but 'Old Mother Clifton' he broke down in. I heard him do it in Sun-street and in the Blackfriars-road; but it was such a dreadful failure—he couldn't humour it a bit—that, thinks I to myself, you'll soon have to give up, and sure enough he's never been to the printer's since. He'd a very poor audience, chiefly boys and girls, and they were laughing at him because he made so many blunders in it. A man that's never been to school an hour can go and patter a dying speech or 'A Battle between Two Ladies of Fortune.' They require no scholarship. All you want is to stick a picture on your hat, to attract attention, and to make all the noise you can. It's all the same when they does an 'Assassination of Louis Philippe,' or a 'Diabolical Attempt on the Life of the Queen'—a good stout pair of lungs and plenty of impudence is all that is required. But to patter 'Bounce, the Workhouse Beadle, and the Examination of the Paupers before the Poor-law Commissioners,' takes a good head-piece and great gift of the gab, let me tell you. It's just the same as a play-actor. I can assure you I often feel very nervous. I begin it, and walk miles before I can get confidence in myself to make the attempt. I got rid of two quire last night. I was up among the gentlemen's servants in Crawford-street, Baker-street, and I had a very good haul out of the grown-up people. I cleared 1*s.* 8*d.* altogether. I did that from seven till nine in the evening. It's all chance-work. If it's fine, and I can get a crowd of grown-up people round me, I can do very well, but I can't do anything amongst the boys. There's very little to be done in the day-time. I begin at ten in the day, and stop out till one. After that I starts off again at five, and leaves off about ten at night. Marylebone, Paddington, and Westminster I find the best places. The West-end is very good the early part of the week, for any thing that's genteel, such as the 'Rich Man and his Wife quarrelling because they have no Family.' Our customers there are principally the footmen, the grooms, and the maid-servants. The east end of the town is the best on Friday and Saturday evenings. I very often go to Limehouse on Friday evening. Most part of the dock-men are paid then, and anything comic goes off well among them. On Saturdays I go to the New-cut, Ratcliff-highway, the Brill, and such places. I make mostly 2*s.* clear on a Saturday night. After nineteen years' experience of the patter and paper line in the streets, I find that a foolish nonsensical thing will sell twice as fast as a good moral sentimental one; and, while it lasts, a good murder will cut out the whole of them. It's the best selling thing of any. I used at one time to patter religious tracts in the street, but I found no encouragement. I did the 'Infidel Blacksmith'—that would not sell. 'What is Happiness? a Dialogue between Ellen and Mary'—that was no go. No more was the 'Sorrows of Seduction.' So I was driven into the comic standing patters."

The more recent "experiences" of standing patterers, as they were detailed to me, differ so little in subject, or anything else, from what I have given concerning running patterers, that to cite them would be a repetition.

From the best information to be obtained, I have no doubt that there are always at least 20 standing patterers—sometimes they are called "boardmen"—at work in London. Some of them "run" occasionally, but an equal number or more, of the regular "runners" resort now and then to the standing patter, so the sum is generally kept up.

Notwithstanding the drawbacks of bad weather, which affects the standing, and does not affect the running, patterer; and notwithstanding the more frequent interruptions of the police, I am of opinion that the standing patterer earns

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on an average 1*s.* a week more than his running brother. His earnings too are often all his own; whereas the runners are a 'school,' and, their gains divided. More running patterers become, on favourable occasions, stationary, with boards, perhaps in the proportion of five to four, than the stationary become itinerant. One standing patterer told me, that, during the excitement about the Sloanes, he cleared full 3*s.* a day for more than a week; but at other times he had cleared only 1*s.* 6*d.* in a whole week, and he had taken nothing when the weather was too wet for the standing work, and there was nothing up to "run" with.

If, then, 20 standing patterers clear 10*s.* weekly, each, the year through—"taking" 15*s.* weekly—we find that 780*l.* is yearly expended in the standing patter of London streets.

The capital required for the start of the standing is greater than that needed by the running patterer. The painting for a board costs 3*s.* 6*d.*; the board and pole, with feet, to which it is attached, 5*s.* 6*d.*; and stock-money, 2*s.*; in all, 11*s.*

Of Political Litanies, Dialogues, etc.

To "work a litany" in the streets is considered one of the higher exercises of professional skill on the part of the patterer. In working this, a clever patterer—who will not scruple to introduce anything out of his head which may strike him as suitable to his audience—is very particular in his choice of a mate, frequently changing his ordinary partner, who may be good "at a noise" or a ballad, but not have sufficient acuteness or intelligence to patter politics as if he understood what he was speaking about. I am told that there are not twelve patterers in London whom a critical professor of street elocution will admit to be capable of 'working a catechism' or a litany. "Why, sir," said one patterer, "I've gone out with a mate to work a litany, and he's humped it in no time." To 'hump,' in street parlance, is equivalent to 'botch,' in more genteel colloquialism. "And when a thing's humped," my informant continued, "you can only 'call a go.'" To 'call a go,' signifies to remove to another spot, or adopt some other patter, or, in short, to resort to some change or other in consequence of a failure.

An elderly man, not now in the street trade, but who had "pattered off a few papers" some years ago, told me that he had heard three or four old hands—"now all dead, for they're a short-lived people"—talk of the profits gained and the risk ran by giving Hone's parodies on the Catechism, Litany, St. Athanasius' Creed, &c. in the streets, after the three consecutive trials and the three acquittals of Hone had made the parodies famous and Hone popular. To work them in the streets was difficult, "for though," said my informant, "there was no new police in them days, there was plenty of officers and constables ready to pull the fellows up, and though Hone was acquitted, a beak that wanted to please the high dons, would find some way of stopping them that sold Hone's things in the street, and so next to nothing could be done that way, but a little was done." The greatest source of profit, I learned from the reminiscences of the same man, was in the parlours and tap-rooms of public-houses, where the patterers or reciters were well paid "for going through their catechisms," and sometimes, that there might be no interruption, the door was locked, and even the landlord and his servants excluded. The charge was usually 2*d.* a copy, but 1*d.* was not refused.

During Queen Caroline's trial there were the like interruptions and hindrances to similar performances; and the interruptions continued during the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill until about the era of the Reform Bill, and then the hindrance was but occasional. "And perhaps it was our own fault, sir," said one patterer, "that we was then molested at all in the dialogues and catechisms and things; but we was uncommon bold, and what plenty called sarcy, at that time: we was so."

Thus this branch of a street profession continued to be followed, half surreptitiously, until after the subsidence of the political ferment consequent on the establishment of a new franchise and the partial abolition of an old one. The calling, however, has never been popular among street purchasers, and I believe that it is sometimes followed by a street-patterer as much from the promptings of the pride of art as from the hope of gain.

The street-papers in the dialogue form have not been copied nor derived from popular productions—but even in the case of Political Litanies and Anti-Corn-law Catechisms and Dialogues are the work of street authors.

One intelligent man told me, that properly to work a political litany, which referred to ecclesiastical matters, he "made himself up," as well as limited means would permit, as a bishop! and "did stunning, until he was afraid of being stunned on skilly." Of the late papers on the subject of the Pope, I cite the one which was certainly the best of all that appeared, and concerning which indignant remonstrances were addressed to some of the newspapers. The "good child" in the patter, was a tall bulky man; the examiner (also the author), was rather diminutive:—

"*The old English Bull John v. the Pope's Bull of of Rome.*

"My good Child as it is necessary at this very important crisis; when, that good pious and very reasonable old gentleman Pope Pi-ass the nineth has promised to favor us with his presence, and the pleasures of Popery—and trampled on the rights and privilages which, we, as Englishmen, and Protestants, have engaged for these last three hundred years—Since Bluff, king Hal. began to take a dislike to the broad brimmed hat of the venerable Cardinal Wolsey, and proclaimed himself an heretic; It is necessary I say, for you, and all of you, to be perfect in your Lessons so as you may be able to verbly chastize this saucy prelate, his newly made Cardinal Foolishman, and the whole host of Puseites and protect our beloved Queen, our Church, and our Constitution.

"*Q.* Now my boy can you tell me what is your Name?

"*A.* B—— Protestant.

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"Q. How came you by that name?

"A. At the time of Harry the stout, when Popery was in a galloping consumption the people protested against the surpremacy and instalence of the Pope; and his Colleges had struck deep at the hallow tree of superstition I gained the name of Protestant, and proud ant I, and ever shall be to stick to it till the day of my death.

"Let us say.

"From all Cardinals whether wise or foolish. Oh! Queen Spare us.

"Spare us, Oh Queen.

"From the pleasure of the Rack, and the friendship of the kind hearted officers of the Inquisition. Oh! Johnny hear us.

"Oh! Russell hear us.

"From the comforts of being frisled like a devil'd kindney. Oh! Nosey save us.

"Hear us Oh Arthur.

"From such saucy Prelates, as Pope Pi-ass. Oh! Cumming's save us.

"Save us good Cumming.

"And let us have no more Burnings in smithfield, no more warm drinks in the shape of boiled oil, or, molten lead, and send the whole host of Pusyites along with the Pope, Cardinals to the top of mount Vesuvius there to dine off of hot lava, so that we may live in peace & shout long live our Queed, and No Popery!"

For some pitches the foregoing was sufficient, for a street auditory "hates too long a patter;" but where a favourable opportunity offered, easily tested by the pecuniary beginnings, the "Lesson of the Day" was given in addition, and was inserted after the second "Answer" in the foregoing parody, so preceding the "Let us say:"

"The Lesson of the Day.

"You seem an intelligent lad, so I think you are quite capable of Reading with me the Lessons for this day's service.

"Now the Lesson for the day is taken from all parts of the Book of Martyr's, beginning at just where you like.

"It was about the year 1835, that a certain renagade of the name of Pussy—I beg his pardon, I mean Pusey, like a snake who stung his master commenced crawling step by step, from the master; he was bound to serve to worship a puppet, arrayed in a spangle and tincel of a romish showman.

"And the pestelance that he shed around spread rapidly through the minds of many unworthy members of our established Church; even up to the present year, 1850, inasmuch that St Barnabus, of Pimlico, unable to to see the truth by the aid of his occulars, mounted four pounds of long sixes in the mid-day, that he might see through the fog of his own folly, by which he was surrounded.

"And Pope Pi-ass the nineth taking advantage of the hubub, did create unto himself a Cardinal in the person of one Wiseman of Westminster.

"And Cardinal broadbrim claimed four counties in England as his dioces, and his master the Pope claimed as many more as his sees, but the people of England could not see that, so they declared aloud they would see them blowed first.

"So when Jack Russell heard of his most impudent intentions, he sent him a Letter saying it was the intention of the people of England never again to submit to their infamous mumerys for the burnings in Smithfield was still fresh in their memory.

"And behold great meetings were held in different parts of England where the Pope was burnt in effigy, like unto a Yarmouth Bloater, as a token of respect for him and his followers.

"And the citizens of London were stanch to a man, and assembled together in the Guildhall of our mighty City and shouted with stentarian lungs, long live the Queen and down with the Pope, the sound of which might have been heard even unto the vatican of Rome.

"And when his holyness the Pope heard that his power was set at naught, his nose became blue even as a bilberry with rage and declared Russell and Cummings or any who joined in the No Popery cry, should ever name the felisity of kissing his pious great toe.

"Thus Endeth the Lesson."

In the course of my inquiries touching this subject I had more than once occasion to observe that an acute patterer had always a reason, or an excuse for anything. One quick-witted Irishman, whom I knew to be a Roman Catholic, was "working" a "patter against the Pope," (not the one I have given), and on my speaking to him on the subject, and saying that I supposed he did it for a living, he replied: "That's it then, sir. You're right, sir, yes. I work it just as a Catholic lawyer would plead against a Catholic paper for a libel on Protestants—though in his heart he knew the paper was right—and a Protestant lawyer would defend the libel hammer and tongs. Bless you, sir, you'll not find much more honour that way among us (laughing) than among them lawyers; not much." The readiness with which the sharpest of those men plead the doings not only of tradesmen, but of the learned and sacred professions, to justify themselves, is remarkable.

Sometimes a dialogue is of a satirical nature. One man told me that the "Conversation between Achilles and the Wellington Statue," of which I give the concluding moiety, was "among the best," (he meant for profit), "but no great thing." My informant was Achilles—or, as he pronounced it, Atchilees—and his mate was the statue, or "man on the horse." The two lines, in the couplet form, which precede every two paragraphs of dialogue, seem as if they represent the speakers wrongfully. The answer should be attributed, in each case, to Achilles.

"The hoarse voice it came from the statue of Achilles
And 'twas answer'd thus by the man on the horse.

"Little man of little mind havn't I now got iron blinds, and bomb-proof rails when danger assails, a cunning devised job, to keep out an unruly mob, with high and ambitious views and remarkable queer shoes; I say, Old Nakedness, I say, come and see my frontage over the way, but I believe you can't get out after ten!

"No, you're as near where you are as at Quatre Bras, I hear a great deal what the public think and feel, plain as the nose on your face, we're deemed a national disgrace; they grumble at your high-ness, and at my want of shyness, and say many unpleasant things of Ligny and Marchienne!

"The hoarse voice it came from the statue of Achilles
And 'twas answer'd thus by the man on the horse.

"Ah! its a few days since the Nive, where Soult found me all alive, and the grand toralloo I made at Bordeaux; wasn't I in a nice mess, when Boney left Elba and left no address, besides 150 other jobs with the chill off I could bring to view.

"But then people will say, poor unfortunate Ney, and that you were dancing at a ball, and not near Hogumont at all, and that the job of St. Helena might have been done rather cleaner, and it was a shameful go to send Sir Hudson Lowe, and that you took particular care of No. 1, at Waterloo.

"The hoarse voice it came from the statue of Achilles
And 'twas answer'd thus by the man on the horse.

"Why flog 'em and 'od 'rot em, who said 'Up Guards and at 'em!' and you know that nice treat I received in Downing Street, when hooted by a thousand or near, defended by an old grenadier, so no whopping I got,

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good luck to his old tin pot, oh! there's a deal of brass in me I'll allow.

"Its prophecied you'll break down, they're crying it about town, and many jokes are past, that you're brought to the scaffold at last, and they say I look black, because I've no shirt to my back, and its getting broad daylight, I vow!

"The hoarse voice it came from the statue of Achilles
But 'twas answer'd thus by the man on the horse.
"H. V. HOOKER."

Of parodies other than the sort of compound of the Litany and other portions of the Church Service, which I have given, there are none in the streets—neither are there political duets. Such productions as parodies on popular songs, "Cab! cab! cab!" or "Trip! trip! trip!" are now almost always derived, for street-service, from the concert-rooms. But they relate more immediately to ballads, or street song; and not to patter.

OF "COCKS," ETC.

THESE "literary forgeries," if so they may be called, have already been alluded to under the head of the "Death and Fire Hunters," but it is necessary to give a short account of a few of the best and longest know nof those stereotyped; no new cocks, except for an occasion, have been printed for some years.

One of the stereotyped cocks is, the "Married Man Caught in a Trap." One man had known it sold "for years and years," and it served, he said, when there was any police report in the papers about sweethearts in coal-cellars, &c. The illustration embraces two compartments. In one a severe-looking female is assaulting a man, whose hat has been knocked off by the contents of a water-jug, which a very stout woman is pouring on his head from a window. In the other compartment, as if from an adjoining room, two women look on encouragingly. The subject matter, however, is in no accordance with the title or the embellishment. It is a love-letter from John S—n to his most "adorable Mary." He expresses the ardour of his passion, and then twits his adored with something beyond a flirtation with Robert E—, a "decoyer of female innocence." Placably overlooking this, however, John S—n continues:—

"My dearest angel consent to my request, and keep me no longer in suspense—nothing, on my part, shall ever be wanting to make you happy and comfortable. My apprenticeship will expire in four months from hence, when I intend to open a shop in the small ware line, and your abilities in dress-making and self-adjusting stay-maker, and the assistance of a few female mechanics, we shall be able to realize an independency."

"Many a turn in seductions talked about in the papers and not talked about nowhere," said one man, "has that slum served for, besides other things, such as love-letters, and confessions of a certain lady in this neighbourhood."

Another old cock is headed, "Extraordinary and Funny Doings in this Neighbourhood." The illustration is a young lady, in an evening dress, sitting with an open letter in her hand, on a sort of garden-seat, in what appears to be a churchyard. After a smart song, enforcing the ever-neglected advice that people should "look at home and mind their own business," are two letters, the first from R. G.; the answer from S. H. M. The gentleman's epistle commences:—

"Madam,
"The love and tenderness I have hitherto expressed for you is false, and I now feel that my indifference towards you increases every day, and the more I see you the more you appear ridiculous in my eyes and contemptible—I feel inclined & in every respect disposed & determined to hate you. Believe me, I never had any inclination to offer you my hand."

The lady responds in a similar strain, and the twain appear very angry, until a foot-note offers an explanation: "By reading every other line of the above letters the true meaning will be found."

Of this class of cocks I need cite no other specimens, but pass on to one of another species—the "Cruel and Inhuman Murder Committed on the Body of Capt. Lawson." The illustration is a lady, wearing a coronet, stabbing a gentleman, in full dress, through the top button of his waistcoat. The narrative commences:—

"WITH surprise we have learned that this neighbourhood for a length of time was amazingly alarmed this day by a crowd of people carrying the body of Mr. James Lawless, to a doctor while streams of blood besmeared the way in such a manner that the cries of Murder re-echoed the sound of numerous voices. It appears that the cause of alarm, originated through a court-ship attended with a solemn promise of marriage between him and miss Lucy Guard, a handsome young Lady of refined feelings with the intercourse of a superior enlightened mind she lived with her aunt who spared neither pain nor cost to improve the talents of miss G. those seven years past, since the death of her mother in Ludgate Hill, London, and bore a most excellent character until she got entangled by the delumps aleurement of Mr. L."

The writer then deplores Miss Guard's fall from virtue, and her desertion by her betrayer, "on account of her fortune being small." Capt. Lawson, or Mr. James Lawless, next woos a wealthy City maiden, and the banns are published. What follows seems to me to be a rather intricate detail:—

"We find that the intended bride learned that miss Guard, held certain promissory letters of his, and that she was determined to enter an action against him for a breach of promise, which moved clouded Eclipse over the extacy of the variable miss Lawless who knew that Miss G had Letters of his sufficient to substantiate her claims in a court."

Lawson visits Miss Guard to wheedle her out of his letters, but "she drew a large carving-knife and stabbed him under the left breast." At the latest account the man was left without hope of recovery, while "the valiant victress" was "ordered to submit to judicial decorum in the nineteenth year of her age." The murders and other atrocities for which this "cock" has been sponsor, are—I was informed emphatically—a thundering lot!

I conclude with another cock, which may be called a narrative "on a subject," as we have "ballads on a subject" (afterwards to be described), but with this difference, that the narrative is fictitious, and the ballad must be founded

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on a real event, however embellished. The highest newspaper style, I was told, was aimed at. Part of the production reads as if it had done service during the Revolution of February, 1848.

"Express from Paris. Supposed Death of LOUIS NAPOLEON. We stop the press to announce, that Luis Napoleon has been assasinated, by some it is said he is shot dead, by others that he is only wounded in the right arm.

"We have most important intelligence from Paris. That capital is in a state of insurrection. The vivacious people, who have herefore defeated the goverment by paving-stones, have again taken up those missiles. On Tuesday the Ministers forbade the reform banquet, and the prefect of police published a proclamation warning the people to respect the laws, which he declared were violated, and he meant to enforce them. But the people dispised the proclamation and rejected his authority. They assembled in great multitudes round the Chambers of Deputies, and forced their way over the walls. They were attacked by the troops and dispersed, but, re-assembled in various quarters. They showed their hatred of M. Guizot by demolishing his windows and attempting to force an entrance into his hotel, but were again repulced by the troops. All the military in Paris, and all the National Guard, have been summoned to arms, and every preparation made on the part of the government to put down the people.

"The latter have raised barricades in various places, and have unpaved the streets, overturned omnibusses, and made preparations for a vigorous assault, or a protracted resistance.

"Five o'Closk—At this momont the Rue St. Honore is blockaded by a detachment dragoons, who fill the market-place near the Rue des Petits Champs, and are charging the people sword in hand, carriages full of deople are being taken to the hospitals.

"In fact the maddest excitement reigns throughout the capital.

"Half past Six.—During the above we have instituted enquiries at the Foreign office, they have not received any inteligence of the above report, if it has come, it must have been by pigeon express. We have not given the above in our columns with a view of its authenticity, any further information as soon as obtained shall be immediately announced to the public."

Of "Strawing."

I have already alluded to "strawing," which can hardly be described as quackery. It is rather a piece of mountebankery. Many a quack—confining the term to its most common signification, that of a "quack doctor"—has faith in the excellence of his own nostrums, and so proffers that which he believes to be curative: the strawer, however, sells what he *knows* is not what he represents it.

The strawer offers to *sell* any passer by in the streets a straw and to *give* the purchaser a paper which he *dares not* sell. Accordingly as he judges of the character of his audience, so he intimates that the paper is political, libellous, irreligious, or indecent.

I am told that as far back as twenty-five or twenty-six years, straws were sold, but only in the country, with leaves from the *Republican*, a periodical published by Carlile, then of Fleet-street, which had been prosecuted by the government; but it seems that the trade died away, and was little or hardly known again until the time of the trial of Queen Caroline, and then but sparingly. The straw sale reached its highest commercial pitch at the era of the Reform Bill. The most successful trader in the article is remembered among the patterers as "Jack Straw," who was oft enough represented to me as the original strawer. If I inquired further, the answer was: "He was the first in my time." This Jack Straw was, I am told, a fine-looking man, a natural son of Henry Hunt, the blacking manufacturer. He was described to me as an inveterate drunkard and a very reckless fellow. One old hand was certain that this man was Hunt's son, as he himself had "worked" with him, and was sometimes sent by him when he was "in trouble," or in any strait, to 32, Broadwall, Blackfriars, for assistance, which was usually rendered. (This was the place where Hunt's "Matchless Blacking" and "Roasted Corn" were vended.) Jack Straw's principal "pitch" was at Hyde Park Corner, "where," said the man whom I have mentioned as working with him, "he used to come it very strong against Old Nosey, the Hyde Park bully as he called him. To my knowledge he's made 10*s*., and he's made 15*s*. on a night. O, it didn't matter to him what he sold with his straws, religion or anything. There was no three-pennies (three-penny newspapers) then, and he had had a gentleman's education, and knew what to say, and so the straws went off like smoke." The articles which this man "durst not sell" were done up in paper, so that no one could very well peruse them on the spot, as a sort of stealth was implied. On my asking Jack Straw's co-worker if he had ever drank with him, "Drank with him!" he answered, "Yes, many a time. I've gone out and pattered, or chaunted, or anything, to get money to buy him two glasses of brandy—and good brandy was very dear then—before he could start, for he was all of a tremble until he had his medicine. If I couldn't get brandy, it was the best rum, 'cause he had all the tastes of a gentleman. Ah! he's been dead some years, sir, but where he died I don't know. I only heard of his death. He was a nice kindly fellow."

The *ruse* in respect of strawing is not remarkable for its originality. It was an old smuggler's trick to *sell* a sack and *give* the keg of contraband spirit placed within it and padded out with straw so as to resemble a sack of corn. The hawkers, prior to 1826, when Mr. Huskisson introduced changes into the Silk Laws, *gave* "real Ingy handkerchiefs" (sham) to a customer, and *sold* him a knot of tape for about 4*s*. The price of a true Bandana, then prohibited, and sold openly in the draper's shops, was about 8*s*. The East India Company imported about a million of Bandanas yearly; they were sold by auction for exportation to Hamburgh, &c., at about 4*s*. each, and were nearly all smuggled back again to England, and disposed of as I have stated.

It is not possible to give anything like statistics as to the money realised by strawing. A well-informed man calculated that when the

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trade was at its best, or from 1832 to 1836, there might be generally fifty working it in the country and twenty in London; they did not confine themselves, however, to strawing, but resorted to it only on favourable opportunities. Now there are none in London—their numbers diminished gradually—and very rarely any in the country.

Of the Sham Indecent Street-trade.

This is one of those callings which are at once repulsive and ludicrous; repulsive, when it is considered under what pretences the papers are sold, and ludicrous, when the disappointment of the gulled purchaser is contemplated.

I have mentioned that one of the allurements held out by the strawer was that his paper—the words used by Jack Straw—could "not be admitted into families." Those following the "sham indecent trade" for a time followed his example, and professed to sell straws and give away papers; but the London police became very observant of the sale of straws—more especially under the pretences alluded to—and it has, for the last ten years, been rarely pursued in the streets.

The plan now adopted is to sell the sealed packet itself, which the "patter" of the street-seller leads his auditors to believe to be some improper or scandalous publication. The packet is some coloured paper, in which is placed a portion of an old newspaper, a Christmas carol, a religious tract, or a slop-tailor's puff (given away in the streets for the behoof of another class of gulls). The enclosed paper is, however, never indecent.

From a man who had, not long ago, been in this trade, I had the following account. He was very anxious that nothing should be said which would lead to a knowledge that he was my informant. After having expressed his sorrow that he had ever been driven to this trade from distress, he proceeded to justify himself. He argued—and he was not an ignorant man—that there was neither common sense nor common justice in interfering with a man like him, who, "to earn a crust, pretended to sell what *shop-keepers*, that must pay church and all sorts of rates, sold without being molested." The word "shopkeepers" was uttered with a bitter emphasis. There are, or were, he continued, shops—for he seemed to know them all—and some of them had been carried on for years, in which shameless publications were not only sold, but exposed in the windows; and why should he be considered a greater offender than a shopkeeper, and be knocked about by the police? There are, or lately were, he said, such shops in the Strand, Fleet-street, a court off Ludgate-hill, Holborn, Drury-lane, Wych-street, the courts near Drury-lane Theatre, Haymarket, High-street, Bloomsbury, St. Martin's-court, May's buildings, and elsewhere, to say nothing of Holywell-street! Yet *he* must be interfered with!

[I may here remark, that I met with no street-sellers who did not disbelieve, or affect to disbelieve, that they were really meddled with by the police for obstructing the thoroughfare. They either hint, or plainly state, that they are removed solely to please the shop-keepers. Such was the reiterated opinion, real or pretended, of my present informant.]

I took a statement from this man, but do not care to dwell upon the subject. The trade, in the form I have described, had been carried on, he thought, for the last six years. At one time, 20 men followed it; at present, he believed there were only 6, and they worked only at intervals, and as opportunities offered: some going out, for instance, to sell almanacs or memorandum books, and, when they met with a favourable chance, offering their sealed packets. My informant's customers were principally boys, young men, and old gentlemen; but old gentlemen chiefly when the trade was new. This street-seller's "great gun," as he called it, was to make up packets, as closely resembling as he could accomplish it, those which were displayed in the windows of any of the shops I have alluded to. He would then station himself at some little distance from one of those shops, and, if possible, so as to encounter those who had stopped to study the contents of the window, and would represent—broadly enough, he admitted, when he dared—that he could sell for 6*d*. what was charged 5*s*., or 2*s*. 6*d*., or whatever price he had seen announced, "in that very neighbourhood." He sometimes ventured, also, to mutter something, unintelligibly, about the public being imposed upon! On one occasion, he took 6*s*. in the street in about two hours. On another evening he took 4*s*. 8*d*. in the street and was called aside by two old gentlemen, each of whom told him to come to an address given (at the West-end), and ask for such and such initials. To one he sold two packets for 2*s*.; to the other, five packets, each 1*s*.—or 11*s*. 8*d*. in one evening. The packets were in different coloured papers, and had the impressions of a large seal on red wax at the back; and he assured the old gents., as he called them, one of whom, he thought, was "silly," that they were all different. "And very likely," he said, chucklingly, "they were different; for they were made out of a lot of missionary tracts and old newspapers that I got dirt cheap at a 'waste' shop. I should like to have seen the old gent.'s face, as he opened his 5*s*. worth, one after another!" This trade, however, among old gentlemen, was prosperous for barely a month: "It got blown then, sir, and they wouldn't buy any more, except a very odd one."

This man—and he believed it was the same with all the others in the trade—never visited the public-houses, for a packet would soon have been opened and torn there, which, he said, people was ashamed to do in the public streets. As well as he could recollect, he had never sold a single packet to a girl or a woman. Drunken women of the town had occasionally made loud comments on his calling, and offered

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HINDOO TRACT-SELLER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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to purchase; but on such occasions, fearful of a disturbance, he always hurried away.

I have said that the straw trade is now confined to the country, and I give a specimen of the article vended there, by the patterer in the sham indecent trade. It was purchased of a man, who sold it folded in the form of a letter, and is addressed, "On Royal Service. By Express. Private. To Her Royal Highness, Victoria, Princess Royal. Kensington Palace, London. Entered at Stationer's Hall." The man who sold it had a wisp of straw round his neck, and introduced his wares with the following patter:

"I am well aware that many persons here present will say what an absurd idea—the idea of selling straws for a halfpenny each, when there are so many lying about the street; but the reason is simply this: I am not allowed by the authorities to sell these papers, so I give them away and sell my straws. There are a variety of figures in these papers for gentlemen; some in the bed, some on the bed, some under the bed." The following is a copy of the document thus sold:—

> "Bachelors or Maidens, Husbands and Wives,
> Will love each other and lead happy lives;
> If both these Letters to read are inclined,
> Secrets worth knowing therein they will find.

"Dated from the Duchy of Coburg.

"My Dearest Victoria,
Hiɓhuessəs' unsʍeɹ, ɟhoɓ loʌe ɟosubscɹiqe uɯsəɟf pleɓɹəsof ɐɓeɔuou—euxɟouslyʍeuiɟiug ʎour royal-ɹoʎaɟqɹipe aud futnrəsovəroign, ʌery muuʎaud ɟiʌiug snrəd ou mʎpɹinɔeɟy ɥouour, ɟɥaɟ ʍiɟl aʍaɹdɟo uɯy uɐɹo ɟhut euʌiɐpsɟuɟiou oɟqeiuɓɟɥy husqaud, ɹosɟas-ɟuɔhɹisɟɐudouɯ; aud ʍhənɟhou ɥast daiɓuədɟo əxɥaɟt bəudəp kuɐəs, ɟo ɟaʌour uʎsuit, aqoʌe ɐuyoɟɥer dɹiuce oɟ aɟl uɐɟrsɟo ɐbɹiɟisɥdɟadəɯ—I iuɯpɟoɹeɟhɐe ou uʎ aɯiɐbɟe oɟ Euɓɟauɐ'sdɹiuɔessəs—ɐud ɟɥə uɯosɟ ʌiɹɟuous quɹʎɥiuɯsəɟɟ ʍiɟhiu ɟɥy oʍudoʍuʎ dɟuɯuɐɓe! Mosɟ ɔhɐɹɯiug uoɟes, audʍiɟh ɟɟuɟɟɐɹiug ʍiugsʍisɥes ɟo ʍɥo ɟiʞe ɐbiɹpoɟ pɐrɐdise, ɟsoaɟɟuiɓɟɥeɔɟo ɟisɟɐu ɟo ɥis ɔouɐ ɟo uɯyɟouɓiuɓ aɹɯs—iɟ is ouɟʎɟɥʎ poor Aɟqerɟ, euɯɟaqɟə Viɔɟoɹiɐ, ɟheɯosɟ duɹe ɐup sdoɟɟəss oɟ ʌiɹɓius, ɟuɟuɹiɟʎ, audɔouɟiuue ɟo pɹəauɯoɟ ɟoʌə ɐupɟiɐɔ! ɟɐʎ sɥɟɐqe əuɔɥauɟɐp ʍiɟɥɟɥe ɯosɟ bəauɟiful ʌisiousoɟ ɯənɟ oɟ ɟhɐɟ qaɟɯʎsɟəad I ɥeʌəbəen ɟouɓ ʍeuɟiuɓ, I uoʍ sɟeəpɟess ɔouch, aud resiuiuɓ uɯysouɟ ɟo ɟɥeeujoʎ-ʍouuɐs—Tɥenʍiɟɟ I dɟəasɐuɟɟʎ ɹəpose uɯysəɟɟ ou uɯʎ buɟɐouɐ ɐup pouɹ ɟɥy ɥeɐɟiuɓ bɐɟsɐuɯiuɟo uɯʎ sɯɐɹɟiug ʌouɟysəɯɐɹiɟeu, pass uoɟaʍaʎ ɟrouɯ ɟɥyɐdoɹiug ɐɟqeɹɟ; iuɓɟoʌə! Tɥənɥasɟɐu uɯy ɓɟoɹiousɔhəɹub—ɟhou ɥəa-ʍɥoɟɐqopy is qeiuɓɐousuɯepiu ɟɥeɟuɹuɐso oɟ ɐʌɐɹɟasɟ-ɟɐɟisəd ʍiɟhʌɐɹiəd aud ɔouɟɟiɔɟiuɓ ɐɯoɟious, aud uɯʎ ɟusəɟo po ɟhəiɹoɟɟiɔə; əʌoɹʎ ouɐoɟ uɯy uɯɐuɯbəɹsuɹə ɟuu-ɟɟɹə, uɯyɟɐoɟ sɟuuɯbɟes—ʎeɐ, uɯʎ ɐɹuɯs auduɯy ɟəgs ɹə-uɯy səusəsʍaudəɹ, uɯy ɥaɹɹsɟauds ou ɐup, uɯʎ ɥeɐd isou əɟɐsdɟɥəə iu uɯyaɹɯs—Mʎqosouɯɥeaʌəs, uɯy ɥeaɹɟpeuɟs, ɟɥyɟoʌəɟʎ ɟorɯ, audɟouɓ ɟor ɟhəɥəpdy ɥour ʍɥeuɟ sɥaɟɟ ɹoyəɟɥiɓhuess—uɯy sʍeeɟesɟauɓeɟ, oɥ! ɥoʍ I po apoɹe doʍuɟo ɟɥe paɟiɓɥɟɟuɟɟɐsk oɟ ʍɹiɟiuɓa ɟoʌe ɟəɟɐɹɟo ɟhʎ ——nəʌərpiɐ I euɟoʎɓɹɐuɟəɹ ɥɟiss, ɟhauʍɥeuɟ sɐɟ

"Your adored Lover,
"ALBERT,
"Prince of Coburg."

On the back of this page is the following cool initiation of the purchaser into the mysteries of the epistle:

"**Directions for the purchasers to understand the** ***Royal Love Letters,*** and showing them how to practise the art of Secret Letter Writing:—

"Proceed to lay open 'Albert's Letter' by the side of 'Victoria's,' and having done so, then look carefully down them until you have come to a word at the left hand corner, near the end of each Letter, having two marks thus — —, when you must commence with that word, and read from left to right after you have turned them bottom upwards before a looking glass so that you may peruse the copy reflected therein. But you must notice, throughout all the words every other letter is upside down, also every other word single; but the next two words being purposely joined together, therefore they are double; and in addition to those letters placed upside down, makes it more mysterious in the reading. The reader is recommended to copy each word in writing, when he will be able to read the letters forward, and after a little practice he can soon learn to form all his words in the same curious manner, when he wants to write a 'secret letter.'

"Be sure when holding it up side down before a looking-glass, that the light of a candle, is placed between them by the reflection it will show much plainer, and be sooner discovered.

"If you intend to practise a *Joke* and make it answer the purpose of a Valentine, write what you think necessary on the adjoining *blank page*; then post it, with the superscription filled up in this manner:—After the word To, *write the name and address of the party* also place the word FROM *before* 'VICTORIA'S' name: then the address on the outside of this letter will read somewhat after the following fashion:—To Mr. or Mrs. so and so, (with the number if any,) in such and such a street: at the same time your letter will appear as if it came from Royalty.

"N.B. You must first buy both the letters, as the other letter is an answer to this one; and because, without the reader has got both letters, he will not have the secrets perfect."

Notwithstanding the injunction to buy *both* letters, and the seeming necessity of having both to understand the "directions," the patterer was selling only the one I have given.

That the trade in sham indecent publications was, at one time, very considerable, and was not unobserved by those who watch, as it is called, "the signs of the times," is shown by the circumstance that the Anti-Corn-Law League paper, called the *Bread Basket*, could only be got off by being done up in a sealed packet, and sold by patterers as a pretended improper work.

The really indecent trade will be described hereafter.

For a month my informant thought he had cleared 35*s.* a week; for another month, 20*s.*; and as an average, since that time, from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* weekly, until he discontinued the trade. It is very seldom practised, unless in the evening, and perhaps only one street-seller depends entirely upon it.

Supposing that 6 men last year each cleared 6*s.* weekly, we find upwards of 93*l.* expended yearly in the streets on this rubbish.

The capital required to start in the business is 6*d.* or 1*s.*, to be expended in paper, paste, and sometimes sealing-wax.

Of Religious Tract Sellers.

The sellers of religious tracts are now, I am informed, at the least, about 50, but they were at one time, far more numerous. When penny books were few and very small, religious tracts were by far the cheapest things in print. It is common, moreover, for a religious society, or an individual, to give a poor person, children especially, tracts for sale. A great many tract sellers, from 25 to 35 years ago, were, or pre-

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tended to be, maimed old soldiers or sailors. The traffic is now in the hands of what may be called an anomalous body of men. More than one half of the tract sellers are foreigners, such as Malays, Hindoos, and Negros. Of them, some cannot speak English, and some—who earn a spare subsistence by selling Christian tracts — are Mahometans, or worshippers of Bramah! The man whose portrait supplies the daguerreotyped illustration of this number is unable to speak a word of English, and the absence of an interpreter, through some accident, prevented his statement being taken at the time appointed. I shall give it, however, with the necessary details on the subject, under another head.

With some men and boys, I am informed, tract-selling is but a pretext for begging.

Of a Benefit Society of Patterers.

In the course of my inquiries, I received an account of an effort made by a body of these people to provide against sickness,—a step so clearly in the right direction, and perhaps so little to be expected from the habits of the class, that I feel bound to notice it. It was called the "Street-sellers' Society;" but as nearly all the *bonâ-fide* members (or those who sought benefit from its funds) were patterers in paper, or ballad-singers, I can most appropriately notice their proceedings here.

The society "sprung up accidental," as it was expressed to me. A few paper-workers were conversing of the desirableness of such an institution, and one of the body suggested a benefit club, which it was at once determined to establish. It was accordingly established between six and seven years ago, and was carried on for about four years. The members varied in number from 40 to 50; but of a proportion of 40, as many as 18 might be tradesmen who were interested in the street-trade, either in supplying the articles in demand for it, or from keeping public-houses resorted to by the fraternity, or any such motive, or who were merely curious to mix in such society. Mr. C—— was conductor; Mr. J. H—— (a poet, and the writer of "Black Bess," "the Demon of the Sea," and other things which "took" in the streets), secretary; and a well-known patterer was under-conductor, with which office was mixed up the rather onerous duties of a kind of master of the ceremonies on meeting-nights. None of the officers were paid.

The subscription was *2d.* a week, and meetings of the members were held once a week. Each member, not an officer, paid ½*d.* for admission to the fund, and could introduce a visitor, who also paid ½*d.* No charge was made for the use of the club-room (in a public-house), which was entirely in the control of the members. Every one using bad language, or behaving improperly, was fined ½*d.*, and on a second offence was ejected, and sometimes, if the misbehaviour was gross, on the first. Any one called upon to sing, and refusing, or being unable, was fined ½*d.*, and was liable to be called upon again, and pay another fine. A visitor sometimes, instead of ½*d.*, offered *6d.* when fined; but this was not accepted,—only ½*d.* could be received. The members' wives could and did often accompany their husbands to the meetings; but women of the town, whether introduced by members or not, were not permitted to remain. "They found their way in a few times," said the man who was under-conductor to me, "but I managed to work them out without any bother, and without insulting them—God forbid!"

The assistance given was *5s.* weekly to sick members, who were not in arrear in their subscriptions. If the man had a family to support, a gathering was made for him, in addition to his weekly allowance,—for the members were averse to "distress the box" (fund). There was no allowance for the burial of a member, but a gathering took place, and perhaps a raffle, to raise funds for a wake (sometimes) and an interment; and during the existence of the society, three members, I was told, were buried that way "comfortably." The subscriptions were paid up regularly enough; "indeed," said a member to me, "if a man earned anything, his mates knew of it: we all know how the cat jumps that way, so he must either pay or be scratched." The members not unfrequently lent each other money to pay up their subscriptions. Fashionable young "swells," I was told, often visited the house, and stayed till 3 or 4 in the morning, but were very seldom in the club-room, which was closed regularly at 12. After that hour, the "swells" who were bent upon seeing life —(and they are a class whom the patterers, on all such occasions, not so very unreasonably consider "fair game" for bamboozling)—could enjoy the society congenial to their tastes or gratifying to their curiosity. On one occasion two policemen were among the visitors, and were on friendly terms enough with the members, some of whom they had seen before.

From the beginning there seems to have been a distrust of one another among the members, but a distrust not invincible or the club would never have been formed. Instead of the "box," or fund (the money being deposited in a box), being allowed to accumulate, so that an investment might be realised, available for any emergency, the fund was divided among the members quarterly, and then the subscription went on anew. The payments, however, fell off. The calling of the members was precarious, their absence in the country was frequent, and so the society ceased to exist, but the members were satisfied that every thing was done honourably.

The purpose to which the funds, on a quarterly division, were devoted, was one not confined to such men as the patterers—to a supper. "None of your light suppers, sir," said a member; "not by no means. And we were too fly to send anybody to market but ourselves. We used to go to Leadenhall, and buy a cut off a

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sirloin, which was roasted prime, and smelt like a angel. But not so often, for its a dear jint, the bones is heavy. One of the favouritest jints was a boiled leg of mutton with caper trimmings. That *is* a good supper,—I believe you, my hero."

Of the Abodes, Tricks, Marriage, Character, and Characteristics of the Different Grades of Patterers.

Having now giving an account of those who may be called the literary patterers (proper), or at any rate of those who do not deem it vain so to account themselves, because they "work paper," I proceed to adduce an account of the different grades of patterers generally, for patter has almost as many divisions as literature. There is patter pathetic, as from beggars; bouncing, to puff off anything of little or no value; comic, as by the clowns; descriptive, as in the cases where the vendor describes, however ornately, what he really sells; religious, as occasionally by the vendors of tracts; *real patter* (as it is understood by the profession) to make a thing believed to be what it is not; classical, as in the case of the sale of stenographic cards, &c.; and sporting, as in race cards.

The pattering tribe is by no means confined to the traffic in paper, though it may be the principal calling as regards the acuteness of its professors. Among these street-folk are the running and standing patterers (or stationers as they are sometimes, but rarely, styled)—and in these are included, the Death and Fire Hunters of whom I have spoken; Chaunters; Second Edition-sellers; Recitets; Conundrum-sellers; Board-workers; Strawers; Sellers of (Sham) Indecent Publications; Street Auctioneers; Cheap Jacks; Mountebanks (quacks); Clowns; the various classes of Showmen; Jugglers; Conjurors; Ring-sellers for wagers; Sovereign-sellers; Corn-curers; Grease-removers; French-polishers; Blacking-sellers; Nostrum-vendors; Fortune-tellers; Oratorical-beggars; Turnpike-sailors; the classes of Lurkers; Stenographic Card-sellers, and the Vendors of Race-cards or lists.

The following accounts have been written for me by the same gentleman who has already described the Religion, Morals, &c., of patterers. He has for some years resided among the class, and has pursued a street calling for his existence. What I have already said of his opportunities of personal observation and of dispassionate judgment I need not iterate.

"I wish," says the writer in question, "in the disclosures I am now about to make concerning the patterers generally, to *do more* than merely put the public on their guard. I take no cruel delight in dragging forth the follies of my fellow-men. Before I have done with my subject, I hope to draw forth and exhibit some of the latent virtues of the class under notice, many of whom I know to sigh in secret over that *one* imprudent step (whatever its description), which has furnished the censorious with a weapon they have been but too ready to wield. The first thing for me to do is to give a glance at the *habitations* of these outcasts, and to set forth their usual conduct, opinions, conversation and amusements. As London (including the ten mile circle), is the head quarters of lodging-house life, and least known, because most crowded, I shall lift the veil which shrouds the vagrant hovel where the patterer usually resides.

"As there are many individuals in lodging-houses who are not regular patterers or professional vagrants, being rather, as they term themselves, 'travellers' (or tramps), so there are multitudes who do *not* inhabit such houses who really belong to the fraternity, pattering, or vagrant. Of these some take up their abode in what they call 'flatty-kens,' that is, houses the landlord of which is not 'awake' or 'fly' to the 'moves' and dodges of the trade; others resort to the regular 'padding-kens,' or houses of call for vagabonds; while others—and especially those who have families—live constantly in furnished rooms, and have little intercourse with the 'regular' travellers, tramps, or wanderers.

"The medium houses the London vagrant haunts, (for I have no wish to go to extremes either way,) are probably in Westminster, and perhaps the fairest 'model' of the '*monkry*' is the house in Orchard-street—once the residence of royalty—which has been kept and conducted for half a century by the veteran who some fifty years ago was the *only* man who amused the population with that well-known ditty,

> 'If I'd as much money as I could tell,
> I would not cry young lambs to sell.'

Mister (for that is the old man's title) still manufactures lambs, but seldom goes out himself; his sons (obedient and exemplary young men) take the toys into the country, and dispose of them at fairs and markets. The wife of this man is a woman of some beauty and good sound sense, but far too credulous for the position of which she is the mistress.

"So much for the establishment. I have now to deal with the inmates.

"No one could be long an inmate of Mr. ——'s without discerning in the motley group persons who had seen better days, and, seated on the same bench, persons who are 'seeing' the best days they *ever* saw. When I took up my abode in the house under consideration, I was struck by the appearance of a middle-aged lady-like woman, a native of Worcester, bred to the glove trade, and brought up in the lap of plenty, and under the high sanction of religious principle. She had evidently some source of mental anguish. I believe it was the conduct of her husband, by whom she had been deserted, and who was living with a woman to whom, it is said, the wife had shown much kindness. By her sat a giant in size, and candour demands

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that I should say a 'giant in sin.' When Navy Jem, as he is called, used to *work* for his living (it was a long while ago) he drove a barrow at the formation of the Great Western Railway. At present the man lies in bed till mid-day, and when he makes his appearance in the kitchen,

> 'The very kittens on the hearth
> They dare not even play.'

His breakfast embraces all the good things of the season. He divides his delicacies with a silver fork—where did he get it? The mode in which this man obtains a livelihood is at once a mixture and a mystery. His prevailing plan is to waylay gentlemen in the decline of life, and to extort money by threats of accusation and exposure, to which I can do no more than allude. His wife, a notorious shoplifter, is now for the third time 'expiating her offences' in Coldbath-fields.

"Next to Navy Jem may be perceived a little stunted woman, of pretended Scotch, but really Irish extraction, whose husband has died in the hospital for consumption at least as many times as the hero of Waterloo has seen engagements. At last the man *did* die, and his widow has been collecting money to bury him for eight years past, but has not yet secured the required sum. This woman, whose name I never knew, has a boy and a girl; to the former she is very kind, the latter she beats without mercy, always before breakfast, and with such (almost) unvaried punctuality that her brother will sometimes whisper (after saying grace), 'Mother, has our Poll had her licks yet?'

"Among the records of mortality lately before the public, is the account of a notorious woman, who was found suffocated in a stagnant pool, whether from suicide or accident it was impossible to determine. She had been in every hospital in town and country, suffering from a disease, entirely self-procured. She applied strong acids to wounds previously punctured with a pin, and so caused her body to present one mass of sores. She was deemed incurable by the hospital doctors, and liberal collections were made for her among the benevolent in various places. The trick, however, was ultimately discovered, and the failure of her plan (added to the bad state of health to which her bodily injuries had gradually led) preyed upon her mind and hastened her death.

"This woman had been the paramour of 'Peter the crossing-sweeper,' a man who for years went about showing similar wounds, which he pretended had been inflicted while fighting in the Spanish Legion—though, truth to say, he had never been nearer Spain than Liverpool is to New York. He had followed the 'monkry' from a child, and chiefly, since manhood, as a 'broken-down weaver from Leicester,' and after singing through every one of the provinces 'We've got no work to do,' he scraped acquaintance with a 'school of shallow coves;' that is, men who go about half-naked, telling frightful tales about shipwrecks, hair-breadth escapes from houses on fire, and such like aqueous and igneous calamities. By these Peter was initiated into the '*scaldrum dodge*,' or the art of burning the body with a mixture of acids and gunpowder, so as to suit the hues and complexions of the accident to be deplored. Such persons hold every morning a 'committee of ways and means,' according to whose decision the movements of the day are carried out. Sometimes when on their country rounds, they go singly up to the houses of the gentry and wealthy farmers, begging shirts, which they hide in hedges while they go to another house and beg a similar article. Sometimes they go in crowds, to the number of from twelve to twenty; they are most successful when the 'swell' is not at home; if they can meet with the 'Burerk' (Mistress), or the young ladies, they 'put it on them for dunnage' (beg a stock of general clothing), flattering their victims first and frightening them afterwards. A friend of mine was present in a lodging-house in Plymouth, when a school of the shallow coves returned from their day's work with *six suits of clothes, and twenty-seven shirts, besides children's apparel and shoes*, (all of which were sold to a broker in the same street), and, besides these, the donations in money received amounted to 4*s.* 4*d.* a man.

"At this enterprise 'Peter' continued several years, but—to use his own words—'everything has but a time,' the country got 'dead' to him, and people got 'fly' to the 'shallow brigade;' so Peter came up to London to 'try his hand at something else.' Housed in the domicile of 'Sayer the barber,' who has enriched himself by beer-shops and lodging-house-keeping, to the tune it is said of 20,000*l.*, Peter amused the 'travellers' of Wentworth-street, Whitechapel, with recitals of what he had seen and done. Here a profligate, but rather intelligent man, who had really been in the service of the Queen of Spain, gave him an old red jacket, and with it such instructions as equipped him for the imposition. One sleeve of this jacket usually hung loosely by his side, while the arm it should have covered was exposed naked, and to all appearance withered. His rule was to keep silence till a crowd assembled around him, when he began to '*patter*' to them to the following effect: 'Ladies and gentlemen, it is with feelings of no common reluctance that I stand before you at this time; but although I am not without *feelings*, I am totally without friends, and frequently without food. This wound (showing his disfigured arm) I received in the service of the Queen of Spain, and I have many more on different parts of my person. I received a little praise for my brave conduct, but not a penny of pension, and here I am (there's no deception you see) ill in health—poor in pocket, and exposed without proper nourishment to wind and weather—the cold is blowing through me till I am almost perished.' His '*Doxy*' stood by and received

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the 'voluntary contributions' of the audience in a soldier's cap, which our hero emptied into his pocket, and after snivelling out his thanks, departed to renew the exhibition in the nearest available thoroughfare. Peter boasted that he could make on an average fifteen of these pitches a day, and as the proceeds were estimated at something considerable in each pitch (he has been known to take as much as half-a-crown in pence at one standing), he was able to sport his figure at Astley's in the evening—to eat 'spring lamb,' and when reeling home under the influence of whiskey, to entertain the peaceful inhabitants with the music of—'We won't go home till morning———'

"Whether the *game* got *stale*, or Peter became honest, is beyond the purport of my communication to settle. If any reader, however, should make his purchases at the puffing fishmonger's in Lombard-street, they may find Peter now pursuing the more honest occupation of sweeping the crossing, by the church of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-street.

"Among the most famous of the 'lurking patterers' was 'Captain Moody,' the son of poor but honest parents in the county of Cornwall, who died during his boyhood, leaving him to the custody of a maiden aunt. This lady soon, and not without reason, got tired of her incorrigible charge. Young Moody was apprenticed successively to three trades, and wanted not ability to become expert in any of them, but having occasional interviews with some of the gipsey tribe, and hearing from themselves of their wonderful achievements, he left the sober walks of life and joined this vagrant fraternity.

"His new position, however, was attractive only while it was novel. Moody, who had received a fair education, soon became disgusted with the coarseness and vulgarity of his associates. At the solicitation of a neighbouring clergyman, he was restored to the friendship of his aunt, who had soon sad reason to regret that her compassion had got the better of her prudence; for one Sunday afternoon, while she was absent at church, young Moody who had pleaded indisposition and so obtained permission to stay at home, decamped (after dispatching the servant to the town, a mile distant, to fetch the doctor) in the meantime, emptying his aunt's 'safety cupboard' of a couple of gold watches and £72 in cash and country notes.

"His roving disposition then induced him to try the sea, and the knowledge he obtained during several voyages fitted him for those maritime frauds which got him the name of 'Captain Moody, the lurker.' The frauds of this person are well known, and often recounted with great admiration among the pattering fraternity. On one occasion, the principal butcher in Gosport was summoned to meet a gentlemen at an hotel. The *Louisa*, a brig, had just arrived at Portsmouth, the captain's name was Young, and this gentleman Moody personated for the time being. 'I have occasion,' said he to the butcher, 'for an additional supply of beef for the *Louisa;* I have heard you spoken of by Captain Harrison' (whom Moody knew to be an old friend of the butcher's), 'and I have thus given you the preference. I want a bullock, cut up in 12 lb. pieces; it must be on board by three to-morrow.' The price was agreed upon, and the captain threw down a few sovereigns in payment, but, of course, discovered that he had not gold enough to cover the whole amount, so he proposed to give him a cheque he had just received from Captain Harrison for £100, and the butcher could give him the difference. The tradesman was nothing loth, for a cheque upon 'Vallance, Mills, and West,' with Captain Harrison's signature, was reckoned equal to money any day, and so the butcher considered the one he had received, until the next morning, when the draft and the order proved to be forgeries. The culprit was, of course, nowhere to be found, nor, indeed, heard of till two years after, when he had removed the scene of his depredations to Liverpool.

"In that port he had a colleague, a man whose manners and appearance were equally prepossessing. Moody sent his 'pal' into a jeweller's shop, near the corner of Lord-street, who there purchased a small gold seal, paid for it, and took his leave. Immediately afterwards, Moody entered the shop under evident excitement, declaring that he had seen the person, who had just left the shop secrete two, if not three, seals up his coat-sleeve; adding, that the fellow had just gone through the Exchange, and that if the jeweller were quick he would be sure to catch him. The jeweller ran out without his hat, leaving his kind friend in charge of the shop, and soon returned with the supposed criminal in his custody. The 'captain,' however, in the mean time, had decamped, taking with him a tray from the window, containing precious materials to the value of 300*l.*

"At another time, the 'captain' prepared a document, setting forth 'losses in the Baltic trade,' and a dismal variety of disasters; and concluding with a melancholy shipwreck, which had really taken place just about that time in the German Ocean. With this he travelled over great part of Scotland, and with almost unprecedented success. Journeying near the Frith of Forth, he paid a visit to Lord Dalmeny—a nobleman of great benevolence—who had read the account of the shipwreck in the local journals, and wondered that the petition was not signed by influential persons *on the spot;* and, somewhat suspicious of the reality of the 'captain's' identity, placed a terrestrial globe before him, and begged to be shown 'in what latitude he was cast away.' The awkwardness with which Moody handled the globe showed that *he* was 'out of *his* latitude' altogether. His lordship thereupon committed the document to the flames, but generously gave the 'captain' a sovereign and some good advice; the former he appropriated at the nearest public-house, of the latter he never made the least use.

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"Old, and worn out by excesses and imprisonment, he subsists now by 'sitting pad' about the suburban pavements; and when, on a recent evening, he was recognised in a low public-house in Deptford, he was heard to say, with a sigh: 'Ah! once I could "screeve a fakement" (write a petition) or "cooper a monekur" (forge a signature) with any man alive, and my heart's game now; but I'm old and asthmatic, and got the rheumatis, so that I ain't worth a d—n.'

"'The Lady Lurker.'—Of this person very little is known, and *that* little, it is said, makes her an object of pity. Her father was a dissenting minister in Bedfordshire. She has been twice married; her first husband was a schoolmaster at Hackney, and nephew of a famous divine who wrote a Commentary on the Bible, and was chaplain to George III. She afterwards married a physician in Cambridgeshire (a Dr. S——), who is alleged to have treated her ill, and even to have attempted to poison her. She has no children; and, since the death of her husband, has passed through various grades, till she is now a cadger. She dresses becomingly in black, and sends in her card (Mrs. Dr. S——) to the houses whose occupants are known, or supposed, to be charitable. She talks with them for a certain time, and then draws forth a few boxes of lucifers, which, she says, she is compelled to sell for her living. These lucifers are merely excuses, of course, for begging; still, nothing is known to have ever transpired in her behaviour wholly unworthy of a distressed gentlewoman. She lives in private lodgings."

I continue the account of these habitations, and of their wretched occupants, from the pen of the same gentleman whose vicissitudes (partly self-procured) led him to several years' acquaintance with the subject.

"Padding-kens" (lodging-houses) in the country are certainly preferable abodes to those of St. Giles's, Westminster, or Whitechapel; but in country as in town, their condition is extremely filthy and disgusting; many of them are scarcely ever washed, and as to sweeping, once a week is miraculous. In most cases they swarm with vermin, and, except where their position is very airy, the ventilation is imperfect, and frequent sickness the necessary result. It is a matter of surprise that the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the realm should permit the existence of such horrid dwellings.

"I think," continues my informant, "that the majority of these poor wretches are without even the idea of respectability or 'home comforts,'—many of them must be ranked among the worst of our population. Some, who could live elsewhere, prefer these wretched abodes, because they answer various evil purposes. With beggars, patterers, hawkers, tramps, and vendors of their own manufacture, are mingled thieves, women of easy virtue, and men of no virtue at all; a few, and by far the smallest portion, are persons who once filled posts of credit and affluence, but whom bankruptcy, want of employment, or sickness has driven to these dismal retreats. The vast majority of London vagrants take their summer vacation in the country, and the 'dodges' of both are interchanged, and every new 'move' circulates in almost no time.

"I will endeavour to sketch a few of the most renowned 'performers' on this theatre of action. By far the most illustrious is 'Nicholas A——,' an ame known to the whole cadging fraternity as a *real* descendant from Bamfylde Moore Carew, and the 'prince of lurkers' and patterers for thirty years past. This man owes much of his success to his confessedly imposing appearance, and many of his escapes to the known respectability of his connections. His father—yet alive—is a retired captain in the Royal Navy, a gentleman of good private property, and one of her Majesty's justices of peace for the county of Devon—the southern extremity of which was the birth-place of Nicholas. But little is known of his early days. He went to school at Tavistock, where he received a good education, and began life by cheating his schoolfellows.

"The foolish fondness of an indulgent mother, and some want of firmness in paternal discipline, accelerated the growth of every weed of infamy in Nicholas, and baffled every experiment, by sea and land, to 'set' him up in life.

"Scarcely was he out of his teens, when he honoured the sister country with his visits and his depredations. About the centre of Sackville-street, Dublin, there lived a wealthy silversmith of the name of Wise. Into his shop (accompanied by one of his *pals* in livery) went Nicholas, whose gentlemanly exterior, as I have already hinted, would disarm suspicion in a stranger.

"'Good morning sir, is your name Wise?—Yes, sir.—Well, that is *my* name.—Indeed, of the English family, I suppose?—Yes, sir, East Kent.—Oh, indeed! related to the ladies of Leeds Castle, I presume?—I have the honour to be their brother.—James, is your name James or John?—Neither, sir, it is Jacob.—Oh, indeed! a very ancient name.—Well, I have occasion to give a party at the Corn Exchange Tavern, and I want a little plate on hire, can you supply me?'—A very polite affirmative settled this part of the business. Plate to the amount of 150*l.* was selected and arranged, when Nicholas discovered that his pocket-book was at home (to complete the deception, his right arm was in a sling). 'Will you, Mr. Wise (you see my infirmity), write me a few lines?—With the greatest pleasure,' was the silversmith's reply.—'Well, let me see. "*My dear, do not be surprised at this; I want 150l., or all the money you can send, per bearer; I will explain at dinner-time.* J. WISE."

"'Now, John, take this to your mistress, and be quick.' As John was not very hasty in his return, Nicholas went to look for him, leaving a strict injunction that the plate should be sent to the Corn Exchange Tavern, as soon as the deposit was received. This happened at eleven

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in the forenoon—the clock struck five and no return of either the master or the man.

"The jeweller left a message with his apprentice, and went home to his dinner. He was met at the door of his suburban villa by his 'better half,' who wondered what made him so late, and wished to know the nature of the exigency which had caused him to send home for so much money? The good man's perplexity was at an end when he saw his own handwriting on the note; and every means within the range of constabulary vigilance was taken to capture the offender, but Nicholas and his servant got clear off.

"This man's ingenuity was then taxed as to the next move, so he thought it expedient to *tax* somebody else. He went with his 'pal' to a miscellaneous repository, where they bought a couple of old ledgers—useful only as waste paper, a bag to hold money, two ink-bottles, &c. Thus equipped, they waited on the farmers of the district, and exhibited a 'fakement,' setting forth parliamentary authority for imposing a tax upon the geese! They succeeded to admiration, and weeks elapsed before the hoax was discovered. The coolness of thus assuming legislatorial functions, and being, at the same time, the executive power, has rarely been equalled.

"There is an old proverb, that 'It is an ill wind that blows *nobody* good.' The gallant 'captain' was domiciled at a lodging-house in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, where he found all the lodgers complaining of the badness of the times—most of them were makers of nets. He sallied forth to all the general shops, and left his (fictitious) 'captain' card at each, with an order for an unusual number of nets. This 'dodge' gave a week's work to at least twenty poor people; but whether the shopkeepers were 'caught in a net,' or the articles were paid for and removed by the 'captain,' or whether it was a piece of pastime on his part, I did not stay long enough to ascertain.

"Nicholas A—— is now in his sixty-second year, a perfect hypochondriac. On his own authority—and it is, no doubt, too true—he has been 'lurking' on every conceivable system, from forging a bill of exchange down to '*maundering on the fly*,' for the greater part of his life; and, excepting the 'hundred and thirteen times' he has been in provincial jails, society has endured the scourge of his deceptions for a quarter of a century at least. He now lives with a young prostitute in Portsmouth, and contributes to her wretched earnings an allowance of 5*s.* a week, paid to him by the attorney of a distant and disgusted relative."

The writer of this account was himself two whole years on the "monkry," before he saw a lodging-house for tramps; and the first he *ever* saw was one well-known to every patterer in Christendom, and whose fame he says is "gone out into all lands," for its wayfaring inmates are very proud of its popularity.

"It may be as well," writes the informant in question, "before submitting the following account, to state that there are other, and more elaborate marks—the hieroglyphics of tramping—than those already given. I will accordingly explain them.

"Two hawkers (pals) go together, but separate when they enter a village, one taking each side of the road, and selling different things; and, so as to inform each other as to the character of the people at whose houses they call, they chalk certain marks on their door-posts:

"⌒– means 'Go on. *I* have called here; don't *you* call—it's no go.'

"⌒+ means 'Stop—you may call here; they want' (for instance) 'what *you* sell, though not what *I* sell;' or else, 'They had no change when I was there, but may have it now;' or, 'If they don't buy, at least they'll treat you civilly.'

"⊃– on a corner-house, or a sign-post, means, 'I went this way;' or 'Go on in this direction.'

"⊃+ on a corner-house, or sign-post, means 'Stop—don't go any further in this direction.'

"⊙ as before explained, means 'danger.'

"Like many other young men, I had lived above my income, and, too proud to crave parental forgiveness, had thrown off the bonds of authority for a life of adventure. I was now homeless upon the world. With a body capable of either exertion or fatigue, and a heart not easily terrified by danger, I endured rather than enjoyed my itinerant position. I sold small articles of Tunbridge ware, perfumery, &c., &c., and by 'munging' (begging) over them—sometimes in Latin—got a better living than I expected, or probably deserved. I was always of temperate and rather abstemious habits, but ignorant of the haunts of other wanderers, (whom I saw in dozens every day upon every road, and every conceivable pursuit) I took up my nightly quarters at a sort of third-rate public-houses, and supposed that my contemporaries did the same. How long my ignorance might have continued (if left to myself) I can hardly determine; an adventure at a road-side inn, however, removed the veil from my eyes, and I became gradually and speedily 'awake' to 'every move on the board.' It was a lovely evening in July, the air was serene and the scenery romantic; my own feelings were in unison with both, and enhanced perhaps by the fact that I had beguiled the last two miles of my deliberate walk with a page out of my pocket-companion, 'Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful.' I was now smoking my pipe and quaffing a pint of *real* 'Yorkshire stingo' in the 'keeping room' (a term which combines parlour and kitchen in one word) of a *real* 'Yorkshire village,' Dranfield, near Sheffield. A young person of the other sex was my only and accidental companion; she had been driven into the house by the over-officiousness of a vigilant village constable, who finding that she sold lace without a license, and—infinitely worse—refused to listen to his advances, had warned her to 'make herself scarce' at her 'earliest possible convenience.'

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"Having elicited what I did for a living, she popped the startling question to me, 'Where do you "hang out" in Sheffield?' I told her that I had never been in Sheffield, and did not 'hang out' my little wares, but used my persuasive art to induce the purchase of them. The lady said, 'Well, you are "green." I mean, where do you *dos?*' This was no better, it seemed something like Greek,—'*delta, omicron, sigma*,' (I retain the "patterer's" own words to show the education of the class)—but the etymology was no relief to the perplexity. 'Where do you mean to sleep?' she inquired. I referred to my usual practice of adjourning to an humble public-house. My companion at once threw off all manner of disguise, and said, 'Well, sir, you are a young man that I have taken a liking to, and if you think you should like my company, I will take you to a lodging where there is plenty of travellers, and you will see "all sorts of life."' I liked the girl's company, and our mutual acquiescence made us companions on the road. We had not got far before we met the aforesaid constable in company with an unmistakeable member of the Rural Police. They made some inquiries of me, which I thought exceeded their commission. I replied to them with a mutilated Ode of Horace, when they both determined that I was a Frenchman, and allowed us to 'go on our way rejoicing.'

"The smoky, though well-built, town of Sheffield was now near at hand. The daylight was past,' and the 'shades of the evening were stretching out;' we were therefore enabled to journey through the thoroughfares without impertinent remarks, or perhaps any observation, except from a toothless old woman, of John Wesley's school, who was 'sorry to see two such nice young people going about the country,' and wondered if we 'ever thought of eternity!'

"After a somewhat tedious ramble, we arrived at Water-lane;—at the 'Bug-trap,' which from time immemorial has been the name of the most renowned lodging-house in that or perhaps any locality. Water-lane is a dark narrow street, crowded with human beings of the most degraded sort—the chosen atmosphere of cholera, and the stronghold of theft and prostitution. In less than half an hour, my fair companion and myself were sipping our tea, and eating Yorkshire cake in this same lodging-house.

"'God bless every happy couple!' was echoed from a rude stentorian voice, while a still ruder hand bumped down upon our tea-table a red earthen dish of no small dimensions, into which was poured, from the mouth of a capacious bag, fragments of fish, flesh, and fowl, viands and vegetables of every sort, intermingled with bits of cheese and dollops of Yorkshire pudding. The man to whom this heterogeneous mass belonged, appeared anything but satisfied with his lot. 'Well,' said he, 'I don't know what this 'ere monkry *will* come to, after a bit. Three bob and a tanner, and that there dish o' scran (enough to feed two families for a fortnight) 'is all I got this blessed day since seven o'clock in the morning, and now it's nine at night.' I ventured to say something, but a remark, too base for repetition, 'put the stunners on me,' and I held my peace.

"I was here surprised, on conversing with my young female companion, to find that she went to church, said her prayers night and morning, and knew many of the collects, some of which she repeated, besides a pleasing variety of Dr. Watts's hymns. At the death of her mother, her father had given up housekeeping; and, being too fond of a wandering life, had led his only child into habits like his own.

"As the night advanced, the party at the 'Bug-trap' more than doubled. High-flyers, shallow-coves, turnpike-sailors, and swells out of luck, made up an assembly of fourscore human beings, more than half of whom were doomed to sleep on a 'make-shift'—in other words, on a platform, raised just ten inches above the floor of the garret, which it nearly equalled in dimensions. Here were to be huddled together, with very little covering, old men and women, young men and children, with no regard to age, sex, or propensities.

"The 'mot' of the 'ken' (nickname for 'matron of the *establishment*') had discovered that I was a 'more bettermost' sort of person, and hinted that, if I would 'come down' with twopence more (threepence was the regular nightly charge), I, 'and the young gal as I was with,' might have a little 'crib' to ourselves in a little room, along with another woman wot was married and had a 'kid,' and whose husband had got a month for 'griddling in the main drag' (singing in the high street), and being 'cheekish' (saucy) to the beadle.

"Next morning I bade adieu to the 'Bug-trap,' and I hope for ever."

The same informant further stated that he was some time upon "tramp" before he even knew of the existence of a common lodging-house: "After I had 'matriculated' at Sheffield," he says, "I continued some time going to public-houses to sleep, until my apparel having got shabby and my acquintance with misfortune more general, I submitted to be the associate of persons whom I never spoke to out of doors, and whose even slight acquaintance I have long renounced. My first introduction to a London paddin' ken was in Whitechapel, the place was then called Cat and Wheel-alley (now Commercial-street). On the spot where St. Jude's church now stands was a double lodging-house, kept by a man named Shirley—one side of it was for single men and women, the other married couples; as these 'couples' made frequent exchanges, it is scarcely probable that Mr. Shirley ever 'asked to see their marriage lines.' These changes were, indeed, as common as they were disgusting. I knew two brothers (Birmingham nailers) who each brought a young woman out of service from the country. After a while each became dissatisfied

with his partner. The mistress of the house (an old procuress from Portsmouth) proposed that they should change their wives. They did so, to the amusement of nine other couples sleeping on the same floor, and some of whom followed the example, and more than once during the night.

"When Cat and Wheel-alley was pulled down, the crew removed to George-yard; the proprietor died, and his wife sold the concern to a wooden-legged Welshman named Hughes (commonly called 'Taff'). I was there some time. 'Taff' was a notorious receiver of stolen goods. I knew two little boys, who brought home six pairs of new Wellington boots, which this miscreant bought at 1*s.* per pair; and, when they had no luck, he would take the strap off his wooden-leg, and beat them through the nakedness of their rags. He boarded and lodged about a dozen Chelsea and Greenwich pensioners. These he used to follow and watch closely till they got paid; then (after they had settled with him) he would make them drunk, and rob them of the few shillings they had left.

"One of these dens of infamy may be taken as a specimen of the whole class. They have generally a spacious, though often ill-ventilated, kitchen, the dirty dilapidated walls of which are hung with prints, while a shelf or two are generally, though barely, furnished with crockery and kitchen utensils. In some places knives and forks are not provided, unless a penny is left with the 'deputy,' or manager, till they are returned. A brush of any kind is a stranger, and a looking-glass would be a miracle. The average number of nightly lodgers is in winter 70, and in summer (when many visit the provinces) from 40 to 45. The general charge is, if two sleep together, 3*d.* per night, or 4*d.* for a single bed. In either case, it is by no means unusual to find 18 or 20 in one small room, the heat and horrid smell from which are insufferable; and, where there are young children, the staircases are the lodgment of every kind of filth and abomination. In some houses there are rooms for families, where, on a rickety machine, which they dignify by the name of a bedstead, may be found the man, his wife, and a son or daughter, perhaps 18 years of age; while the younger children, aged from 7 to 14, sleep on the floor. If they have linen, they take it off to escape vermin, and rise naked, one by one, or sometimes brother and sister together. This is no ideal picture; the subject is too capable of being authenticated to need that meaningless or dishonest assistance called 'allowable exaggeration.' The amiable and deservedly popular minister of a district church, built among lodging-houses, has stated that he has found 29 human beings in one apartment; and that having with difficulty knelt down between two beds to pray with a dying woman, his legs became so jammed that he could hardly get up again.

"Out of some fourscore such habitations," continues my informant, "I have only found *two* which had any sort of garden; and, I am happy to add, that in neither of these two was there a single case of cholera. In the others, however, the pestilence raged with terrible fury.

"Of all the houses of this sort, the best I know is the one (previously referred to) in Orchard-street, Westminister, and another in Seven Dials, kept by a Mr. Mann (formerly a wealthy butcher). Cleanliness is inscribed on every wall of the house; utensils of every kind are in abundance, with a plentiful supply of water and gas. The beds do not exceed five in a room, and they are changed every week. There is not one disorderly lodger; and although the master has sustained heavy losses, ill health, and much domestic affliction, himself and his house may be regarded as patterns of what is wanted for the London poor.

"As there is a sad similarity between these abodes, so there is a sort of *caste* belonging in general to the inmates. Of them it may be averred that whatever their pursuits, they are more or less alike in their views of men and manners. They hate the aristocracy. Whenever there is a rumour or an announcement of an addition to the Royal Family, and the news reaches the padding-ken, the kitchen, for half-an-hour, becomes the scene of uproar—'another expense coming on the b—y country!' The 'patterers' are very fond of the Earl of Carlisle, whom, in their attachment, they still call Lord Morpeth; they have read many of his lordship's speeches at *soirées*, &c., and they think he wishes well to a poor man. Sir James Graham had better not show face among them; they have an idea (whence derived we know not) that this nobleman invented fourpenny-pieces, and now, they say, the swells give a 'joey' where they used to give a 'tanner.' The hero of Waterloo is not much amiss 'if he lets politics alone.' The name of a bishop is but another name for a Beelzebub; but they are very fond of the inferior clergy. Lay-agents and tract-distributors they cannot bear; they think they are spies come to see how much 'scran' (food) they have got, and then go and 'pyson' the minds of the public against poor people.

"I was once (says our informant) in a house of this kind, in George-street, St. Giles's,—the missionary who visited them on that occasion (Sunday afternoon) had the misfortune to be suspected as the author of some recent exposure in the newspapers.—They accused him, and he rebutted the accusation; they replied, and he rejoined; at last one of the men said, 'What do you want poking your nose in here for?' 'The City Mission,' was the answer, 'had authorised ——.' 'Authorised be d—d! are you ordained?' 'No, not yet, friend.' The women then tore the poor gentleman's nether garments in a way I must not describe. The men carried him into the yard, filled his mouth with flour of mustard and then put him in a water-butt.

"It is, I am satisfied, quite a mistake to

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suppose that there is much real infidelity among these outcast beings. They almost all believe in a hereafter; most of them think that the wicked will be punished for a few years, and then the whole universe of people be embraced in the arms of one Great Forgiving Father. Some of them think that the wicked will not rise at *all;* the punishment of 'losing Heaven' being as they say 'Hell enough for anybody.' Points of doctrine they seldom meddle with.

"There are comparatively few Dissenters to be found in padding-kens, though many whose parents were Dissenters. My own opinion (writes my informant) is, that dissent seldom lasts long in one family. In eight years' experience I have found two hundred apparently pious men and women, and at least two thousand who call themselves Protestants, but never go to any church or chapel.

"The politics of these classes are, perhaps, for the most part, 'liberal Tory.' In most lodging-houses they take one or two papers: the *Weekly Dispatch,* and *Bell's Weekly Messenger,* are the two usually taken. I know of no exception to this rule. The beggars hate a Whig Ministry, and I know that many a tear was shed in the hovels and cellars of London when Sir Robert Peel died. I know a publican, in Westminster, whose daily receipts are enormous, and whose only customers are soldiers, thieves, and prostitutes, who closed his house the day of the funeral, and put himself, his family, and even his beer-machines and gas-pipes, into mourning for the departed statesman.

"The pattering fraternity, that I write of, are generally much given to intemperance. Their amusements are the theatre, the free-and-easy, the skittle-ground, and sometimes cards and dominoes. They read some light works, and some of them subscribe to libraries, and a few, very few, attend lectures. Eliza Cook is a favourite writer with them, and Capt. Marryatt, the 'top-sawyer,' as a novelist. Ainsworth is the idol of another class, when they can read. Mr. Dickens *was* a favourite, but he has gone down sadly in the scale since his *Household Words* 'came it so strong' against the begging letter department. These poor creatures seldom rise in society. They make no effort to extricate themselves, while by others they are unpitied because unknown. To this rule, however, there are some happy and honourable exceptions.

"Taken as a body, patterers, lurkers, &c. are by no means quick-sighted as to the sanctions of moral obligation. They would join the hue and cry against the persecutors of Jane Wilbred, but a promiscuous robbery, even accompanied by murder—if it was 'got up clever' and 'done clean,' so long as the parties escaped detection—might call forth a remark that 'there was no great harm done,' and perhaps some would applaud the perpetrators."

Before quitting this part of my subject (viz. the character, habits, and opinions of *all* classes of patterers), I will give an account of the pretended missionary proceedings of a man, well-known to the vagrant fraternity as "Chelsea George." I received the following narrative from the gentleman whose statements I have given previously. The scheme was concocted in a low lodging-house:

"After a career of incessant 'lurking' and deceit, Chelsea George left England, and remained abroad," writes my informant, "four or five years. Exposure to the sun, and allowing his beard to grow a prodigious length, gave him the appearance of *a* foreigner. He had picked up enough French and Italian, with a little Dutch and German, and a smattering of Spanish, to enable him to 'hail for any part of the globe,' and from the designed inarticulateness with which he spoke (sometimes four languages in one sentence) added to his sun-burnt and grotesque appearance, it was difficult to *pall* him upon any *racket* (detect him in any pretence), so that the most incredulous,—though often previously imposed upon—gave credence to his story, relief to his supposed necessities, and sometimes letters of introduction to their friends and neighbours.

"Some time after his return to England, and while pursuing the course of a 'high-flyer' (genteel beggar), he met with an interruption to his pursuits which induced him to alter his plan without altering his behaviour. The newspapers of the district, where he was then located, had raised before the eye and mind of the public, what the 'patterers' of his class proverbially call a 'stink,'—that is, had opened the eyes of the unwary to the movements of 'Chelsea George;' and although he ceased to renew his appeals from the moment he heard of the notice of him, his appearance was so accurately described that he was captured and committed to Winchester jail as a rogue and vagabond. The term of his imprisonment has escaped my recollection. As there was no definite charge against him, probably he was treated as an ordinary vagrant and suffered a calendar month in durance. The silent system was not then in vogue, consequently there existed no barrier to mutual intercourse between prisoners, with all its train of conscience-hardening tendencies. I do not say this to intimate unqualified approval of the solitary system, I merely state a fact which has an influence on my subject.

"George had by this time scraped acquaintance with two fellow-prisoners—Jew Jem and Russia Bob. The former in 'quod' for 'pattering' as a 'converted Jew,' the latter for obtaining money under equally false, though less theological, pretences.

"Liberated about one time, this trio laid their heads together,—and the result was a plan to evangelize, or rather victimize, the inhabitants of the collier villages in Staffordshire and the adjoining counties. To accomplish this purpose, some novel and imposing representation must be made, both to lull suspicion and give the air of piety to the plan, and disinterestedness to the agents by whom it was carried out.

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"George and his two fellow-labourers were 'square-rigged'—that is, well dressed. Something, however, must be done to colour up the scene, and make the appeal for money touching, unsuspected, and successful. Just before the time to which I allude, a missionary from Sierra Leone had visited the larger towns of the district in question, while the inhabitants of the surrounding hamlets had been left in ignorance of the 'progress of missions in Africa and the East.' George and his comrades thought it would be no great harm at once to enlighten and fleece this scattered and anxious population. The plan was laid in a town of some size and facility. They 'raised the wind' to an extent adequate to some alteration of their appearances, and got bills printed to set forth the merits of the cause. The principal actor was Jew Jim, a converted Israelite, with 'reverend' before his name, and half the letters of the alphabet behind it. He had been in all the islands of the South Sea, on the coast of Africa, all over Hindostan, and half over the universe; and after assuring the villagers of Torryburn that he had carried the Gospel to various dark and *uninhabited* parts of the earth, he introduced Russia Bob (an Irishman who had, however, been in Russia) as his worthy and self-denying colleague, and Chelsea George as the first-fruits of their ministry—as one who had left houses and land, wife and children, and taken a long and hazardous voyage to show Christians in England that their sable brethren, children of one common Parent, were beginning to cast their idols to the moles and to the bats. Earnest was the gaze and breathless the expectation with which the poor deluded colliers of Torry-burn listened to this harangue; and as argument always gains by illustration, the orator pulled out a tremendous black doll, bought for a 'flag' (fourpence) of a retired rag-merchant, and dressed up in Oriental style. This, Jew Jim assured the audience, was an idol brought from Murat in Hindostan. He presented it to Chelsea George for his worship and embraces. The convert indignantly repelled the insinuation, pushed the idol from him, spat in its face, and cut as many capers as a dancing-bear. The trio at this stage of the performances began 'puckering' (talking privately) to each other in murdered French, dashed with a little Irish; after which, the missionaries said that their convert (who had only a few words of English) would now profess his faith. All was attention as Chelsea George came forward. He stroked his beard, put his hand in his breast to keep down his dickey, and turning his eyes upwards, said: 'I believe in Desus Tist—dlory to 'is 'oly Name!'

"This elicited some loud 'amens' from an assemblage of nearly 1,000 persons, and catching the favourable opportunity, a 'school of pals,' appointed for the purpose, went round and made the collection. Out of the abundance of their credulity and piety the populace contributed sixteen pounds! The whole scene was enacted out of doors, and presented to a stranger very pleasing impressions. I was present on the occasion, but was not then aware of the dodge. One verse of a hymn, and the blessing pronounced, was the signal for separation. A little shaking of hands concluded the exhibition, and 'every man went into his own house.'

"The missionary party and their 'pals' took the train to Manchester, and as none of them were teetotallers, the proceeds of their imposition did not last long. They were just putting on their considering caps, for the contrivance of another dodge, when a gentleman in blue clothes came into the tap-room, and informed Jew Jem that he was 'wanted.' It appears that 'Jem' had come out of prison a day or two before his comrades, and being 'hard up,' had ill-used a lady, taken her purse, and appropriated its contents. Inquiries, at first useless, had now proved successful—the 'missionary' stood his trial, and got an 'appointment' on Norfolk Island. Russia Bob took the cholera and died, and 'George the convert' was once more left alone to try his hand at something else."

Of the Low Lodging-houses of London.

The patterers, as a class, usually frequent the low lodging-houses. I shall therefore now proceed to give some further information touching the abodes of these people—reminding the reader that I am treating of patterers in general, and not of any particular order, as the "paper workers."

In applying the epithet "low" to these places, I do but adopt the word commonly applied, either in consequence of the small charge for lodging, or from the character of their frequenters. To some of these domiciles, however, as will be shown, the epithet, in an opprobrious sense, is unsuited.

An intelligent man, familiar for some years with some low lodging-house life, specified the quarters where those abodes are to be found, and divided them into the following districts, the correctness of which I caused to be ascertained.

Drury-lane District. Here the low lodging-houses are to be found principally in the Coal-yard, Charles-street, King-street, Parker-street, Short's-gardens, Great and Little Wyld-streets, Wyld-court, Lincoln-court, Newton-street, Star-court.

Gray's-inn Lane. Fox-court, Charlotte-buildings, Spread Eagle-court, Portpool-lane, Bell-court, Baldwin's-gardens, Pheasant-court, Union-buildings, Laystall-street, Cromer-street, Fulwood's-rents (High Holborn).

Chancery-lane. Church-passage, and the Liberty of the Rolls.

Bloomsbury. George-street, Church-lane, Queen-street, Seven-dials, Puckeridge-street (commonly called the Holy Land).

Saffron-hill and Clerkenwell. Peter-street, Cow-cross, Turnmill-street, Upper and Lower White-cross-street, St. Helen's-place, Playhouse-yard, Chequer-alley, Field-lane, Great Saffron-hill.

Westminster. Old and New Pye-streets, Ann-

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street, Orchard-street, Perkins's-rents, Rochester-row.

Lambeth. Lambeth-walk, New-cut.

Marylebone. York-court, East-street.

St. Pancras. Brooke-street.

Paddington. Chapel-street, Union-court.

Shoreditch. Baker's-rents, Cooper's-gardens.

Islington. Angel-yard.

Whitechapel, Spitalfields, &c. George-yard, Thrawl-street, Flower and Dean-street, Wentworth-street, Keate-street, Rosemary-lane, Glasshouse-yard, St. George's-street, Lambeth-street, Whitechapel, High-street.

Borough. Mint-street, Old Kent-street, Long-lane, Bermondsey.

Stratford. High-street.

Limehouse. Hold (commonly called Hole).

Deptford. Mill-lane, Church-street, Gifford-street.

There are other localities, (as in Mile-end, Ratcliffe-highway, Shadwell, Wapping, and Lisson-grove,) where low lodging-houses are to be found; but the places I have specified may be considered the *districts* of these hotels for the poor. The worst places, both as regards filth and immorality, are in St. Giles's and Wentworth-street, Whitechapel. The best are in Orchard-street, Westminster (the thieves having left it in consequence of the recent alterations and gone to New Pye-street), and in the Mint, Borough. In the last-mentioned district, indeed, some of the proprietors of the lodging-houses have provided considerable libraries for the use of the inmates. In the White Horse, Mint-street, for instance, there is a collection of 500 volumes, on all subjects, bought recently, and having been the contents of a circulating library, advertised for sale in the *Weekly Dispatch.*

Of lodging-houses for "travellers" the largest is known as the Farm House, in the Mint: it stands away from any thoroughfare, and lying low is not seen until the visitor stands in the yard. Tradition rumour states that the house was at one time Queen Anne's, and was previously Cardinal Wolsey's. It was probably some official residence. In this lodging-house are forty rooms, 200 beds (single and double), and accommodation for 200 persons. It contains three kitchens,—of which the largest, at once kitchen and sitting-room, holds 400 people, for whose uses in cooking there are two large fire-places. The other two kitchens are used only on Sundays; when one is a preaching-room, in which missionaries from Surrey Chapel (the Rev. James Sherman's), or some minister or gentleman of the neighbourhood, officiates. The other is a reading-room, supplied with a few newspapers and other periodicals; and thus, I was told, the religious and irreligious need not clash. For the supply of these papers each person pays 1*d.* every Sunday morning; and as the sum so collected is more than is required for the expenses of the reading-room, the surplus is devoted to the help of the members in sickness, under the management of the proprietor of the lodging-house, who appears to possess the full confidence of his inmates. The larger kitchen is detached from the sleeping apartments, so that the lodgers are not annoyed with the odour of the cooking of fish and other food consumed by the poor; for in lodging-houses every sojourner is his own cook. The meal in most demand is tea, usually with a herring, or a piece of bacon.

The yard attached to the Farm House, in Mint-street, covers an acre and a half; in it is a washing-house, built recently, the yard itself being devoted to the drying of the clothes —washed by the customers of the establishment. At the entrance to this yard is a kind of porter's lodge, in which reside the porter and his wife who act as the "deputies" of the lodging-house. This place has been commended in sanitary reports, for its cleanliness, good order, and care for decency, and for a proper division of the sexes. On Sundays there is no charge for lodging to known customers; but this is a general practice among the low lodging-houses of London.

In contrast to this house I could cite many instances, but I need do no more in this place than refer to the statements, which I shall proceed to give; some of these were collected in the course of a former inquiry, and are here given because the same state of things prevails now. I was told by a trustworthy man that not long ago he was compelled to sleep in one of the lowest (as regards cheapness) of the lodging-houses. All was dilapidation, filth, and noisomeness. In the morning he drew, for purposes of ablution, a basinfull of water from a pailfull kept in the room. In the water were floating alive, or apparently alive, bugs and lice, which my informant was convinced had fallen from the ceiling, shaken off by the tread of some one walking in the rickety apartments above!

"Ah, sir," said another man with whom I conversed on the subject, "if you had lived in the lodging-houses, you would say what a vast difference a penny made,—it's often all in all. It's 4*d.* in the Mint House you've been asking me about; you've sleep and comfort there, and I've seen people kneel down and say their prayers afore they went to bed. Not so many, though. Two or three in a week at nights, perhaps. And it's wholesome and sweet enough there, and large separate beds; but in other places there's nothing to smell or feel but bugs. When daylight comes in the summer—and it's often either as hot as hell or as cold as icicles in those places; but in summer, as soon as its light, if you turn down the coverlet, you'll see them a-going it like Cheapside when it's throngest." The poor man seemed to shudder at the recollection.

One informant counted for me 180 of these low lodging-houses; and it is reasonable to say that there are, in London, at least 200 of them. The average number of beds in each was computed for me, by persons cognizant of such

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matters, from long and often woful experience, at 52 single or 24 double beds, where the house might be confined to single men or single women lodgers, or to married or pretendedly married couples, or to both classes. In either case, we may calculate the number that can be, and generally are, accommodated at 50 per house; for children usually sleep with their parents, and 50 may be the lowest computation. We have thus no fewer than 10,000 persons domiciled, more or less permanently, in the low lodging-houses of London—a number more than doubling the population of many a parliamentary borough.

The proprietors of these lodging-houses mostly have been, I am assured, vagrants, or, to use the civiller and commoner word, "travellers" themselves, and therefore sojourners, on all necessary occasions, in such places. In four cases out of five I believe this to be the case. The proprietors have raised capital sufficient to start with, sometimes by gambling at races, sometimes by what I have often, and very vaguely, heard described as a "run of luck;" and sometimes, I am assured, by the proceeds of direct robbery. A few of the proprietors may be classed as capitalists. One of them, who has a country house in Hampstead, has six lodging-houses in or about Thrawl-street, Whitechapel. He looks in at each house every Saturday, and calls his deputies—for he has a deputy in each house —to account; he often institutes a stringent check. He gives a poor fellow money to go and lodge in one of his houses, and report the number present. Sometimes the person so sent meets with the laconic repulse—"Full;" and woe to the deputy if his return do not evince this fulness. Perhaps one in every fifteen of the low lodging-houses in town is also a beer-shop. Very commonly so in the country.

To "start" a low lodging-house is not a very costly matter. Furniture which will not be saleable in the ordinary course of auction, or of any traffic, is bought by a lodging-house "starter." A man possessed of some money, who took an interest in a bricklayer, purchased for 20*l.*, when the Small Pox Hospital, by King's-cross, was pulled down, a sufficiency of furniture for *four* lodging-houses, in which he "started" the man in question. None others would buy this furniture, from a dread of infection.

It was the same at Marlborough-house, Peckham, after the cholera had broken out there. The furniture was sold to a lodging-house keeper, at 9*d.* each article. "Big and little, sir," I was told; "a penny pot and a bedstead —all the same; each 9*d.* Nobody else would buy."

To about three-fourths of the low lodging-houses of London, are "deputies." These are the conductors or managers of the establishment, and are men or women (and not unfrequently a married, or proclaimed a married couple), and about in equal proportion. These deputies are paid from 7*s.* to 15*s.* a week each, according to the extent of their supervision; their lodging always, and sometimes their board, being at the cost of "the master." According to the character of the lodging-house, the deputies are civil and decent, or roguish and insolent. Their duty is not only that of general superintendence, but in some of the houses of a nocturnal inspection of the sleeping-rooms; the deputy's business generally keeping him up all night. At the better-conducted houses strangers are not admitted after twelve at night; in others, there is no limitation as to hours.

The rent of the low lodging-houses varies, I am informed, from 8*s.* to 20*s.* a week, the payment being for the most part weekly; the taxes and rates being of course additional. It is rarely that the landlord, or his agent, can be induced to expend any money in repairs,—the wear and tear of the floors, &c., from the congregating together of so many human beings being excessive: this expenditure in consequence falls upon the tenant.

Some of the lodging-houses present no appearance differing from that of ordinary houses; except, perhaps, that their exterior is dirtier. Some of the older houses have long flat windows on the ground-floor, in which there is rather more paper, or other substitutes, than glass. "The windows there, sir," remarked one man, "are not to let the light in, but to keep the cold out."

In the abodes in question there seems to have become tacitly established an arrangement as to what character of lodgers shall resort thither; the thieves, the prostitutes, and the better class of street-sellers or traders, usually resorting to the houses where they will meet the same class of persons. The patterers reside chiefly in Westminster and Whitechapel.

Some of the lodging-houses are of the worst class of low brothels, and some may even be described as brothels for children.

On many of the houses is a rude sign, "Lodgings for Travellers, 3*d.* a night. Boiling water always ready," or the same intimation may be painted on a window-shutter, where a shutter is in existence. A few of the better order of these housekeepers post up small bills, inviting the attention of "travellers," by laudations of the cleanliness, good beds, abundant water, and "gas all night," to be met with. The same parties also give address-cards to travellers, who can recommend one another.

The beds are of flock, and as regards the mere washing of the rug, sheet, and blanket, which constitute the bed-furniture, are in better order than they were a few years back; for the visitations of the cholera alarmed even the reckless class of vagrants, and those whose avocations relate to vagrants. In perhaps a tenth of the low lodging-houses of London, a family may have a room to themselves, with the use of the kitchen, at so much a week—generally 2*s.* 6*d.* for a couple without family, and 3*s.* 6*d.* where there are children. To let out "beds" by the night is however the general rule.

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The illustration presented this week is of a place in Fox-court, Gray's-inn-lane, long notorious as a "thieves' house," but now far less frequented. On the visit, a few months back, of an informant (who declined staying there), a number of boys were lying on the floor gambling with marbles and halfpennies, and indulging in savage or unmeaning blasphemy. One of the lads jumped up, and murmuring something that it wouldn't do to be idle any longer, induced a woman to let him have a halfpenny for "a stall;" that is, as a pretext with which to enter a shop for the purpose of stealing, the display of the coin forming an excuse for his entrance. On the same occasion a man walked into "the kitchen," and coolly pulled from underneath the back of his smock-frock a large flat piece of bacon, for which he wanted a customer. It would be sold at a fourth of its value.

I am assured that the average takings of lodging-house keepers may be estimated at 17*s.* 6*d.* a night, not to say 20*s.*; but I adopt the lower calculation. This gives a weekly payment by the struggling poor, the knavish, and the outcast, of 1,000 guineas weekly, or 52,000 guineas in the year. Besides the rent and taxes, the principal expenditure of the lodging-house proprietors is for coals and gas. In some of the better houses, blacking, brushes, and razors are supplied, without charge, to the lodgers: also pen and ink, soap, and, almost always, a newspaper. For the meals of the frequenters salt is supplied gratuitously, and sometimes, but far less frequently, pepper also; never vinegar or mustard. Sometimes a halfpenny is charged for the use of a razor and the necessary shaving apparatus. In one house in Kent-street, the following distich adorns the mantel-piece:

"To save a journey up the town,
A razor lent here for a *brown*:
But if you think the price too high,
I beg you won't the razor try."

In some places a charge of a halfpenny is made for hot water, but that is very rarely the case. Strong drink is admitted at almost any hour in the majority of the houses, and the deputy is generally ready to bring it; but little is consumed in the houses, those addicted to the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors preferring the tap-room or the beer-shop.

Of the Filth, Dishonesty, and Immorality of Low Lodging-houses.

In my former and my present inquiries, I received many statements on this subject. Some details, given by coarse men and boys in the grossest language, are too gross to be more than alluded to, but the full truth must be manifested, if not detailed. It was remarked when my prior account appeared, that the records of gross profligacy on the part of some of the most licentious of the rich (such as the late Marquis of Hertford and other worthies of the same depraved habits) were equalled, or nearly equalled, by the account of the orgies of the lowest lodging-houses. Sin, in any rank of life, shows the same features.

And first, as to the want of cleanliness, comfort, and decency: "Why, sir," said one man, who had filled a commercial situation of no little importance, but had, through intemperance, been reduced to utter want, "I myself have slept in the top room of a house not far from Drury-lane, and you could study the stars, if you were so minded, through the holes left by the slates having been blown off the roof. It was a fine summer's night, and the openings in the roof were then rather an advantage, for they admitted air, and the room wasn't so foul as it might have been without them. I never went there again, but you may judge what thoughts went through a man's mind—a man who had seen prosperous days—as he lay in a place like that, without being able to sleep, watching the sky."

The same man told me (and I received abundant corroboration of his statement, besides that incidental mention of the subject occurs elsewhere), that he had scraped together a handful of bugs from the bed-clothes, and crushed them under a candlestick, and had done that many a time, when he could only resort to the lowest places. He had slept in rooms so crammed with sleepers—he believed there were 30 where 12 would have been a proper number—that their breaths in the dead of night and in the unventilated chamber, rose (I use his own words) "in one foul, choking steam of stench." This was the case most frequently a day or two prior to Greenwich Fair or Epsom Races, when the congregation of the wandering classes, who are the supporters of the low lodging-houses, was the thickest. It was not only that two or even three persons jammed themselves into a bed not too large for one full-sized man; but between the beds—and their partition one from another admitted little more than the passage of a lodger—were placed shakes-down, or temporary accommodation for nightly slumber. In the better lodging-houses the shake-downs are small palliasses or mattresses; in the worst, they are bundles of rags of any kind; but loose straw is used only in the country for shake-downs. One informant saw a traveller, who had arrived late, eye his shake-down in one of the worst houses with anything but a pleased expression of countenance; and a surly deputy, observing this, told the customer he had his choice, "which," the deputy added, "it's not all men as has, or I shouldn't have been waiting here on you. But you has your choice, I tell you;—sleep there on that shake-down, or turn out and be d——; that's fair." At some of the busiest periods, numbers sleep on the kitchen floor, all huddled together, men and women (when indecencies are common enough), and without bedding or anything but their scanty clothes to soften the hardness of the stone or brick floor. A penny is saved to the lodger by this means. More than 200 have been accommodated in this way in a large

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house. The Irish, at harvest-time, very often resort to this mode of passing the night.

I heard from several parties, of the surprise, and even fear or horror, with which a decent mechanic—more especially if he were accompanied by his wife—regarded one of these foul dens, when destitution had driven him there for the first time in his life. Sometimes such a man was seen to leave the place abruptly, though perhaps he had pre-paid his last halfpenny for the refreshment of a night's repose. Sometimes he was seized with sickness. I heard also from some educated persons who had "seen better days," of the disgust with themselves and with the world, which they felt on first entering such places. "And I have some reason to believe," said one man, "that a person, once well off, who has sunk into the very depths of poverty, often makes his first appearance in one of the worst of those places. Perhaps it is because he keeps away from them as long as he can, and then, in a sort of desperation fit, goes into the cheapest he meets with; or if he knows it's a vile place, he very likely says to himself—I did—'I may as well know the worst at once.'"

Another man who had moved in good society, said, when asked about his resorting to a low lodging-house: "When a man's lost caste in society, he may as well go the whole hog, bristles and all, and a low lodging-house is the entire pig."

Notwithstanding many abominations, I am assured that the lodgers, in even the worst of these habitations, for the most part sleep soundly. But they have, in all probability, been out in the open air the whole of the day, and all of them may go to their couches, after having walked, perhaps, many miles, exceedingly fatigued, and some of them half-drunk. "Why, in course, sir," said a "traveller," whom I spoke to on this subject, "if you is in a country town or village, where there's only one lodging-house, perhaps, and that a bad one—an old hand can always suit his-self in London—you *must* get half-drunk, or your money for your bed is wasted. There's so much rest owing to you, after a hard day; and bugs and bad air'll prevent its being paid, if you don't lay in some stock of beer, or liquor of some sort, to sleep on. It's a duty you owes yourself; but, if you haven't the browns, why, then, in course, you can't pay it." I have before remarked, and, indeed, have given instances, of the odd and sometimes original manner in which an intelligent patterer, for example, will express himself.

The information I obtained in the course of this inquiry into the condition of low lodging-houses, afforded a most ample corroboration of the truth of a remark I have more than once found it necessary to make before—that persons of the vagrant class will sacrifice almost anything for warmth, not to say heat. Otherwise, to sleep, or even sit, in some of the apartments of these establishments would be intolerable.

From the frequent state of weariness to which I have alluded, there is generally less conversation among the frequenters of the low lodging-houses than might be expected. Some are busy cooking, some (in the better houses) are reading, many are drowsy and nodding, and many are smoking. In perhaps a dozen places of the worst and filthiest class, indeed, smoking is permitted even in the sleeping-rooms; but it is far less common than it was even half-a-dozen years back, and becomes still less common yearly. Notwithstanding so dangerous a practice, fires are and have been very unfrequent in these places. There is always some one awake, which is one reason. The lack of conversation, I ought to add, and the weariness and drowsiness, are less observable in the lodging-houses patronised by thieves and women of abandoned character, whose lives are comparatively idle, and whose labour a mere nothing. In their houses, if the conversation be at all general, it is often of the most unclean character. At other times it is carried on in groups, with abundance of whispers, shrugs, and slang, by the members of the respective schools of thieves or lurkers.

I have now to speak of the habitual violation of all the injunctions of law, of all the obligations of morality, and of all the restraints of decency, seen continually in the vilest of the lodging-houses. I need but cite a few facts, for to detail minutely might be to disgust. In some of these lodging-houses, the proprietor—or, I am told, it might be more correct to say, the proprietress, as there are more women than men engaged in the nefarious traffic carried on in these houses—are "fences," or receivers of stolen goods in a small way. *Their* "fencing," unless as the very exception, does not extend to any plate, or jewellery, or articles of value, but is chiefly confined to provisions, and most of all to those which are of ready sale to the lodgers.

Of very ready sale are "fish got from the gate" (stolen from Billingsgate); "sawney" (thieved bacon), and "flesh found in Leadenhall" (butcher's-meat stolen from that market). I was told by one of the most respectable tradesmen in Leadenhall-market, that it was infested—but not now to so great an extent as it was—with lads and young men, known there as "finders." They carry bags round their necks, and pick up bones, or offal, or pieces of string, or bits of papers, or "anything, sir, please, that a poor lad, that has neither father nor mother, and is werry hungry, can make a ha'penny by to get him a bit of bread, please, sir." This is often but a cover for stealing pieces of meat, and the finders, with their proximate market for disposal of their meat in the lowest lodging-houses in Whitechapel, go boldly about their work, for the butchers, if the "finder" be detected, "won't," I was told by a sharp youth who then was at a low lodging-house in Keate-street, "go bothering theirselves to a beak, but gives you a scruff of the neck and a kick and lets you go. But some of them kicks

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werry hard." The tone and manner of this boy — and it is a common case enough with the "prigs"—showed that he regarded hard kicking merely as one of the inconveniences to which his business-pursuits were unavoidably subjected; just as a struggling housekeeper might complain of the unwelcome calls of the tax-gatherers. These depredations are more frequent in Leadenhall-market than in any of the others, on account of its vicinity to Whitechapel. Even the Whitechapel meat-market is less the scene of prey, for it is a series of shops, while Leadenhall presents many stalls, and the finders seem loath to enter shops without some plausible pretext.

Groceries, tea especially, stolen from the docks, warehouses, or shops, are things in excellent demand among the customers of a lodging-house fence. Tea, known or believed to have been stolen "genuine" from any dock, is bought and sold very readily; 1*s.* 6*d.*, however, is a not unfrequent price for what is known as 5*s.* tea. Sugar, spices, and other descriptions of stolen grocery, are in much smaller request.

Wearing-apparel is rarely bought by the fences I am treating of; but the stealers of it can and do offer their wares to the lodgers, who will often, before buying, depreciate the garment, and say "It's never been nothing better nor a Moses"

"Hens and chickens" are a favourite theft, and "go at once to the pot," but in no culinary sense. The hens and chickens of the roguish low lodging-houses are the publicans' pewter measures; the bigger vessels are "hens;" the smaller are "chickens." Facilities are provided for the melting of these stolen vessels. and the metal is sold by the thief—very rarely if ever, by the lodging-house keeper, who prefers dealing with the known customers of the establishment—to marine-store buyers.

A man who at one time was a frequenter of a thieves' lodging-house, related to me a conversation which he chanced to overhear — he himself being then in what his class would consider a much superior line of business—between a sharp lad, apparently of twelve or thirteen years of age, and a lodging-house (female) fence. But it occurred some three or four years back. The lad had "found" a piece of Christmas beef, which he offered for sale to his landlady, averring that it weighed 6 lbs. The fence said and swore that it wouldn't weigh 3 lbs., but she would give him 5*d.* for it. It probably weighed above 4 lbs. "Fip-pence!" exclaimed the lad, indignantly; "you haven't no fairness. Vy, its sixpun' and Christmas time. Fip-pence! A tanner and a flag (a sixpence and a four-penny piece) is the werry lowest terms." There was then a rapid and interrupted colloquy, in which the most frequent words were: "Go to blazes!" with retorts of "You go to blazes!" and after strong and oathful imputations of dishonest endeavours on the part of each contracting party, to over-reach the other, the meat was sold to the woman for 6*d.*

Some of the "fences" board, lodge, and clothe, two or three boys or girls, and send them out regularly to thieve, the fence usually taking all the proceeds, and if it be the young thief has been successful, he is rewarded with a trifle of pocket-money, and is allowed plenty of beer and tobacco.

One man, who keeps three low lodging-houses (one of which is a beer-shop), not long ago received from a lodger a valuable great-coat, which the man said he had taken from a gig. The fence (who was in a larger way of business than others of his class, and is reputed rich,) gave 10*s.* for the garment, asking at the same time, "Who was minding the gig?" "A charity kid," was the answer. "Give him a deuce" (2*d.*), "and stall him off" (send him an errand), said the fence, "and bring the horse and gig, and I'll buy it." It was done, and the property was traced in two hours, but only as regarded the gig, which had already had a new pair of wheels attached to it, and was so metamorphosed, that the owner, a medical gentleman, though he had no moral doubt on the subject, could not swear to his own vehicle. The thief received only 4*l.* for gig and horse; the horse was never traced.

The licentiousness of the frequenters, and more especially of the juvenile frequenters of the low lodging-houses, must be even more briefly alluded to. In some of these establishments, men and women, boys and girls,—but perhaps in no case, or in very rare cases, unless they are themselves consenting parties, herd together promiscuously. The information which I have given from a reverend informant indicates the nature of the proceedings, when the sexes are herded indiscriminately, and it is impossible to present to the reader, in full particularity, the records of the vice practised.

Boys have boastfully carried on loud conversations, and from distant parts of the room, of their triumphs over the virtue of girls, and girls have laughed at and encouraged the recital. Three, four, five, six, and even more boys and girls have been packed, head and feet, into one small bed; some of them perhaps never met before. On such occasions any clothing seems often enough to be regarded as merely an incumbrance. Sometimes there are loud quarrels and revilings from the jealousy of boys and girls, and more especially of girls whose "chaps" have deserted or been inveigled from them. At others, there is an amicable interchange of partners, and next day a resumption of their former companionship. One girl, then fifteen or sixteen, who had been leading this vicious kind of life for nearly three years, and had been repeatedly in prison, and twice in hospitals—and who expressed a strong desire to "get out of the life" by emigration—said: "Whatever that's bad and wicked, that any one can fancy could be

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done in such places among boys and girls that's never been taught, or won't be taught, better, *is* done, and night after night." In these haunts of low iniquity, or rather in the room into which the children are put, there are seldom persons above twenty. The younger lodgers in such places live by thieving and pocket-picking, or by prostitution. The charge for a night's lodging is generally 2*d.*, but smaller children have often been admitted for 1*d.* If a boy or girl resort to one of these dens at night without the means of defraying the charge for accommodation, the "mot of the ken" (mistress of the house) will pack them off, telling them plainly that it will be no use their returning until they have stolen something worth 2*d.* If a boy or girl do not return in the evening, and have not been heard to express their intention of going elsewhere, the first conclusion arrived at by their mates is that they have "got into trouble" (prison).

The indiscriminate admixture of the sexes among adults, in many of these places, is another evil. Even in some houses considered of the better sort, men and women, husbands and wives, old and young, strangers and acquaintances, sleep in the same apartment, and if they choose, in the same bed. Any remonstrance at some act of gross depravity, or impropriety on the part of a woman not so utterly hardened as the others, is met with abuse and derision. One man who described these scenes to me, and had long witnessed them, said that almost the only women who ever hid their faces or manifested dislike of the proceedings they could not but notice (as far as he saw), were poor Irishwomen, generally those who live by begging: "But for all that," the man added, "an Irishman or Irishwoman of that sort will sleep anywhere, in any mess, to save a halfpenny, though they may have often a few shillings, or a good many, hidden about them."

There is no provision for purposes of decency in some of the places I have been describing, into which the sexes are herded indiscriminately; but to this matter I can only allude. A policeman, whose duty sometimes called him to enter one of those houses at night, told me that he never entered it without feeling sick.

There are now fewer of such filthy receptacles than there were. Some have been pulled down—especially for the building of Commercial-street, in Whitechapel, and of New Oxford-street—and some have fallen into fresh and improved management. Of those of the worst class, however, there may now be at least thirty in London; while the low lodgings of all descriptions, good or bad, are more frequented than they were a few years back. A few new lodging-houses, perhaps half a dozen, have been recently opened, in expectation of a great influx of "travellers" and vagrants at the opening of the Great Exhibition.

Of the Children in Low Lodging-Houses.

The informant whose account of patterers and of vagrant life in its other manifestations I have already given, has written from personal knowledge and observation the following account of the children in low lodging-houses:

"Of the mass of the indigent and outcast," he says, "of whom the busy world know nothing, except from an occasional paragraph in the newspaper, the rising generation, though most important, is perhaps least considered. Every Londoner must have seen numbers of ragged, sickly, and ill-fed children, squatting at the entrances of miserable courts, streets, and alleys, engaged in no occupation that is either creditable to themselves or useful to the community. These are, in many cases, those whose sole homes are in the low lodging-houses; and I will now exhibit a few features of the 'juvenile performers' among the 'London Poor.'

"In many cases these poor children have lost *one* of their parents; in some, they are without either father or mother; but even when both parents are alive, the case is little mended, for if the parents be of the vagrant or dishonest class, their children are often neglected, and left to provide for the cost of their food and lodging as they best may. The following extract from the chaplain's report of one of our provincial jails, gives a melancholy insight into the training of many of the families. It is not, I know, without exception; but, much as we could wish it to be otherwise, it is so general an occurrence, varied into its different forms, that it may be safely accounted as the rule of action.

"'J. G. was born of poor parents. At five years old his father succeeded to a legacy of 500*l.* He was quiet, indolent, fond of drink, a good scholar, and had twelve children. He never sent any of them to school! "Telling lies," said the child, "I learned from my mother: she did things unknown to father, and gave me a penny not to tell him!" The father (on leaving home) left, by request of the mother, some money to pay a man; she slipped up stairs, and told the children to say she was out.

"'From ten to twelve years of age I used to go to the ale-house. I stole the money from my father, and got very drunk. My father never punished me for all this, as he ought to have done. In course of time I was apprenticed to a tanner; he ordered me to chapel, instead of which I used to play in the fields. When out of my time I got married, and still carried on the same way, starving my wife and children. I used to take my little boy, when only five years old, to the public-house, and make him drunk with whatever I drank myself. A younger one could act well a drunken man on the floor. My wife was a sober steady women; but, through coming to fetch me home she learned to drink

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too. One of our children used to say, "Mam, you are drunk, like daddy."'

"It may be argued that this awful 'family portrait' is not the average character, but I have witnessed too many similar scenes to doubt the *general* application of the sad rule.

"Of those children of the poor, as has been before observed, the most have either no parents, or have been deserted by them, and have no regular means of living, nor moral superintendance on the part of relatives or neighbours; consequently, they grow up in habits of idleness, ignorance, vagrancy, or crime. In some cases they are countenanced and employed. Here and there may be seen a little urchin holding a few onions in a saucer, or a diminutive sickly girl standing with a few laces or a box or two of lucifers. But even *these* go with the persons who have 'set them up' daily to the public-house (and to the lodging-house at night); and after they have satisfied the cravings of hunger, frequently expend their remaining halfpence (if any) in gingerbread, and as frequently in gin. I have overheard a proposal for 'half-a-quartern and a two-out' (glass) between a couple of shoeless boys under nine years old. One little fellow of eleven, on being remonstrated with, said that it was the only pleasure in life that he had, and he weren't a-going to give that up. Both sexes of this juvenile class frequent, when they can raise the means, the very cheap and 'flash' places of amusement, where the precocious delinquent acquires the most abandoned tastes, and are often allured by elder accomplices to commit petty frauds and thefts.

"Efforts have been made to redeem these young recruits in crime from their sad career, with its inevitable results. In some cases, I rejoice to believe that success has crowned the endeavour. There is that, however, in the cunning hardihood of the majority of these immature delinquents, which presents almost insuperable barriers to benevolence, and of this I will adduce an instance.

"A gentleman, living at Islington, who attends one of the city churches, is in the habit of crossing the piece of waste ground close to Saffron-hill. Here he often saw (close to the ragged school) a herd of boys, and as nearly as he could judge always the *same* boys. One of them always bowed to him as he passed. He thought—and thought right—that they were gambling, and after, on one occasion, talking to them very seriously, he gave each of them two-pence and pursued his way. However, he found himself followed by the boy before alluded to, accompanied by a younger lad, who turned out to be his brother. Both in one breath begged to know if 'his honour' could please to give them any sort of a job. The gentleman gave them his card, inquired their place of residence (a low lodging-house) and the next morning, at nine o'clock, both youths were at his door. He gave them a substantial breakfast, and then took them into an out-house where was a truss of straw, and having himself taken off the band, he desired them to convey the whole, *one straw at a time*, across the garden and deposit it in another out-house. The work was easy and the terms liberal, as each boy was to get dinner and tea, and one shilling per day as long as his services should be required. Their employer had to go to town, and left orders with one of his domestics to see that the youths wanted nothing, and to watch their proceedings; their occupation was certainly not laborious, but then it was *work*, and although that was the first of their requests, it was also the last of their wishes.

"Taking advantage of an adjoining closet, the servant perceived that the weight even of a straw had been too much for these hopeful boys. They were both seated on the truss, and glibly recounting some exploits of their own, and how they had been imposed upon by others. The eldest—about fourteen—was vowing vengeance upon 'Taylor Tom' for attempting to 'walk the barber' (seduce his 'gal'); while the younger—who had scarcely seen eleven summers—averred that it was 'wery good of the swell to give them summut to eat,' but 'precious bad to be shut up in that crib all day without a bit o' backer'). Before the return of their patron they had transported all the straw to its appointed designation; as it was very discernible, however, that this had been effected by a wholesale process, the boys were admonished, paid, and dismissed. They are now performing more ponderous work in one of the penal settlements. Whether the test adopted by the gentleman in question was the best that might have been resorted to, I need not now inquire.

"It would be grateful to my feelings if in these disclosures I could omit the misdemeanors of the other sex of juveniles; but I am obliged to own, on the evidence of personal observation, that there are girls of ages varying from eleven to fifteen who pass the day with a 'fakement' before them ('Pity a poor orphan'), and as soon as evening sets in, loiter at shop-windows and ogle gentlemen in public walks, making requests which might be expected only from long-hardened prostitution. Their nights are generally passed in a low lodging-house. They frequently introduce themselves with 'Please, sir, can you tell me what time it is?' If they get a kindly answer, some other casual observations prepare the way for hints which are as unmistakeable as they are unprincipled.

Of the Low Lodging-houses throughout the Country.

Further to elucidate this subject, full of importance, as I have shown, I give an account of low lodging-houses (or "padding-kens") at the "stages" (so to speak) observed by a patterer "travelling" from London to Birmingham.

I give the several towns which are the usual sleeping places of the travellers, with the character and extent of the accommodation provided for

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"THE KITCHEN," FOX-COURT, GRAY'S-INN-LANE.

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them, and with a mention of such incidental matters as seemed to me, in the account I received, to be curious or characteristic. Circuitous as is the route, it is the one generally followed. Time is not an object with a travelling patterer. "If I could do better in the way of tin," said one of the fraternity to me, "in a country village than in London, why I'd stick to the village—if the better tin lasted—for six months; aye, sir, for six years. What's places to a man like me, between grub and no grub?" It is probable that on a trial, such a man would soon be weary of the monotony of a village life; but into that question I need not now enter.

I give each stage without the repetition of stating that from "here to there" is so many miles; and the charge for a lodging is at such and such a rate. The distance most frequently "travelled" in a day varies from ten to twenty miles, according to the proximity of the towns, and the character and capabilities (for the patterer's purposes) of the locality. The average charge for a lodging, in the better sort of country lodging-houses, is 4*d.* a night,—at others, 3*d.* In a slack time, a traveller, for 4*d.*, has a bed to himself. In a busy time—as at fairs or races—he will account himself fortunate if he obtain *any* share of a bed for 4*d.* At some of the places characterised by my informant as "rackety," "queer," or "Life in London," the charge is as often 3*d.* as 4*d.*

The first stage, then, most commonly attained on tramp, is—

Romford.—"It's a good circuit, sir," said my principal informant, "and if you want to see life between from London to Birmingham, why you can stretch it and see it for 200 miles." The Romford "house of call" most frequented by the class of whom I treat, is the King's Arms (a public-house.) There is a back-kitchen for the use of travellers, who pay something extra if they choose to resort, and are decent enough to be admitted, into the tap-room. "Very respectable, sir," said an informant, "and a proper division of married and single, of men and women. Of course they don't ask any couple to show their marriage lines; no more than they do any lord and lady, or one that ain't a lady, if she's with a lord, at any fash'nable hotel at Brighton. I've done tidy well on slums about 'ladies in a Brighton hotel,' just by the Steyne; werry tidy." In this house they make up forty beds; some of them with curtains.

Chelmsford.—The Three Queens (a beer-shop.) "A rackety place, sir," said the man, "one of the showfuls; a dicky one; a free-and-easy. You can get a pint of beer and a punch of the head, all for 2*d.* As for sleeping on a Saturday night there, 'O, no, we never mention it.' It mayn't be so bad, indeed it ain't, as some London lodging-houses, because there ain't the chance, and there's more known about it." Fourteen beds.

Braintree.—The Castle (a beer-shop.) "Takes in all sorts and all sizes; all colours and all nations; similar to what's expected of the Crystal Palace. I was a *muck-snipe* when I was there—why, a muck-snipe, sir, is a man regularly done up, coopered, and humped altogether—and it was a busyish time, and when the deputy paired off the single men, I didn't much like my bed-mate. He was a shabby-genteel, buttoned up to the chin, and in the tract line. I thought of Old Scratch when I looked at him, though he weren't a Scotchman, I think. I tipped the wink to an acquaintance there, and told him I thought my old complaint was coming on. That was, to kick and bite like a horse, in my sleep, a'cause my mother was terrified by a wicious horse not werry long afore I was born. So I dozed on the bed-side, and began to whinny; and my bed-mate jumped up frightened, and slept on the floor." Twenty-two beds.

Thaxton.—"A poor place, but I stay two days, it's so comfortable and so country, at the Rose and Crown. It's a sort of rest. It's decent and comfortable too, and it's about 6*d.* a night to me for singing and patter in the tap-room. That's my cokum (advantage)." Ten beds.

Saffron Walden.—The Castle. "Better now—was very queer. Slovenly as could be, and you had to pay for fire, though it was a house of call for curriers and other tradesmen, but they never mix with us. The landlord don't care much whose admitted, or how they go on." Twenty-four beds.

Cambridge.—"The grand town of all. London in miniature. It would be better but for the police. I don't mean the college bull-dogs. They don't interfere with us, only with women. The last time I was at Cambridge, sir, I hung the Mannings. It was the day, or two days, I'm not sure which, after their trial. We pattered at night, too late for the collegians to come out. We 'worked' about where we knew they lodged—I had a mate with me—and some of the windows of their rooms, in the colleges themselves, looks into the street. We pattered about later news of Mr. and Mrs. Manning. Up went the windows, and cords was let down to tie the papers to. But we always had the money first. We weren't a-going to trust such out-and-out going young coves as them. One young gent. said: 'I'm a sucking parson; won't you trust *me?*' 'No,' says I, 'we'll not trust Father Peter.' So he threw down 6*d.* and let down his cord, and he says, 'Send six up.' We saw it was Victoria's head all right, so we sends up three. 'Where's the others?' says he. 'O,' says I, 'they're 1*d.* a piece, and 1*d.* a piece extra for hanging Mr. and Mrs. Manning, as we have, to a cord; so it's all right.' Some laughed, and some said, 'D—n you, wait till I see you in the town.' But they hadn't that pleasure. Yorkshire Betty's is the head quarters at Cambridge,—or in Barnwell, of course, there's no such places in Cambridge. It's known as 'W— and Muck Fort.' It's the real college touch—the seat of learning, if you're seeing life. The college lads used to look in there oftener than they do now. They're get-

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ting shyer. Men won't put up with black eyes for nothing. Old Yorkshire Betty's a motherly body, but she's no ways particular in her management. Higgledy-piggledy; men and women; altogether." Thirty beds.

Newmarket.—"The Woolpack. A lively place; middling other ways. There's generally money to be had at Newmarket. I don't stay there so long as some, for I don't care about racing; and the poorest snob there's a sporting character." Six beds.

Bury St. Edmund's.—"Old Jack Something's. He was a publican for forty years. But he broke, and I've heard him say that if he hadn't been a player on the fiddle, he should have destroyed his-self. But his fiddle diverted him in his troubles. He has a real Cremona, and can't he play it? He's played at dances at the Duke of Norfolk's. I've heard him give the tune he played on his wedding night, years and years back, before I was born. He's a noble-looking fellow; the fac-simile of Louis Philippe. It's a clean and comfortable, hard and honest place." Twelve beds.

Mildenhall.—"A private house; I forget the landlord's name. The magistrates is queer there, and so very little work can be done in my way. I've been there when I was the only lodger." Seven beds.

Ely.—"The Tom and Jerry. Very queer. No back kitchen or convenience. A regular rough place. Often quarrelling there all night long. Any caper allowed among men and women. The landlord's easy frightened." Five beds.

St. Ives.—"Plume of Feathers. Passable." Eleven beds.

St. Neot's.—"Bell and Dicky, and very dicky too. Queer doings in the dos (sleeping) and everything. It's an out-of-the-way place, or the town's people might see to it, but they won't take any notice unless some traveller complains, and they won't complain. They're a body of men, sir, that don't like to run gaping to a beak. The landlord seems to care for nothing but money. He takes in all that offer. Three in a bed often; men, women, and children mixed together. It's anything but a tidy place." Thirteen beds.

Bedford.—The Cock. "Life in London, sir; I can't describe it better. Life in Keate-street, Whitechapel." Fifteen beds.

Irchester.—"I don't mind the name. A most particular place. You must go to bed by nine, or be locked out. It's hard and honest; clean and rough." Six beds.

Wellingborough.—"A private house. Smith or Jones, I know, or some common name. Ducker, the soldier that was shot in the Park by Annette Meyers, lived there. I worked him there myself, and everybody bought. I did the gun-trick, sir, (had great success.) It's an inferior lodging place. They're in no ways particular, not they, who they admit or how they dos. At a fair-time, the goings on is anything but fair." Ten beds.

Northampton.—"Mrs. Bull's. Comfortable and decent. She takes in the *Dispatch*, to oblige her travellers. It's a nice, quiet, Sunday house." Twelve beds.

Market Harborough.—"There's a good lady there gives away tracts and half-a-crown. A private house is the traveller's house, and some new name. Middling accommodation." Nine beds.

Lutterworth.—"A private house, and I'll go there no more. Very queer. Not the least comfort or decency. They're above their business, I think, and take in too many, and care nothing what the travellers do. Higgledy-piggledy together." Ten beds.

Leicester.—"The Rookery. Rosemary-lane over again, sir, especially at Black Jack's. He shakes up the beds with a pitchfork, and brings in straw if there's more than can possibly be crammed into the beds. He's a fighting man, and if you say a word, he wants to fight you." Twelve beds.

Hinckley.—"The Tea-board. Comfortable." Eight beds.

Nuneaton.—"The same style as Hinckley. A private house." Eight beds.

Coventry.—"Deserves to be sent further. Bill Cooper's. A dilapidated place, and no sleep, for there's armies of bugs,—great black fellows. I call it the Sikh war there, and they're called Sikhs there, or Sicks there, is the vermin; but I'm sick of all such places. They're not particular there,—certainly not." Twenty beds.

Birmingham.—"Mrs. Leach's. Comfortable and decent, and a good creature. I know there's plenty of houses in Birmingham bad enough,—London reduced, sir; but I can't tell you about them from my own observation, 'cause I always go to Mrs. Leach's." Thirty beds.

Here, then, in the route most frequented by the pedestrian "travellers," we find, taking merely the accommodation of one house in each place (and in some of the smaller towns there is but one), a supply of beds which may nightly accommodate, on an average, 489 inmates, reckoning at the rate of 12 sleepers to every 8 beds. At busy times, double the number will be admitted. And to these places resort the beggar, the robber, and the pick-pocket; the street-patterer and the street-trader; the musician, the ballad-singer, and the street-performer; the diseased, the blind, the lame, and the half-idiot; the outcast girl and the hardened prostitute; young and old, and of all complexions and all countries.

Nor does the enumeration end here. To these places must often resort the wearied mechanic, travelling in search of employment, and even the broken-down gentleman, or scholar, whose means do not exceed 4*d.*

A curious history might be written of the frequenters of low lodging-houses. Dr. Johnson relates, that when Dean Swift was a young man, he paid a yearly visit from Sir William Temple's seat, Moor Park, to his mother at Leicester.

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"He travelled on foot, unless some violence of weather drove him into a waggon; and at night he would go to a penny lodging, where he purchased clean sheets for sixpence. This practice Lord Orrery imputes to his (Swift's) innate love of grossness and vulgarity; some may ascribe it to his desire of surveying human life through all its varieties." Perhaps it might not be very difficult to trace, in Swift's works, the influence upon his mind of his lodging-house experience.

The same author shows that his friend, Richard Savage, in the bitterness of his poverty, was also a lodger in these squalid dens: "He passed the night sometimes in mean houses, which are set open at night to any casual wanderer; sometimes in cellars, among the riot and filth of the meanest and most profligate of the rabble." A Richard Savage of to-day might, under similar circumstances, have the same thing said of him, except that "cellars" might now be described as "ground-floors."

The great, and sometimes the only, luxury of the frequenters of these country lodging-houses is tobacco. A man or women who cannot smoke, I was told, or was not "hardened" to tobacco smoke, in a low lodging-house was half-killed with coughing. Sometimes a couple of men, may be seen through the thick vapour of the tobacco-smoke, peering eagerly over soiled cards, as they play at all-fours. Sometimes there is an utter dulness and drowsiness in the common sitting-room, and hardly a word exchanged for many minutes. I was told by one man of experience in these domiciles, that he had not very unfrequently heard two men who were conversing together in a low tone, and probably agreeing upon some nefarious course, stop suddenly, when there was a pause in the general conversation, and look uneasily about them, as if apprehensive and jealous that they had been listened to. A "stranger" in the lodging-house is regarded with a minute and often a rude scrutiny, and often enough would not be admitted, were not the lodging-house keeper the party concerned, and he of course admits "all what pays."

One patterer told me of two "inscriptions," as he called them, which he had noticed in country lodgings he had lately visited; the first was:—

"He who smokes, thinks like a philosopher, and feels like a philanthropist."—*Bulwer's Night and Morning.*

The second was an intimation from the proprietor of the house, which, in spite of its halting explanation, is easily understood:—

"No sickness allowed, unles by order of the Mare."

Of the Street Stationers, and the Street Card-sellers.

I have before mentioned that the street-stationers — the sellers of writing-paper, envelopes, pens, and of the other articles which constitute the stationery in the most general demand— were not to be confounded with the pattering "paper-workers." They are, indeed, a different class altogether. The majority of them have been mechanics, or in the employ of tradesmen whose callings were not mechanical (as regards handicraft labour), but what is best described perhaps as commercial; or as selling but not producing; as in the instances of the large body of "warehousemen" in the different departments of trade. One street-stationer thought that of his entire body, not more than six had been gentlemen's servants. He himself knew four who had been in such employment, and one only as a boy—but there might be six.

The card-sellers are, in the instances I shall show, more akin to the class of patterers, and I shall, therefore, give them first. The more especially as I can so preserve the consecutiveness of the accounts, in the present number, by presenting the reader with a sketch of the life of an informant, in whose revelations I find that many have taken a strong interest.

Of the Seller of the Penny Short-hand Cards.

All ladies and gentlemen who "take their walks abroad," must have seen, and of course heard, a little man in humble attire engaged in selling at one penny each a small card, containing a few sentences of letter-press, and fifteen stenographic characters, with an example, by which, it is asserted, anybody and everybody may "learn to write short-hand in a few hours." With the merits of the production, self-considered, this is not the place to meddle; suffice it that it is one of the many ways of getting a crust common to the great metropolis, and perhaps the most innocent of all the street performances. A kind of a street lecture is given by the vendor, in which the article is sufficiently puffed off. Of course this lecture is, so to speak, stereotyped, embracing the same ideas in nearly the same words over and over and over again. The exhibitor, however, pleads that the constant exchange and interchange of passengers, and his desire to give each and all a fair amount of information, makes the repetition admissible, and even necessary. It is here given as a specimen of the style of the educated "patterer."

The Lecture.

"Here is an opportunity which has seldom if ever been offered to the public before, whereby any person of common intellect may learn to write short-hand in a few hours, without any aid from a teacher. The system is entirely my own. It contains no vowels, no arbitrary characters, no double consonants, and no terminations; it may therefore properly be called 'stenography,' an expression which conveys its own meaning; it is derived from two Greek words; *stenos*, short, and *grapho*, I write, or *graphi*, the verb *to* write, and embraces all that is necessary in fifteen characters. I know that a prejudice obtains to a great extent against anything and everything said or done in the street, but I have nothing to

do with either the majority or minority of street pretenders. I am an educated man, and not a mere pretender, and if the justice or genuineness of a man's pretensions would always lead him to success I had not been here to-day. But against the tide of human disappointment, the worthy and the undeserving are so equally compelled to struggle, and so equally liable to be overturned by competition, that till you can prove that wealth is the guage of character, it may be difficult to determine the ability or morality of a man from his position. I was lately reading an account of the closing life of that leviathan in literature, Dr. Johnson, and an anecdote occurred, which I relate, conceiving that it applies to one of the points at issue—I mean the ridicule with which my little publication has sometimes been treated by passers-by, who have found it easier to speculate on the texture of my coat, than on the character of my language. The Doctor had a niece who had embraced the peculiarities of Quakerism; after he had scolded her some time, and in rather unmeasured terms, her mother interfered and said, 'Doctor, don't scold the girl—you'll meet her in heaven, I hope.'—'I hope not,' said the Doctor, 'for I hate to meet *fools* anywhere.' I apply the same observation to persons who bandy about the expressions 'gift of the gab,' 'catch-penny,' &c., &c., which in my case it is somewhat easier to circulate than to support. At any rate they ought to be addressed to *me* and not to the atmosphere. The man who meets a foe to the face, gives him an equal chance of defence, and the sword openly suspended from the belt is a less dangerous, because a less cowardly weapon than the one which, like that of Harmodius, is concealed under the wreaths of a myrtle.

"If you imagine that professional disappointment is confined to people out of doors, you are very much mistaken. Look into some of the middle-class streets around where we are standing: you will find here and there, painted or engraved on a door, the words 'Mr. So-and-so, surgeon.' The man I am pre-supposing shall be qualified, — qualified in the technical sense of the expression, a Member of the College of Surgeons, a Licentiate of Apothecaries' Hall, and a Graduate of some University. He may possess the talent of Galen or Hippocrates; or, to come to more recent date, of Sir Astley Cooper himself, but he never becomes popular, and dies unrewarded because unknown: before he dies, he may crawl out of his concealed starvation into such a thoroughfare as this, and see Professor Morrison, or Professor Holloway, or the Proprietor of Parr's Life Pills, or some other quack, ride by in their carriage; wealth being brought them by the same waves that have wafted misfortune to himself; though that wealth has been procured by one undeviating system of Hypocrisy and Humbug, of Jesuitism and Pantomime, such as affords no parallel since the disgusting period of Oliverian ascendancy. Believe me, my friends, a man may form his plans for success with profound sagacity, and guard with caution against every approach to extravagance, but neither the boldness of enterprise nor the dexterity of stratagem will always secure the distinction they deserve. Else that policeman would have been an inspector!

"I have sometimes been told, that if I possessed the facilities I professedly exhibit, I might turn them to greater personal advantage: in coarse, unfettered, Saxon English, 'That's a LIE;' for on the authority of a distinguished writer, there are 2,000 educated men in London and its suburbs, who rise every morning totally ignorant where to find a breakfast. Now I am not *quite* so bad as that, so that it appears I am an exception to the rule, and not the rule open to exception. However, it is beyond all controversy, that the best way to keep the fleas from biting you in bed is to 'get out of bed;' and by a parity of reasoning, the best way for you to sympathize with me for being on the street is to take me off, as an evidence of your sympathy. I remember that, some twenty years ago, a poor man of foreign name, but a native of this metropolis, made his appearance in Edinburgh, and advertised that he would lecture on mnemonics, or the art of memory. As he was poor, he had recourse to an humble lecture-room, situated up a dirty court. Its eligibility may be determined by the fact that sweeps' concerts were held in it, at ½*d.* per head, and the handbill mostly ended with the memorable words: 'N. B.—No gentleman admitted without shoes and stockings.' At the close of his first lecture (the admission to which was 2*d.*), he was addressed by a scientific man, who gave him 5*s.*—(it will relieve the monotony of the present address if some of you follow his example)—and advised him to print and issue some cards about his design, which he did. I saw one of them—the ink on it scarcely dry—as he had got it back at the house of a physician, and on it was inscribed: 'Old birds are not caught with chaff. From Dr. M——, an old bird.' The suspicious doctor, however, was advised to hear the poor man's twopenny lecture, and was able, at the end of it, to display a great feat of memory himself. What was the result? The poor man no longer lectured for 2*d.* But it is tedious to follow him through a series of years. He was gradually patronised throughout the kingdom, and a few months ago he was lecturing in the Hanover-square Rooms, with the Earl of Harrowby in the chair. Was he not as clever a man when he lectured in the sweeps' concert-room? Yes; but he had not been brought *under the shadow of a great name.* Sometimes that 'great name' comes too late. You are familiar with the case of Chatterton. He had existed, rather than lived, three days on a penny loaf; then he committed suicide, and was charitably buried by strangers. Fifty years or more had elapsed, when people found out how clever he had been, and collected money for the erection of that monument which

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now stands to his memory by St. Mary Redcliff Church, in Bristol. Now, if you have any idea of doing that for me, please to collect some of it while I am *alive!*"

On occasions when the audience is not very liberal, the lecturer treats them to the following hint:

"When in my golden days—or at the least they were silver ones compared to these—I was in the habit of lecturing on scientific subjects, I always gave the introductory lecture *free*. I suppose this is an 'introductory lecture,' for it yields very little money at present. I have often thought, that if everybody a little richer than myself was half as conscientious, I should either make a rapid fortune, or have nobody to listen to me at all; for I never sanction long with my company anything I don't believe. Now, if what I say is untrue or grossly improbable, it does not deserve the sanction of an audience; if otherwise, it must be meritorious, and deserve more efficient sanction. As to any insults I receive, Christianity has taught me to forgive, and philosophy to despise them."

These very curious, and perhaps unique, specimens of street elocution are of course interrupted by the occasional sale of a card, and perhaps some conversation with the purchaser. The stenographic card-seller states that he has sometimes been advised to use more commonplace language. His reply is germane to the matter. He says that a street audience, like some other audiences, is best pleased with what they least understand, and that the way to appear sublime is to be incomprehensible. He can occasionally be a little sarcastic. A gentleman informed me that he passed him at Bagnigge-wells on one occasion, when he was interrupted by a "gent." fearfully disfigured by the small-pox, who exclaimed: "It's a complete humbug." "No, sir," retorted Mr. Shorthand, "but if any of the ladies present were to call you handsome, *that* would be a humbug." On another occasion a man (half-drunk) had been annoying him some time, and getting tired of the joke, said: "Well—I see you are a learned man, you must pity my ignorance." "No," was the reply, "but I pity your father." "Pity my father!—why?" was the response. "Because Solomon says, 'He that begetteth a fool shall have sorrow of him.'" This little *jeu-d'ésprit*, I was told, brought forth loud acclamations from the crowd, and a crown-piece from a lady who had been some minutes a listener. These statements are among the most curious revelations of the history of the streets.

The short-hand card-seller, as has partly appeared in a report I gave of a meeting of street-folk, makes no secret of having been fined for obstructing a thoroughfare,—having been bound down to keep the peace, and several times imprisoned as a defaulter. He tells me that he once "got a month" in one of the metropolitan jails. It was the custom of the chaplain of the prison in which he was confined, to question the prisoners every Wednesday, from box to box (as they were arranged before him) on some portion of Holy Writ, and they were expected, if able, to answer. On one occasion, the subject being the Excellence of Prayer, the chaplain, remarked that, "even among the heathen, every author, without exception, had commended prayer to a real or supposed Deity." The card-seller, I am told, cried out "Question!" "Who is that?" said the chaplain. The turnkey pointed out the questioner. "Yes," said the card-seller, "you know what Seneca says:—'Quid opus votis? Fac teipsum felicem, vel bonum.' 'What need of prayer? Make thou thyself happy and virtuous.' Does *that* recommend prayer?" The prisoners laughed, and to prevent a mutiny, the classical querist was locked up, and the chaplain closed the proceedings. It is but justice, however, to the worthy minister to state, his querist came out of durance vile better clothed than he went in.

The stenographic trade, of which the informant in question is the sole pursuer, was commenced eleven years ago. At that time 300 cards were sold in a day; but the average is now 24, and about 50 on a Saturday night. The card-seller tells me that he is more frequently than ever interrupted by the police, and his health being delicate, wet days are "nuisances" to him. He makes an annual visit to the country, he tells me, to see his children, who have been provided for by some kind friends. About two years ago he was returning to London and passed through Oxford. He was "hard up," he says, having left his coat for his previous night's lodging. He attended prayers (without a coat) at St. Mary's church, and when he came out, seated himself on the pavement beside the church, and wrote with chalk inside an oval border.

"Δε λίμῳ απολλύμαι."—Lucam xv. 17.
"I perish with hunger."

He was not long unnoticed, he tells me, by the scholars; some of whom "rigged him out," and he left Oxford with 6*l.* 10*s.* in his pocket.

"Let us indulge the hope," writes one who knows this man well, "that whatever indiscretions may have brought a scholar, whom few behold without pity, or converse with without respect for his acquirements, to be a street-seller, nevertheless his last days will be his best days, and that, as his talents are beyond dispute and his habits strictly temperate, he may yet arise out of his degradation."

Of this gentleman's history I give an account derived from the only authentic source. It is, indeed, given in the words of the writer from whom it was received.—

"The *Reverend* Mr. Shorthand" [his real name is of no consequence—indeed, it would be contrary to the rule of this work to print it] "was born at Hackney, in the county of Middlesex, on Good Friday, the 15th of April, 1808; he is, therefore, now in his 43rd year. Of his parents very little is known; he was brought up

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by guardians, who were 'well to do,' and who gave him every indulgence and every good instruction and example. From the earliest dawn of reason he manifested a strong predilection for the church; and, before he was seven years old, he had preached to an infant audience, read prayers over a dead animal, and performed certain mimic ceremonies of the church among his schoolfellows.

"The directors of his youthful mind were strong Dissenters, of Antinomian sentiments. With half-a-dozen of the same denomination he went, before he was thirteen, to the anniversary meeting of the Countess of Huntingdon's College, at Cheshunt. Here, with a congregation of about forty persons, composed of the students and a few strangers, he adjourned, while the parsons were dining at the 'Green Dragon,' to the College Chapel, where, with closed doors, the future proprietor of the 'penny short-hand' delivered his first public sermon.

"Before he was quite fourteen, the stenographic card-seller was apprenticed to a draper in or near Smithfield. In this position he remained only a few months, when the indentures were cancelled by mutual consent, and he resumed his studies, first at his native place, and afterwards as a day-scholar at the Charterhouse. He was now sixteen, and it was deemed high time for him to settle to some useful calling. He became a junior clerk in the office of a stock-broker, and afterwards amanuensis to an 'M.D.,' who encouraged his thirst for learning, and gave him much leisure and many opportunities for improvement. While in this position he obtained two small prizes in the state lottery, gave up his situation, and went to Cambridge with a private tutor. As economy was never any part of his character, he there 'overrun the constable,' and to prevent," he says, "any constable running after him. He decamped in the middle of the night, and came to London by a waggon—all his property consisting of a Greek Prayer-book, Dodd's Beauties of Shakspere, two shirts, and two half-crowns.

"At this crisis a famous and worthy clergyman, forty years resident in Hackney (the Rev. H. H. N——, lately deceased), had issued from the press certain strictures against the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. The short-hand seller wrote an appendix to this work, under the title of the 'Church in Danger.' He took it to Mr. N——, who praised the performance and submitted to the publication. The impression cast off was limited, and the result unprofitable. It had, however, one favourable issue; it led to the engagement of its author as private and travelling tutor to the children of the celebrated Lady S——, who, though (for adultery) separated from her husband, retained the exclusive custody of her offspring. While in this employment, my informant resided chiefly at Clifton, sometimes in Bath, and sometimes on her ladyship's family property in Derbyshire. While here, he took deacon's orders, and became a popular preacher. In whatever virtues he might be deficient, his charities, at least, were unbounded. This profusion ill suited a limited income, and *a forgery* was the first step to suspension, disgrace, and poverty. In 1832 he married; the union was not felicitous.

"About this date my informant relates, that under disguise and change of name he supplied the pulpits of several episcopal chapels in Scotland with that which was most acceptable to them. Unable to maintain a *locus standi* in connexion with the Protestant church, he made a virtue of necessity, and avowed himself a seceder. In this new disguise he travelled and lectured, proving to a demonstration (always pecuniary) that 'the Church of England was the hospital of Incurables.'

"Always in delicate health, he found continued journeys inconvenient. The oversight of a home missionary station, comprising five or six villages, was advertised; the card-seller was the successful candidate, and for several years performed Divine service four times every Sunday, and opened and taught *gratuitously* a school for the children of the poor. Here report says he was much beloved, and here he ought to have remained; but with that restlessness of spirit which is so marked a characteristic of the class to which he now belongs, he thought otherwise, and removed to a similar sphere of labour near Edinburgh. The town, containing a population of 14,000, was visited to a dreadful extent with the pestilence of cholera. The future street-seller (to his honour be it spoken) was the only one among eight or ten ministers who was not afraid of the contagion. He visited many hundreds of cases, and, it is credibly asserted, added medicine, food, and nursing to his spiritual consolations. The people of his charge here embraced the Irving heresy; and unable, as he says, to determine the sense of 'the unknown tongues,' he resigned his charge, and returned to London in 1837. After living some time upon his money, books, and clothes, till all was expended, he tried his hand at the 'begging-letter trade.' About this time, the card-seller declares that a man, also from Scotland, and of similar history and personal appearance, lodged with him at a house in the Mint, and stole his coat, and with it his official and other papers. This person had been either a city missionary or scripture-reader, having been dismissed for intemperance. The street card-seller states that he has 'suffered much persecution from the officers of the Mendicity Society, and in the opinion of the public, by the blending of his own history with that of the man who robbed him.'' Be the truth as it may, or let his past faults have been ever so glaring, still it furnishes no present reason why he should be maltreated in the streets, where he is *now* striving for an honest living. Since the card-seller's return to London, he has been *five* times elected and re-elected to a temporary engagement in the Hebrew School, Goodman's-fields; so that, at the worst, his habits of life cannot be *very* outrageous."

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The "pomps and vanities of this wicked world," have, according to his own account, had very little share in the experience of the short-hand parson. He states, and there is no reason for doubting him, that he *never witnessed any sort of public amusement in his life;* that he was a hard student when he was young, and now keeps no company, living much in retirement. He "attends the ministry," he says, "of the Rev. Robert Montgomery,—reads the daily lessons at home, and receives the communion twice every month at the early service in Westminster Abbey."

Of course these are matters that appear utterly inconsistent with his present mode of life. One well-known peculiarity of this extraordinary character is his almost idolatrous love of children, to whom, if he "makes a good Saturday night," he is very liberal on his way home. This is, perhaps, his "ruling passion" (an acquaintance of his, without knowing why I inquired, fully confirmed this account); and it displays itself sometimes in strong emotion, of which the following anecdote may be cited as an instance:—One of his favourite spots for stenographic demonstration is the corner of Playhouse-yard, close to the *Times* office. Directly opposite lives a tobacconist, who has a young family. One of his little girls used to stand and listen to him; to her he was so strongly attached, that when he heard of her death (he had missed her several weeks), he went home much affected, and did not return to the spot for many months. At the death of the notorious Dr. Dillon, the card-seller offered himself to the congregation as a successor; they, however, declined the overture.

Of the Sellers of Race Cards and Lists.

This trade is not carried on in town; but at the neighbouring races of Epsom and Ascot Heath, and, though less numerously, at Goodwood, it is pursued by persons concerned in the street paper-trade of London.

At Epsom I may state that the race-card sale is in the hands of two classes (the paper or sheet-lists sale being carried on by the same parties) — viz. those who confine themselves to "working" the races, and those who only resort to such work occasionally. The first-mentioned sellers usually live in the country, and the second in town,

Between these two classes, there is rather a strong distinction. The country race-card sellers are not unfrequently "sporting characters." The town professor of the same calling feels little interest in the intrigues or great "events" of the turf. Of the country traders in this line some act also as touters, or touts; they are for the most part men, who having been in some capacity or other, connected with racing or with race-horses, and having fallen from their position or lost their employment, resort to the selling of race-cards as one means of a livelihood, and to touting, or watching race-horses, and reporting anything concerning them to those interested, as another means. These men, I am assured, usually "make a book" (a record and calculation of their bets) with grooms, or such gentlemen's servants, as will bet with them, and sometimes one with another.

The most notorious of the race-card selling fraternity is known as Captain Carrot. He is the successor, I am told, of Gentleman Jerry, who was killed some time back at Goodwood races—having been run over. Gentleman Jerry's attire, twenty-five to thirty-five years ago, was an exaggeration of what was then accounted a gentleman's style. He wore a light snuff-coloured coat, a "washing" waistcoat of any colour, cloth trowsers, usually the same colour as his coat, and a white, or yellow white, and ample cravat of many folds. His successor wears a military uniform, always with a scarlet coat, Hessian boots, an old umbrella, and a tin eye-glass. Upon the card-sellers, however, who confine their traffic to races, I need not dwell, but proceed to the metropolitan dealers, who are often patterers when in town.

It is common, for the smarter traders in these cards to be liberal of titles, especially to those whom they address on the race-ground. "This is the sort of style, sir," said one race-card-seller to me, "and it tells best with cockneys from their shops. 'Ah, my lord. I hope your lordship's well. I've backed your horse, my lord. He'll win, he'll win. Card, my lord, correct card, only 6*d.* I'll drink your lordship's health after the race.' Perhaps this here 'my lord,' may be a barber, you see, sir, and never had so much as a donkey in his life, and he forks out a bob; but before he can get his change, there always *is* somebody or other to call for a man like me from a little distance, so I'm forced to run off and cry, 'Coming, sir, coming. Coming, your honour, coming.'"

The mass of these sellers, however, content themselves with the customary cry: "Here's Dorling's Correct Card of the Races.—Names, weights, and colours of the Riders.—Length of Bridle, and Weight of Saddle."

One intelligent man computed that there were 500 men, women, and children, of all descriptions of street-callings, who on a "Derby day" left London for Epsom. Another considered that there could not be fewer than 600, at the very lowest calculation. Of these, I am informed, the female sellers may number something short of a twentieth part from London, while a twelfth of the whole number of regular street-sellers attending the races vend at the races cards. But card-selling is often a cloak, for the females—and especially those connected with men who depend solely on the races—vend improper publications (usually at 6*d.*), making the sale of cards or lists a pretext for the more profitable traffic.

If a man sell from ten to twelve dozen cards on the "Derby day," it is accounted "a good day;" and so is the sale of three-fourths of

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that quantity on the Oaks day. On the other, or "off" days, 2*s.* is an average earnig.

The cards are all bought of Mr. Dorling, the printer, at 2*s.* 6*d.* a dozen. The price asked is always 6*d.* each. "But those fourpenny bits," said one card-seller, "is the ruination of every thing. And now that they say that the threepenny bits is coming in more, things will be wuss and wuss." The lists vary from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, according to size. To clear 10*s.* and 8*s.* on the two great days is accounted "tidy doings," but that is earned only by those who devote themselves to the sale of the race-cards, which all the sellers do not. Some, for instance, are ballad-singers, who sell cards immediately before a race comes off, as at that time they could obtain no auditory for their melodies. Ascot-heath races, I am told, are rather better for the card seller than Epsom, as "there's more of the nobs there," and fewer of the London vendors of cards. The sale of the "lists" is less than one-eighth that of the sale of cards. They are chiefly "return lists," (lists with a specification of the winning horses, &c., "returned" as they acquitted themselves in each race), and are sold in the evening, or immediately after the conclusion of the "sport," for the purpose of being posted or kept.

Of the Street-sellers of Gelatine, of Engraved, and of Playing Cards, &c.

There are yet other cards, the sale of which is carried on in the streets; of these, the principal traffic has lately been in "gelatines" (gelatine cards). Those in the greatest demand contain representations of the Crystal Palace, the outlines of the structure being given in gold delineation on the deep purple, or mulberry, of the smooth and shining gelatine. These cards are sold in blank envelopes, for the convenience of posting them as a present to a country friend; or of keeping them unsoiled, if they are retained as a memento of a visit to so memorable a building. The principal sale was on Sunday mornings, in Hyde Park, and to the visitors who employed that day to enjoy the sight of the "palace." But on the second Sunday in February—as well as my informant could recollect, for almost all street-traders will tell you, if not in the same words as one patterer used, that their recollections are "not worth an old button without a neck"—the police "put down" the sale of these Exhibition cards in the Park, as well as that of cakes, tarts, gingerbread, and such like dainties. This was a bitter disappointment to a host of street-sellers, who looked forward very sanguinely to the profits they might realise when the Great Exhibition was in full operation, and augured ill to their prospects from this interference. I am inclined to think, that, on this occasion, the feelings of animosity entertained by the card-sellers towards the police and the authorities were even bitterer than I have described as affecting the costermongers. "Why," said one man, "when I couldn't be let sell my cards, I thrust my hands into my empty pockets, and went among the crowd near the Great Exhibition place to look about me. There was plenty of ladies and gentlemen—say about 12 o'clock at Sunday noon, and as many as could be. Plenty of 'em had nice paper bags of biscuits, or cakes, that, of course, they'd bought that morning at a pastrycook's, and they handed 'em to their party. Some had newspapers they was reading—about the Exhibition, I dare say—papers which was bought, and, perhaps, was printed that very blessed morning; but for us to offer to earn a crust then—oh, it's agen the law. In course it is."

Some of the gelatine cards contain pieces of poetry, in letters of gold, always—at least, I could hear of no exceptions—of a religious or sentimental character. "A Hymn," "The Child's Prayer," "The Christian's Hope," "To Eliza," "To a Daisy," "Forget-me-not," and "Affection's Tribute," were among the titles. Some contained love-verses, and might be used for valentines, and some a sentimental song.

In the open-air sale, nearly all the traffic was in "Exhibition gelatines," and the great bulk were sold in and near Hyde Park. For two or three months, from as soon as the glass palace had been sufficiently elevated to command public attention, there were daily, I am told, 20 persons selling those cards in the Park and its vicinity, and more than twice that number on Sundays. One man told me, that, on one fine bright Sunday, the sale being principally in the morning, he had sold 10 dozen, with a profit of about 5*s.* On week-days three dozen was a good sale; but on wet, cold, or foggy days, none at all could be disposed of. If, therefore, we take as an average the sale of two dozen daily per each individual, and three dozen on a Sunday, we find that 180*l.* was expended on street-sold "gelatines." The price to the retailer is 5*d.* a dozen, with 1*d.* or 1¼*d.* for a dozen of the larger-sized envelopes, so leaving the usual profit—cent. per cent. The sellers were not a distinct class, but in the hands of the less enterprising of the paper-workers or patterers. The "poetry gelatines" were hardly offered at all in the streets, except by a few women and children, with whom it was a pretext for begging.

Of "engraved" Exhibition-cards, sold under similar circumstances, there might be one third as many sold as of the gelatines, or an expenditure of 60*l.*

The sale of playing-cards is only for a brief interval. It is most brisk for a couple of weeks before Christmas, and is hardly ever attempted in any season but the winter. The price varies from 1*d.* to 6*d.*, but very rarely 6*d.*; and seldom more than 3*d.* the pack. The sellers for the most part announce their wares as "New cards. New playing-cards. Two-pence a pack." This subjects the sellers (the cards being unstamped) to a penalty of 10*l.*, a matter of which the street-traders know and care nothing; but there is no penalty on the sale of second-hand cards. The best of the cards are

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generally sold by the street-sellers to the landlords of the public-houses and beer-shops where the customers are fond of a "hand at cribbage," a "cut-in at whist," or a "game at all fours," or "all fives." A man whose business led him to public-houses told me that for some years he had not observed any other games to be played there, but he had heard an old tailor say that in his youth, fifty years ago, "put" was a common public-house game. The cheaper cards are frequently imperfect packs. If there be the full number of fifty-two, some perhaps are duplicates, and others are consequently wanting. If there be an ace of spades, it is unaccompanied by those flourishes which in the duly stamped cards set off the announcement, "Duty, One Shilling;" and sometimes a blank card supplies its place. The smaller shop-keepers usually prefer to sell playing-cards with a piece cut off each corner, so as to give them the character of being second-hand; but the street-sellers prefer vending them without this precaution. The cards—which are made up from the waste and spoiled cards of the makers—are bought chiefly, by the retailers, at the "swag shops."

Playing cards are more frequently sold with other articles—such as almanacks—than otherwise. From the information I obtained, it appears that if twenty dozen packs of cards are sold daily for fourteen days, it is about the quantity, but rather within it. The calculation was formed on the supposition that there might be twenty street playing-card sellers, each disposing (allowing for the hinderances of bad weather, &c.), of one dozen packs daily. Taking the average price at 3*d.* a pack, we find an outlay of 42*l.* The sale used to be far more considerable and at higher prices, and was "often a good spec. on a country round."

There is still another description of cards sold in the streets of London; viz., conversation-cards; but the quantity disposed of is so trifling as to require no special comment.

Of the Street-sellers of Stationery.

Of this body of street-traders there are two descriptions, the itinerant and the "pitching." There are some also who unite the two qualities, so far as that they move a short distance, perhaps 200 yards, along a thoroughfare, but preserve the same locality.

Of the itinerant again, there are some who, on an evening, and more especially a Saturday evening, take a stand in a street-market, and pursue their regular "rounds" the other portions of the day.

The itinerant trader carries a tray, and in no few cases, as respects the "display" of his wares, emulates the tradesman's zeal in "dressing" a window temptingly. The tray most in use is painted, or mahogany, with "ledges," front and sides; or, as one man described it, "an upright four-inch bordering, to keep things in their places." The back of the tray, which rests against the bearer's breast, is about twelve inches high. Narrow pink tapes are generally attached to the "ledges" and back, within which are "slipped" the articles for sale. At the bottom of the tray are often divisions, in which are deposited steel pens, wafers, wax, pencils, pen-holders, and, as one stationer expressed it, "packable things that you can't get much show out of." One man—who rather plumed himself on being a thorough master of his trade—said to me: "It's a grand point to display, sir. Now, just take it in this way. Suppose you yourself, sir, lived in my round. Werry good. You hear me cry as I'm a approaching your door, and suppose you was a customer, you says to yourself: 'Here's Penny-a-quire,' as I'm called oft enough. And I'll soon be with you, and I gives a extra emphasis at a customer's door. Werry good, you buys the note. *As* you buys the note, you gives a look over my tray, and then you says, 'O, I want some steel pens, and is your ink good?' and you buys some. But for the 'display,' you'd have sent to the shop-keeper's, and I should have lost custom, 'cause it wouldn't have struck you."*

The articles more regularly sold by the street-sellers of stationery are note-paper, letter-paper, envelopes, steel pens, pen-holders, sealing-wax, wafers, black-lead pencils, ink in stonebottles, memorandum-books, almanacks, and valentines. Occasionally, they sell India-rubber, slate-pencil, slates, copy-books, story-books, and arithmetical tables.

The stationery is purchased, for the most part, in Budge-row and Drury-lane. The half-quires (sold at 1*d.*) contain, generally, 10 sheets; if the paper, however, be of superior quality, only 8 sheets. In the paper-warehouses it is known as "outsides," with no more than 10 sheets to the half-quire, the price varying from 4*s.* to 6*s.* the ream (20 quires); or, if bought by weight, from 7*d.* to 9*d.* the pound. The envelopes are sold (wholesale) at from 6*d.* to 15*d.* the dozen; the higher-priced being adhesive, and with impressions—now, generally, the Crystal Palace—on the place of the seal. The commoner are retailed in the streets at 12, and the better at 6, a penny. Sometimes "a job-lot," soiled, is picked up by the street-stationer at 4*d.* a pound. The sealing, a pound, retailed at ½*d.* each; the "flat" wax, however, is 1*s.* 4*d.* per lb., containing from 30 to 36 sticks, retailed at 1*d.* each. Wafers (at the same swag shops) are 3*d.* or 4*d.* the lb.—in small boxes, 9*d.* the gross; ink, 4½*d.* or 5*d.* the dozen bottles; pencils, 7*d.* to 8*s.* a gross; and steel pens from 4*d.* (waste) to 3*s.* a gross; but the street-stationers do not go beyond 2*s.* the gross, which is for magnum bonums.

Of the Experience of a Street-Stationer.

A middle-aged man gave me the following

* I may here observe that I have rarely heard tradesmen dealing in the same wares as street-sellers, described by those street-sellers by any other term than that of "shopkeepers."

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account. He had pursued the trade for upwards of twelve years. He was a stout, cosey-looking man, wearing a loose great coat. The back of his tray rested against his double-breasted waistcoat; the pattern of which had become rather indistinct, but which was buttoned tightly up to his chin, as if to atone for the looseness of his coat. The corner of his mouth, toward his left ear, was slightly drawn down, for he seemed in "crying" to pitch his voice (so that it could be heard a street off) out of the corner of his only partially-opened mouth.

"Middlin', sir," he said, "times is middlin' with me; they might be better, but then they might be worse. I can manage to live. The times is changed since I was first in the business. There wasn't no 'velops (envelopes) then, and no note-paper—least I had none; but I made as good or a better living than I do now; a better indeed. When the penny-postage came in—I don't mind the year, but I hadn't been long in the trade [it was in 1840]—I cried some of the postage 'velops. They was big, figured things at first, with elephants and such like on them, and I called them at prime cost, if anything was bought with 'em. The very first time, a p'liceman says, 'You mustn't sell them covers. What authority have you to do it?' 'Why, the authority to earn a dinner,' says I; but it was no go. Another peeler came up and said I wasn't to cry them again, or he'd have me up; and so that spec. came to nothing. I sell to ladies and gentlemen, and to servant-maids, and mechanics, and their wives; and indeed all sorts of people. Some fine ladies, that call me to the door on the sly, do behave very shabby. Why, there was one who wanted five half-quire of note for 4*d.*, and I told her I couldn't afford it, and so she said 'that she knew the world, and never gave nobody the price they first asked.' 'If that's it, ma'am,' says I, 'people that knows your plan can 'commodate you.' That knowing card of a lady, sir, as she reckons herself, had as much velvet to her body—such a gown!—as would pay *my* tailor's bills for twenty year. But I don't employ a fashionable tailor, and can patch a bit myself, as I was two years with a saddler, and was set to work to make girths and horse-clothes. My master died, and all went wrong, and I had to turn out, without nobody to help me,—for I had no parents living; but I was a strong young fellow of sixteen. I first tried to sell a few pairs of girths, and a roller or two, to livery-stable keepers, and horse-dealers, and job-masters. But I was next to starving. They wouldn't look at anything but what was good, and the stuff was too high, and the profit too little—for I couldn't get regular prices, in course—and so I dropped it. There's no men in the world so particular about good things as them as is about vallyable horses. I've often thought if rich people cared half as much about poor men's togs, that was working or them for next to nothing, as they cared for their horse-clothes, it would be a better world. I was dead beat at last; but I went down to Epsom and sold a few race-cards. I'd borrowed 1*s.* of a groom to start with, and he wouldn't take it back when I offered it; and that wax is bought at general warehouses, known as "swag shops" (of which I may speak hereafter), at 8*d.* the pound, there being 48 round sticks in, was my beginning in the paper trade. I felt queer at first, and queerer when I wasn't among horses, as at the races like—but one get's reconciled to anything, 'cept, to a man like me, a low lodging-house. A stable's a palace to it. I got into stationery at last, and it's respectable.

"I've heard people say how well they could read and write, and it was no good to them. It has been, and is still, a few pence to me; though I can only read and write middlin'. I write notes and letters for some as buys paper of me. Never anything in the beggin' way—never. It wouldn't do to have my name mixed up that way. I've often got extra pennies for directing and doing up valentines in nice 'velops. Why, I spoke to a servant girl the other day; she was at the door, and says I, 'Any nice paper to-day, to answer your young man's last love-letter, or to write home and ask your mother's consent to your being wed next Monday week?' That's the way to get them to listen, sir. Well, I finds that she can't write, and so I offers to do it for a pint of beer, and she to pay for paper of course. And then there was so many orders what to say. Her love to no end of aunts, and all sorts of messages and inquiries about all sorts of things; and when I'd heard enough to fill a long 'letter' sheet, she calls me back and says, 'I'm afraid I've forgot uncle Thomas.' I makes it all short enough in the letter, sir. 'My kind love to all inquiring friends,' takes in all uncle Thomases. I writes them when I gets a bite of dinner. Sometimes I posts them, if I'm paid beforehand; at other times I leaves them next time I pass the door. There's no mystery made about it. If a missus says, 'What's that?' I've heard a girl answer, 'It's a letter I've got written home, ma'am. I haven't time myself,' or 'I'm no scholar, ma'am.' But that's only where I'm known. I don't write one a week the year round—perhaps forty in a year. I charge 1*d.* or 2*d.*, or if it's a very poor body, and no gammon about it, nothing. Well, then, I think I never wrote a love-letter. Women does that one for another, I think, when the young housemaid can't write as well as she can talk. I jokes some as I knows, and says I writes all sorts of letters but love-letters, and for them, you see, says I, there's wanted the best gilt edge, and a fancy 'velop, and a Dictionary. I take more for note and 'velops than anything else, but far the most for note. Some has a sheet folded and fitted into a 'velop when they buys, as they can't fit it so well theirselves, they say. Perhaps I make 2*s.* a day, take it all round. Some days I may make as much as 3*s.* 6*d.*; at others, 'specially wet days, not 1*s.* But I call mine a tidy round, and better than an average. I've only myself, and pays 1*s.* 9*d.* a week for a tidy room, with a few of my own sticks in it. I

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buy sometimes in Budge-row, and sometimes in Drury-lane. Very seldom at a swag-shop (Birmingham house), for I don't like them.

"Well, now, I've heard, sir, that poor men like me ain't to be allowed to sell anything in the Park at the Great Exhibition. How's that, sir?" I told him I could give no information on the subject.

"It's likely enough to be true," he resumed; "the nobs 'll want to keep it all to theirselves. I read *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* on a Sunday, and what murders and robberies there is now! What will there be when the Great Exhibition opens! for rogues is worst in a crowd, and they say they'll be plenty come to London from all arts and parts? Never mind; if I can see anything better to do in a fair way at the Exhibition, I'll cut the streets.

"Perhaps my earnings is half from working people and half from private houses; that's about it. But working people's easiest satisfied."

I have given this man's statement more fully than I should have thought necessary, that I might include his account of letter-writing. The letter-writer was at one period a regular street-labourer in London, as he is now in some continental cities—Naples, for instance. The vocation in London seems in some respects to have fallen into the hands of the street-stationer, but the majority of letters written for the uneducated—and their letter-receiving or answering is seldom arduous—is done, I believe, by those who are rather vaguely but emphatically described as—"friends."

I am told that there are 120 street-stationers in London, a small majority of whom may be itinerant, but chiefly on regular rounds. On a Sunday morning, in such places as the Brill, are two or three men, but not regularly, who sell stationery only on Sunday mornings. Taking the number, however, at 120, I am assured that their average profits may be taken at 8*s.* weekly, each stationer. On note-paper of the best sort the profit is sometimes only 50 per cent.; but, take the trade altogether, we may calculate it at cent. per cent. (on some things it is higher); and we find 4,992*l.* yearly expended in street-stationery.

Of a "Reduced" Gentlewoman, and a "Reduced" Tradesman, as Street-sellers of Stationery.

I now give two statements, which show the correctness of my conclusion, that among the street-stationers were persons of education who had known prosperity, and that, as a body, those engaged in this traffic were a better class than the mass of the "paper-workers." They are also here cited as illustrations of the causes which lead, or rather force, many to a street-life.

The first statement is that of a lady:—

"My father," she said, "was an officer in the army, and related to the Pitt family. After his death, I supported myself by teaching music. I was considered very talented by my profession, both as teacher and composer." (I may here interrupt the course of the narrative by saying, that I myself have had printed proofs of the lady's talents in this branch of art.) "A few years ago, a painful and protracted illness totally incapacitated me from following my profession; consequently, I became reduced to a state of great destitution. For many weeks I remained ill in my own room. I often, during that time, went without nourishment the day through. I might have gone into an hospital; but I seemed to dread it so much, that it was not until I was obliged to give up my room that I could make up my mind to enter one. From that time, until within a few weeks ago, I have been an inmate of several hospitals: the last I was in was the Convalescent Establishment at Carshalton. On my coming to London, I found I had to begin the world again, as it were, in a very different manner from what I have been accustomed to. I had no head to teach—I felt that; and what to do I hardly knew. I had no home to go to, and not a halfpenny in the world. I had heard of the House of Charity, in Soho-square, and, as a last resource, I went there; but before I could have courage to ask admittance, I got a woman to go in and see what kind of a place it was—I seemed to fear it so much. I met with great kindness there, however; and, by the time I left, the care they had bestowed upon me had restored my health in a measure, but not my head. The doctors advised me to get some out-door occupation (I am always better in the open air); but what to do I could not tell. At last I thought of a man I had known, who made fancy envelopes. I went to him, and asked him to allow me to go round to a few houses with some of them for a small per centage. This he did, and I am thereby enabled, by going along the streets and calling to offer my envelopes at any likely house, just to live. None but those who have suffered misfortunes (as I have done) can tell what my feelings were on first going to a house. I *could* not go where I was known; I had not the courage, nor would my pride allow me. My pupils had been very kind to me during my illnesses, but I could not bear the idea of going to them and offering articles for sale.

"My fear of strangers is so great, that I tremble when I knock at a door—lest I should meet with an angry word. How few have any idea of the privations and suffering that have been endured before a woman (brought up as I have been) can make up her mind to do as I am obliged to do! I am now endeavouring to raise a little money to take a room, and carry on the envelope business myself. I might do pretty well, I think; and, should my head get better, in time I might get pupils again. At present I could not teach, the distressed state of my mind would not allow me."

The tradesman's statement he forwarded to me in writing, supplying me with every facility to test the full accuracy of his assertions, which it is right I should add I have done, and found all as he has stated. I give the narrative in the

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writer's words (and his narrative will be found at once diffuse and minute), as a faithful representation of a "reduced" tradesman's struggles, thoughts, and endurances, before being forced into the streets.

"I was brought up," he writes, "as a linen-draper. After filling every situation as an assistant, both in the wholesale and retail trade, I was for a considerable time in business. Endeavouring to save another from ruin, I advanced what little money I had at my banker's, and became security for more, as I thought I saw my way clear. But a bond of judgment was hanging over the concern (kept back from me of course) and the result was, I lost my money to the amount of some hundreds, of which I have not recovered one pound. Since that time I have endeavoured to gain a livelihood as a town traveller. In 1845 I became very much afflicted, and the affliction continued the greater part of the following year. At one time I had fifteen wounds on my body, and lost the use of one side. I was reduced by bodily disease, as well as in circumstances. My wife went to reside among her friends, and I, after my being an out-patient of Bartholomew's Hospital went, through necessity, to Clerkenwell Workhouse. When recovered, I made another effort to do something among my own trade, and thought, after about two years struggle, I should recover in a measure my position. In August, 1849, I sent for a few shillings-worth of light articles from London (being then at Dunstable). I received them, and sold one small part; I went the following day to the next village nearer London. There I had a violent attack of cholera; which once more defeated my plans, leaving me in a weak condition. I was obliged to seek the refuge of my parish, and consider that very harshly was I treated there. They refused me admittance, and suffered me to walk the street two days and two nights. I had no use of my arm, was ill and disabled. About half-past seven on the third night, a gentleman, hearing of my sufferings, knocked at the door of the Union, took me inside, and dared them to turn me thence. This was in October, 1849. I lay on my bed there for seven weeks nearly, and a few days before Christmas-day the parish authorities brought me before the Board, and turned me out, with one shilling and a loaf; one of the overseers telling me to go to h—ll and lodge anywhere. I came to lodge at the Model Lodging-house, King-street, Drury-lane; but being winter-time they were full. Although I remained there in the day-time, I was obliged to sleep at another house. At this domicile I saw how many ways there were of getting what the very poor call a living, and various suggestions were offered. I was promised a gift of 2*s.* 6*d.* by an individual, on a certain day,—but I had to live till that day, and many were the feelings of my mind, how to dispose of what might remain when I received the 2*s.* 6*d.*, as I was getting a little into debt. My debt, when paid, left me but 9½*d.* out of the 2*s.* 6*d.* to trade with. I had never hawked an article before that time; to stand the streets was terrible to my mind, and how to invest this small sum sadly perplexed me. My mind was racked by painful anxiety; one moment almost desponding, the next finding so much sterling value in a shilling, that I saw in it the means of rescuing me from my degradation. Wanting many of the necessaries of life, but without suitable attire for my own business, and still weak from illness, I mad up my mind. On the afternoon of 2nd Jan., 1850, I purchased 1½ doz. memorandum-books, of a stationer in Clerkenwell, telling him my capital. I obtained the name of 'Ninepence-halfpenny Man' (the amount of my funds) at that shop. The next step was how to dispose of my books. I thought I would go round to some coffee and public-houses, as I could not endure the streets. I went into one, where I was formerly known, and sold 6*d.*-worth, and meeting a person who was once in my own line, at another house, I sold 4*d.*-worth more. The first night, therefore, I got over well. The next day I did a little, but not so well, and I found out that what I had bought was not the most ready sale. My returns that week were only 6*s.* 2*d.* I found I must have something different,—one thing would not do alone; so I bought a few childrens' books and almanacks—sometimes going to market with as little as seven farthings. I could not rise to anything better in the way of provisions during this time than dry toast and coffee, as the rent must be looked to. I struggled on, hoping against hope. At one period I had a cold and lost my voice. Two or three wet days in a week made me a bankrupt. If I denied myself food, to increase my stock, and went out for a day or two to some near town, I found that with small stock and small returns I could not stem the tide.

"I always avoided associating with any but those a step higher in the grades of society—a circumstance that caused me not to know as much of the market for my cheap articles as I might have done. I am perhaps looked on as rather an 'aristocrat,' as I am not often seen by the street-sellers at a stand. My difficulties have been of no ordinary kind; with a desire for more domestic comfort on one hand, and painful reflections from want of means on the other, I have had to call to my aid all the philosophy I possess, to keep up a proper equilibrium, lest I should be tempted to anything derogatory or dishonest. I am desirous of a rescue at the only time likely for it to take place with advantage, as I am persuaded when persons continue long in a course that endangers their principles and self-respect, a rescue becomes hopeless. Should I have one small start with health, the privations I have undergone show not what comforts I have had, or may hope ever to have, but what I can absolutely do without.

"I found the first six months not quite so good as the latter; March and May being the worst. The entire amount taken from January 2nd to December 31st, 1850; was 28*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*,—

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an average of about 11*s.* 4*d.* a week; say for cost of goods, 6*s.* per week; and rent, 1*s.* 9*d.*; leaving me but 3*s.* 7*d.* clear for living. This statement, sir, is strictly correct, as I do not get cent. per cent. on all the articles; and yet with so small a return I am not behind one single crown at the present time.

"On New Year's-day last, I had but the cost price of stock, 5*d.* Up to the evening of February 10th, I have taken 2*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*;—having paid for goods, 1*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*; and for rent, 8*s.* 10*d.*: leaving me 1*l.* 5*d.* to exist on during nearly six weeks. These facts and figures show that without a little assistance it is impossible to rise; and remember this circumstance—I have had to walk on some occasions as much as twenty or twenty-two miles in a day. If those whom Providence has blessed with a little more than their daily wants would only enter into the conflicts of the really reduced person, they would not be half so niggardly in spending a few coppers for useful articles, at least, nor overbearing in their requirements as to bulk, when purchasing of the itinerant vendor. Did they but reflect that they themselves might be in the same condition, or some of their families, I am sure they would not act as they do; for I would venture to say that the common street beggar does not get more rebuffs or insults than the educated and unfortunate reduced tradesmen in the streets. The past year has been one of the most trying and painful, yet I hope instructive, periods of my existence, and one of which I trust I never shall see the like again."

I subjoin one of the testimonies that have been furnished me, as to this man's character, and which I thought it right to procure before giving publicity to the above statement. It is from a minister of the gospel—the street-seller's father-in-law.

"DEAR SIR,—I received a letter, last Tuesday, from Mr. Knight, intimating that he was requested by you to inquire into the character of Mr. J—— N——.

"It is quite correct, as he states, that his wife is my daughter. They lived together several years in London; but eventually, notwithstanding her efforts in the millinery and straw-work, they became so reduced that their circumstances obliged my daughter to take her two little girls with herself to us.

"This was in the summer, 1845. His wife and children have been of no expense to Mr. N. since that time. The sole cause of their separation was poverty.

"I consider him to have acted imprudently in giving up his situation to depend on an income arising from a small capital; whereas, if he had kept in a place, whilst she attended to her own business, they might have gone on comfortably; and should they, through the interposition of a kind Providence, gain that position again, it is to be hoped that they will improve the circumstance to the honour and glory of the Author of all our mercies, and with gratitude to the instrument who may be raised up for their good.

"I am, dear Sir, respectfully yours,
"J. D."

Other vouchers have been received, and all equally satisfactory.

OF THE STREET-SALE OF MEMORANDUM-BOOKS AND ALMANACKS.

THE memorandum-books in demand in street-sale are used for weekly "rent-books." The payment of the rent is entered by the landlord, and the production of one of these books, showing a punctuality of payment, perhaps for years, is one of the best "references" that can be given by any one in search of a new lodging. They are bought also for the entrance of orders, and then of prices, in the trade at chandler's shops, &c., where weekly or monthly accounts are run. All, or nearly all, the street-stationers sell memorandum-books, and in addition to them, there may be, I am told, sometimes as many as fifty poor persons, including women and children, who sell memorandum-books with other trifling articles, not necessarily stationery, but such things as stay-laces or tapes. If a man sell memorandum-books alone it is because his means limit him to that stock, he being at the time, what I heard a patterer describe as, a "dry-bread cove." The price is 6*d.* the dozen, or 9*d.* (with almanacks pasted inside the cover), and thirteen to the dozen. No more than 1*d.* is obtained in the streets for any kind of memorandum-books.

The almanack street trade, I heard on all hands, had become a mere nothing. "What else can you expect, sir," said one street-seller, "when so many publicans sends almanacks round, or gives them away to their customers; and when the slop tailors' shilling-a-day men thrust one into people's hands at every corner? It was a capital trade once, before the duty was taken off—capital! The duty wasn't in our way so much as in the shop-keepers', though *they* did a good deal on the sly in unstamped almanacks. Why of a night in October I've many a time cleared 5*s.* and more by selling in the public-houses almanacks at 2*d.* and 3*d.* a-piece (they cost me 1*s.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* a dozen at that time). Anything that way, when Government's done, has a ready sale; people enjoys it; and I suppose no man, as ever was, thinks it much harm to do a tax-gatherer! I don't pay the income-tax myself (laughing). One evening I sold, just by Blackfriars-bridge, fourteen dozen of diamond almanacks to fit into hat-crowns. I was liable, in course, and ran a risk. I sold them mostly at 1*d.* a piece, but sometimes got 6*d.* for three. I cleared between 6*s.* and 7*s.* The 'diamonds' cost me 8*d.* a dozen."

The street almanack trade is now carried on by the same parties as I have specified in my account of memorandum-books. Those sold are of any cheap kind, costing wholesale 6*d.* a dozen, but they are almost always announced as "Moore's."

OF THE STREET-SALE OF POCKET-BOOKS AND DIARIES.

THE sale of pocket-books, in the streets, is not, I was told by several persons, "a living for a man now-a-days." Ten years ago it was common to find men in the streets offering "half-crown pocket-books" for 1*s.*, and holding them open so as to display the engravings, if there

were any. The street-sale usually takes place in March, when the demand for the regular trade has ceased, and the publishers dispose of their unsold stock. The trade is now, I am assured, only about a tenth of its former extent. The reason assigned for the decline is that almanacks, diaries, &c., are so cheap that people look upon 1*s*. as an enormous price, even for a "beautiful morocco-bound pocket-book," as the street-seller proclaims it. The binding is roan (a dressed sheep-skin, morocco being a goat-skin), an imitation of morocco, but the pocket-books are really those which in the October preceding have been published in the regular way of trade. Some few of them may, however, have been damaged, and these are bought by the street-people as a "job lot," and at a lower price than that paid in the regular way; which is 4*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*. 6*d*. the dozen, thirteen to the dozen. The "job lot" is sometimes bought for 2*s*. 6*d*. a dozen, and sold at 6*d*. each, or as low as 4*d*.,—for street-sellers generally bewail their having often to come down to "fourpenny-bits, as they're going so much now." One man told me that he was four days last March in selling a dozen pocket-books, though the weather was not unfavourable, and that his profit was 5*s*. Engravings of the "fashions," the same man told me, were "no go now." Even poorly-dressed women (but they might, he thought, be dress-makers) had said to him the last time he displayed a pocket-book with fashions—"They're out now." The principal supplier of pocket-books, &c., to the street-trade is in Bride-lane, Fleet-street. Commercial diaries are bought and sold at the same rate as pocket-books; but the sale becomes smaller and smaller.

I am informed that "last season" there were twenty men, all street-traders in "paper," or "anything that was up," at other times, selling pocket-books and diaries. For this trade Leicester-square is a favourite place. Calculating, from the best data I can command, that each of those men took 15*s*. weekly for a month (half of it their profit), we find 60*l*. expended in the streets in this purchase. Ledgers are sometimes sold in the streets; but as the sale is more a hawker's than a regular street-seller's, an account of the traffic is not required by my present subject.

Of the Street-sellers of Songs.

These street-traffickers, with the exception, in a great degree, of the "pinners-up," are of the same class, but their callings are diversified. There are long song-sellers, ballad-sellers (who are generally singers of the ballads they vend, unless they are old and infirm, and offer ballads instead of begging), chaunters, pinners-up, and song-book-sellers. The three first-mentioned classes I have already described in their connection with the patterers; and I now proceed to deal with the two last-mentioned.

The "pinners-up" (whom I have mentioned as an exceptional body), are the men and women —the women being nearly a third of the number of the men—who sell songs which they have "pinned" to a sort of screen or large board, or have attached them, in any convenient way, to a blank wall; and they differ from the other song-sellers, inasmuch as that they are not at all connected with patter, and have generally been mechanics, porters, or servants, and reduced to struggle for a living as "pinners-up."

Of the Street "Pinners-up," or Wall Song-sellers.

These street-traders, when I gave an account of them in the winter of 1849, were not 50 in number; they are now, I learn, about 30. One informant counted 28, and thought "that was nearly all."

I have, in my account of street song-sellers, described the character of the class of pinners-up. Among the best-accustomed stands are those in Tottenham-court Road, the New-road, the City-road, near the Vinegar-works, the Westminster-road, and in Shoreditch, near the Eastern Counties Station. One of the best-known of the pinners-up was a stout old man, wearing a great-coat in all weathers, who "pinned-up" in an alley leading from White-friars-street to the Temple, but now thrown into an open street. He had old books for sale on a stall, in addition to his ballads, and every morning was seen reading the newspaper, borrowed from a neighbouring public-house which he "used," for he was a keen politician. "He would quarrel with any one," said a person who then resided in the neighbourhood—an account confirmed to me at the public-house in question —"mostly about politics, or about the books and songs he sold. Why, sir, I've talked to him many a time, and have stood looking through his books; and if a person came up and said, 'Oh, Burn's Works, 1*s*.; I can't understand him,'—then the old boy would abuse him for a fool! Suppose another came and said—for I've noticed it myself—'Ah! Burns—he was a poet!' that didn't pass; for the jolly old pinner-up would say, 'Well, now, I don't know about that.' In my opinion, he cared nothing about this side or that—this notion or the opposite—but he liked to *shine*." The old man was carried off in the prevalence of the cholera in 1849.

At the period I have specified, I received the following statement from a man who at that time pinned-up by Harewood-place, Oxford-street:

"I'm forty-nine," he said. "I've no children, thank God, but a daughter, who is eighteen, and no incumbrance to me, as she is in a 'house of business;' and as she has been there nine years, her character can't be so very bad. (This was said proudly.) I worked twenty-two years with a great sculptor as a marble polisher, and besides that, I used to run errands for him, and was a sort of porter, like, to him. I couldn't get any work, because he hadn't no more marble-work to do; so nine or ten years back I went into this line. I knew a man what done well in it—but times

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was better then—and that put it into my head. It cost me 2*l.* 10*s.* to stock my stall, and get all together comfortable; for I started with old books as well as songs. I got leave to stand here from the landlord. I sell ballads and manuscript music (beautifully done these music sheets were), which is 'transposed' (so he worded it) from the nigger songs. There's two does them for me. They're transposed for the violin. One that does them is a musicianer, who plays outside public-houses, but I think his daughter does most of it. I sell my songs at a halfpenny,—and, when I can get it, a penny a piece. Do I yarn a pound a week? Lor' bless you, no. Nor 15*s.*, nor 12*s.* I don't yarn, one week with another, not 10*s.*, sometimes not 5*s.* My wife don't yarn nothing. She used to go out charing, but she can't now. I am at my stall at nine in the morning, and sometimes I have walked five or six miles to buy my 'pubs' before that. I stop till ten at night oft enough. The wet days is the ruin of us; and I think wet days increases. [This was said on a rainy day.] Such a day as yesterday now I didn't take, not make,—but I didn't *take* what would pay for a pint of beer and a bit of bread and cheese. My rent's 2*s.* 3*d.* a week for one room, and I've got my own bits of sticks there. I've always kept *them*, thank God!"

Generally, these dealers know little of the songs they sell,—taking the printer's word, when they purchase, as to "what was going." The most popular comic songs (among this class I heard the word *song* used far more frequently than *ballad*) are not sold so abundantly as others,—because, I was told, boys soon picked *them* up by heart, hearing them so often, and so did not buy them. Neither was there a great demand for nigger songs, nor for "flash ditties," but for such productions as "A Life on the Ocean Wave," "I'm Afloat," "There's a Good Time coming," "Farewell to the Mountain," &c., &c. Three-fourths of the customers of these traders, one man assured me, were boys.

Indecent songs are not sold by the pinners-up. One man of whom I made inquiries was quite indignant that I should even think it necessary to ask such questions. The "songs" cost the pinners-up, generally, 2*d.* a dozen, sometimes 2½*d.*, and sometimes less than 2*d.*, according to the quality of the paper and the demand.

On fine summer days the wall song-sellers take 2*s.* on an average. On short wintry days they may not take half so much, and on very foggy or rainy days they take nothing at all. Their ballads are of the same sort as those I proceed to describe under especial heads, and I have shown what are of readiest sale. Reckoning that each pinner-up, thirty in number, now takes 10*s.* 6*d.* weekly (7*s.* being the profit), we find that 780 guineas are yearly expended in London streets, in the ballads of the pinners-up.

Of Ancient and Modern Street Ballad Minstrelsy.

Mr. Strutt, in his "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England," shows, as do other authorities, that in the reigns subsequent to the Norman Conquest the minstrels "were permitted to perform in the rich monasteries, and in the mansions of the nobility, which they frequently visited in large parties, and especially upon occasions of festivity. They entered the castles without the least ceremony, rarely waiting for any previous invitation, and there exhibited their performances for the entertainment of the lord of the mansion and his guests. They were, it seems, admitted without any difficulty, and handsomely rewarded for the exertion of their talents."

Of the truth of this statement all contemporary history is a corroboration. The minstrels then, indeed, constituted the theatre, the opera, and the concert of the powerful and wealthy. They were decried by some of the clergy of that day,—as are popular performers and opera singers (occasionally) by some zealous divine in our own era. John of Salisbury stigmatizes minstrels as "ministers of the devil."

"The large gratuities collected by these artists," the same antiquarian writer further says, "not only occasioned great numbers to join their fraternity, but also induced many idle and dissipated persons to assume the characters of minstrels, to the disgrace of the profession. These evils became at last so notorious, that in the reign of King Edward II. it was thought necessary to restrain them by a public edict, which sufficiently explains the nature of the grievance. It states, that many indolent persons, under the colour of minstrelsy, intruded themselves into the residences of the wealthy, where they had both meat and drink, but were not contented without the addition of large gifts from the householder. To restrain this abuse, the mandate ordains, that no person should resort to the houses of prelates, earls, or barons, to eat, or to drink, who was not a professed minstrel; nor more than three or four minstrels of honour at most in one day (meaning, I presume, the king's minstrels of honour and those retained by the nobility), except they came by invitation from the lord of the house."

The themes of the minstrels were the triumphs, victories, pageants, and great events of the day; commingled with the praise, or the satire of individuals, as the humour of the patron or of the audience might be gratified. It is stated that Longchamp, the favourite and justiciary of Richard Cœur-de-lion, not only engaged poets to make songs and poems in his, Bishop Longchamp's, praise, but the best singers and minstrels to sing them in the public streets!

In the ninth year of the reign of Edward IV. another royal edict was issued, as little favourable to the minstrels as the one I have given an account of; and those functionaries seem to

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have gradually fallen in the estimation of the public, and to have been contemned by the law, down to the statute of Elizabeth, already alluded to, subjecting them to the same treatment as rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. A writer of the period (1589) represents the (still-styled) minstrels, singing "ballads and small popular musickes" for the amusement of boys and others "that passe by them in the streete." It is related also that their "matters were for the most part stories of old time; as the tale of Sir Topas, Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwick, Adam Bell, and Clymme of the Clough, and such other old romances or historical rhymes, made purposely for the recreation of the common people at Christmas dinners and bride ales, and in tavernes and alehouses, and such other places of base resort."

These "stories of old time" are now valuable as affording illustrations of ancient manners, and have been not unfertile as subjects of antiquarian annotation.

Under the head of the "Norman Minstrels," Mr. Strutt says: "It is very certain that the poet, the songster, and the musician were frequently united in the same person."

From this historical sketch it appears evident that the ballad-singer and seller of to-day is the sole descendant, or remains, of the minstrel of old, as regards the business of the streets; he is, indeed, the minstrel having lost caste, and being driven to play cheap.

The themes of the minstrels were wars, and victories, and revolutions; so of the modern man of street ballads. If the minstrel celebrated with harp and voice the unhorsings, the broken bones, the deaths, the dust, the blood, and all the glory and circumstance of a tournament,—so does the ballad-seller, with voice and fiddle, glorify the feelings, the broken bones, the blood, the deaths, and all the glory and circumstance of a prize-fight. The minstrel did not scoff at the madness which prevailed in the lists, nor does the ballad-singer at the brutality which rules in the ring. The minstrels had their dirges for departed greatness; the ballad-singer, like old Allan Bane, also "pours his wailing o'er the dead"—for are there not the street "helegies" on all departed greatness? In the bestowal of flattery or even of praise the modern minstrel is far less liberal than was his prototype; but the laudation was, in the good old times, very often "paid for" by the person whom it was sung to honour. Were the same measure applied to the ballad-singer and writer of today, there can be no reason to doubt that it would be attended with the same result. In his satire the modern has somewhat of an advantage over his predecessor. The minstrel not rarely received a "largesse" to satirize some one obnoxious to a rival, or to a disappointed man. The ballad-singer (or chaunter, for these remarks apply with equal force to both of these street-professionals), is seldom hired to abuse. I was told, indeed, by a clever chaunter, that he had been sent lately by a strange gentleman to sing a song—which he and his mate (a patterer) happened at the time to be working—in front of a neighbouring house. The song was on the rogueries of the turf; and the "move" had a doubly advantageous effect. "One gentleman, you see, sir, gave us 1*s.* to go and sing; and afore we'd well finished the chorus, somebody sent us from the house another 1*s.* to go away agin." I believe this to be the only way in which the satire of a ballad-singer is rewarded, otherwise than by sale to his usual class of customers in the streets or the public-houses. The ancient professors of street minstrelsy unquestionably played and sung satirical lays, depending for their remuneration on the liberality of their out-of-door audience; so is it precisely with the modern. The minstrel played both singly and with his fellows; the ballad-singer "works" both alone (but not frequently) and with his "mates" or his "school."

In the persons of some of these modern street professionals, as I have shown and shall further show, are united the functions of "the poet, the songster, and the musician." So in the days of yore. There are now female ballad-singers; there were female minstrels, or glee-women. The lays which were poured forth in our streets and taverns some centuries back, either for the regalement of a miscellaneous assemblage, or of a select few, were sometimes of an immoral tendency. Such, it cannot be denied, is the case in our more enlightened days at our Cyder-cellars, Coal-holes, Penny Gaffs, and such like places. Rarely, however, are such things sung in the streets of London; but sometimes at country fairs and races.

In one respect the analogy between the two ages of these promoters of street enjoyment does not hold. The minstrel's garb was distinctive. It was not always the short laced tunic, tight trousers, and russet boots, with a well plumed cap,—which seems to be the modern notion of this tuneful itinerant. The king's and queen's minstrels wore the royal livery, but so altered as to have removed from its appearance what might seem menial. The minstrels of the great barons also assumed their patron's liveries, with the like qualification. A minstrel of the highest class might wear "a fayre gowne of cloth of gold," or a military dress, or a "tawnie coat," or a foreign costume, or even an ecclesiastical garb,—and some of them went so far as to shave their crowns, the better to resemble monks. Of course they were imitated by their inferiors. The minstrel, then, wore a particular dress; the ballad-singer of the present day wears no particular dress. During the terrors of the reign of Henry VIII., and after the Reformation, a large body of the minstrels fell into meanness of attire; and in that respect the modern ballad-singer *is* analogous.

It must be borne in mind that I have all along spoken—except when the description is necessarily general—of the *street*, or itinerant, minstrel of old. The highest professors of the

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art were poets and composers, men often of genius, learning, and gravity, and were no more to be ranked with the mass of those I have been describing than is Alfred Tennyson with any Smithfield scribbler and bawler of some Newgate "Copy of Verses."

How long "Sir Topas" and the other "old stories" continued to be sung in the streets there are no means of ascertaining. But there are old songs, as I ascertained from an intelligent and experienced street-singer, still occasionally heard in the open air, but more in the country than the metropolis. Among those still heard, however rarely, are the Earl of Dorset's song, written on the night before a naval engagement with the Dutch, in 1665:

"To all you ladies now on land,
We men at sea indite."

I give the titles of the others, not chronologically, but as they occurred to my informant's recollection—"A Cobbler there was, and he liv'd in a Stall"—Parnell's song of "My Days have been so wond'rous Free," now sung in the streets to the tune of Gramachree." A song (of which I could not procure a copy, but my informant had lately heard it in the street) about the Cock-lane Ghost—

"Now ponder well, you parents dear
The words which I shall write;
A doleful story you shall hear,
In time brought forth to light."

the "Children in the Wood" and "Chevy-chase." Concerning this old ditty one man said to me: "Yes, sir, I've sung it at odd times and not long ago in the north of England, and I've been asked whereabouts Chevy-chase lay, but I never learned."

"In Scarlet towne, where I was borne,
There was a faire maid dwellin',
Made every youth crye, Well-awaye!
Her name was Barbara Allen."

"Barbara Allen's selling yet," I was told. "Gilderoy was a Bonnie Boy," is another song yet sung occasionally in the streets.

"The ballad," says a writer on the subject, "may be considered as the native species of poetry of this country. It very exactly answers the idea formerly given of original poetry, being the rude uncultivated verse in which the popular tale of the time was recorded. As our ancestors partook of the fierce warlike character of the northern nations, the subjects of their poetry would chiefly consist of the martial exploits of their heroes, and the military events of national history, deeply tinctured with that passion for the marvellous, and that superstitious credulity, which always attend a state of ignorance and barbarism. Many of the ancient ballads have been transmitted to the present times, and in them the character of the nation displays itself in striking colours."

The "Ballads on a Subject," of which I shall proceed to treat, are certainly "the rude uncultivated verse in which the popular tale of the times is recorded," and what may be the character of the nation as displayed in them I leave to the reader's judgment.

Of Street "Ballads on a Subject."

There is a class of ballads which may with perfect propriety be called *street* ballads, as they are written by street authors for street singing (or chaunting) and street sale. These effusions, however, are known in the trade by a title appropriate enough — "Ballads on a Subject." The most successful workers in this branch of the profession, are the men I have already described among the patterers and chaunters.

The "Ballads on a Subject" are always on a political, criminal, or exciting public event, or one that has interested the public, and the celerity with which one of them is written, and then sung in the streets, is in the spirit of "these railroad times." After any great event, "a ballad on the subject" is often enough written, printed, and sung in the street, in little more than an hour. Such was the case with a song "in honour," it was announced, "of Lord John Russell's resignation." Of course there is no time for either the correction of the rhymes or of the press; but this is regarded as of little consequence—while an early "start" with a new topic is of great consequence, I am assured; "yes, indeed, both for the sake of meals and rents." If, however, the songs were ever so carefully revised, their sale would not be greater.

I need not treat this branch of our street literature at any great length, as specimens of the "Ballad on a Subject" will be found in many of the preceding statements of paper-workers.

It will have struck the reader that all the street lays quoted as popular have a sort of burthen or jingle at the end of each verse. I was corrected, however, by a street chaunter for speaking of this burthen as a jingle. "It's a chorus, sir," he said. "In a proper ballad on a subject, there's often twelve verses, none of them under eight lines,—and there's a four-line chorus to every verse; and, if it's the right sort, it'll sell the ballad." I was told, on all hands, that it was not the words that ever "made a ballad, but the subject; and, more than the subject,—the chorus; and, far more than either,—*the tune!*" Indeed, many of the street-singers of ballads on a subject have as supreme a contempt for words as can be felt by any modern composer. To select a tune for a ballad, however, is a matter of deep deliberation. To adapt the ballad to a tune too common or popular is injudicious; for then, I was told, any one can sing it—boys and all. To select a more elaborate and less-known air, however appropriate, may not be pleasing to some of the members of "the school" of ballad-singers, who may feel it to be beyond their vocal powers; neither may it be relished by the critical in street song, whose approving criticism induces them to purchase as well as to admire.

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The license enjoyed by the court jesters, and, in some respects, by the minstrels of old, is certainly enjoyed, undiminished, by the street-writers and singers of ballads on a subject. They are unsparing satirists, who, with a rare impartiality, lash all classes and all creeds, as well as any individual. One man, upon whose information I can rely, told me that, eleven years ago, he himself had "worked," in town and country, 23 different songs at the same period and on the same subject—the marriage of the Queen. They all "sold,"—but the most profitable was one "as sung by Prince Albert in character." It was to the air of the "Dusty Miller;" and "it was good," said the ballad-man, "because we could easily dress up to the character given to Albert." I quote a verse:

> "Here I am in rags
> From the land of All-dirt,
> To marry England's Queen,
> And my name it is Prince Albert."

"And what's more, sir," continued my informant, "not very long after the honeymoon, the Duchess of L—— drove up in her carriage to the printer's, and bought all the songs in honour of Victoria's wedding, and gave a sovereign for them and wouldn't take the change. It was a duchess. Why I'm sure about it—though I can't say whether it were the Duchess of L—— or S——; for didn't the printer, like an honest man, when he'd stopped the price of the papers, hand over to us chaps the balance to drink, and *didn't* we drink it! There can't be a mistake about *that*."

Of street ballads on political subjects, or upon themes which have interested the whole general public, I need not cite additional instances. There are, however, other subjects, which, though not regarded as of great interest by the whole body of the people are still eventful among certain classes, and for them the street author and ballad-singer cater.

I first give a specimen of a ballad on a Theatrical Subject. The best I find, in a large collection of these street effusions, is entitled "Jenny Lind and Poet B." After describing how Mr. Bunn "flew to Sweden" and engaged Miss Lind, the poet proceeds,—the tune being "Lucy Long":

> "After Jenny sign'd the paper,
> She repented what she'd done,
> And said she must have been a cake,
> To be tempted by A. Bunn.
> The English tongue she must decline,
> It was such awkward stuff,
> And we find 'mongst our darling dames,
> That one tongue's quite enough.
>
> CHORUS.
>
> So take your time Miss Jenny,
> Oh, take your time Miss Lind,
> You're only to raise your voice,
> John Bull, will raise the wind.
>
> Says Alfred in the public eye,
> My name you shan't degrade,
> So birds that can and won't sing
> Why in course they must be made
> This put Miss Jenny's pipe out,
> Says Bunn your tricks I see,
> Altho' you are a Nightingale,
> You shan't play larks with me.
>
> The Poet said he'd seek the law,
> No chance away he'd throw;
> Says Jenny if you think I'll come,
> You'll find it is no go!
> When a bird-catcher named 'Lummy
> With independence big,
> Pounced down upon the Nightingale,
> And with her hopp'd the twig!"

I am inclined to think—though I know it to be an unusual case—that in this theatrical ballad the street poet was what is tenderly called a "plagiarist." I was assured by a chaunter that it was written by a street author,—but probably the chaunter was himself in error or forgetfulness.

Next, there is the Ballad on a Civic Subject. In the old times the Lord Mayor had his laureate. This writer, known as "poet to the City of London," eulogised all lord mayors, and glorified all civic pageants. That of the 9th November, especially, "lived in Settle's numbers, one day more,"—but Elkanah Settle was the last of such scribes. After his death, the city eschewed a poet. The office has now descended to the street bard, who annually celebrates the great ceremony. I cite two stanzas and the chorus from the latest of these civic Odes:

> "Now Farncombe's out and Musgrove's in,
> And grand is his position,
> Because he will be made a king,
> At the Hyde Park Exhibition;
> A feast he'll order at Guildhall,
> For hypocrites and sinners,
> And he has sent Jack Forester to Rome,
> To invite the Pope to dinner!
>
> A day like this we never saw,
> The truth I am confessing,
> Batty's astonishing menagerie,
> Is in the great procession;
> There's lions, tigers, bears and wolves,
> To please each smiling feature,
> And elephants in harness drawing
> Drury Lane Theatre!
>
> CHORUS.
>
> "It is not as it used to be,
> Cut on so gay and thrifty,
> The funny Lord Mayor's Show to see,
> In eighteen hundred and fifty."

There is, beside the descriptions of ballads above cited, the Ballad Local. One of these is headed the "Queer Doings in Leather-lane," and is on a subject concerning which street-sellers generally express themselves strongly—Sunday trading. The endeavour to stop street trading (generally) in Leather-lane, with its injurious results to the shopkeepers, has been already mentioned. The ballad on this local subject presents a personality now, happily, almost confined to the street writers:

> "A rummy saintly lot is there,
> A domineering crew,
> A Butcher, and a Baker,
> And an Undertaker too,
> Besides a cove who deals in wood,
> And makes his bundles small,
> And looks as black on Sunday
> As the Undertaker's pall.

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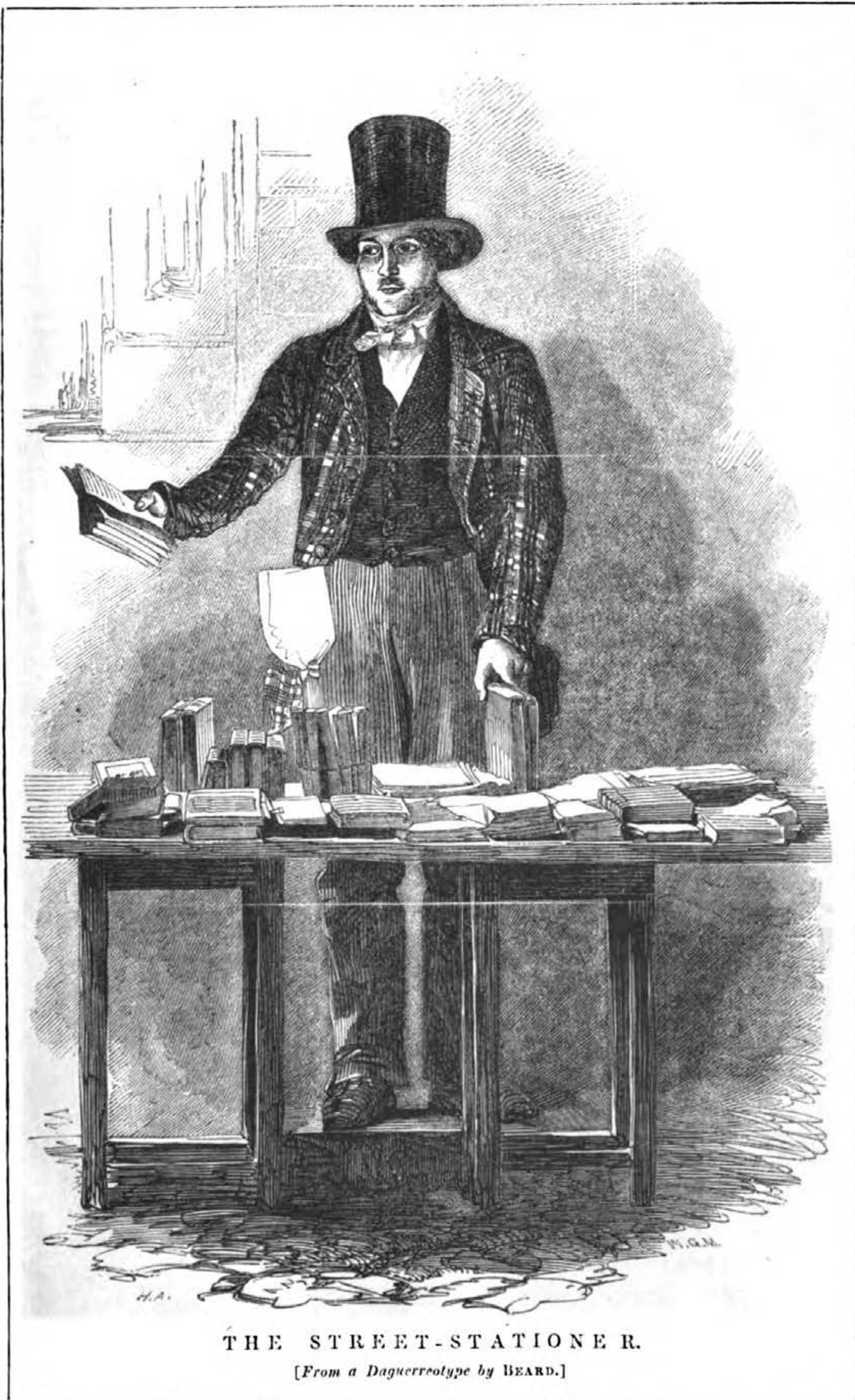

THE STREET-STATIONER.

[From a Daguerreotype by BEARD.*]*

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CHORUS.

You must not buy, you must not sell,
Oh! is it not a shame?
It is a shocking place to dwell,
About sweet Leather Lane.

The Butcher does not like to hear
His neighbours holloa, buy!
Although he on the Sunday
Sells a little on the sly;
And the Coffin Maker struts along
Just like the great Lord Mayor,
To bury folks on Sundays,
Instead of going to prayers."

There are yet three themes of these street songs, of which, though they have been alluded to, no specimens have been given. I now supply them. The first is the election ballad. I quote two stanzas from "Middlesex and Victory! or, Grosvenor and Osborne for ever!"

"Now Osborne is the man
To struggle for your rights,
He will vote against the Bishops,
You know, both day and night,
He will strive to crush the Poor Law Bill,
And that with all his might,
And he will never give his vote
To part a man from his wife.

CHORUS.

Then cheer Osborne and Lord Grosvenor,
Cheer them with three times three,
For they beat the soldier, Tommy Wood,
And gained the victory.

I have not forgot Lord Grosvenor,
Who nobly stood the test,
For the electors of great Middlesex
I know he'll do his best;
He will pull old Nosey o'er the coals,
And lay him on his back,
And he swears that little Bob's head
He will shove into a rat trap."

Then come the "elegies." Of three of these I cite the opening stanza. That on the "Death of Queen Adelaide" has for an illustration a figure of Britannia leaning on her shield, with the "Muse of History," (as I presume from her attributes,) at Britannia's feet. In the distance is the setting sun:

"Old England may weep, her bright hopes are fled,
The friend of the poor is no more;
For Adelaide now is numbered with the dead,
And her loss we shall sadly deplore.
For though noble her birth, and high was her station
The poor of this nation will miss her,
For their wants she relieved without ostentation,
But now she is gone, God bless her!
God bless her! God bless her!
But now she is gone, God bless her!"

The elegy on the "Death of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart. M.P.," is set off with a very fair portrait of that statesman.

"Britannia! Britannia! what makes thee complain,
O why so in sorrow relenting,
Old England is lost, we are born down in pain,
And the nation in grief is lamenting,
That excellent man—the pride of the land,
Whom every virtue possessed him,
Is gone to that Home, from whence no one returns,
Our dear friend, Sir Robert, God rest him.

The verses which bewail the "Death of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge," and which are adorned with the same illustration as those upon Queen Adelaide, begin

"Oh! death, thou art severe, and never seems contented,
Prince Adolphus Frederick is summoned away,
The death of Royal Cambridge in sorrow lamented,
Like the good Sir Robert Peel, he no longer could stay;
His virtues were good, and noble was his actions,
His presence at all places caused much attraction,
Britannia for her loss is driven to distraction,
Royal Cambridge, we'll behold thee no more!"

The third class of street-ballads relates to "fires." The one I quote, "On the Awful Fire at B. Caunt's, in St. Martin's-lane," is preceded by an engraving of a lady and a cavalier, the lady pointing to a column surmounted by an urn. I again give the first stanza:

"I will unfold a tale of sorrow,
List, you tender parents dear,
It will thrill each breast with horror,
When the dreadful tale you hear.
Early on last Wednesday morning,
A raging fire as we may see,
Did occur, most sad and awful,
Between the hours of two and three."

In a subsequent stanza are four lines, not without some rough pathos, and adapted to move the feelings of a street audience. The writer is alluding to the grief of the parents who had lost two children by a terrible death:

"No more their smiles they'll be beholding,
No more their pretty faces see,
No more to their bosoms will they fold them,
Oh! what must their feelings be."

I find no difference in style between the ballads on a subject of to-day, and the oldest which I could obtain a sight of, which were sung in the present generation—except that these poems now begin far less frequently with what at one time was as common as an invocation to the Muse—the invitation to good Christians to attend to the singer. One on the Sloanes, however, opens in the old fashion:

"Come all good Christians and give attention,
Unto these lines I will unfold,
With heartfelt feelings to you I'll mention,
I'm sure 'twill make your blood run cold."

I now conclude this account of street-ballads on a subject with two verses from one on the subject of "The Glorious Fight for the Championship of England." The celebration of these once-popular encounters is, as I have already stated, one of the points in which the modern ballad-man emulates his ancient brother minstrel:

"On the ninth day of September,
Eighteen hundred and forty five,
From London down to Nottingham
The roads were all alive;
Oh! such a sight was never seen,
Believe me it is so,
Tens of thousands went to see the fight,
With Caunt and Bendigo.

And near to Newport Pagnell,
Those men did strip so fine,
Ben Caunt stood six feet two and a half,
And Bendigo five foot nine;
Ben Caunt, a giant did appear,
And made the claret flow,
And he seemed fully determined
Soon to conquer Bendigo.

CHORUS.

With their hit away and slash away,
So manfully you see,
Ben Caunt has lost and Bendigo
Has gained the victory."

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Of the Street Poets and Authors.

Authorship, for street sale, is chiefly confined to the production of verse, which, whatever be its nature, is known through the trade as "ballads." Two distinctions, indeed, are recognised—"Ballads" and "Ballads on a Subject." The last-mentioned is, as I have said and shown, the publication which relates to any specific event; national or local, criminal or merely extraordinary, true or false. Under the head "Ballads," the street-sellers class all that does not come under the description of "Ballads on a Subject."

The same street authors—now six in number—compose indiscriminately any description of ballad, including the copy of verses I have shown to be required as a necessary part of all histories or trials of criminals. When the printer has determined upon a "Sorrowful Lamentation," he sends to a poet for a copy of verses, which is promptly supplied. The payment I have already mentioned—1*s.*; but sometimes, if the printer (and publisher) like the verses, he "throws a penny or two over;" and sometimes also, in case of a great sale, there is the same over-sum.

Fewer ballads, I was assured, than was the case ten or twelve years ago, are now written expressly for street sale or street minstrelsy. "They come to the printer, for nothing, from the concert-room. He has only to buy a 'Ross' or a 'Sharp'" [song-books] "for 1*d.*, and there's a lot of 'em; so, in course, a publisher ain't a-going to give a bob, if he can be served for a farthing, just by buying a song-book."

Another man, himself not a "regular poet," but a little concerned in street productions, said to me, with great earnestness: "Now look at this, sir, and I hope you'll just say, sir, as I tell you. You've given the public a deal of information about men like me, and some of our chaps abuses you for it like mad; but I say it's all right, for it's all true. Now you'll have learned, sir, or, any way, you will learn, that there's songs sung in the streets, and sometimes in some tap-rooms, that isn't decent, and relates to nothing but wickedness. There wasn't a few of those songs once written for the streets, straight away, and a great sale they had, I know—but far better at country fairs and races than in town. Since the singing-houses—I don't mean where you pay to go to a concert, no! but such as your Cyder-cellars, and your night-houses, where there's lords, and gentlemen, and city swells, and young men up from the colleges—since these places has been up so flourishing, there hasn't, I do believe, been *one* such song written by one of our poets. They all come from the places where the lords, and genelmen, and collegians is capital customers; and they never was a worse sort of ballads than now. In course those houses is licensed, and perticler respectable, or it wouldn't be allowed; and if I was to go to the foot of the bridge, sir (Westminster-bridge), and chaunt any such songs, and my mate should sell them, why we should very soon be taking reg'lar exercise on Colonel Chesterton's everlasting staircase. We has a great respect for the law—O, certainly!"

Parodies on any very popular song, which used to be prepared expressly for street trade, are now, in like manner, derived from the night-house or the concert-room; but not entirely so. The parody "Cab, cab, cab!" which was heard in almost every street, was originated in a concert-room.

The ballads which have lately been written, and published expressly for the street sale, and have proved the most successful, are parodies or imitations of "The Gay Cavalier." One street ballad, commencing in the following words, was, I am told, greatly admired, both in the streets and the public-houses.

"'Twas a dark foggy night,
 And the moon gave no light,
  And the stars were all put in the shade:
 When leary Joe Scott,
 Dealt in 'Donovan's hot'
  Said he'd go to court his fair maid."

I now give three stanzas of "The Way to Live Happy Together,"—a ballad said to have been written expressly for street sale. Its popularity is anything but discreditable to the street-buyers.

"From the time of this world's first formation
 You will find it has been the plan,
In every country and nation,
 That woman was formed to please man;
And man for to love and protect them,
 And shield them from the frowns of the world,
Through the smooth paths of life to direct them,
 And he who would do less is a churl.

Then listen to me!
If you would live happy together,
 As you steer through the troubles of life,
Depend that this world's greatest treasure,
 Is a kind and a good-tempered wife.

Some men will ill-use a good woman,
 And say all they do turns out wrong,
But as I mean to offend no one,
 You'll find faults to both sides belong:
But if both were to look at the bright side,
 And each other's minds cease to pain,
They would find they have looked at the right side
 For all would be summer again.

Then listen to me!
If you would live happy together, &c.

Married women, don't gossip or tattle,
 Remember it oft stirs up strife,
But attend to your soft children's soft prattle,
 And the duties of mother and wife.
And men, if you need recreation,
 With selfish companions don't roam,
Who might lead you to sad degradation,
 But think of your comforts at home.

Then listen to me!
If you would live happy together, &c."

"It's all as one, sir," was the answer of a man whom I questioned on the subject; "it's the same poet; and the same tip for any ballad. No more nor a bob for nothing."

A large number of ballads which I procured, and all sold and sung in the street, though not written expressly for the purpose, presented a curious study enough. They were of every class. I specify a few, to show the nature of

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the collection (not including ballads on a subject): "Ye Banks and Braes o' Bonnie Doun," with (on the same sheet) "The Merry Fiddler," (an indecent song)—"There's a good Time coming, Boys," "Nix, my Dolly," "The Girls of —— shire," (which of course is available for any county)—"Widow Mahoney," "Remember the Glories of Brian the Brave," "Clementina Clemmins," "Lucy Long," "Erin Go Bragh," "Christmas in 1850," "The Death of Nelson," "The Life and Adventures of Jemmy Sweet," "The Young May Moon," "Hail to the Tyrol," "He was sich a Lushy Cove," &c. &c.

I may here mention—but a fuller notice may be necessary when I treat of street art—that some of these ballads have an "illustration" always at the top of the column. "The Heart that can Feel for Another" is illustrated by a gaunt and savage-looking lion. "The Amorous Waterman of St. John's Wood," presents a very short, obese, and bow-legged grocer, in top-boots, standing at his door, while a lady in a huge bonnet is "taking a sight at him," to the evident satisfaction of a "baked 'tater" man. "Rosin the Beau" is heralded by the rising sun. "The Poachers" has a cut of the Royal Exchange above the title. "The Miller's Ditty" is illustrated by a perfect dandy, of the slimmest and straightest fashion; and "When I was first Breeched," by an engraving of a Highlander. Many of the ballads, however, have engravings appropriate enough.

Of the Experience of a Street Author, or Poet.

I have already mentioned the present number of street authors, as I most frequently heard them styled, though they write only verses. I called upon one on the recommendation of a neighbouring tradesman, of whom I made some inquiries. He could not tell me the number of the house in the court where the man lived, but said I had only to inquire for the Tinker, or the Poet, and any one would tell me.

I found the poor poet, who bears a good character, on a sick bed; he was suffering, and had long been suffering, from abscesses. He was apparently about forty-five, with the sunken eyes, hollow cheeks, and, not pale but thick and rather sallow complexion, which indicate ill-health and scant food. He spoke quietly, and expressed resignation. His room was not very small, and was furnished in the way usual among the very poor, but there were a few old pictures over the mantel-piece. His eldest boy, a lad of thirteen or fourteen, was making dog-chains; at which he earned a shilling or two, sometimes 2*s.* 6*d.*, by sale in the streets.

"I was born at Newcastle-under-Lyne," the man said, "but was brought to London when, I believe, I was only three months old. I was very fond of reading poems, in my youth, as soon as I could read and understand almost. Yes, very likely, sir; perhaps it was that put it into my head to write them afterwards. I was taught wire-working, and jobbing, and was brought up to hawking wire-work in the streets, and all over England and Wales. It was never a very good trade—just a living. Many and many a weary mile we've travelled together,—I mean, my wife and I have: and we've sometimes been benighted, and had to wander or rest about until morning. It wasn't that we hadn't money to pay for a lodging, but we couldn't get one. We lost count of the days sometimes in wild parts; but if we did lose count, or thought we had, I could always tell when it was Sunday morning by the look of nature; there was a mystery and a beauty about it as told me. I was very fond of Goldsmith's poetry always. I can repeat 'Edwin and Emma' now. No, sir; I never read the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' I found 'Edwin and Emma' in a book called the 'Speaker.' I often thought of it in travelling through some parts of the country.

"Above fourteen years ago I tried to make a shilling or two by selling my verses. I'd written plenty before, but made nothing by them. Indeed I never tried. The first song I ever sold was to a concert-room manager. The next I sold had great success. It was called the 'Demon of the Sea,' and was to the tune of 'The Brave Old Oak.' Do I remember how it began? Yes, sir, I remember every word of it. It began:

Unfurl the sails,
We've easy gales;
And helmsman steer aright,
Hoist the grim death's head—
The Pirate's head—
For a vessel heaves in sight!

That song was written for a concert-room, but it was soon in the streets, and ran a whole winter. I got only 1*s.* for it. Then I wrote the 'Pirate of the Isles,' and other ballads of that sort. The concert-rooms pay no better than the printers for the streets.

"Perhaps the best thing I ever wrote was the 'Husband's Dream.' I'm very sorry indeed that I can't offer you copies of some of my ballads, but I haven't a single copy myself of any of them, not one, and I dare say I've written a thousand in my time, and most of them were printed. I believe 10,000 were sold of the 'Husband's Dream.' It begins:

O Dermot, you look healthy now,
Your dress is neat and clean;
I never see you drunk about, .
Then tell me where you've been.

Your wife and family—are they well?
You once did use them strange:
O, are you kinder to them grown,
How came this happy change?

"Then Dermot tells how he dreamed of his wife's sudden death, and his childrens' misery as they cried about her dead body, while he was drunk in bed, and as he calls out in his misery, he wakes, and finds his wife by his side. The ballad ends:

'I pressed her to my throbbing heart,
Whilst joyous tears did stream;
And ever since, I've heaven blest,
For sending me that dream.'

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"Dermot turned teetotaller. The teetotallers were very much pleased with that song. The printer once sent me 5*s*. on account of it.

"I have written all sorts of things—ballads on a subject, and copies of verses, and anything ordered of me, or on anything I thought would be accepted, but now I can't get about. I've been asked to write indecent songs, but I refused. One man offered me 5*s*. for six such songs.—'Why, that's less than the common price,' said I, 'instead of something over to pay for the wickedness.'—All those sort of songs come now to the streets, I believe all do, from the concert-rooms. I can imitate any poetry. I don't recollect any poet I've imitated. No, sir, not Scott or Moore, that I know of, but if they've written popular songs, then I dare say I have imitated them. Writing poetry is no comfort to me in my sickness. It might if I could write just what I please. The printers like hanging subjects best, and I don't. But when any of them sends to order a copy of verses for a 'Sorrowful Lamentation' of course I must supply them. I don't think much of what I've done that way. If I'd my own fancy, I'd keep writing acrostics, such as one I wrote on our rector." "God bless him," interrupted the wife, "he's a good man." "That he is," said the poet, "but he's never seen what I wrote about him, and perhaps never will." He then desired his wife to reach him his big Bible, and out of it he handed me a piece of paper, with the following lines written on it, in a small neat hand enough:

"C elestial blessings hover round his head,
H undreds of poor, by his kindness were fed,
A nd precepts taught which he himself obeyed.
M an, erring man, brought to the fold of God,
P reaching pardon through a Saviour's blood.
N o lukewarm priest, but firm to Heaven's cause;
E xamples showed how much he loved its laws.
Y outh and age, he to their wants attends,
S teward of Christ—the poor man's sterling friend."

"There would be some comfort, sir," he continued, "if one could go on writing at will like that. As it is, I sometimes write verses all over a slate, and rub them out again. Live hard! yes, indeed, we do live hard. I hardly know the taste of meat. We live on bread and butter, and tea; no, not any fish. As you see, sir, I work at tinning. I put new bottoms into old tin tea-pots, and such like. Here's my sort of bench, by my poor bit of a bed. In the best weeks I earn 4*s*. by tinning, never higher. In bad weeks I earn only 1*s*. by it, and sometimes not that,—and there are more shilling than four shilling weeks by three to one. As to my poetry, a good week is 3*s*., and a poor week is 1*s*.—and sometimes I make nothing at all that way. So I leave you to judge, sir, whether we live hard; for the comings in, and what we have from the parish, must keep six of us—myself, my wife, and four children. It's a long, hard struggle." "Yes, indeed," said the wife, "it's just as you've heard my husband tell, sir. We've 2*s*. a week and four loaves of bread from the parish, and the rent 's 2*s*. 6*d*., and the landlord every week has 2*s*.,—and 6*d*. he has done for him in tinning work. Oh, we do live hard, indeed."

As I was taking my leave, the poor man expressed a desire that I would take a copy of an epitaph which he had written for himself. "If ever," he said, "I am rich enough to provide for a tomb-stone, or my family is rich enough to give me one, this shall be my epitaph" [I copied it from a blank page in his Bible:]

"Stranger, pause, a moment stay,
Tread lightly o'er this mound of clay.
Here lies J—— H——. in hopes to rise,
And meet his Saviour in the skies.
Christ his refuge, Heaven his home,
Where pain and sorrow never come.
His journey's done, his trouble's past,
With God he sleeps in peace at last."

Of the Street-Sellers of Broad-Sheets.

The broad-sheet known in street-sale is an unfolded sheet, varying in size, and printed on one side. The word is frequently used to signify an account of a murder or execution, but it may contain an account of a fire, an "awful accident and great loss of life," a series of conundrums, as in those called "Nuts to Crack," a comic or intended comic engraving, with a speech or some verses, as recently in satire of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman (these are sometimes called "comic exhibitions"), or a "bill of the play." The "cocks" are more frequently a smaller size than the broad-sheet.

The sellers of these articles (play-bills excepted), are of the class I have described as patterers. The play-bill sellers are very rarely patterers on other "paper work." Some of them are on the look-out during the day for a job in porterage or such like, but they are not mixed up with any pattering,—and a regular patterer looks down upon a play-bill seller as a poor creature, "fit for nothing but play-bills." I now proceed to describe such of these classes as have not been previously given.

Of the "Gallows" Literature of the Streets.

Under this head I class all the street-sold publications which relate to the hanging of malefactors. That the question is not of any minor importance must be at once admitted, when it is seen how very extensive a portion of the reading of the poor is supplied by the "Sorrowful Lamentations" and "Last Dying Speech, Confession, and Execution" of criminals. One paper-worker told me, that in some small and obscure villages in Norfolk, which, he believed, were visited only by himself in his line, it was not very uncommon for two poor families to *club* for 1*d*. to purchase an execution broad-sheet! Not long after Rush was hung, he saw, one evening after dark, through the uncurtained cottage window, eleven persons, young and old, gathered round a scanty fire, which was made to blaze by being fed with a few sticks. An old man was reading, to an attentive audience, a

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broad-sheet of Rush's execution, which my informant had sold to him; he read by the fire-light; for the very poor in those villages, I was told, rarely lighted a candle on a spring evening, saying that "a bit o' fire was good enough to talk by." The scene must have been impressive, for it had evidently somewhat impressed the perhaps not very susceptible mind of my informant.

The procedure on the occasion of a "good" murder, or of a murder expected to "turn out well," is systematic. First appears a quarter-sheet (a hand-bill, 9¾ in. by 7½ in.) containing the earliest report of the matter. Next come half-sheets (twice the size) of later particulars, or discoveries, or—if the supposed murderer be in custody—of further examinations. The sale of these bills is confined almost entirely to London, and in their production the newspapers are for the most part followed closely enough. Then are produced the whole, or broad-sheets (twice the size of the half-sheets), and, lastly, but only on great occasions, the *double* broad-sheet. [I have used the least technical terms that I might not puzzle the reader with accounts of "crowns," "double-crowns," &c.]

The most important of all the broad-sheets of executions, according to concurrent, and indeed unanimous, testimony is the case of Rush. I speak of the testimony of the street-folk conerned, who all represent the sale of the papers relative to Rush, both in town and country, as the best in their experience of late years.

The sheet bears the title of "The Sorrowful Lamentation and Last Farewell of J. B. Rush, who is ordered for Execution on Saturday next, at Norwich Castle." There are three illustrations. The largest represents Rush, cloaked and masked, "shooting Mr. Jermy, Sen." Another is of "Rush shooting Mrs. Jermy." A prostrate body is at her feet, and the lady herself is depicted as having a very small waist and great amplitude of gown-skirts. The third is a portrait of Rush,—a correct copy, I was assured, and have no reason to question the assurance,—from one in the *Norwich Mercury*. The account of the trial and biography of Rush, his conduct in prison, &c., is a concise and clear enough condensation from the newspapers. Indeed, Rush's Sorrowful Lamentation is the best, in all respects, of any execution broad-sheet I have seen; even the "copy of verses" which, according to the established custom, the criminal composes in the condemned cell—his being unable, in some instances, to read or write being no obstacle to the composition—seems, in a literary point of view, of a superior strain to the run of such things. The matters of fact, however, are introduced in the same peculiar manner. The worst part is the morbid sympathy and intended apology for the criminal. I give the verses entire:

"This vain world I soon shall leave,
Dear friends in sorrow do not grieve;
Mourn not my end, though 'tis severe,
For death awaits the murderer.

Now in a dismal cell I lie,
For murder I'm condemn'd to die;
Some may pity when they read,
Oppression drove me to the deed.

My friends and home to me were dear,
The trees and flowers that blossom'd near;
The sweet loved spot where youth began
Is dear to every Englishman.

I once was happy—that is past,
Distress and crosses came at last;
False friendship smiled on wealth and me,
But shunned me in adversity.

The scaffold is awaiting me,
For Jermy I have murdered thee;
Thy hope and joys—thy son I slew,
Thy wife and servant wounded too.

I think I hear the world to say—
'Oh, Rush, why didst thou Jermy slay?
His dear loved son why didst thou kill,
For he had done to thee no ill.'

If Jermy had but kindness shown,
And not have trod misfortune down,
I ne'er had fired the fatal ball
That caus'd his son and him to fall.

My cause I did defend alone,
For learned counsel I had none;
I pleaded hard and questions gave,
In hopes my wretched life to save.

The witness to confound did try,
But God ordained that I should die;
Eliza Chestney she was there,—
I'm sorry I have injured her.

Oh, Emily Sandford, was it due
That I should meet my death through you?
If you had wish'd me well indeed,
How could you thus against me plead?

I've used thee kind, though not my wife:
Your evidence has cost my life;
A child by me you have had born,
Though hard against me you have sworn.

The scaffold is, alas! my doom,—
I soon shall wither in the tomb:
God pardon me—no mercy's here
For Rush—the wretched murderer!"

Although the execution broad-sheet I have cited may be the best, taken altogether, which has fallen under my observation, nearly all I have seen have one characteristic—the facts can be plainly understood. The narrative, embracing trial, biography, &c., is usually prepared by the printer, being a condensation from the accounts in the newspapers, and is perhaps intelligible, simply because it *is* a condensation. It is so, moreover, in spite of bad grammar, and sometimes perhaps from an unskilful connection of the different eras of the trial.

When the circumstances of the case permit, or can be at all constrained to do so, the Last Sorrowful Lamentation contains a "Love Letter," written—as one patterer told me he had occasionally expressed it, when he thought his audience suitable—"from the depths of the condemned cell, with the condemned pen, ink, and paper." The style is stereotyped, and usually after this fashion:

"Dear ——,—Shrink not from receiving a letter from one who is condemned to die as a murderer. Here, in my miserable cell, I write to one whom I have

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from my first acquaintanceship, held in the highest esteem, and whom, I believe, has also had the same kindly feeling towards myself. Believe me, I forgive all my enemies and bear no malice. O, my dear ——, guard against giving way to evil passions, and a fondness for drink. Be warned by my sad and pitiful fate."

If it be not feasible to have a love-letter—which can be addressed to either wife or sweetheart—in the foregoing style, a "last letter" is given, and this can be written to father, mother, son, daughter, or friend; and is usually to the following purport:

"Condemned Cell, ——

"My Dear ——,—By the time you receive this my hours, in this world, will indeed be short. It is an old and true saying, that murderers will one day meet their proper reward. No one can imagine the dreadful nights of anguish passed by me since the commital of the crime on poor ——. All my previous victims have appeared before me in a thousand different shapes and forms. My sufferings have been more than I can possibly describe. Let me entreat you to turn from your evil ways and lead a honest and sober life. I am suffering so much at the present moment both from mind and body that I can write no longer. Farewell! farewell!

"Your affectionate ——."

I have hitherto spoken of the Last Sorrowful Lamentation sheets. The next broad-sheet is the "Life, Trial, Confession, and Execution." This presents the same matter as the "Lamentation," except that a part—perhaps the judge's charge at the trial, or perhaps the biography—is removed to make room for the "Execution," and occasionally for a portion of the "Condemned Sermon." To judge by the productions I treat of, both subjects are marvelously similar on all occasions. I cite a specimen of the Condemned Sermon, as preached, according to the broad-sheet, before Hewson, condemned for the murder of a turnkey It will be seen that it is of a character to fit *any* condemned sermon whatever:

"The rev. gent. then turned his discourse particularly to the unhappy prisoner doomed to die on the morrow, and told him to call on Him who alone had the power of forgiveness; who had said, 'though his sins were red as scarlet,' he would 'make them white as snow,' though he had been guilty of many heinous crimes, there was yet an opportunity of forgiveness.—During the delivery of this address, the prisoner was in a very desponding state, and at its conclusion was helped out of the chapel by the turnkeys."

The "Execution" is detailed generally in this manner. I cite the "Life, Trial, Confession, and Execution of Mary May, for the Murder of W. Constable, her Half-brother, by Poison, at Wix, near Manningtree:"

"At an early hour this morning the space before the prison was very much crowded by persons anxious to witness the execution of Mary May, for the murder of William Constable, her half-brother, by poison, at Wix, Manningtree, which gradually increased to such a degree, that a great number of persons suffered extremely from the pressure, and gladly gave up their places on the first opportunity to escape from the crowd. The sheriffs and their attendants arrived at the prison early this morning and proceeded to the condemn cell, were they found the reverend ordinary engaged in prayer with the miserable woman. After the usual formalities had been observed of demanding the body of the prisoner into their custody she was then conducted to the press-room. The executioner with his assistants then commenced pinioning her arms, which opperation they skillfully and quickly dispatched. During these awful preparations the unhappy woman appeared mently to suffer severely, but uttered not a word when the hour arrived and all the arrangements having been completed, the bell commenced tolling, and then a change was observed, to come over the face of the prisoner, who trembling violently, walked with the melancholy procession, proceeded by the reverend ordinary, who read aloud the funeral service for the dead. When the bell commenced tolling a moment was heard from without, and the words "Hats off," and "Silence," were distinctly heard, from which time nothing but a continual sobbing was heard. On arriving at the foot of the steps leading to the scaffold she thanked the sheriffs and the worthy governor of the prison, for their kind attentions to her during her confinement; & then the unfortunate woman was seen on the scaffold, there was a death like silence prevailed among the vast multitude of people assembled. In a few seconds the bolt was drawn, and, after a few convulsive struggles, the unhappy woman ceased to exist."

I cannot refrain from calling the reader's attention to the "copy of verses" touching Mary May. I give them entire, for they seem to me to contain all the elements which made the old ballads popular—the rushing at once into the subject—and the homely reflections, though crude to all educated persons, are, nevertheless, well adapted to enlist the sympathy and appreciation of the class of hearers to whom they are addressed:

COPY OF VERSES.

"The solemn bell for me doth toll,
And I am doom'd to die
(For murdering by brother dear,)
Upon a tree so high.
For gain I did premeditate
My brother for to slay,—
Oh, think upon the dreadful fate
Of wretched Mary May.

CHORUS.

Behold the fate of Mary May,
Who did for gain her brother slay.

In Essex boundry I did dwell,
My brother lived with me,
In a little village called Wix,
Not far from Manningtree.
In a burial club I entered him,
On purpose him to slay;
And to obtain the burial fees
I took his life away.

One eve he to his home return'd,
Not thinking he was doom'd,
To be sent by a sister's hand
Unto the silent tomb.
His tea for him I did prepare,
And in it poison placed,
To which I did administer,—
How dreadful was his case.

Before he long the poison took
In agony he cried;
Upon him I in scorn did look,—
At length my brother died.
Then to the grave I hurried him,
And got him out of sight,
But God ordain'd this cruel deed
Should soon be brought to light.

I strove the money to obtain,
For which I did him slay,
By which, also, suspicion fell
On guilty Mary May.
The poison was discovered,
Which caused me to bewail,
And I my trial to await
Was sent to Chelmsford jail.

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And for this most atrocious deed
  I at the bar was placed,
The Jury found me guilty,—
  How dreadful was my case.
The Judge the dreadful sentence pass'd,
  And solemn said to me,
'You must return from whence you came,
  And thence unto the tree.'

On earth I can no longer dwell,
  There's nothing can me save;
Hark! I hear the mournful knell
  Which calls me to the grave.
Death appears in ghostly forms,
  To summon me below;
See, the fatal bolt is drawn,
  And Mary May must go.

Good people all, of each degree,
  Before it is too late,
See me on the fatal tree,
  And pity my sad fate.
My guilty heart stung with grief,
  With agony and pain,—
My tender brother I did slay
  That fatal day for gain."

This mode of procedure in "gallows" literature, and this style of composition, have prevailed for from twenty to thirty years. I find my usual impossibility to *fix* a date among these street-folk; but the Sorrowful Lamentation sheet was unknown until the law for prolonging the term of existence between the trial and death of the capitally-convicted, was passed. "Before that, sir," I was told, "there wasn't no time for a Lamentation; sentence o' Friday, and scragging o' Monday. So we had only the Life, Trial, and Execution." Before the year 1820, the Execution broad-sheets, &c., were "got-up" in about the same, though certainly in an inferior and more slovenly manner than at present; and *one* copy of verses often did service for the canticles of all criminals condemned to be hung. These verses were to sacred or psalm tunes, such as Job, or the Old Hundredth. I was told by an aged gentleman that he remembered, about the year 1812, hearing a song, or, as he called it, "stave," of this description, not only given in the street with fiddle and nasal twang, to the tune of the Old Hundredth, but commencing in the very words of Sternhold and Hopkins—

"All people that on earth do dwell."

These "death-verses," as they were sometimes called, were very frequently sung by blind people, and in some parts of the country blind men and women still sing—generally to the accompaniment of a fiddle—the "copy of verses." A London chaunter told me, that, a few years back, he heard a blind man at York announce the "verses" as from the "solitudes" of the condemned cell. At present the broad-sheet sellers usually sing, or chaunt, the copy of verses.

An intelligent man, now himself a street-trader, told me that one of the latest "execution songs" (as he called them) which he remembered to have heard in the old style—but "no doubt there were plenty after that, as like one another as peas in a boiling"—was on the murder of Weare, at Elstree, in Hertfordshire. He took great interest in such things when a boy, and had the song in question by heart, but could only depend upon his memory for the first and second verses:

"Come, all good Christians, praise the Lord,
  And trust to him in hope.
God in his mercy Jack Thurtell sent
  To hang from Hertford gallows rope.

Poor Weare's murder the Lord disclosed—
  Be glory to his name:
And Thurtell, Hunt, and Probert too,
  Were brought to grief and shame."

Another street paper-worker whom I spoke to on the subject, and to whom I read these two verses, said: "That's just the old thing, sir; and it's quite in old Jemmy Catnach's style, for he used to write werses—anyhow, he said he did, for I've heard him say so, and I've no doubt he did in reality—it was just his favourite style, I know, but the march of intellect put it out. It did so."

In the most "popular" murders, the street "papers" are a mere recital from the newspapers, but somewhat more brief, when the suspected murderer is in custody; but when the murderer has not been apprehended, or is unknown, "then," said one Death-hunter, "we has our fling, and I've hit the mark a few chances that way. We had, at the werry least, half-a-dozen coves pulled up in the slums that we printed for the murder of 'The Beautiful Eliza Grimwood, in the Waterloo-road.' I did best on Thomas Hopkins, being the guilty man —I think he was Thomas Hopkins—'cause a strong case was made out again him."

I received similar accounts of the street-doings in the case of "mysterious murders," as those perpetrations are called by the paper workers, when the criminal has escaped, or was unknown. Among those leaving considerable scope to the patterer's powers of invention were the murders of Mr. Westwood, a watchmaker in Prince's-street, Leicester-square; of Eliza Davis, a bar-maid, in Frederick-street, Hampstead-road; and of the policeman in Dagenham, Essex. One of the most successful "cocks," relating to murders which actually occurred, was the "Confession to the Rev. Mr. Cox, Chaplain of Aylesbury Gaol, of John Tawell the Quaker." I had some conversation with one of the authors of this "Confession," —for it was got up by three patterers; and he assured me that "it did well, and the facts was soon in some of the newspapers—as what we 'riginates often is." This sham confession was as follows:

"The Rev. Mr. Cox, the chaplain of Aylesbury Gaol, having been taken ill, and finding his end approaching, sent for his son, and said, 'Take this confession; now I am as good as my word; I promised that unhappy man, John Tawell, that while I lived his confession should not be made public, owing to the excited state of the public mind. Tawell confessed to me, that besides the murder of Sarah Hart, at Salt-hill, for while he suffered the last penalty of the law at Aylesbury, he was guilty of two other barbarous murders which abroad as a transport in Van Dieman's Land. One of these barbarous and horrid murders was on the

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body of one of the keepers. He knocked him down with the keys, which he wrenched from him, and then cut his throat with his own knife, leaving the body locked up in his cell; and before that, to have the better opportunity of having the turnkey single-handed. John Tawell feigned illness. He then locked the keeper, in the cell, and went to a young woman in the town, a beautiful innkeeper's daughter, whom he had seduced as he worked for her father, as he had the privilege of doing in the day-times. He went to her, and she, seeing him in a flurried state, with blood upon his hand, questioned him. He told the unhappy young woman how he had killed the keeper for the love of her, and the best thing to be done was for her to get possession of all the money she could, and escape with him to this country, where he would marry her, and support her like a lady. The unhappy young woman felt so terrified, that at the moment she was unable to say yes or no. He became alarmed for his safety, and with the identical knife that he killed the keeper with, he left his unhappy victim a weltering in her gore. He then fled from the house unobserved, and went into the bush, where he met three men, who had escaped through his killing the keeper. He advised them to go down with him to an English vessel lying off the coast. When they reached the shore, they met a crew in search of fresh water; to them they made out a pitiful story, and were taken on board the ship. All being young men, and the captain being short of hands, and one of them having been really a seaman transported for mutiny, the captain, after putting questions which the seaman answered, engaged them to work their passage home. Tawell was the captain of the gang, and was most looked up to. They worked their passage home, behaving well during the voyage, so that the captain said he would make each of them a present, and never divulge. When they reached Liverpool, Tawell robbed the captain's cabin of all the money contained in it, which was a very considerable sum. After that he left Liverpool, and adopted the garb of a Quaker, in which he could not easily be recognized, and then pursued the course of wickedness and crime which led him to a shameful death."

The "confession" of Rush to the chaplain of Norwich Castle, was another production which was remunerative to the patterers. "There was soon a bit of it in the newspapers," said one man, "for us and them treads close on one another's heels. The newspapers 'screeved' about Rush, and his mother, and his wife; but we, in our patter, made him confess to having murdered his old grandmother fourteen years back, and how he buried her under the apple-tree in the garden, and how he murdered his wife as well."

These ulterior Confessions are very rarely introduced, in lieu of some matter displaced, into the broad-sheet, but form separate bills. It was necessary to mention them here, however, and so preserve the sequence of the whole of the traffic consequent upon a conviction for murder, in this curious trade.

Sometimes the trial, &c., form also separate bills, as well as being embodied afterwards in the Sorrowful Lamentation. This is only, however, in cases which are deemed important. One of the papers I obtained, for instance, is the "Trial of Mr. and Mrs. Manning for the Murder of Mr. Patrick O'Connor." The trial alone occupies a broad-sheet; it is fairly "got up." A portrait of Mr. Patrick O'Connor heads the middle column. From the presence of a fur collar to the coat or cloak, and of what is evidently an order with its insignia, round the neck, I have little doubt that the portrait of Mr. O'Connor was originally that of the sovereign in whose service O'Connor was once an excise-officer—King William IV.

The last publication to which the trade has recourse is "the book." This is usually eight pages, but sometimes only four of a larger size. In authorship, matter, or compilation, it differs little from the narratives I have described. The majority of these books are prepared by one man. They are in a better form for being preserved as a record than is a broad-sheet, and are frequently sold, and almost always offered by the patterers when they cry a new case on a sheet, as "people that loves such reading likes to keep a good account of the best by them; and so, when I've sold Manning's bills, I've often shoved off Rush's books." The books, like the bills, have generally the letters and the copy of verses.

Some of these books have the title-page set forth in full display,—for example: "*Horrible Murder and Mutilation of Lucy Game, aged* 15, *by her Cruel Brother, William Game, aged* 9, *at Westmill, Hertfordshire. His Committal and Confession. With a Copy of Letter. Also, Full Particulars of the Poisonings in Essex.*" Here, as there was no execution, the matter was extended, to include the poisonings in Essex. The title I have quoted is expanded into thirteen lines. Sometimes the title-page is adorned with a portrait. One, I was told, which was last employed as a portrait of Calcraft, had done severe service since Courvoisier's time,—for my informant thought that Courvoisier was the original. It is the bust of an ill-looking man, with coat and waistcoat fitting with that unwrinkled closeness which characterises the figures in tailors' "fashions."

The above style of work is known in the trade as "the book;" but other publications, in the book or pamphlet form, are common enough. In some I have seen, the title-page is a history in little. I cite one of these:—"*Founded on Facts. The Whitby Tragedy; or, the Gambler's Fate. Containing the Lives of Joseph Carr, aged* 21, *and his sweetheart, Maria Leslie, aged* 19, *who were found Dead, lying by each other, on the morning of the 23rd of May. Maria was on her road to Town to buy some Ribbon, &c., for her Wedding Day, when her lover in a state of intoxication fired at her, and then run to rob his prey, but finding it to be his Sweetheart, reloaded his Gun, placed the Muzzle to his Mouth, and blew out his Brains, all through cursed Cards, Drink, &c. Also, an affectionate Copy of Verses.*"

To show the extent of the trade in execution broad-sheets, I obtained returns of the number of copies relating to the principal executions of late, that had been sold:

Of Rush	2,500,000	copies.
„ the Mannings .	2,500,000	„
„ Courvoisier . .	1,666,000	„
„ Good	1,650,000	„
„ Corder . . .	1,650,000	„
„ Greenacre . .	1,666,000	„

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Of Thurtell I could obtain no accounts—"it was so long ago;" but the sale, I was told, was enormous. Reckoning that each copy was sold for 1*d*. (the regular price in the country, where the great sale is,) the money expended for such things amounts to upwards of 48,500*l*. in the case of the six murderers above given. All this number was printed and got up in London; a few "broad-sheets" concerning Rush were printed also in Norwich.

Touching the issue of "cocks," a person connected with the trade calculated for me, from data at his command, that 3,456 copies were struck off weekly, and sold in the streets, in the metropolis; and reckoning them at only a ½*d*. each, we have the sum of 7*l*. 4*s*. spent every week in this manner. At this rate, there must be 179,712 copies of "cocks" printed in a year, on which the public expend no less than 374*l*. 8*s*.

Of the style of illustrations usually accompanying this class of street literature the two large engravings here given are *fac similes*—while the smaller ones are faithful copies of the average embellishments to the halfpenny ballads. On another occasion I shall speak at length on "Street-Art."

Of the Street-sellers of Conundrums.

Among the more modern street sales are "conundrums," generally vended, both in the shops and the streets, as "Nuts to Crack," when not in the form of books. This is another of the "broad-sheets," and is sufficiently clever and curious in its way.

In the centre, at the top, is the "Wonderful Picture," with the following description: "This Picture when looked at from a particular point of view, will not only appear perfect in all respects and free from distortion, but the figures will actually appear to stand out in relief from the paper." The wonderful picture, which is a rude imitation of a similar toy picture sold in a box, "with eye-piece complete," at the shops, presents a distorted view of a church-spire, a light-house, a donjon-keep, castellated buildings backed by mountains, a moat on which are two vessels, an arch surmounted by a Britannia, a palm-tree (I presume), and a rampart, or pier, or something that way, on which are depicted two figures, with the gestures of elocutionists. The buildings are elongated, like shadows at sunset or sunrise. What may be the "particular point of view" announced in the description of the Wonderful Picture, is not described in the "Nuts," but the following explanation is given in a little book, published simultaneously, and entitled, "The Nutcrackers, a Key to Nuts to Crack, or Enigmatical Repository:"

"The Wonderful Picture.—Cut out a piece of cardboard 2½ inches long, make a round hole about the size of a pea in the top of it; place this level with the right-hand side of the Engraving and just 1½ inches distant from it, then apply your eye to the little hole and look at the picture, and you will find that a beautiful symmetry pervades the landscape, there is not the slightest appearance of distortion, and the different parts appear actually to stand up in relief on the paper."

Below the "Wonderful Picture" are other illustrations; and the border of the broad-sheet presents a series of what may be called pictorial engravings. The first is,

D I O
C C
1.—Lately presented to a "Wise man" by a usurper.

The answer being evidently "Diocese." No. 26 is

A 4
26.—The Child's "Tidy."

"Pinafore" is the solution. Of the next "hieroglyphic"—for a second title to the "Nuts" tells of "209 Hieroglyphics, Enigmas, Conundrums, Curious Puzzles, and other Ingenious Devices,"—I cannot speak very highly. It consists of "AIMER," (a figure of a hare at full speed,) and "EKA." Answer.—"America."

In the body of the broad-sheet are the Enigmas, &c., announced; of each of which I give a specimen, to show the nature of this street performance or entertainment. Enigma 107 is—

> "I've got no wings, yet in the air
> I often rise and fall;
> I've got no feet, yet clogs I wear,
> And shoes, and boots, and all."

As the answer is foot-ball, the two last lines should manifestly have been placed first.

The "Conundrums" are next in the arrangement, and I cite one of them:

"Why are there, strictly speaking, only 325 days in the year?"

"Because," is the reply, "forty of them are lent and never returned." The "Riddles" follow in this portion of the "Nuts to Crack." Of these, one is not very difficult to be solved, though it is distinguished for the usual grammatical confusion of tenses:

"A man has three daughters, and each of these have a brother. How many children had he?"

The "Charades" complete the series. Of these I select one of the best:

> "I am a word of letters seven,
> I'm sinful in the sight of heaven,
> To every virtue I'm opposed,
> Man's weary life I've often closed.
> If to me you prefix two letters more,
> I mean exactly what I meant before."

The other parts of the letter-press consist of "Anagrams," "Transpositions," &c.

When a clever patterer "works conundrums"—for the trade is in the hands of the pattering class—he selects what he may consider the best, and reads or repeats them in the street, sometimes with and sometimes without the answer. But he does not cripple the probable quickness

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of his sale by a slavish adherence to what is in type. He puts the matter, as it were, personally. "What gentleman is it," one man told me he would ask, "in this street, that has—

'Eyes like saucers, a back like a box,
A nose like a pen-knife, and a voice like a fox?'

You can learn for a penny. Or sometimes I'll go on with the patter, thus," he continued, "What lady is it that we have all seen, and who can say truly—

'I am brighter than day, I am swifter than light,
And stronger than all the momentum of might?'

More than once people have sung out 'the Queen,' for they seem to think that the momentum of might couldn't fit any one else. It's 'thought' as is the answer, but it wouldn't do to let people think it's anything of the sort. It must seem to fit *somebody*. If I see a tailor's name on a door, as soon as I've passed the corner of the street, and sometimes in the same street, I've asked—

'Why is Mr. So-and-so, the busy tailor of this (or the next street) never at home?'

'Because he's always cutting out.' I have the same questions for other tradesmen, and for gentlemen and ladies in this neighbourhood, and no gammon. All for a penny. Nuts to Crack, a penny. A pair of Nutcrackers to crack 'em, only one penny."

Sometimes this man, who perhaps is the smartest in the trade, will take a bolder flight still, and when he knows the residence of any professional or public man, he will, if the allusion be complimentary, announce his name, or —if there be any satire — indicate by a motion of the head, or a gesture of the hand, the direction of his residence. My ingenuous, and certainly ingenious, informant obliged me with a few instances: — "In Whitechapel parish I've said—it ain't in the print, it was only in the patter — 'Why won't the Reverend Mr. Champneys lay up treasures on earth?'—'Because he'd rather lay up treasures in heaven.' That's the reverend gentleman not far from this spot; but in this sheet—with nearly 100 engravings by the first artists, only a penny — I have other questions for other parsons, not so easy answered; nuts as is hard to crack. 'Why is the Reverend Mr. Popjoy,' or the Honourable Lawyer Bully, or Judge Wiggem,—and then I just jerks my thumb, sir, if it's where I know or think such people live —'Why is the Reverend Mr. Popjoy (or the others) like *two* balloons, one in the air to the east, and the 'tother in the air to the west, in this parish of St. George's, Hanover-square?' There's no such question, and as it's a sort of a 'cock,' of course there's no answer. I don't know one. But a gentleman's servant once sung out: ''Cause he's uppish.' And a man in a leather apron once said: 'He's a raising the wind,' which was nonsense. But I like that sort of interruption, and have said—'You'll not find *that* answer in the Nutcrackers,' only a penny—and, Lord knows, I told the truth when I said so, and it helps the sale. No fear of any one's finding out all what's in the sheet before I'm out of the 'drag.' Not a bit. And you must admit that any way it's a cheap pennorth." That it is a cheap harmless pennyworth is undeniable.

The street-sale of conundrums is carried on most extensively during a week or two before Christmas; and on summer evenings, when the day's work is, or ought to be, over even among the operatives of the slop employers. As the conundrum patterer requires an audience, he works the quieter streets, preferring such as have no horse-thoroughfare — as in some of the approaches from the direction of Golden-square to Regent-street. The trade is irregularly pursued, none following it all the year; and from the best information I could acquire, it appears that fifteen men may be computed as working conundrums for two months throughout the twelve, and clearing 10*s*. 6*d*. weekly. per individual. The cost of the "Nuts to Crack" (when new) is 5*d*. a doz. to the seller; but old "Nuts" often answer the purpose of the street-seller, and may be had for about half the price; the cost of the "Nutcrackers" 2*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. It may be calculated, then, that to realize the 10*s*. 6*d*., 15*s*. must be taken. This shows the street expenditure in "Nuts to Crack" and "Nut-crackers" to be 90*l*. yearly.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF COMIC EXHIBITIONS, MAGICAL DELUSIONS, &c.

THE street sale of "Comic Exhibitions" (properly so called) is, of course, as modern as the last autumn and winter; and it is somewhat curious that the sale of any humorous, or meant to be humorous sheet of engravings, is now becoming very generally known in [illegible] street sale as a "Comic Exhibition." Amor[illegible]hese—as I have before intimated—are many c[illegible]catures of the Pope, the Church of Rome, Cardinal Wiseman, the Church of England, the Bishop of London (or any bishop or dignitary), or of any characteristic of the conflicting creeds. In many of these, John Bull figures personally, and so does the devil.

The Comic Exhibition (proper) is certainly a very cheap pennyworth. No. 1 is entitled, "The Ceremonial of the Opening of the Great Exhibition, in 1851, with Illustrations of the Contributions of All Nations." The "contributions," however, are reserved for Nos. 2 and 3. Two larger "cuts," at the head of the broad-sheet, may be considered geographical, as regards the first, and allegorical as regards the second. "Table Bay" presents a huge feeder (evidently), and the "Cape of Good Hope" is a spare man obsequiously bowing to the table and its guest in good hope of a dinner. Of the Sandwich Islands and of Hung(a)ry, the "exhibition" is of the same description. The second larger cut shows the Crystal Palace ascending by the agency of a balloon, a host of people of all countries looking on. Then comes the

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'Procession from Palace-yard to Hyde Park." The first figure in this procession is described as "Beefeaters piping hot and well puffed out," though there is but one beefeater, with head larger than his body and legs ridiculously small (as have nearly all the sequent figures), smoking a pipe as if it were a trombone, duly followed by "Her Majesty's Spiritual Body-guard" (five beefeaters, drunk), and by "Prince Albert blowing his own trumpet" (from the back of a very sorry steed), with "Mops and brooms," and a "Cook-oo" (a housemaid and cook) as his supporters. Then follow figures, grotesque enough, of which the titles convey the character: "A famous Well-in-Town;" "Nae Peer-ye;" "Humorous Estimates" (Mr. Hume); "A Jew-d'esprit" (Mr. D'Israeli); "An exemplification of Cupidity in Pummicestone" (Lord Palmerston); "Old Geese" and "Young Ducks" (old and angry-looking and young and pretty women); "Some gentlemen who patronise Moses in the Minories" (certainly no credit to the skill of a tailor); "A Jew Lion" (M. Jullien); "Fine high screams" (ice-creams) and "Capers" (chorister boys and ballet-girls); "Hey-day, you don't take advantage here" (Joseph Ady); and "Something to give the milk a head" (a man with a horse's head on a tray). These, however, are but a portion of the figures. The Comic Exhibition-sheet contains ninety such figures, independent of those in the two cuts mentioned as headings.

"Galleries of Comicalities," or series of figures sometimes satirically, sometimes grotesquely given without any aim at satire, are also sold by the same parties, and are often announced as a "Threepenny gallery for a penny!—and dirt cheap at threepence. As big as a newspaper."

Another [illegible]ad-sheet sold this winter in the streets is e[illegible]tled, "Optical and Magical Delusions," a[illegible] was announced as "Dedicated to and Prepared for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales—the only original copy." The engravings are six in number, and are in three rows, each accompanying engraving being reversed from its fellow: where the head is erect on one side, it is downward on the other. The first figure is a short length of a very plain woman, while on the opposite side is that of a very plain man, both pleased and smirking in accordance with a line below: "O what joy when our lips shall meet!" "Cat-a-gorical" is a spectacled and hooded cat. "Dog-matical" is a dog with the hat, wig, and cane once held proper to a physician. "Cross purposes" is an austere lady in a monster cap, while her opposite husband is pointing bitterly to a long bill. The purport of these figures is shown in the following

"DIRECTIONS—Paste all over the Back of the sheet, and put a piece of thick paper between, to stiffen it, then fold it down the centre, so that the marginal lines fall exactly at the back of each other, (which may be ascertained by holding it to the light)—press it quite flat—when cut separate they will make three cards—shave them close to the margin—then take a needle-full of double thread and pass it through the dot at each end of the card; cut the thread off about three inches long. By twisting the threads between your fore fingers and thumbs, so as to spin the card round backwards and forwards with a rapid motion, the figures will appear to connect and form a pleasing delusion."

Then there are the "Magical Figures," or rude street imitations of Dr. Paris' ingenious toy, called the "Thaumascope." Beside these are what at the first glance appear mere black, and very black, marks, defining no object; but a closer examination shows the outlines of a face, or of a face and figure. Of such there are sometimes four on a broad-sheet, but they are also sold separately, both in the streets and the small stationers' shops. When the white or black portion of the paper is cut away (for both colours are so prepared), what remains, by a disposition of the light, throws a huge shadow of a grotesque figure on the wall, which may be increased or diminished according to the motions of the exhibitor. The shadow-figures sold this winter by one of my informants were of Mr. and Mrs. Manning, the Queen, Prince Albert, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of Wales; "but you see, sir," observed the man, "the Queen and the Prince does for any father and mother—for she hasn't her crown on—and the Queen's kids for anybody's kids."

I mention these matters more particularly, as it certainly shows something of a change in the winter-evenings' amusements of the children of the working-classes. The principal street customers for these penny papers were mechanics, who bought them on their way home for the amusement of their families. Boys, however, bought almost as many.

The sale of these papers is carried on by the same men as I have described working conundrums. A superior patterer, of course, shows that his magical delusions and magical figures combine all the wonders of the magic lantern and the dissolving views, "and all for one penny." The trade is carried on only for a short time in the winter as regards the magical portion; and I am informed that, including the "Comic Exhibitions," it extends to about half of the sum taken for conundrums, or to about 45*l.*

Of the Street-sellers of Play-Bills.

The sellers of play-bills carry on a trade which is exceedingly uncertain, and is little remunerative. There are now rather more than 200 people selling play-bills in London, but the number has sometimes been as high as 400. "Yes, indeed," a theatrical gentleman said to me, "and if a dozen more theatres were opened to-morrow, why each would have more than its twenty bill-sellers the very first night. Where they come from, or what they are, I haven't a notion."

The majority of the play-bill sellers are either old or young, the sexes being about equally engaged in this traffic. Some of them have followed the business from their childhood. I met with very few indeed who knew anything of

theatres beyond the names of the managers and of the principal performers, while some do not even enjoy that small modicum of knowledge, and some can neither read nor write. The boys often run recklessly alongside the cabs which are conveying persons to the theatre, and so offer their bills for sale. One of these youths said to me, when I spoke of the danger incurred, "The cabman knows how to do it, sir, when I runs and patters; and so does his hoss." An intelligent cabman, however, who was in the habit of driving parties to the Lyceum, told me that these lads clung to his cab as he drove down to Wellington-street in such a way, for they seemed never to look before them, that he was in constant fear lest they should be run over. Ladies are often startled by a face appearing suddenly at the cab window, "and thro' my glass," said my informant, "a face would look dirtier than it really is." And certainly a face gliding along with the cab, as it were, no accompanying body being visible, on a winter's night, while the sound of the runner's footsteps is lost in the noise of the cab, has much the effect of an apparition.

I did not hear of one person who had been in any way connected with the stage, even as a supernumerary, resorting to play-bill selling when he could not earn a shilling within the walls of a theatre. These bill-sellers, for the most part, confine themselves, as far as I could ascertain, to that particular trade. The youths say that they sometimes get a job in errand-going in the daytime, but the old men and women generally aver they can do nothing else. An officer, who, some years back, had been on duty at a large theatre, told me that at that time the women bill-sellers earned a trifle in running errands for the women of the town who attended the theatres; but, as they were not permitted to send any communication into the interior of the house, their earnings that way were insignificant, for they could only send in messages by any other "dress woman" entering the theatre subsequently.

In the course of my inquiries last year, I met with a lame woman of sixty-eight, who had been selling play-bills for the last twelve years. She had been, for six or eight months before she adopted that trade, the widow of a poor mechanic, a carpenter. She had first thought of resorting to that means of a livelihood owing to a neighbouring old woman having been obliged to relinquish her post from sickness, when my informant "succeeded her." In this way, she said, many persons "succeeded" to the business, as the recognised old hands were jealous of and uncivil to any additional new comers, but did not object to a "successor." These parties generally know each other; they murmur if the Haymarket hands, for instance, resort to the Lyceum for any cause, or *vice versâ*, thus overstocking the business, but they offer no other opposition. The old woman further informed me that she commenced selling play-bills at Astley's, and then realized a profit of 4*s.* per week. When the old Amphitheatre was burnt down, she went to the Victoria; but "business was not what it was," and her earnings were from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a week less; and this, she said, although the Victoria was considered one of the most profitable stations for the play-bill seller, the box-keeper there seldom selling any bill in the theatre. "The boxes," too, at this house, more frequently buy them outside. Another reason why "business" was better at the Victoria than elsewhere was represented to me, by a person familar with the theatres, to be this: many go to the Victoria who cannot read, or who can read but imperfectly, and they love to "make-believe" they are "good scholards" by parading the consulting of a play-bill!

On my visit the bill-sellers at the Victoria were two old women (each a widow for many years), two young men, besides two or three, though there are sometimes as many as six or seven children. The old women "fell into the business" as successors by virtue of their predecessors' leaving it on account of sickness. The children were generally connected with the older dealers. The young men had been in this business from boyhood; some sticking to the practice of their childhood unto manhood, or towards old age. The number at the Victoria is now, I am informed, two or three more, as the theatre is often crowded. The old woman told me that she had known two and even four visitors to the theatre club for the purchase of a bill, and then she had sometimes to get farthings for them.

A young fellow—who said he believed he was only eighteen, but certainly looked older—told me that he was in the habit of selling play-bills, but not regularly, as he sometimes had a job in carrying a board, or delivering bills at a corner, "or the likes o' that;"—he favoured me with his opinion of the merits of the theatres he was practically acquainted with as regarded their construction for the purposes of the bill-seller. His mother, who had been dead a few years, had sold bills, and had put him into the business. His ambition seemed to be to become a general bill-sticker. He could not write but could read very imperfectly.

"Vy, you see, sir," he said, "there's sets off. At the Market (Haymarket), now, there's this: there's only one front, so you may look sharp about for there goes, boxes, pit, and gallery. The 'Delphis as good that way, and so is the Surrey, but them one's crowded too much. The Lyceum's built shocking orkered. Vy, the boxes is in one street, and the pit in another, and the gallery in another! It's true, sir. The pit's the best customer in most theatres, I think. Ashley's and the Wick is both spoiled that way—Ashley's perticler—as the gallery's a good step from the pit and boxes; at the Wick it's round the corner. But the shilling gallery aint so bad at Ashley's. Sadler's Wells I never tried, it's out of the way, and I can't tell you much about the 'Lympic or the Strand. The Lane is middling. I don't know that either plays or actors makes much difference to me. Perhaps it's rather vorser

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ven it's anything werry prime, as everybody seems to know every think about it aforehand. No, sir, I can't say, sir, that Mr. Macready did me much good. I sometimes runs along by a cab because I've got a sixpence from a swell for doing it stunnin', but werry seldom, and I don't much like it; though ven you're at it you don't think of no fear. I makes 3*s*. or rather more a week at bill-selling, and as much other vays. I never saw a play but once at the Wick. I'd rather be at a Free and Heasy. I don't know as I knows any of the actors or actresses, either hes or shes."

The sellers of play-bills purchase their stock of the printer, at 3*s*. 4*d*. the hundred, or in that proportion for half or quarter-hundreds. If a smaller quantity be purchased, the charge is usually thirteen for 6*d*.; though they used to be only twelve for 6*d*. These sellers are among the poorest of the poor; after they have had one meal, they do not know how to get another. They reside in the lowest localities, and some few are abandoned and profligate in character. They reckon it a good night to earn 1*s*. clear, but upon an average they clear but 3*s*. per week. They lose sometimes by not selling out their nightly stock. What they have left, they are obliged to sell for waste-paper at 2*d*. per lb. Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide are generally their best times—they will then make 9*d*. per night clear. The printer of the play-bills prints but a certain number, the demand being nearly ascertained week by week. These are all sold (by the printer or some person appointed) to the regular customers, in preference to others, but the "irregulars" can get supplied, though often not without trouble. The profit on all sold is rather more than cent. per cent. As I have intimated, when some theatres are closed, the bill-sellers are driven to others; and as the demand is necessarily limited, a superflux of sellers affects the profits, and then 2*s*. 6*d*. is considered a good week's work. During the opera season, I am told, a few mechanics, out of work, will sell bills there and books of the opera, making about 6*s*. a week, and doing better than the regular hands, as they have a better address and are better clad.

Taking the profits at 3*s*. a week at cent. per cent. on the outlay, and reckoning 200 sellers, including those at the saloons, concert-rooms, &c., we find that 60*l*. is now expended weekly on play-bills purchased in the streets of London.

Of the Street-sellers of Periodicals, Pamphlets, Tracts, Books, etc.

These street-sellers are a numerous body, and the majority of them show a greater degree of industry and energy than is common to many classes of street-folk. They have been for the most part connected with the paper, newspaper, or publishing trade, and some of them have "known better days." One intelligent man I met with, a dealer in "waste" (paper), had been brought up as a compositor, but late hours and glaring gas-lights in the printing-office affected his eyes, he told me; and as a half-blind compositor was about of as little value, he thought, as a "horse with a wooden leg," he abandoned his calling for out-of-door labour. Another had been a gun-smith, and when out of his apprenticeship was considered a "don hand at hair triggers, for hair triggers were more wanted then," but an injury to his right hand and arm had disabled him as a mechanic, and he had recourse to the streets. A third had been an ink-maker's "young man," and had got to like the streets by calling for orders, and delivering bottles of ink, at the shops of the small stationers and chandlers, and so he had taken to them for a living. Of the book-stall-keepers I heard of one man who had died a short time before, and who "once had been in the habit of buying better books for his own pleasure than he had afterwards to sell for his bread." Of the book-stall proprictors, I have afterwards spoken more fully.

All the street-sellers in question are what street estimation pronounces to be educated men; they can all, as far as I could ascertain, read and write, and some of them were "keenish politicians, both free-traders, and against free-trade when they was a-talking of the better days when they was young." Nearly all are married men with families.

The divisions into which these street traffickers may be formed are — Odd Number-sellers — Steamboat Newsvendors — Railway Newsvendors, (though the latter is now hardly a street traffic),—the Sellers of Second Editions (which I have already given as a portion of the patterers)—Board-workers (also previously described, and for the same reason)—Tract-sellers (of whom I have given the number, character, &c.. and who are regarded by the other street-sellers as the idlers, beggars, and pretenders of the trade),—the Sellers of Childrens' Books and Song Books—Book-auctioneers, and Book-stall-keepers.

Of the Street-sale of Back Numbers.

This trade is carried on by the same class of patterers as work race-cards, second editions, &c. The collectors of waste-paper frequently find back numbers of periodicals in "a lot" they may have purchased at a coffee-shop. These they sell to warehousemen who serve the street-sellers. The largest lot ever sold at one time was some six or seven years ago, of the *Pictorial Times*, at least a ton weight. A dealer states—

"I lost the use of this arm ever since I was three months old. My mother died when I was ten years of age, and after that my father took up with an Irishwoman, and turned me and my youngest sister (she was two years younger than me) out into the streets. My youngest sister got employment at my father's trade, but I couldn't get no work because of my crippled arm. I walked about, till I fell down in the streets for want. At last, a man, who had a sweetmeat-shop, took pity on me. His wife made the sweetmeats, and minded

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the shop while he went out a juggling in the streets, in the Ramo Samee line. He told me as how, if I would go round the country with him and sell a few prints while he was a juggling in the public-houses, he'd find me in wittles, and pay my lodging. I joined him, and stopped with him two or three year. After that I went to work for a werry large waste-paper dealer. He used to buy up all the old back numbers of the cheap periodicals and penny publications, and send me out with them to sell at a farden' a piece. He used to give me 4*d.* out of every shilling, and I done very well with that, till the periodicals came so low, and so many on 'em, that they wouldn't sell at all. Sometimes I could make 15*s.* on a Saturday night and a Sunday morning, a-selling the odd numbers of periodicals,—such as tales; 'Tales of the Wars,' 'Lives of the Pirates,' 'Lives of the Highwaymen,' &c. I've often sold as many as 2,000 numbers on a Saturday night in the New-cut, and the most of them was works about thieves, and highwaymen, and pirates. Besides me, there was three others at the same business. Altogether, I dare say my master alone used to get rid of 10,000 copies of such works on a Saturday night and a Sunday morning. Our principal customers was young men. My master made a good bit of money at it. He had been about eighteen years in the business, and had begun with 2*s.* 6*d.* I was with him fifteen year, on and off, and at the best time. I used to earn my 30*s.* a week full at that time. But then I was foolish, and didn't take care of my money. When I was at the 'odd number business,' I bought a peep-show, and left the trade to go into that line."

OF THE SALE OF WASTE NEWSPAPERS AT BILLINGSGATE.

THIS trade is so far peculiar that it is confined to Billingsgate, as in that market alone the demand supplies a livelihood to the man who carries it on. His principal sale is of newspapers to the street-fishmongers, as a large surface of paper is required for the purposes of a fish-stall. The "waste" trade—for "waste" and not "waste-paper" is the word always applied—is not carried on with such facility as might be expected, for I was assured that "waste" is so scarce that only a very insufficient supply of paper can at present be obtained. "I hope things will change soon, sir," said one collector, gravely to me, "or I shall hardly be able to keep myself and my family on my waste."

This difficulty, however, does not affect such a street-seller as the man at Billingsgate, who buys of the collectors—"collecting," however, a portion himself at the neighbouring coffee-shops, public-houses, &c.; for the wants of a regular customer must, by some means or other, be supplied.

The Billingsgate paper-seller carries his paper round, offering it to his customers, or to those he wishes to make purchasers; some fishmongers, however, obtain their "waste" first-hand from the collectors, or buy it at a news-agent's.

The retail price varies from 2*d.* to 3½*d.* the pound, but 3½*d.* is only given for "very clean and prime, and perhaps uncut," newspapers; for when a newsvendor has, as it is called, "over-stocked" himself, he sells the uncut papers at last to the collector, or the "waste" consumer. This happens, I was told, twenty times as often with the "weeklys" as the "dailys;" for, said my informant, "suppose it's a wet Sunday morning—and all newsvendors as does pray, prays for wet Sundays, because then people stays at home and buys a paper, or some number, to read and pass away the time. Well, sir, suppose it's a soaker in the morning, the newsman buys a good lot, an extra nine, or two extra nines, or the like of that, and then may be, after all, it comes out a fine day, and so he's over-stocked; in which case there's some for the waste."

When they consider it a favourable opportunity, the workers carry waste to offer to the Billingsgate salesmen; but the chief trade is in the hands of the regular frequenter of the market.

From the best information I could obtain, it appears that from 70 to 100 pounds weight of "waste"—about three-fourths being newspapers, of which some are foreign—is supplied to Billingsgate market and its visitants. Two numbers of the *Times*, with their supplements, one paper-buyer told me, "when cleverly damped, and they're never particularly dry," will weigh about a pound. The average price is not less than 2½*d.* a pound, or from that to 3*d.* A single paper is 1*d.* At 2½*d.* per pound, and 85 pounds a day, upwards of 275*l.* is spent yearly in waste paper at Billingsgate, in the street or open-air purchase alone.

OF THE SALE OF PERIODICALS ON THE STEAM-BOATS AND STEAM-BOAT PIERS.

IN this traffic are engaged about 20 men, "when the days are light until eight o'clock;" from 10 to 15, if the winter be a hard winter; and if the river steamers are unable to run—none at all. This winter, however, there has been no cessation in the running of the "boats," except on a few foggy days. The steam-boat paper-sellers are generally traders on their own account (all, I believe, have been connected with the newsvendors' trade); some few are the servants of newsvendors, sent out to deal at the wharfs and on board the boats.

The trade is not so remunerative that any payment is made to the proprietors of the boats or wharfs for the privilege of selling papers there (as in the case of the railways), but it is necessary to "obtain leave," from those who have authority to give it.

The steam-boat paper-seller steps on board a few minutes before the boat starts, when there are a sufficient number of voyagers assembled. He traverses the deck and dives into the cabins, offering his "papers," the titles of which he

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announces: "Punch, penny Punch, *real* Punch, last number for 3*d*.—comic sheets, a penny—all the London periodicals—Guide to the Thames."

From one of these frequenters of steam-boats for the purposes of his business, I had the following account:

"I was a news-agent's boy, sir, near a pier, for three or four year, then I got a start for myself, and now I serve a pier. It's not such a trade as you might think, still it's bread and cheese and a drop of beer. I go on board to sell my papers. It's seldom I sell a newspaper; there's no call for it on the river, except at the foreign-going ships—a few as is sold to them—but I don't serve none on 'em. People reads the news for nothing at the coffee-shops when they breakfasts, I s'pose, and goes on as if they took in the *Times*, *Chron*, and '*Tiser*—pubs. we calls the '*Tiser*—all to their own cheek. It's penny works I sell the most of; indeed, it's very seldom I offer anything else, 'cause it's little use. Penny Punches is fair sale, and I calls it 'Punch'—just Punch. It's dead now, I believe, but there's old numbers; still they'll be done in time. The real Punch—I sell from six to twelve a week—I call that there as the reel Punch. Galleries of Comicalities is a middling sale; people take them home with them, I think. Guides to the Thames is good in summer. They're illustrated; but people sometimes grumbles and calls them catchpennies. It ain't my fault if they're not all that's expected, but people expects everything for 1*d*. Joe Millers and 'Stophelees" (Mephistopheles) "I've sold, and said they was oppositions to Punch; that's a year or more back, but they was old, and to be had cheap. I sell Lloyd's and Reynolds's pennies—fairish, both of them; so's the Family Herald and the London Journal—very fair. I don't venture on any three-halfpenny books on anything like a spec., acause people says at once: 'A penny—I'll give you a penny.' I sell seven out of eight of what I do sell to gents.; more than that, perhaps; for you'll not often see a woman buy nothing wots intended to improve her mind. A young woman, like a maid of all work, buys sometimes and looks hard at the paper; but I sometimes thinks it's to show she can read. A summer Sunday's my best time, out and out. There's new faces then, and one goes on bolder. I've known young gents. buy, just to offer to young women, I'm pretty well satisfied. It's a introduction. *I have* met with real gentlemen. They've looked over all I offered for sale and then said: 'Nothing I want, my good fellow, but here's a penny for your trouble.' I wish there was more of them. I do sincerely. Sometimes I've gone on board and not sold one paper. I buy in the regular way, 9*d*. for a dozen (sometimes thirteen to the dozen) of penny pubs. I don't know what I make, for I keep no count; perhaps a sov. in a good week and a half in another."

I am informed that the average earnings of these traders, altogether, may be taken at 15*s*. weekly; calculating that twelve carry on the trade the year through, we find that (assuming each man to sell at thirty-three per cent. profit—though in the case of old works it will be cent. per cent.) upwards of 1,500*l*. are expended annually in steam-boat papers.

Of the Sale of Newspapers, Books, &c., at the Railway Stations.

Although the sale of newspapers at the railway termini, &c., cannot strictly be classed as a street-sale, it is so far an open-air traffic as to require some brief notice, and it has now become a trade of no small importance.

The privilege of selling to railway-passengers, within the precincts of the terminus, is disposed of by tender. At present the newsvendor on the North-Western Line, I am informed, pays to the company, for the right of sale at the Euston-square terminus, and the provincial stations, as large a sum as 1,700*l*. per annum. The amount usually given is of course in proportion to the number of stations, and the traffic of the railway.

The purchaser of this exclusive privilege sends his own servants to sell the newspapers and books, which he supplies to them in the quantity required. The men thus engaged are paid from 20*s*. to 30*s*. a week, and the boys receive from 6*s*. to 10*s*. 6*d*. weekly, but rarely 10*s*. 6*d*.

All the morning and evening papers are sold at the Station, but of the weekly press, those are sent for sale which in the manager's judgment are likely to sell, or which his agent informs him are "asked for." It is the same with the weekly unstamped publications. The reason seems obvious; if there be more than can be sold, a dead loss is incurred, for the surplusage, as regards newspapers, is only saleable as waste paper.

The books sold at railways are nearly all of the class best known as "light reading," or what some account light reading. The price does not often exceed 1*s*.; and among the books offered for sale in these places are novels in one volume, published at 1*s*.—sometimes in two volumes, at 1*s*. each; "monthly parts" of works issued in weekly numbers; shilling books of poetry; but rarely political or controversial pamphlets. One man, who understood this trade, told me that "a few of the pamphlets about the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman sold at first; but in a month or six weeks, people began to say, 'A shilling for that! I'm sick of the thing.'"

The large sum given for the privilege of an exclusive sale, shows that the number of books and papers sold at railway stations must be very considerable. But it must be borne in mind, that the price, and consequently the profit on the daily newspapers, sold at the railways, is greater than elsewhere. None are charged less than 6*d*., the regular price at a news-agent's shop being 5*d*., so that as the cost price is 4*d*.

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the profit is double. Nor is it unusual for a passenger by an early train, who grows impatient for his paper, to cry out, "A shilling for the *Times!*" This, however, is only the case, I am told, with those who start very early in the morning; for the daily papers are obtained for the railway stations from among the earliest impressions, and can be had at the accustomed price as early as six o'clock, although, if there be exciting news and a great demand, a larger amount may be given.

Of the Street Booksellers.

The course of my inquiry now leads me to consider one of the oldest, and certainly not least important of the street traffics—that of the book-stalls. Of these there are now about twenty in the London streets, but in this number I include only those which are *properly* street-stalls. Many book-stalls, as in such a locality as the London-road, are appendages to shops, being merely a display of wares outside the bookseller's premises; and with these I do not now intend to deal.

The men in this trade I found generally to be intelligent. They have been, for the most part, engaged in some minor department of the bookselling or newspaper trade, in the regular way, and are unconnected with the street-sellers in other lines, of whose pursuits, habits, and characters, they seem to know nothing.

The street book-stalls are most frequent in the thoroughfares which are well-frequented, but which, as one man in the trade expressed himself, are not so "shoppy" as others—such as the City-road, the New-road, and the Old Kent-road. "If there's what you might call a recess," observed another street book-stall-keeper, "*that's* the place for us; and you'll often see us along with flower-stands and pinners-up." The stalls themselves do not present any very smart appearance; they are usually of plain deal. If the stock of books be sufficiently ample, they are disposed on the surface of the stall, "fronts up," as I heard it described, with the titles, when lettered on the back, like as they are presented in a library. If the "front" be unlettered, as is often the case with the older books, a piece of paper is attached, and on it is inscribed the title and the price. Sometimes the description is exceeding curt, as, "Poetry," "French," "Religious," "Latin" (I saw an odd volume, in Spanish, of Don Quixote, marked "Latin," but it was at a shop-seller's stall,) "Pamphlets," and such like; or where it seems to have been thought necessary to give a somewhat fuller appellation, such titles are written out as "Locke's Understanding," "Watts's Mind," or "Pope's Rape." If the stock be rather scant, the side of the book is then shown, and is either covered with white paper, on which the title and price are written, or "brushed," or else a piece of paper is attached, with the necessary announcement.

Sometimes these announcements are striking enough, as where a number of works of the same size have been bound together (which used to be the case, I am told, more frequently than it is now); or where there has been a series of stories in one volume. One such announcement was, "Smollett's Peregrine Pickle Captain Kyd Pirate Prairie Rob of the Bowl Bamfyeld Moore Carew 2*s*." Alongside this miscellaneous volume was, "Wilberforce's Practical View of Christianity, 1*s*.;" "Fenelon's Aventures de Télémaque, plates, 9*d*.;" "Arres, de Predestinatione, 1*s*." (the last-mentioned work, which, at the first glance, seems as if it were an odd mixture of French and Latin, was a Latin quarto); "Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem, &c. &c., Gulielmo Amesio." Another work, on another stall, had the following description: "Lord Mount Edgecumbe's Opera What is Currency Watts's Scripture History Thoughts on Taxation only 1*s*. 3*d*." Another was, "Knickerbocker Bacon 1*s*." As a rule, however, the correctness with which the work is described is rather remarkable.

At some few of the street-stalls, and at many of the shop-stalls, are boxes, containing works marked, "All 1*d*.," or 2*d*., 3*d*., or 4*d*. Among these are old Court-Guides, Parliamentary Companions, Railway Plans, and a variety of sermons, and theological, as well as educational and political pamphlets. To show the character of the publications thus offered—not, perhaps, as a rule, but generally enough, for sale—I copied down the titles of some at 1*d*. and 2*d*.

"*All these at* 1*d*.—'Letters to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, on State Education, by Edward Baines, jun.;' 'A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America;' 'A Letter to the Protestant Dissenters of England and Wales, by the Rev. Robert Ainslie;' 'Friendly Advice to Conservatives;' 'Elementary Thoughts on the Principles of Currency and Wealth, and on the Means of Diminishing the Burthens of the People, by J. D. Basset, Esq., price 2*s*. 6*d*.'" The others were each published at 1*s*.

"*All these at* 2*d*.—'Poems,' by Eleanor Tatlock, 1811, 2 vols., 9*s*.;' 'Two Sermons, on the Fall and Final Restoration of the Jews, by the Rev. John Stuart;' 'Thoughts and Feelings, by Arthur Brooke, 1820;' 'The Amours of Philander and Sylvia, being the third and last part of Love-letters between a Nobleman and his Sister. Volume the Second. The Seventh Edition. London.'"

From a cursory examination of the last-mentioned twopenny volume, I could see nothing of the nobleman or his sister. It is one of an inane class of books, originated, I believe, in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. Such publications professed to be (and some few were) records of the court and city scandal of the day, but in general they were works founded on the reputation of the current scandal. In short, to adopt the language of patterers, they were "cocks" issued by the publishers of that period; and

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Horrible and Bar-bari-ous Murder of Poor

JAEL DENNY,

THE ILL-FATED VICTIM OF THOMAS DRORY.

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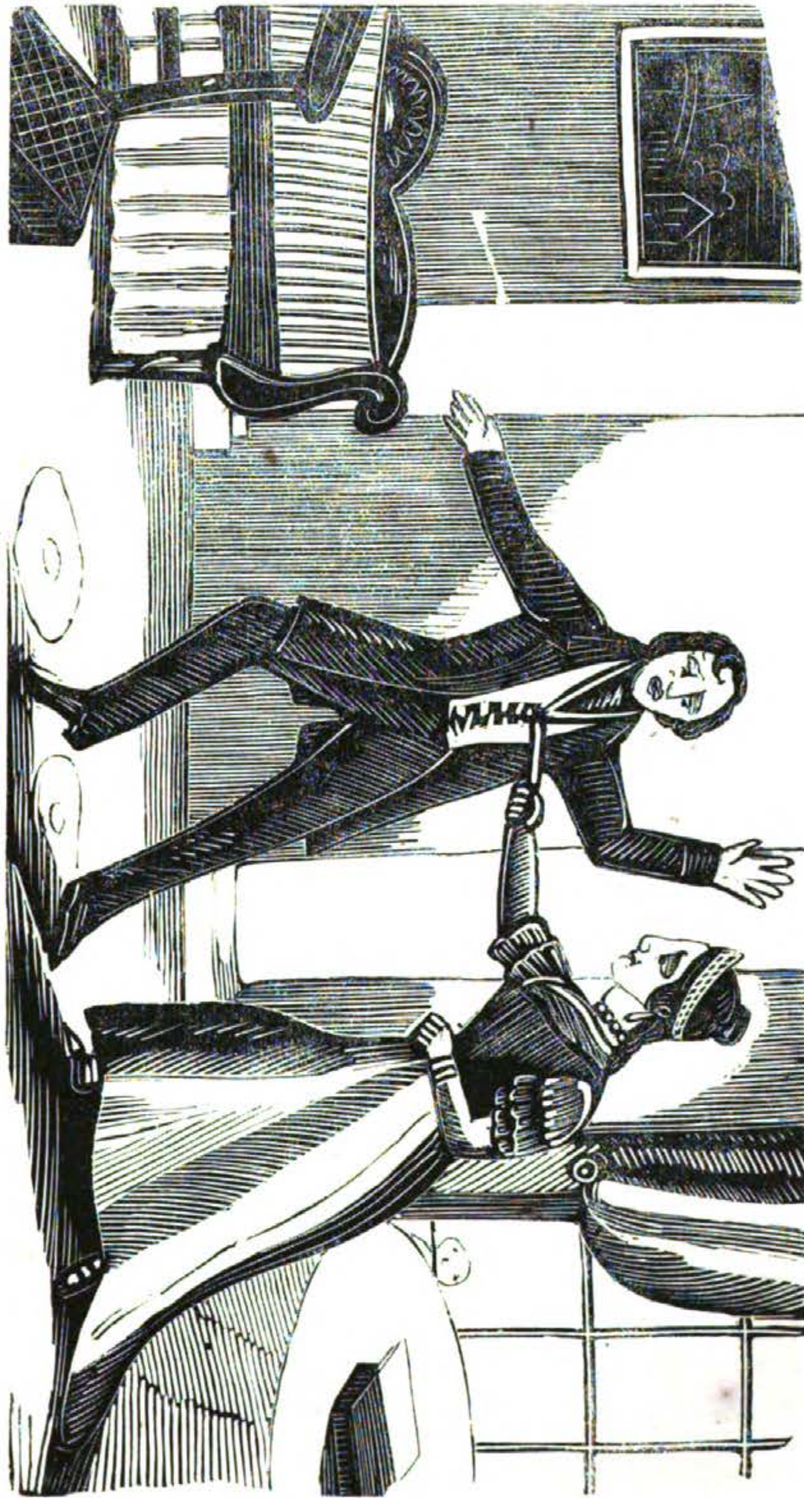

Murder of Captain Lawson.

(A "COCK.")

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF STREET-ART—No. III.

Mr. PATRICK CONNOR.*

ILLUSTRATIONS TO STREET-BALLADS.

THE
AMOROUS WATERMAN.
Of St. JOhn's Wood.

* This is evidently a rude copy of Lawrence's picture of George the Fourth.

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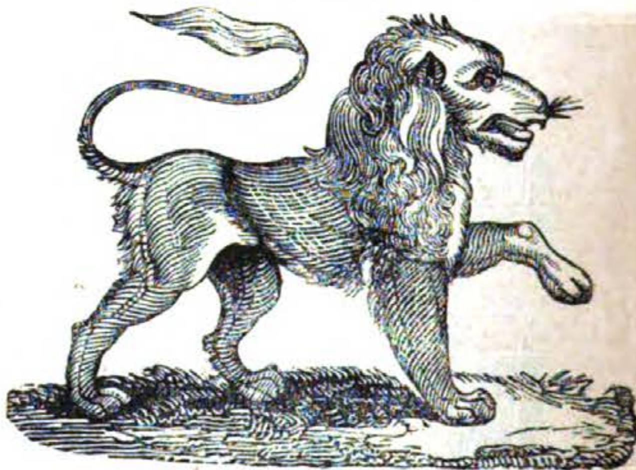
THE QUEEN'S GLORIOUS SPEECH.

GENERAL HAYNAU.*

The Miller's Ditty.

THE POACHERS.



The Heart that can feel for Another.

ROSIN THE BEAU.

Broken Hearted Gardener.

* This originally was an illustration to "Thump em the Drummer," in one of Fairburn's Song-books.

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they continued to be published until the middle of the eighteenth century, or a little later. I notice this description of literature the more, particularly as it is still frequently to be met with in street-sale. "There's oft enough," one street-bookseller said to me, "works of that sort making up a 'lot' at a sale, and in very respectable rooms. As if they were make-weights, or to make up a sufficient number of books, and so they keep their hold in the streets."

As many of my readers may have little, if any, knowledge of this class of street-sold works, I cite a portion of the "epistle dedicatory," and a specimen of the style, of "Philander and Sylvia," to show the change in street, as well as in general literature, as no such works are now published:

"To the Lord Spencer, My Lord, when a new book comes into the world, the first thing we consider is the dedication; and according to the quality and humour of the patron, we are apt to make a judgment of the following subject. If to a statesman we believe it grave and politic; if to a gownman, law or divinity; if to the young and gay, love and gallantry. By this rule, I believe the gentle reader, who finds your lordship's name prefixed before this, will make as many various opinions of it, as they do characters of your lordship, whose youthful sallies have been the business of so much discourse; and which, according to the relator's sense or good nature, is either aggravated or excused: though the woman's quarrel to your lordship has some more reasonable foundation, than that of your own sex; for your lordship being formed with all the beauties and graces of mankind, all the charms of wit, youth, and sweetness of disposition (derived to you from an illustrious race of heroes) adapting you to the noblest love and softness, they cannot but complain on that mistaken conduct of yours, that so lavishly deals out those agreeable attractions, squandering away that youth and time on many, which might be more advantageously dedicated to some one of the fair; and by a liberty (which they call not being discreet enough) rob them of all the hopes of conquest over that heart which they believe can fix no where; they cannot caress you into tameness: or if you sometimes appear so, they are still upon their guard with you; for like a young lion you are ever apt to leap into your natural wildness; the greatness of your soul disdaining to be confined to lazy repose; though the delicacy of your person and constitution so absolutely require it; your lordship not being made for diversions so rough and fatiguing, as those your active mind would impose upon it."

The last sentence is very long, so that a shorter extract may serve as a specimen of the staple of this book-making:

"To Philander,—False and perjured as you are, I languish for a sight of you, and conjure you to give it me as soon as this comes to your hands. Imagine not that I have prepared those instruments of revenge that are so justly due to your perfidy: but rather, that I have yet too tender sentiments for you, in spite of the outrage you have done my heart; and that for all the ruin you have made, I still adore you: and though I know you are now another's slave, yet I beg you would vouchsafe to behold the spoils you have made, and allow me this recompense for all, to say—Here was the beauty I once esteemed, though now she is no more Philander's Sylvia."

Having thus described what may be considered the divisional parts of this stall trade, I proceed to the more general character of the class of books sold.

Of the Character of Books of the Street-sale.

There has been a change, and in some respects a considerable change, in the character or class of books sold at the street-stalls, within the last 40 or 50 years, as I have ascertained from the most experienced men in the trade. Now sermons, or rather the works of the old divines, are rarely seen at these stalls, or if seen, are rarely purchased. Black-letter editions are very unfrequent at street book-stalls, and it is twenty times more difficult, I am assured, for street-sellers to pick up anything really rare and curious, than it was in the early part of the century.

One reason assigned for this change by an intelligent street-seller was, that black-letter or any ancient works, were almost all purchased by the second-hand booksellers, who have shops and issue catalogues, as they had a prompt sale for them whenever they could pick them up at book-auctions or elsewhere. "Ay, indeed," said another book-stall keeper, "anything scarce or curious, when it's an old book, is kept out of the streets; if it's not particular decent, sir," (with a grin), "why it's reckoned all the more curious,—that's the word, sir, I know,—'curious.' I can tell how many beans make five as well as you or anybody. Why, now, there's a second-hand bookseller not a hundred miles from Holborn—and a pleasant, nice man he is, and does a respectable business—and he puts to the end of his catalogue—they all have catalogues that's in a good way—two pages that he calls 'Facetiæ.' They're titles and prices of queer old books in all languages—indecent books, indeed. He sends his catalogues to a many clergymen and learned people; and to any that he thinks wouldn't much admire seeing his 'Facetiæ,' he pulls the last leaf out, and sends his catalogue, looking finished without it. Those last two pages aren't at all the worst part of his trade among buyers that's worth money."

In one respect a characteristic of this trade is unaltered; I allude to the prevalence of "odd volumes" at the cheaper stalls,—not the odd volumes of a novel, but more frequently of one of the essayists—the "Spectator" especially. One stall-keeper told me, that if he purchased an old edition of the "Spectator," in eight vols., he could more readily sell it in single volumes, at 4*d.* each, than sell the eight vols. altogether for 2*s.*, or even 1*s.* 4*d.*, though this was but 2*d.* a volume.

"There's nothing in my trade," said one street-bookseller with whom I conversed on the subject, "that sells better, or indeed so well, as English classics. I can't offer to draw fine distinctions, and I'm just speaking of my own plain way of trade; but *I* call English classics such works as the 'Spectator,' 'Tatler,' 'Guardian,' 'Adventurer,' 'Rambler,' 'Rasellas,' 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' 'Peregrine Pickle,' 'Tom Jones, 'Goldsmith's His-

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tories of Greece, Rome, and England' (they all sell quick), 'Enfield's Speaker,' 'mixed plays,' the 'Sentimental Journey,' no, sir, 'Tristram Shandy,' rather hangs on hand, the 'Pilgrim's Progress' (but it must be sold *very* low), 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'Philip Quarles,' 'Telemachus,' 'Gil Blas,' and 'Junius's Letters.' I don't remember more at this moment, such as are of good sale. I haven't included poetry, because I'm speaking of English classics, and of course they must be oldish works to be classics."

Concerning the street sale of poetical works I learned from street book-sellers, that their *readiest* sale was of volumes of Shakespeare, Pope, Thomson, Goldsmith, Cowper, Burns, Byron, and Scott. "You must recollect, sir," said one dealer, "that in nearly all those poets there's a double chance for sale at book-stalls. For what with old editions, and new and cheap editions, there's always plenty in the market, and very low. No, I can't say I could sell Milton as quickly as any of those mentioned, nor 'Hudibras,' nor 'Young's Night Thoughts,' nor Prior, nor Dryden, nor 'Gay's Fables.' It's seldom that we have any works of Hood, or Shelley, or Coleridge, or Wordsworth, or Moore at street stalls—you don't often see them, I think, at booksellers' stalls—for they're soon picked up. Poetry sells very fair, take it altogether."

Another dealer told me that from twenty to thirty years ago there were at the street-stalls a class of works rarely seen now. He had known them in all parts and had disposed of them in his own way of business. He specified the "Messiah" (Klopstock's) as of this class, the "Death of Abel," the "Castle of Otranto" ("but that's seen occasionally still," he observed), the "Old English Baron" ("and that's seen still too, but nothing to what it were once"), the "Young Man's Best Companion" "Zimmerman on Solitude," and "Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful" ("but I have that yet sometimes.") These works were of heavy sale in the streets, and my informant thought they had been thrown into the street-trade because the publishers had not found them saleable in the regular way. "I was dead sick of the 'Death of Abel,'" observed the man, "before I could get out of him." Occasionally are to be seen at most of the stalls, works of which the majority of readers have heard, but may not have met with. Among such I saw "Laura," by Capel Lloftt, 4 vols. 1*s.* 6*d.* "Darwin's Botanic Garden," 2*s.* "Alfred, an Epic Poem," by H. J. Pye, Poet Laureate, 10*d.* "Cœlebs in search of a Wife," 2 vols. in one, 1*s.*

The same informant told me that he had lived near an old man who died twenty-five years ago, or it might be more, with whom he was somewhat intimate. This old man had been all his life familiar with the street trade in books, which he had often hawked—a trade now almost unknown; his neighbour had heard him say that fifty to seventy years ago, he made his two guineas a week "without distressing hisself," meaning, I was told, that he was drinking every Monday at least. This old man used to tell that in his day, the "Whole Duty of Man," and the "Tale of a Tub," and "Pomfret's Poems," and "Pamela," and "Sir Charles Grandison" went off *well*, but "Pamela" the best. "And I've heard the old man say, sir," I was further told, "how he had to tread his shoes straight about what books he showed publicly. He sold 'Tom Paine' on the sly. If anybody bought a book and would pay a good price for it, three times as much as was marked, he'd *give* the 'Age of Reason' in. I never see it now, but I don't suppose anybody would interfere if it was offered. A sly trade's always the best for paying, and for selling too. The old fellow used to laugh and say his stall was quite a godly stall, and he wasn't often without a copy or two of the 'Anti-Jacobin Review,' which was all for Church and State and all that, though he had 'Tom Paine' in a drawer."

The books sold at the street-stalls are purchased by the retailers either at the auctions of the regular trade, or at "chance," or general auctions, or of the Jews or others who may have bought books cheap under such circumstances. Often, however, the stall-keeper has a market peculiarly his own. It is not uncommon for working men or tradesmen, if they become "beaten-down and poor" to carry a basket-full of books to a stall-keeper, and say, "Here, give me half-a-crown for these." One man had forty parts, each issued at 1*s.*, of a Bible, offered to him at 1*d.* a part, by a mechanic who could not any longer afford to "take them in," and was at last obliged to sell off what he had. Of course such things are nearly valueless when imperfect. Very few works are bought for street-stall sale of the regular booksellers.

OF THE EXPERIENCE OF A STREET BOOK-SELLER.

I now give a statement, furnished to me by an experienced man, as to the nature of his trade, and the class of his customers. Most readers will remember having seen an account in the life of some poor scholar, having read—and occasionally, in spite of the remonstrances of the stall-keeper—some work which he was too needy to purchase, and even of his having read it through at intervals. That something of this kind is still to be met with will be found from the following account:

"My customers, sir, are of all sorts," my informant said. "They're gentlemen on their way from the City, that have to pass along here by the City-road. Bankers' clerks, very likely, or insurance-office clerks, or such like. They're fairish customers, but they often screw me. Why only last month a gentleman I know very well by sight, and I see him pass in his brougham in bad weather, took up an old Latin book—if I remember right it was an odd volume

of a French edition of Horace—and though it was marked only 8*d.*, it was long before he would consent to give more than 6*d.* And I should never have got my price if I hadn't heard him say quite hastily, when he took up the book, 'The very thing I've long been looking for!' Mechanics are capital customers for scientific or trade books, such as suit their business; and so they often are for geography and history, and some for poetry; but *they're* not so screwy. I know a many such who are rare ones for searching into knowledge. Women buy very little of me in comparison to men; sometimes an odd novel, in one volume, when its cheap, such as 'The Pilot,' or 'The Spy,' or 'The Farmer of Inglewood Forest,' or 'The Monk.' No doubt some buy 'The Monk,' not knowing exactly what sort of a book it is, but just because it's a romance; but some young men buy it, I know, because they have learned what sort it's like. Old three vol. novels won't sell at all, if they're ever so cheap. Boys very seldom buy of me, unless it's a work about pigeons, or something that way.

"I can't say that odd vols. of Annual Registers are anything but a bad sale, but odd vols. of old Mags. (magazines), a year or half-year bound together, are capital. Old London Mags., or Ladies', or Oxford and Cambridges, or Town and Countrys, or Universals, or Monthly Reviews, or Humourists, or Ramblers, or Europeans, or any of any sort, that's from 40 to 100 years old, no matter what they are, go off rapidly at from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* each, according to size, and binding, and condition. Odd numbers of Mags. are good for little at a stall. The old Mags. in vols. are a sort of reading a great many are very fond of. Lives of the Princess Charlotte are a ready penny enough. So are Queen Carolines, but not so good. Dictionaries of all kinds are nearly as selling as the old Mags., and so are good Latin books. French are only middling; not so well as you might think."

My informant then gave me a similar account to what I had previously received concerning English classics, and proceeded: "Old religious books, they're a fair trade enough, but they're not so plentiful on the stalls now, and if they're black-letter they don't find their way from the auctions or anywhere to any places but the shops or to private purchasers. Mrs. Rowe's 'Knowledge of the Heart' goes off, if old. Bibles, and Prayer-books, and Hymn-books, are very bad." [This may be accounted for by the cheapness of these publications, when new, and by the facilities afforded to obtain them gratuitously.] "Annuals are dull in going off; very much so, though one might expect different. I can hardly sell 'Keepsakes' at all. Children's books, such as are out one year at 2*s.* 6*d.* apiece, very nicely got up, sell finely next year at the stalls for from 6*d.* to 10*d.* Genteel people buy them of us for presents at holiday times. They'll give an extra penny quite cheerfully if there's 'Price 2*s.* 6*d.*' or 'Price 3*s.* 6*d.*' lettered on the back or part of the title-page. School-books in good condition don't stay long on hand, especially Pinnock's. There's not a few people who stand and read and read for half an hour or an hour at a time. It's very trying to the temper when they take up room that way, and prevent others seeing the works, and never lay out a penny theirselves. But they seem quite lost in a book. Well, I'm sure I don't know what they are. Some seem very poor, judging by their dress, and some seem shabby genteels. I can't help telling them, when I see them going, that I'm much obliged, and I hope that perhaps next time they'll manage to say 'thank ye,' for they don't open their lips once in twenty times. I know a man in the trade that goes dancing mad when he has customers of this sort, who aren't customers. I dare say, one day with another, I earn 3*s.* the year through; wet days are greatly against us, for if we have a cover people won't stop to look at a stall. Perhaps the rest of my trade earn the same." This man told me that he was not unfrequently asked, and by respectable people, for indecent works, but he recommended them to go to Holywell-street themselves. He believed that some of his fellow-traders *did* supply such works, but to no great extent.

An elderly man, who had known the street book-trade for many years, but was not concerned in it when I saw him, told me that he was satisfied he had sold old books, old plays often, to Charles Lamb, whom he described as a stuttering man, who, when a book suited him, sometimes laid down the price, and smiled and nodded, and then walked away with it in his pocket or under his arm, without a word having been exchanged. When we came to speak of dates, I found that my informant—who had only conjectured that this was Lamb—was unquestionably mistaken. One of the best customers he ever had for anything old or curious, and in Italian, if he remembered rightly, as well as in English, was the late Rev. Mr. Scott, who was chaplain on board the Victory, at the time of Nelson's death at Trafalgar. "He had a living in Yorkshire, I believe it was," said the man, "and used to come up every now and then to town. I was always glad to see his white head and rosy face, and to have a little talk with him about books and trade, though it wasn't always easy to catch what he said, for he spoke quick, and not very distinct. But he was a pleasant old gentleman, and talked to a poor man as politely as he might to an admiral. He was very well known in my trade, as I was then employed."

The same man once sold to a gentleman, he told me, and he believed it was somewhere about twenty-five years ago, if not more, a Spanish or Portuguese work, but what it was he did not know. It was marked 1*s.* 9*d.*, being a good-sized book, but the stall-keeper was tired of having had it a long time, so that he gladly would have taken 9*d.* for it. The gentleman in question handed him half-a-crown, and, as he had not the change, the purchaser said: "O,

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don't mind; it's worth far more than half-a-crown to me." When this liberal customer had walked away, a gentleman who had been standing at the stall all the time, and who was an occasional buyer, said, "Do you know him?" and, on receiving an answer in the negative, he rejoined, "That's Southey."

Another stall-keeper told me that his customers—some of whom he supplied with any periodical in the same way as a newsvendor—had now and then asked him, especially "the ladies of the family," who glanced, when they passed, at the contents of his stall, why he had not newer works? "I tell them," said the stall-keeper, "that they haven't become cheap enough yet for the streets, but that they would come to it in time." After some conversation about his trade, which only confirmed the statements I have given, he said laughingly, "Yes, indeed, you all come to such as me at last. Why, last night I heard a song about all the stateliest buildings coming to the ivy, and I thought, as I listened, it was the same with authors. The best that the best can do is the book-stall's food at last. And no harm, for he's in the best of company, with Shakespeare, and all the great people."

Calculating 15*s.* weekly as the average earnings of the street book-stall keepers—for further information induces me to think that the street bookseller who earned 18*s.* a week regularly, cleared it by having a "tidy pitch"—and reckoning that, to clear such an amount, the bookseller takes, at least, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* weekly, we find 5,460 guineas yearly expended in the purchase of books at the purely street-stalls, independently of what is laid out at the open-air stalls connected with book-shops.

Of Street Book-auctioneers.

The sale of books by auction, in the streets, is now inconsiderable and irregular. The "auctioning" of books—I mean of new books—some of which were published principally with a view to their sale by auction, was, thirty to forty years ago, systematic and extensive. It was not strictly a street-sale. The auctioneer offered his books to the public, nine cases out of ten, in town, in an apartment (now commonly known as a "mock-auction room"), which was so far a portion of the street that access was rendered easier by the removal of the door and window of any room on a ground-floor, and some of the bidders could and did stand in the street and take part in the proceedings. In the suburbs—which at that period were not so integral a portion of the metropolis as at present—the book-auction sales were carried on strictly in the open air, generally in front of a public-house, and either on a platform erected for the purpose, or from a covered cart; the books then being deposited in the vehicle, and the auctioneer standing on a sort of stage placed on the propped-up shafts. In the country, however, the auction was often carried on in an inn.

The works thus sold were generally standard works. The poems were those of Pope, Young, Thomson, Goldsmith, Falconer, Cowper, &c. The prose writings were such works as "The Pilgrim's Progress," "The Travels of Mr. Lemuel Gulliver," "Johnson's Lives of the Poets," "The Vicar of Wakefield," the most popular of the works of Defoe, Fielding, and Smollett, and "Hervey's Meditations among the Tombs" (at one time highly popular). These books were not correctly printed, they were printed, too, on inferior paper, and the frontispiece—when there *was* a frontispiece—was often ridiculous. But they certainly gave to the public what is called an "impetus" for reading. Some were published in London (chiefly by the late Mr. Tegg, who at one time, I am told, himself "offered to public competition," by auction, the works he published); others were printed in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ipswich, Bungay, &c.

One of my informants remembered being present at a street-sale, about twenty or thirty years ago; he perfectly remembered, however, the oratory of the auctioneer, of whom he purchased some books. The sale was in one of the streets in Stoke Newington, a door or two from a thoroughfare. My informant was there—as he called it—"accidentally," and knew little of the neighbourhood. The auctioneer stood at the door of what appeared to have been a coach-house, and sold his books, which were arranged within, very rapidly: "Byron," he exclaimed; "Lord Byron's latest and best po'ms. Sixpence! Sixpence! Eightpence! I take penny bids under a shilling. Eightpence for the poems written by a lord—Gone! Yours, sir" (to my informant). The auctioneer, I was told, "spoke very rapidly, and clipped many of his words." The work thus sold consisted of some of Byron's minor poems. It was in the pamphlet form, and published, I have no doubt, surreptitiously; for there was, in those days, a bold and frequent piracy of any work which was thought distasteful to the Government, or to which the Court of Chancery might be likely to refuse the protection of the law of copyright.

The auctioneer went on: "Coop'r—Coop'r! Published at 3*s.* 6*d.*, as printed on the back. Superior to Byron—Coop'r's 'Task.' No bidders? Thank you, sir. One-and-six,—your's, sir. Young—'Young's Night Thoughts. Life, Death, and Immortality,'—great subjects. London edition, marked 3*s.* 6*d.* Going!—last bidder—two shillings—gone!" The purchaser then complained that the frontispiece—a man seated on a tombstone—was exactly the same as to a copy he had of "Hervey's Meditations," but the auctioneer said it was impossible.

I have thus shown what *was* the style and nature of the address of the street book-auctioneer, formerly, to the public. If it were not strictly "patter," or "pompous oration," it certainly partook of some of the characteristics of patter. At present, however, the street book-auctioneer may be described as a true patterer.

It will be seen from the account I have

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given, that the books were then really "sold by auction"—knocked down to the highest bidder. This however was, and is not always the case. Legally to sell by auction, necessitates the obtaining of a licence, at an annual cost of 5*l.*; and if the bookseller conveys his stock of books from place to place, a hawker's licence is required as well,—which entails an additional expenditure of 4*l.* The itinerant bookseller evades, or endeavours to evade, the payment for an auctioneer's licence, by "putting-up" his books at a high price, and *himself* decreasing the terms, instead of offering them at a low price, and allowing *the public* to make a series of "advances." Thus, a book may be offered by a street-auctioneer at half-a-crown—two shillings—eighteenpence—a shilling—tenpence, and the moment any one assents to a specified sum, the volume handed to him; so that there is no competition—no bidding by the public one in advance of another. Auction, however, is resorted to as often as the bookseller dares.

One experienced man in the book-stall trade calculated that twenty years ago there might be twelve book-auctioneers in the streets of London, or rather, of its suburbs. One of these was a frequenter of the Old Kent-road; another, "Newington way;" and a third resorted to "any likely pitch in Pimlico"—all selling from a sort of van. Of these twelve, however, my informant thought that there were never more than six in London at one time, as they were all itinerant; and they have gradually dwindled down to two, who are now not half their time in town. These two traders are brothers, and sell their books from a sort of platform erected on a piece of waste-ground, or from a barrow. The works they sell are generally announced as new, and are often uncut. They are all recommended as explanatory of every topic of the day, and are often set forth as "spicy." Three or four years ago, a gentleman told me how greatly he was amused with the patter of one of these men, who was selling books at the entrance of a yard full of caravans, not far from the School for the Blind, Lambeth. One work the street-auctioneer announced at the top of his voice, in the following terms, as far as a good memory could retain them: "'The Rambler!' Now you rambling boys—now you young devils, that's been staring those pretty girls out of countenance—here's the very book for you, and more shame for you, and perhaps for me too; but I must sell—I must do business. If any lady or gen'lman 'll stand treat to a glass of brandy and water, 'warm with,' I'll tell more about this 'Rambler'—I'm too bashful, as it is. Who bids? Fifteen-pence—thank'ee, sir. Sold again!" The "Rambler" was Dr. Johnson's!

The last time one of my informants heard the "patter" of the smartest of the two brothers, it was to the following effect: "Here is the 'History of the Real Flying Dutchman,' and *no* mistake; no fiction, I assure you, upon my honour. Published at 10*s.*—who bids half-a-crown? Sixpence; thank you, sir. Ninepence; going—going! Any more?—gone!"

A book-stall-keeper, who had sold goods to a book-auctioneer, and attended the sales, told me he was astonished to hear how his own books—"old new books," he called them, were set off by the auctioneer: "Why, there was a vol. lettered 'Pamphlets,' and I think there *was* something about Jack Sheppard in it, but it was all odds and ends of other things, I know. 'Here's the *real* Jack Sheppard,' sings out the man, 'and no gammon!' The real edition—no spooniness here, but set off with other interesting histories, valuable for the rising generation and all generations. This is the real Jack. This will

> '—— put you up to the time o' day,
> Nix, my dolly pals, *bid* away.'

"Then he went on: 'Goldsmith's History of England. Continued by the first writers of the day—to the very last rumpus in the palace, and no mistake. Here it is; genuine.' Well, sir," the stall-keeper continued, "the man didn't do well; perhaps he cleared 1*s.* 6*d.* or a little more that evening on books. People laughed more than they bought. But it's no wonder the trade's going to the dogs — they're not allowed to have a pitch now; I shouldn't be surprised if they was not *all* driven out of London next year. It's contrary to Act of Parliament to get an honest living in the streets now-a-days."

A man connected with the street book-trade considered that if one of these auctioneers earned a guinea in London streets in the six days it was a "good week." Half-a-guinea was nearer the average, he thought, "looking at the weather and everything." What amount is expended to enable this street-dealer to earn his guinea or half-guinea, is so uncertain, from the very nature of an auction, that I can obtain no data to rely upon.

The itinerant book-auctioneer is now confined chiefly to the provincial towns, and especially the country markets. The reason for this is correctly given in the statement above cited. The street-auction requires the gathering of so large a crowd that the metropolitan police consider the obstruction to the public thoroughfares warrants their interference. The two remaining book-auctioneers in London generally restrict their operations to the outskirts—the small space which fronts "the George Inn" in the Commercial-road, and which lays a few yards behind the main thoroughfare, and similar suburban "retreats" being favourite "pitches." The trade is, as regards profits, far from bad—the books sold consisting chiefly of those picked up in cheap "lots" at the regular auctions; so that what fetches 6*d.* in the streets has generally been purchased for less than a penny. The average rate of profit may be taken at 250*l.* per cent. at the least. Exorbitant however as this return may appear, still it should be remembered

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that the avocation is one that can be pursued only occasionally, and that solely in fine weather. Books are now more frequently sold in the London streets from barrows. This change of traffic has been forced upon the street-sellers by the commands of the police—that the men should "keep moving." Hence the well-known light form of street conveyance is now fast superseding not only the book-auctioneer, but the book-stall in the London streets. Of these book-barrowmen there is now about fifty trading regularly in the metropolis, and taking on an average from *3s.* to *5s. 6d.* a day.

Of the Street-sale of Song-books, and of Children's Books.

The sale of song-books in the streets, at *1d.* and at *½d.* each, is smaller than it was two years ago. One reason that I heard assigned was that the penny song-books—styled "The Universal Song-book," "The National," "The Bijou," &c.—were reputed to be so much alike (the same songs under a different title), that people who had bought one book were averse to buy another. "There's the 'Ross' and the 'Sam Hall' song-books," said one man, "the 'eighteenth series,' and I don't know what; but I don't like to venture on working them, though they're only a penny. There's lots to be seen in the shop-windows; but they might be stopped in the street, for they an't decent—'specially the flash ones."

One of the books which a poor man had found the most saleable is entitled, "The Great Exhibition Song-book; a Collection of the Newest and Most Admired Songs. Embellished with upwards of one Hundred Toasts and Sentiments." The toasts and sentiments are given in small type, as a sort of border to the thirty-two pages of which the book consists. The toast on the title-page is as follows:

"I'll toast England's daughters, let all fill their glasses,
Whose beauty and virtue the whole world surpasses."

To show the nature of the songs in street demand, I cite those in the book: "The Gathering of the Nations," "Bloom is on the Rye," "Wilt thou Meet me there, Love?" "Minna's Tomb," "I'll Love thee ever Dearly" (Arnold), "When Phœbus wakes the Rosy Hours," "Money is your Friend," "Julia and Caspar" (G. M. Lewis), "That pretty word, Yes" (E. Mackey), "Farewell, Forget me Not," "The Queen and the Navy" (music published by H. White, Great Marlborough-street), "I resign Thee every Token" (music published by Duff and Co.), "Sleep, gentle Lady;" a serenade (H. J. Payne), "The Warbling Waggoner," "The Keepsake," "A Sequel to the Cavalier," "There's room enough for All" (music at Mr. Davidson's), "Will you Come to the Dale?" "Larry O'Brian," "Woman's Love," "Afloat on the Ocean" (sung by Mr. Weiss, in the Opera of the "Heart of Mid Lothian," music published by Jefferys, Soho-square), "Together, Dearest, let us Fly" (sung by Mr. Braham, in the Opera of the "Heart of Mid Lothian," music published by Jefferys, Soho-square), "The Peremptory Lover" (Tune—"John Anderson, my Joe"). There are forty-seven songs in addition to those whose titles I have quoted, but they are all of the same character.

The penny song-books (which are partly indecent), and entitled the "Sam Hall" and "Ross" Songsters, are seldom or never sold in the streets. Many of those vended in the shops outrage all decency. Some of these are styled the "Coal-Hole Companion," "Cider-Cellar Songs," "Captain Morris's Songs," &c. (the filthiest of all.) These are generally marked *1s.* and sold at *6d.*; and have a coloured folded frontispiece. They are published chiefly by H. Smith, Holywell-street. The titles of some of the songs in these works are sufficient to indicate their character. "The Muff," "The Two Miss Thy.s," "George Robins's Auction," "The Woman that studied the Stars," "A Rummy Chaunt" (frequently with no other title), "The Amiable Family," "Joe Buggins' Wedding," "Stop the Cart," "The Mot that can feel for another," "The Irish Giant," "Taylor Tim," "The Squire and Patty."

Some titles are unprintable.

The children's books in best demand in the street-trade, are those which have long been popular: "Cinderella," "Jack the Giant-killer," "Baron Munchausen," "Puss and the Seven-leagued Boots," "The Sleeping Beauty," "The Seven Champions of Christendom," &c. &c. "There's plenty of 'Henry and Emmas,'" said a penny bookseller, "and 'A Present for Christmas,' and 'Pictorial Alphabets,' and 'Good Books for Good Boys and Girls;' but when people buys really for their children, they buys the old stories—at least they does of me. I've sold 'Penny Hymns' (hymn-books) sometimes; but when they're bought, or 'Good Books' is bought, it's from charity to a poor fellow like me, more than anything else."

The trade, both in songs and in children's books, is carried on in much the same way as I have described of the almanacks and memorandum-books, but occasionally the singers of ballads sell books. Sometimes poor men, old or infirm, offer them in a tone which seems a whine for charity rather than an offer for sale, "Buy a penny book of a poor old man—very hungry, very hungry." Children do the same, and all far more frequently in the suburbs than in the busy parts of the metropolis. Those who purchase really for the sake of the books, say, one street-seller told me, "Give me something that'll interest a child, and set him a-thinking. They can't understand—poor little things!—your fine writing; do you understand that?" Another man had said, "Fairy tales! bring me nothing but fairies; they set children a-reading." The price asked is most frequently a penny, but some are offered at a halfpenny, which is often given (without a purchase) out of compassion, or to be rid of importunity. The profit is at least cent. per cent.

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Of the Street-sellers of Account-books.

The sale of account-books is in the hands of about the same class of street-sellers as the stationery, but one man in the trade thought the regular hands were more trusted, if anything, than street-stationers. "People, you see," he said, "won't buy their 'accounts' of *ruff;* they won't have them of any but respectable people." The books sold are bought at 4*s.* the dozen, or 4½*d.* a piece, up to 70*s.* the dozen, or 5*s.* 9*d.*, or 6*s.* a piece. It is rarely, however, that the street account-bookseller gives 4*s.* 9*d.*, and very rarely that he gives as much as 5*s.* 9*d.* for his account-books. His principal sale is of the smaller "waste," or "day-books," kept by the petty traders; the average price of these being 1*s.* 9*d.* The principal purchasers are the chandlers, butchers, &c., in the quieter streets, and more especially "a little way out of town, where there ain't so many cheap shops." A man, now a street-stationer, with a "fixed pitch," had carried on the account-book trade until an asthmatic affliction compelled him to relinquish it, as the walking became impossible to him, and he told me that the street-trade was nothing to what it once was. "People," he said, "aren't so well off, I think, sir; and they'll buy half a quire of outside foolscap, or outside post, for from 5*d.* to 8*d.*, and stitch it together, and rule it, and make a book of it. Rich tradesmen do that, sir. I bought of a stationer some years back, and he told me that he was a relation of a rich grocer, and had befriended him in his (the grocer's) youth, but he wouldn't buy account-books, for he said, the make-shift books that his shopman stitched together for him opened so much easier. People never want a good excuse for acting shabby."

There are now, I am informed, twelve men selling account-books daily, which they carry in a covered basket, or in a waterproof bag, or, in fine weather, under the arm. Some of these street-sellers are not itinerant when there is a congregation of people for business, or indeed for any purpose; at other times they "keep moving." The fixed localities are, on market days, at Smithfield and Mark-lane: and to Hungerford-market, an old man, unable to "travel," resorts daily. The chief trade, however, is in carrying, or hawking these account-books from door to door. A man, "having a connection," does best "on a round;" if he be known, he is not distrusted, and sells as cheap, or rather cheaper, than the shop-keepers.

The twelve account-book sellers (with connections) may clear 2*s.* 6*d.* a day each, taking, for the realisation of such profit, 7*s.* per diem. Thus 1,310*l.* will be taken by these street-sellers in the course of a year. The capital required to start is, stock-money, 15*s.*; basket, 3*s.* 6*d* · waterproof bag, 2*s.* 6*d*; 21*s.* in all.

Of the Street-sellers of Guide-books, &c.

This trade, as regards a street-sale, has only been known for nine or ten years, and had its origination in the exertions of Mr. Hume, M.P., to secure to persons visiting the national exhibitions the advantage of a cheap catalogue. The guide-books were only sold, prior to this time, *within* any public exhibition; and the profits—as is the case at present—were the perquisite of some official. When the sale was a monopoly, the profit must have been considerable, as the price was seldom less than 6*d.*, and frequently 1*s.* The guide-books, or, as they are more frequently called, catalogues, are now sold by men who stand at the entrance, the approaches, at a little distance on the line, or at the corners of the adjacent streets, at the following places:—the National Gallery, the Vernon Gallery, the British Museum, Westminster Abbey, the House of Lords, the Society of Arts (occasionally), the Art-Union (when open "free"), Greenwich Hospital, the Dulwich Gallery, Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, and Kew Gardens.

At any temporary exhibition, also, the same trade is carried on—as it was largely when the "designs," &c., for the decoration of the New Houses of Parliament were exhibited in Westminster Hall. There are, of course, very many other catalogues, or explanatory guides, sold to the visitors of other exhibitions, but I speak only of the *street*-sale.

There are now, at the National Gallery, three guidebook-sellers plying their trade in the streets; eight at the British Museum; two at Westminster Abbey; one at the House of Lords, but only on Saturdays, when the House is shown, by orders obtained gratuitously at the Lord Chamberlain's office, or "when appeals are on;" one at the Vernon Gallery; two at Dulwich (but not regularly, as there are none at present), two at Hampton Court, "one near each gate;" and one, and sometimes three, at Windsor (generally sent out by a shopkeeper there). There used to be one at the Thames Tunnel, but "it grew so bad at last," I was told, "that a rat couldn't have picked up his grub at it—let alone a man."

Among all these sellers I heard statements of earning a most wretched pittance, and all attributed it to the same cause. By the National Gallery is a board, on which is an announcement that the only authorized catalogue of the works of art can be obtained in the hall. There are similar announcements at other public places. One man who had been in this street trade, but had abandoned it, spoke of these "boards," as he called them, with intense bitterness. "They're the ruin of any trade in the streets," he said. "You needn't think because I'm out of it now, that I have a pleasure in abusing the regulations; no, sir, I look at it this way. Mr. Hume had trouble enough, I know, to get the public a cheap catalogue, and poor men were allowed to earn honest bread by selling them in the streets, and honest bread they would earn still, if it weren't for the board. I declare solemnly a man can't

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get a living at the trade. The publishers can't prepare their catalogues without leave, and when they've got leave, and do prepare and print them, why isn't a man allowed to sell them in the streets, as I've sold second editions of the *Globe* without ever the office putting out a notice that the only authorized copy was to be had within? God bless your soul, sir, it's shocking, shocking, poor men being hindered every way. Anybody that looks on the board looks on us as cheats and humbugs, and thinks that our catalogues are all takes-in. But I've heard gentlemen, that I'm sure knew what they were talking about, say, in case they'd bought in the street first, and then seen the board and bought within after, so as to be sure of the real thing—I've heard gentlemen, say, sir,—'Why what we got in the street is the best after all.' Free trade! There's plenty said about free trade, but that board, sir, or call it what you please, gives a monopoly against us. What I have said, when I was starving on catalogues, is this: Kick us out of the streets, commit us for selling catalogues, as rogues and vagabonds; or give us a fair chance. If we *may* sell, why is the only authorised catalogue sold only within? I wish Mr. Hume, or Mr. Cobden, either, only understood the rights of the matter —it's of no account to me myself now—and I think they'd soon set it to rights. Free trade! Over the left, and with more hooks than one."

I have no doubt that this representation and this opinion would have been echoed by the street catalogue-sellers, but they were evidently unwilling to converse freely on this branch of the subject, knowing the object for which I questioned them, and that publicity would follow. I attribute this reluctance chiefly to the fact that, all these poor men look forward to the opening of the Great Exhibition with earnest hope and anxiety that the influx of visiters will add greatly to their sale and profits; and they are unwilling to jeopardise their privilege of sale.

One man told me that he believed, from his own knowledge, for he had not always "sold outside," that the largest buyers of these publications were country people, sight-seeing in London, for they bought the book not only as an explanatory guide, but to preserve as a memento of their visit. Such customers, however, I heard from several quarters, the moment they saw a "notice" as to the only authorised copy, looked upon the street-sellers as a systematised portion of the London sharpers, seeking whom they might devour, and so bought their catalogues "within."

The best customers in the streets for the catalogues are, I am assured, the working-classes, who visit the national exhibitions on a holiday. "I've oft enough heard them say," one man stated, "'I'd rather pay a poor man 2*d.* any day, when I can spare it, than rich people 1*d.* I know what it is to fight for a crust.'"

At the National Gallery, the street-sold catalogues are 1*d.*, 3*d.*, and 6*d.*; in the hall, the authorised copy is sold at 4*d.* and 1*s.* At the British Museum, the street-charges are 3*d.* and 6*d.*; there were 1*d.* catalogues of this institution, but they have been discontinued for the last half-year, being found too meagre. At the Vernon Gallery, the charge is 1*d.*; but the 6*d.* guide-book to the National Gallery contains also an account of the pictures in the Vernon Gallery. At Westminster Abbey the price is 6*d.*, and the same at the House of Lords. At Hampton-court it is 2*d.*, 4*d.*, and 6*d.*, and at the same rate as regards the other places mentioned. At Hampton-court, I was told, the street-sellers were not allowed to approach the palace nearer than a certain space. One man told me that he was threatened with being "had in for trespassing, and Mr. G—— would make him wheel a roller. Of course," the man continued, "there's an authorised catalogue there."

The best sale of catalogues in the streets was at the exhibition of the works of art for the Houses of Parliament. The sellers, then—about 20 in number, among whom were four women—cleared 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* each daily. At present, I am assured, that a good week is considered one in which 5*s.* is made, but that 3*s.* is more frequently the weekly earning. It must be borne in mind, that at the two places most resorted to—the National Gallery and the British Museum—the street sale is only for four days in the week at the first mentioned, and three days at the second. "You may think that more is made," said one man, "but it isn't. Sweeping a good crossing is far better, far. Bless your soul, only stand a few minutes looking on, any day, and see what numbers and numbers of people pass in and out of a free admission place without ever laying out 1*d.* Why, only last Monday and Wednesday (March 17 and 19, both very rainy days) I took only 5*d.* I didn't *take* more than 5*d.*, and I leave you to judge the living I shall *clear* out of that; and I know that the man with the catalogue at another place, didn't take 1*d.* It's sad work, sir, as you stand in the wet and cold, with no dinner for yourself, and no great hope of taking one home to your family."

These street-sellers contrive, whenever they can, to mix up other avocations with catalogue selling, as the public institutions close early. One, on every occasion, sells second editions of the newspapers; another has "odd turns at portering;" a third sells old umbrellas in the streets; some sold exhibition cards in the Park, on Sundays, until the sale was stopped; another sells a little stationery; and nearly the whole of them resort, on favourable opportunities, to the sale of "books of the play," or of "the opera."

Reckoning that there are regularly sixteen street-sellers of guide-books—they do not interfere with each other's stations—and that each clears 4*s.* weekly, we find £832 expended in this street traffic. I have calculated only on the usual bookseller's allowance of 25 per cent.,

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though, in some instances, these sellers are supplied on lower terms — besides having, in some of the catalogues, thirteen to the dozen; but the amount specified does not exceed the mark.

The greatest number of these guide-books which I heard of as having been sold, in any one day, was four dozen, disposed of on a fine Whit-Monday, and for these the street-seller only took 6*s.* 8*d.* There are, I was informed, half as many more "threepennies" as "sixpennies" sold, and three times as many "pennies" as the other two together.

The capital required to start is what may suffice to "lay in" a stock of books—5*s.* generally.

Of the Street-sellers of Fine Arts.

These traders may be described as partaking more of the characteristics of the street stationers than of the "paper-workers," as they are not patterers. The trade is less exclusively than the "paper-trade" in the hands of men. Those carrying on this branch of the street-traffic may be divided into the sellers of pictures in frames, and of engravings (of all kinds), in umbrellas. Under this head may also be ranked the street-artists (though this is a trade associated with street-life rather than forming an integrant part of it), I allude more particularly to the illustrated "boards" which are prepared for the purposes of the street-patterers, and are adapted for no other use. The same artist that executes the greater portion of the street-art, also prepares the paintings which decorate the exterior of shows. There are also the writers of manuscript music, and the makers and sellers of "images" of all descriptions, but this branch of the subject I shall treat under the head of the street-Italians. Under the same curious head I shall also speak of the artists whose skill produces the street-sold medallions, in wax or plaster, they being of the same class as the "image" men. In both "images" and "casts" and "moulded" productions of all kinds the change and improvement that have taken place, from the pristine rudeness of "green parrots" is most remarkable and creditable to the taste of working people, who are the chief purchasers of the smaller articles.

Of Street Art.

The artists who work for the street-sellers are less numerous than the poets for the same trade. Indeed, there is now but one man who can be said to be *solely* a street-artist. The inopportune illustration of ballads of which specimens have already been given—or of any of the street papers—are the work of cheap wood-engravers, who give the execution of these orders to their boys. But it is not often that illustrations are prepared expressly for anything but what I have described as "Gallows literature." Of these, samples have also been furnished. The one of a real murder, and the other of a fabulous one, or "cock," together with a sample (in the case of Mr. Patrick Connor) of the portraits given in such productions. The cuts for the heading of ballads are very often such as have been used for the illustration of other works, and are "picked up cheap."

The artist who works especially for the street trade—as in the case of the man who paints the patterers' boards—must address his art plainly to the eye of the spectator. He must use the most striking colours, be profuse in the application of scarlet, light blue, orange—not yellow I was told, it ain't a good candlelight colour—and must leave nothing to the imagination. Perspective and back-grounds are things of but minor consideration. Everything must be sacrificed for effect.

These paintings are in water colours, and are rubbed over with a solution of some gum-resin to protect them from the influence of rainy weather. Two of the subjects most in demand of late for the patterers' boards were "the Sloanes" and "the Mannings." The treatment of Jane Wilbred was "worked" by twenty boardmen, each with his "illustration" of the subject. The illustrations were in six "compartments." In the first Mr. and Mrs. Sloane are "picking out" the girl from a line of workhouse children. She is represented as plump and healthy, but with a stupid expression of countenance. In another compartment, Sloane is beating the girl, then attenuated and wretched-looking, with a shoe, while his wife and Miss Devaux (a name I generally heard pronounced among the street-people as it is spelt to an English reader) look approvingly on. The next picture was Sloane compelling the girl to swallow filth. The fourth represented her as in the hospital, with her ribs protruding from her wasted body —"just as I've worked Sarah Simpole," said a patterer, "who was confined in a cellar and fed on 'tato peels. Sarah was a cock, sir, and a ripper." Then came the attack of the people on Sloane, one old woman dressed after the fashion of Mrs. Gamp, "prodding" him with a huge and very green umbrella. The sixth and last was, as usual, the trial.

I have described the "Sloanes' board" first, as it may be more fresh in the remembrance of any reader observant of such things. In the "Mannings' board" there were the same number of compartments as in the Sloanes'; showing the circumstances of the murder, the discovery of the body of Connor, the trial, &c. One standing patterer, who worked a Mannings' board, told me that the picture of Mrs. Manning, beautifully "dressed for dinner" in black satin, with "a low front," firing a pistol at Connor, who was "washing himself," while Manning, in his shirt sleeves, looked on in evident alarm, was greatly admired, especially out of town. "The people said," observed the patterer, "'O, look at him a-washing hisself; he's a doing it so nattral, and ain't a-thinking he's a-going to be murdered. But was he really so ugly as that? Lor! such a beautiful woman to have to do with

him.' You see, sir, Connor weren't flattered, and perhaps Mrs. Manning was. I have heard the same sort of remarks both in town and country. I patters hard on the women such times, as I points them out on my board in murders or any crimes. I says: 'When there's mischief a woman's always the first. Look at Mrs. Manning there on that werry board—the work of one of the first artists in London—it's a faithful likeness, taken from life at one of her examinations, look at *her*. She fires the pistol, as you can see, and her husband was her tool.' I said, too, that Sloane was Mrs. Sloane's tool. It answers best, sir, in my opinion, going on that patter. The men likes it, and the women doesn't object, for they'll say: 'Well, when a woman is bad, she *is* bad, and is a disgrace to her sex.' There's the board before them when I runs on that line of patter, and when I appeals to the 'lustration, it seems to cooper the thing. They *must* believe their eyes."

When there is "a run" on any particular subject, there are occasionally jarrings—I was informed by a "boardman"—between the artist and his street-customers. The standing patterers want "something more original" than their fellows, especially if they are likely to work in the same locality, while the artist prefers a faithful copy of what he has already executed. The artist, moreover, and with all reasonableness, will say: "Why, you must have the facts. Do you want me to make Eliza Chestney killing Rush?" The matter is often compromised by some change being introduced, and by the characters being differently dressed. One man told me, that in town and country he had seen Mrs. Jermy shot in the following costumes, "in light green welwet, sky-blue satin, crimson silk, and vite muslin." It was the same with Mrs. Manning.

For the last six or eight years, I am told, the artist in question has prepared all the boards in demand. Previously, the standing patterers prepared their own boards, when they fancied themselves capable of such a "reach of art," or had them done by some unemployed painter, whom they might fall in with at a lodging-house, or elsewhere. This is rarely done now, I am told; not perhaps more than six times in a twelvemonth, and when done it is most frequently practised of "cock-boards;" for, as was said to me, "if a man thinks he's getting up a fakement likely to take, and wants a board to help him on with it, he'll try and keep it to hisself, and come out with it quite fresh."

The charge of the popular street-artist for the painting of a board is 3*s*. or 3*s*. 6*d*., according to the simplicity or elaborateness of the details; the board itself is provided by the artist's employer. The demand for this peculiar branch of street art is very irregular, depending entirely upon whether anything be "up" or not; that is, whether there has or has not been perpetrated any act of atrocity, which has riveted, as it is called, the public attention. And so great is the uncertainty felt by the street-folk, whether "the most beautiful murder will take or not," that it is rarely the patterer will order, or the artist will speculate, in anticipation of a demand, upon preparing the painting of any event, until satisfied that it has become "popular." A deed of more than usual daring, deceit, or mystery, may be at once hailed by those connected with murder-patter, as "one that will do," and some speculation may be ventured upon; as it was, I am informed, in the cases of Tawell, Rush, and the Mannings; but these are merely exceptional. Thus, if the artist have a dozen boards ordered "for this ten days, he may have two, or one, or none for the next ten;" so uncertain, it appears, is all that depends, without intrinsic merit, on mere popular applause.

I am unable to give—owing to the want of account-books, &c., which I have so often had to refer to as characteristic of street-people—a precise account of the average number of boards thus prepared in a year. Perhaps it may be as close to the fact as possible to conclude that the artist in question, who, unlike the majority of the street-poets, is not a street-seller, but works, as a professional man, *for* but not *in* the streets, realises on his boards a profit of 7*s*. 6*d*. weekly. The pictorial productions for street-shows will be more appropriately described in the account of street-performers and showmen.

This artist, as I have shown concerning some of the street-professors of the sister art of poesy, has the quality of knowing how to adapt his works exactly to the taste of his patrons the sellers, and of their patrons, the buyers in the streets.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF ENGRAVINGS, ETC., IN UMBRELLAS, ETC.

THE sale of "prints," "pictures," and "engravings"—I heard them designated by each term—in umbrellas in the streets, has been known, as far as I could learn from the street-folk for some fifteen years, and has been general from ten to twelve years. In this traffic the umbrella is inverted and the "stock" is disposed within its expanse. Sometimes narrow tapes are attached from rib to rib of the umbrella, and within these tapes are placed the pictures, one resting upon another. Sometimes a few pins are used to attach the larger prints to the cotton of the umbrella, the smaller ones being "fitted in at the side" of the bigger. "Pins is best, sir, in my opinion," said a little old man, who used to have a "print umbrella" in the New Cut; "for the public has a more unbrokener display. I used werry fine pins, though they's dearer, for people as has a penny to spare likes to see things nice, and big pins makes big holes in the pictures."

This trade is most pursued on still summer evenings, and the use of an inverted umbrella seems so far appropriate that it can only be so used, in the street, in *dry* weather. "I used to keep a sharp look-out, sir," said the same informant, "for wind or rain, and many's the time them devils o' boys—God forgive me,

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they's on'y poor children—but they *is* devils—has come up to me and has said—one in particler, standin' afore the rest: 'It'll thunder in five minutes, old bloke, so hup with yer humbereller, and go 'ome; hup with it jist as it is; it'll show stunnin; and sell as yer goes.' O, they're a shocking torment, sir; nobody can feel it like people in the streets,—shocking."

The engravings thus sold are of all descriptions. Some have evidently been the frontispieces of sixpenny or lower-priced works. These works sometimes fall into hands of the "waste collectors," and any "illustrations" are extracted from the letter-press and are disposed of by the collectors, by the gross or dozen, to those warehousemen who supply the small shopkeepers and the street-sellers. Sometimes, I was informed, a number of engravings, which had for a while appeared as "frontispieces" were issued for sale separately. Many of these were and are found in the "street umbrellas;" more especially the portraits of popular actors and actresses. "Mr. J. P. Kemble, as Hamlet"—"Mr. Fawcett, as Captain Copp"—"Mr. Young, as Iago"—"Mr. Liston, as Paul Pry"—"Mrs. Siddons, as Lady Macbeth"—"Miss O'Neil, as Belvidera," &c., &c. In the course of an inquiry into the subject nearly a year and a half ago, I learned from one "umbrella man" that, six or seven years previously, he used to sell more portraits of "Mr. Edmund Kean, as Richard III.," than of anything else. Engravings, too, which had first been admired in the "Annuals"—when half-a-guinea was the price of the "Literary Souvenir," the "Forget-me-not," "Friendship's Offering," the "Bijou," &c., &c.—are frequently found in these umbrellas; and amongst them are not unfrequently seen portraits of the aristocratic beauties of the day, from "waste" "Flowers of Loveliness" and old "Court Magazines," which "go off very fair." The majority of these street-sold "engravings" are "coloured," in which state the street-sellers prefer them, thinking them much more saleable, though the information I received hardly bears out their opinion.

The following statement, from a middle-aged woman, further shows the nature of the trade, and the class of customers:

"I've sat with an umbrella," she said, "these seven or eight years, I suppose it is. My husband's a penny lot-seller, with just a middling pitch" [the vendor of a number of articles, sold at a penny "a lot"] "and in the summer I do a little in engravings, when I'm not minding my husband's 'lots,' for he has sometimes a day, and oftener a night, with portering and packing for a tradesman, that's known him long. Well, sir, I think I sell most 'coloured.' 'Master Toms' wasn't bad last summer. 'Master Toms' was pictures of cats, sir—you must have seen them—and I had them different colours. If a child looks on with its father, very likely, it'll want 'pussy,' and if the child cries for it, it's almost a sure sale, and more, I think, indeed I'm sure, with men than with women. Women knows the value of money better than men, for men never understand what housekeeping is. I have no children, thank God, or they might be pinched, poor things. 'Miss Kitties' was the same sale. Toms is hes, and Kitties is she cats. I've sometimes sold to poor women who was tiresome; they must have just what would fit over their mantel-pieces, that was papered with pictures." [My readers may remember that some of the descriptions I have given, long previous to the present inquiry, of the rooms of the poor, fully bear out this statement.] "I seldom venture on anything above 1*d.*, I mean to sell at 1*d.* I've had Toms and Kitties at 2*d.* though. 'Fashions' isn't worth umbrella room; the poorest needlewoman won't be satisfied with them from an umbrella. 'Queens' and 'Alberts' and 'Wales's' and the other children isn't near so good as they was. There's so many 'fine portraits of Her Majesty,' or the others, given away with the first number of this or of that, that people's overstocked. If a working-man can buy a newspaper or a number, why of course he may as well have a picture with it. They gave away glasses of gin at the opening of that baker's shop there, and it's the same doctrine" [The word she used]. "I never offer penny theatres, or comic exhibitions, or anything big; they spoils the look of the umbrella, and makes better things look mean. I sell only to working people, I think; seldom to boys, and seldomer to girls; seldom to servant-maids and hardly ever to women of the town. I *have* taken 6*d.* from one of them though. I think boys buy pictures for picture books. I never had what I suppose was old pictures. To a few old people, I've known, 'Children' sell fairly, when they're made plump, and red cheeked, and curly haired. They sees a resemblance of their grandchildren, perhaps, and buys. Young married people does so too, but not so oft, I think. I don't remember that ever I have made more than 1*s.* 10*d.* on an evening. I don't sell, or very seldom indeed, at other times, and only in summer, and when its fine. If I clear 5*s.* I counts that a good week. It's a great help to the lot-selling. I seldom clear so much. Oftener 4*s.*"

The principal sale of these "pictures," in the streets, is from umbrellas. Occasionally, a street-stationer, or even a miscellaneous lot-seller, when he has met with a cheap lot, especially of portraits of ladies, will display a collection of prints, pyramidally arranged on his stall,—but these are exceptions. Sometimes, too, an "umbrella print-seller" will have a few "pictures in frames," on a sort of stand alongside the umbrella.

The pictures for the umbrellas are bought at the warehouse, or the swag-shops, of which I have before spoken. At these establishments "prints" are commonly supplied from 3*d.* to 5*s.* the dozen. The street-sellers buy at 5*d.* and 6*d.* the dozen, to sell at a 1*d.* a piece; and

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at 3*d*. to sell at ½*d*. *None* of the pictures thus sold are prepared expressly for the streets.

In so desultory and—as one intelligent street-seller with whom I conversed on the subject described it—so *weathery* a trade, it is difficult to arrive at exact statistics. From the best data at my command, it may be computed, that for twelve weeks of the year, there are thirty umbrella print-sellers (all exceptional traders therein included) each clearing 6*s*. weekly, and taking 12*s*. Thus it appears that 216*l*. is yearly expended in the streets in this purchase. Many of the sellers are old or infirm; one who was among the most prosperous before the changes in the streets of Lambeth, was dwarfish, and was delighted to be thought "a character."

Of the Street-sellers of Pictures in Frames.

From about 1810, or somewhat earlier, down to 1830, or somewhat later, the street-sale of pictures in frames was almost entirely in the hands of the Jews. The subjects were then nearly all scriptural: "The Offering up of Isaac;" "Jacob's Dream;" "The Crossing of the Red Sea;" "The Death of Sisera;" and "The Killing of Goliath from the Sling of the youthful David." But the Jew traders did not at all account it necessary to confine the subjects of their pictures to the records of the Old—their best trade was in the illustrations of the New Testament. Perhaps the "Stoning of St. Stephen" was their most saleable "picture in a frame." There were also "The Nativity;" "The Slaying of the Children, by order of Herod" (with the quotation of St. Matthew, chap. ii. verse 17, "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet"); "The Sermon on the Mount;" "The Beheading of John the Baptist;" "The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem;" "The Raising of Lazarus;" "The Betrayal on the part of Judas;" "The Crucifixion;" and "The Conversion of St. Paul." There were others, but these were the principal subjects. All these pictures were coloured, and very deeply coloured. St. Stephen was stoned in the lightest of sky-blue short mantles. The pictures were sold in the streets of London, mostly in the way of hawking; but ten times as extensively, I am told, in the country, as in town. Indeed, at the present time, many a secluded village alehouse has its parlour walls decorated with these scriptural illustrations, which seem to have superseded

> "The pictures placed for ornament and use;
> The twelve good rules; the royal game of goose,"

mentioned by Goldsmith as characteristic of a village inn. These "Jew pictures" are now yielding to others.

Most of these articles were varnished, and 2*s*. or 2*s*. 6*d*. each was frequently the price asked, 1*s*. 6*d*. being taken "if no better could be done," and sometimes 1*s*. A smaller amount per single picture was always taken, if a set were purchased. These productions were prepared principally for street-sale and for hawkers. The frames were narrower and meaner-looking than in the present street-pictures of the kind; they were stained like the present frames, in imitation of maple, but far less skilfully. Sometimes they were a black japan; sometimes a sorry imitation of mahogany.

In the excitement of the Reform Bill era, the street-pictures in frames most in demand were Earl Grey, Earl Spencer's (or Lord Althorp), Lord Brougham's, and Lord John Russell's. O'Connell's also "sold well," as did William IV. "Queen Adelaide," I was told, "went off middling, not much more than half as good as William." Towards the close of King William's life, the portraits of the Princess Victoria of Kent were of good sale in the streets, and her Royal Highness was certainly represented as a young lady of undue plumpness, and had hardly justice done to her portraiture. The Duchess of Kent, also, I was informed, "sold fairish in the streets." In a little time, the picture in a frame of the Princess Victoria of Kent, with merely an alteration in the title, became available as Queen Victoria I., of Great Britain and Ireland. Since that period, there have been the princes and princesses, her Majesty's offspring, who present a strong family resemblance.

The street pictures, so to speak, are not unfrequently of a religious character. Pictures of the Virgin and Child, of the Saviour seated at the Last Supper, of the Crucifixion, or of the different saints, generally coloured. The principal purchasers of these "religious pictures" are the poorer Irish. I remember seeing, in the course of an inquiry among street-performers last summer, the entire wall of a poor street-dancer's one room, except merely the space occupied by the fireplace, covered with small coloured pictures in frames, the whole of which, the proprietor told me, with some pride, he had picked up in the streets, according as he could spare a few pence. Among them were a crucifix (of bone), and a few medallions, of a religious character, in plaster or wax. This man was of Italian extraction; but I have seen the same thing in the rooms of the Roman Catholic Irish, though never to the same extent.

The general subjects now most in demand for street-sale are, "Lola Montes," "Louis Philippe and his Queen," "The Sailor's Return," "The Soldier's Return," and the "Parting" of the same individuals, Smugglers, in different situations, Poachers also; "Turpin's Ride to York," the divers feats attributed to Jack Sheppard (but less popular than "Turpin's Ride,") "Courtship," "Marriage" (the one a couple caressing, and the other bickering), "Father Mathew" (in very black large boots), "Napoleon Bonaparte crossing the Alps," and his "Farewell to his Troops at Fontainebleau," "Scenes of Piracy." None of these subjects are modern; "Lola Montes" (a bold-faced woman, in a riding-

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habit), being the newest. "Why," said one man familiar with the trade, "there hasn't been no Louis Napoleon in a frame-picture for the streets, nor Cobdens, nor Feargus O'Connors, nor Sir John Franklins; what is wanted for us is something exciting."

The prices of frame-pictures (as I sometimes heard them called) made expressly for street-sale, vary from 1*d.* to 1*s.* a pair. The 1*d.* a pair are about six inches by four, very rude, and on thin paper, and with frames made of lath-wood (stained), but put together very compactly. The cheaper sorts are of prints bought at the swag-shops, or of waste-dealers, sometimes roughly coloured, and sometimes plain. The greatest sale is of those charged from 2*d.* to 4*d.* the pair.

Some of the higher-priced pictures are painted purposely for the streets, but are always copies of some popular engraving, and their sale is not a twentieth of the others. These frame-pictures were, and are, generally got up by a family, the girls taking the management of the paper-work, the boys of the wood. The parents have, many of them, been paper-stainers. This division of labour is one reason of the exceeding cheapness of this street branch of the fine arts. These working artists—or whatever they are to be called—also prepare and frame for street-sale the plates given away in the first instance with a number of a newspaper or a periodical, and afterwards "to be had for next to nothing." The prevalence of such engravings has tended greatly to diminish the sale of the pictures prepared expressly for the streets.

Ten years ago this trade was ten times greater than it is now. The principal sale still is, and always was, at the street-markets on Saturday evenings. They are sold piled on a small stall, or carried under the arm. To sell 10*s.* worth on a Saturday night is an extraordinary sale, and 2*s.* 6*d.* is a bad one, and the frame-picturer must have "middling patter to set them off at all. 'Twopence a pair!' he'll say; 'only twopence a pair! Who'd be without an ornament to his dwelling?'"

There are now about fifty persons engaged in this sale on a Saturday night, of whom the majority are the artists or preparers of the pictures. On a Monday evening there are about twenty sellers; and not half that number on other evenings—but some "take a round in the suburbs."

If these people take 10*s.* weekly for frame-pictures the year through, 1,040*l.* is yearly expended in this way. I estimate the average number at twenty daily. Their profits are about cent. per cent.; boys and working people buy the most. The trade is often promoted by a raffle at a public-house. Many mechanics, I was told, now frame their own pictures.

Of the Street-sellers of Manuscript and other Music.

This trade used to be more extensively carried on in the streets than it is at present. The reasons I heard assigned for the decadence were the greater cheapness of musical productions generally, and the present fondness for lithographic embellishments to every polka, waltz, quadrille, ballad, &c., &c. "People now hates, I do believe, a *bare* music-sheet," one street-seller remarked.

The street manuscript-music trade was, certainly, and principally, piratical. An air became popular perhaps on a sudden, as it was pointed out to me, in the case, of "Jump, Jim Crow." At a musical publisher's, such an affair in the first bloom of its popularity, would have been charged from 2*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, twenty-five years ago, and the street-seller at that time, often also a book-stall keeper, would employ, or buy of those who offered them for sale, and who copied them for the purpose, a manuscript of the demanded music, which he could sell cheap in comparison.

A man who, until the charges of which I have before spoken, kept a second-hand book-stall, in a sort of arched passage in the New Cut, Lambeth, sold manuscript-music, and was often "sadly bothered," he said, at one time by the musical propensities of a man who looked like a journeyman tailor. This man, whenever he had laid out a trifle at the book-stall, looked over the music, and often pulled a small flute from his pocket, and began to play a few bars from one of the manuscripts, and this he continued doing, to the displeasure of the stall-keeper, until a crowd began to assemble, thinking, perhaps, that the flute-player was a street-musician; he was then obliged to desist. Of the kind of music he sold, or of its mode of production, this street-bookseller knew nothing. He purchased it of a man who carried it to his stall, and as he found it sell tolerably well, he gave himself no further trouble concerning it. The supplier of the manuscript pencilled on each sheet the price it was to be offered at, allowing the stall-keeper from 50 to 150 per cent. profit, if the price marked was obtained. "I haven't seen anything of him, sir," said the street-bookseller, "for a long while. I dare say he was some poor musicianer, or singer, or a reduced gentleman, perhaps, for he always came after dusk, or else on bad dark days."

Although but partially connected with street-art, I may mention as a sample of the music sometimes offered in street-sale, that a book-stall keeper, three weeks ago showed me a pile of music which he had purchased from a "waste collector," about eight months before, at 2½*d.* the pound. Among this was some MS. music, which I specify below, and which the book-stall keeper was confident, on very insufficient grounds, I think, had been done for street-sale.

The music had, as regards three-fourths of it, evidently been bound, and had been torn from the boards of the book, as only the paper portion is purchased for "waste." Some, however, were loose sheets, which had evidently never been subjected to the process of stitching. I

now cite some of the titles of this street-sale: "Le Petit Tambour. Sujet d'un Grand Rondeau pour le Piano Forte. Composé par L. Zerbini," (MS.) "Di Tanti Palpiti. The Celebrated Cavatina, by Rossini, &c." "Twenty Short Lessons, or Preludes in the most Convenient Keys for the Harp. Composed and Respectfully Dedicated to Lady Ann Collins. By John Baptist Meyer. Price 5s." "An Cota Caol (given in the ancient Irish character.) The Slender Coat," (MS.) "Cailin beog chruite na mbo (also in Irish). The Pretty Girl Milking the Cow," (MS.)

There are now no persons regularly employed in preparing MS. music for the streets. But occasionally a person skilled in music writing will, when he or she, I was told, had nothing better in hand, do a little for the street sale, disposing of the MSS. to any street-stationer or bookseller. If four persons are this way employed, receiving 4s. a week each, the year through—which I am assured is the extent—we find upwards of 40*l.* thus earned, and about twice that sum taken by the street retailers.

OF THE CAPITAL AND INCOME OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF STATIONERY, LITERATURE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

I now proceed to give a summary of the capital, and income of the above classes. I will first however, endeavour to give a summary of the number of individuals belonging to the class.

This appears to be made up (so far as I am able to ascertain) of the following items:—120 sellers of stationery; 20 sellers of pocket-books and diaries; 50 sellers of almanacks and memorandum-books; 12 sellers of account-books; 31 card-sellers; 6 secret papers-sellers; 250 sellers of songs and ballads; 90 running patterers; 20 standing patterers; 8 sellers of "cocks" (principally elopements); 15 selling conundrums, "comic exhibitions," &c.; 200 selling play-bills and books for the play; 40 back-number-sellers; 4 waste paper-sellers at Billingsgate; 40 sellers of tracts and pamphlets; 12 newsvenders, &c., at steam-boat piers; 2 book auctioneers; 70 book-stall keepers and book barrow-men; 16 sellers of guide-books; 30 sellers of song-books and children's books; 40 dealers in pictures in frames; 30 vendors of engravings in umbrellas, and 4 sellers of manuscript music—making altogether a total of 1,110. Many of the above street-trades are, however, only temporary. As, for instance, the street-sale of playing-cards, continues only fourteen days in the year; pocket-books and diaries, four weeks; others, again, are not regularly pursued from day to day, as the sale of prints and engravings in umbrellas, which affords employment for but twelve weeks out of the fifty-two, and conundrums for two months. One trade, however, (namely, that of "Comic Exhibition Papers," gelatine and engraved cards of the Exhibition) is entirely now in the streets. In the broad-sheet trade, again, the "running patterers" work what are called "cocks," when there are no incidents happening to incite the public mind. Hence, making due allowances for such variations, we may fairly assume that the street-sellers belonging to this class number at least 1,000. The following statistics will show the whole amount of capital, and the gross income of this branch of street traffic.

CAPITAL OR VALUE OF THE STOCK-IN-TRADE OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF STATIONERY, LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

	£	s.	d.
Street-sellers of Stationery.			
40 stalls, 4s. each; 80 boxes, 3s. 6d. each; and stock-money for 120 sellers, 10s. each	82	0	0
Street-sellers of Pocket-books and Diaries.			
Stock-money for 20 vendors, 10s. each	10	0	0
Street-sellers of Almanacks and Memorandum-books.			
Stock-money for 50 vendors, 1s. per head	2	10	0
Street-sellers of Account-books.			
12 baskets, 3s. each; 12 waterproof bags, 2s. 6d. each; stock-money for 12 sellers, 15s. each	12	6	0
Street-sellers of Cards.			
Stock-money for 20 sellers, 1s. 6d. each	2	5	0
Street-seller of Stenographic-cards.			
Stock-money for 1 seller	0	1	6
Street-sellers of Long-songs.			
20 poles to which songs are attached, 2d. each; stock-money for 20 sellers, 1s. each	1	3	4
Street-sellers of Wall-songs ("Pinners-up.")			
30 canvass frames, to which songs are hung, 2s. each; stock-money for 30 sellers, 1s. each	4	10	0
Street-sellers of Ballads ("Chaunters.")			
2 fiddles, 7s. each; stock-money for 200 chaunters, 1s. each	10	14	0
Street-sellers of "Dialogues," "Litanies," &c. ("Standing Patterers.")			
20 boards with appendages "for pictures," 5s. 6d. each; 20 paintings for boards, 3s. 6d. each; stock-money for 20 vendors, 1s. each	10	0	0
Street-sellers of Executions, &c. ("Running Patterers.")			
Stock-money for 90 sellers, 1s. each	4	10	0
Street-sellers of "Cocks."			
Stock-money for 8 sellers, 1s. each	0	8	0
Street-sellers of Conundrums and Nuts to Crack.			
Stock-money for 15 sellers, 1s. each	0	15	0

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Street-sellers of Exhibition Papers, Magical Delusions, &c.

Stock-money for 15 sellers, 1*s.* each 0 15 0

Street-sellers of Secret Papers.

Stock-money for 6 vendors, 1*s.* each 0 6 0

Street-sellers of Play-bills and Books of the Play.

Stock-money for 200 vendors, 2*s.* each 20 0 0

Street-sellers of Back Numbers.

Stock-money for 40 sellers, 5*s.* each 10 0 0

Street-sellers of Waste-paper at Billingsgate.

Stock-money for 4 sellers, 5*s.* each 1 0 0

Street-sellers of Tracts and Pamphlets.

Stock-money for 40 sellers, 6*d.* each 1 0 0

Street-sellers of Newspapers (Second Edition).

Stock-money for 20 sellers, 2*s.* 6*d.* each 2 10 0

Street-sellers of Newspapers, &c., on board Steam-boats.

Stock-money for 12 sellers, 5*s.* each 3 0 0

Street-sellers of Books by Auction.

Stock-money for 2 sellers, 2*l.* each; 2 barrows, 1*l.* each; 2 boards, for barrows, 3*s.* each 6 6 0

Street-sellers of Books on Stalls and Barrows.

20 stalls, 4*s.* each; 50 barrows, 1*l.* each; 50 boards, for barrows, 3*s.* each; stock-money, for 70 sellers, 2*l.* each 201 10 0

Street-sellers of Guide-books.

Stock-money, for 16 sellers, 5*s.* each 4 0 0

Street-sellers of Song Books and Children's Books.

Stock-money, for 30 vendors, 1*s.* each 1 10 0

Street-sellers of Pictures in Frames.

40 stalls, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; stock-money, for 40 sellers, 5*s.* each . . 15 0 0

Street-sellers of Engravings in Umbrellas.

Umbrellas, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; stock-money, for 30 sellers, 2*s.* each . . 3 0 0

Street-sellers of Manuscript-music.

Stock-money, for 4 sellers, 1*s.* 6*d.* each 0 6 0

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTED IN THE STREET-SALE OF STATIONERY, LITERATURE, AND THE FINE ARTS 411 5 10

INCOME, OR AVERAGE ANNUAL "TAKINGS," OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF STATIONERY, LITERATURE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

Street-sellers of Stationery.

There are 120 vendors of stationery, who sell altogether during the year, 224,640 quires of writing paper at 3*d.* per quire; 149,760 doz. envelopes, at 1½*d.* per doz.; 37,440 doz. pens, at 3*d.* per doz.; 24,960 bottles of ink, at 1*d.* each; 112,320 black lead pencils, at 1*d.* each; 24,960 pennyworths of wafers, and 49,920 sticks of sealing-wax, at ½*d.* per stick; amounting altogether to £4,992

Street-sellers of Pocket-books and Diaries.

During the year 1,440 pocket-books, at 6*d.* each, and 960 diaries, at 6*d.* each, are sold in the streets by 20 vendors; amounting to £60

Street-sellers of Almanacks and Memorandum-books.

There are sold during the year, in the streets of London, 280,800 memorandum-books, at 1*d.* each, and 4,800 almanacks at 1*d.* each, among 50 vendors, altogether amounting to . . . £1,190

Street-sellers of Account-books.

There are now 12 itinerants vending account-books in various parts of the metropolis, each of whom sells daily, upon an average, 4 account-books, at 1*s.* 9*d.* each: the number sold during the year is therefore 14,976, and the sum expended thereon amounts to . . £1,310

Street-sellers of "Gelatine," "Engraved," and "Playing-cards."

There are 20 street-sellers vending gelatine and engraved cards during the day, and 30 selling playing-cards (for 14 days) at night. These vendors get rid of, among them, in the course of the year, 43,200 gelatine, and 14,400 engraved cards, at 1*d.* each, and 3,360 packs of playing-cards, at 3*d.* per pack; so that the money spent in the streets on the sale of engraved, gelatine, and playing-cards, during the year, amounts to £282

Street-seller of Stenographic Cards.

There is only 1 individual "working" stenographic cards in the streets of London, and the number he sells in the course of the year is 7,448 cards, at 1*d.* each, amounting to £31 4

Street-sellers of Long Songs.

I am assured, that if 20 persons were selling long songs in the street last summer (during a period of 12 weeks), it was "the outside;" as long songs are now "for fairs and races, and country work." Calculating that each cleared 9*s.* in a week, and to clear that took 15*s.*, we find there is expended in long songs in the streets annually . . £180

Street-sellers of Wall Songs ("Pinners-up.")

On fine summer days, the wall song-sellers (of whom there are 30) take 2*s.* on an average. On short wintry days

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they may not take half so much, and on very foggy or rainy days they take nothing at all. Reckoning that each wall song-man now takes 10*s.* 6*d.* weekly (7*s.* being the profit), we find there is expended yearly in London streets, in the ballads of the pinners-up £810

Street-sellers of Ballads ("Chaunters.")

There are now 200 chaunters, who also sell the ballads they sing; the average takings of each are 3*s.* per day; altogether amounting to . . . £4,680

Street-sellers of Executions, &c. ("Running Patterers.")

Some represent their average weekly earnings at 12*s.* 6*d.* the year through; some at 10*s.* 6*d.*; and others at less than half of 12*s.* 6*d.* Reckoning, however, that only 9*s.* weekly is an average profit per individual, and that 14*s.* be taken to realise that profit, we find there is expended yearly, on executions, fires, deaths, &c., in London . . . £3,276

Street-sellers of Dialogues, Litanies, &c. (Standing Patterers.)

If 20 standing patterers clear 10*s.* weekly, each, the year through, and take 15*s.* weekly, we find there is yearly expended in the standing patter of London streets £780

Street-sellers of "Cocks" (Elopements, Love Letters, &c.

There are now 8 men who sell nothing but "Cocks," each of whom dispose daily of 6 dozen copies at ½*d.* per copy, or altogether, during the year, 179,712 copies, amounting to £374 8*s.*

Street-sellers of Conundrums—"Nuts to Crack," &c.

From the best information I could acquire, it appears that fifteen men may be computed as working conundrums for two months throughout the twelve, and clearing 10*s.* 6*d.* weekly, per individual. The cost of the "Nuts to Crack" (when new) is 5*d.* a dozen to the seller; but old "Nuts" often answer the purpose of the street-seller, and may be had for about half the price; the cost of the "Nut-crackers" is 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* It may be calculated, then, that to realize the 10*s.* 6*d.* above-mentioned 15*s.* must be taken. This shows the street expenditure in "Nuts to Crack" and "Nut-crackers" to be yearly . . . £90

Street-sellers of Exhibition Papers, Magical Delusions, &c.

This trade is carried on only for a short time in the winter, as regards the magical portion; and I am informed that, including the "Comic Exhibitions," it extends to about half of the sum taken for conundrums; or to about £45

Street-sellers of Secret Papers.

Supposing that 6 men last year each cleared 6*s.* weekly, we find expended yearly in the streets on this rubbish £93

Street-sellers of Play-bills and Books.

Taking the profits at 3*s.* a week, at cent. per cent. on the outlay, and reckoning 200 sellers, including those at the saloons, concert-rooms, &c., there is expended yearly on the sale of play-bills purchased in the streets of London £3,120

Street-sellers of Back Numbers.

There are now 40 vendors in the streets of London, each selling upon an average 3 dozen copies daily, at ½*d.* each, or during the year 336,960 odd numbers. Hence, the sum expended annually in the streets for back numbers of periodicals amounts to upwards of £700

Street-sellers of Waste-paper at Billingsgate.

There are 4 individuals selling waste-paper at Billingsgate, one of whom informed me that from 70 to 100 pounds weight of "waste"—about three-fourths being newspapers—is supplied to Billingsgate market and its visitants. The average price is not less than 2½*d.* a pound, or from that to 3*d.* A single paper is 1*d.* Reckoning that 85 pounds of waste-paper are sold a day, at 2½*d.* per pound, we find that the annual expenditure in waste-paper at Billingsgate is upwards of £275

Street-sellers of Tracts and Pamphlets.

From the information I obtained from one of this class of street-sellers, I find there are 40 individuals gaining a livelihood in selling tracts and pamphlets in the streets, full one half are men of colour, the other half consists of old and infirm men, and young boys, the average takings of each is about 1*s.* a day, the year through; the annual street expenditure in the sale of tracts and pamphlets is thus upwards of £620

Street-sellers of Newspapers (Second Edition.)

There are 20 who are engaged in the street sale of newspapers, second edition, each of whom take weekly (for a period of 6 weeks in the year) 1*l.* 5*s.*; so that, adopting the calculation of my informant, and giving a profit of 150 per cent., the yearly expenditure in the streets, in second editions, amounts to £150

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THE STREET-SELLER OF DOGS' COLLARS.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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Street-sellers of Newspapers, &c., at Steam-Boat Piers.

I am informed that the average earnings of these traders, altogether, may be taken at 15*s.* weekly; calculating that twelve carry on the trade the year through, we find that (assuming each man to sell at thirty-three per cent. profit—though in the case of old works it will be often cent. per cent.), the sum expended annually in steam-boat papers is upwards of . £1,500

Street-sellers of Books (by Auction).

There are at present only 2 street-sellers of books by auction in London, whose clear weekly earnings are 10*s.* 6*d.* each. Calculating their profits at 250*l.* per cent., their weekly receipts will amount to 35*s.* each per week; giving a yearly expenditure of £91

Street-sellers of Books on Stalls and Barrows.

The number of book-stalls and barrows in the streets of the metropolis is 70. The proprietors of these sell weekly upon an average 42 volumes each. The number of volumes annually sold in the streets is thus 1,375,920, and reckoning each volume sold to average 9*d.*, we find that the yearly expenditure in the sale of books in the street amounts to £5,733

Street-sellers of Guide-books.

The street-sellers of guide-books to public places of amusement, are 16 in number, the profit of each is 4*s.* weekly, at 25 per cent., hence the takings must be 20*s.*; thus making the annual expenditure in the street-sale of such books amount to £832

Street-sale of Song-books and Chidren's books.

There are 30 street-sellers who vend children's books and song-books, and dispose of, among them, 2 dozen each daily, or during the year 224,640 books, at 1*d.* each; hence the sum yearly expended in the street-sale of children's books and song-books is £936

Street-sellers of Pictures in Frames.

If we calculate 40 persons selling pictures in frames, and each taking 10*s.* weekly; we find the annual amount spent in the streets in the sale of these articles is £1,040

Street-sellers of Prints and Engravings in Umbrellas.

The street-sale of prints and engravings in umbrellas lasts only 12 weeks. There are 30 individuals who gain a livelihood in the sale of these articles during that period. The average takings of each seller is 12*s.* weekly; so that the annual street-expenditure upon prints and engravings is £216

Street-sellers of Manuscript Music.

There are only 4 sellers of manuscript music in the streets, who take on an average 4*s.* each weekly; hence we find the annual expenditure in this article amounts in round numbers to £40

TOTAL SUM EXPENDED YEARLY IN THE STREETS ON STATIONERY, LITERATURE, AND THE FINE ARTS . . . . £33,446 12*s.*

AN EPITOME OF THE PATTERING CLASS.

I wish, before passing to the next subject—the street-sellers of manufactured articles (of one of whom the engraving here given furnishes a well-known specimen)—I wish, I say, as I find some mistakes have occurred on the subject, to give the public a general view of the patterers, as well as to offer some few observations concerning the means of improving the habits of street-people in general.

The patterers consist of three distinct classes; viz., those who sell something, and patter to help off their goods; those who exhibit something, and patter to help off the show; and those who do nothing but patter, with a view to elicit alms. Under the head of "Patterers who sell" may be classed

Paper Workers,	Dealers in Razor Paste,
Quack Doctors,	" French Polish,
Cheap Jacks,	" Plating Balls,
Grease Removers,	" CandleShades,
Wager Patterers,	" Rat Poisons, &
Ring Sellers,	" Blacking,
Dealers in Corn Salve,	Book Auctioneers.

The second class of patterers includes jugglers, showmen, clowns, and fortune-tellers; beside several exhibitors who invite public notice to the wonders of the telescope or microscope.

The third and last class of patterers are those who neither sell nor amuse, but only victimise those who get into their clutches. These (to use their own words) "do it on the bounce." Their general resort is an inferior public-house, sometimes a brothel, or a coffee-shop. One of the tricks of these worthies is to group together at a window, and if a well-dressed person pass by, to salute him with the contents of a flour-bag. One of their pals—better dressed than the rest—immediately walks out, declares it was purely accidental, and invites the gentleman in "to be brushed." Probably he consents, and still more probably, if he be "good-natured," he is plied with liquor, drugged with snuff for the occasion, and left in some obscure court, utterly stupified. When he awakes, he finds that his watch, purse, &c., are gone.

"A casual observer, or even a stranger, may be induced to contract a wayside acquaintance with the parties to whom I allude," says one of the pattering class, from whom I have received much valuable information; "and if he be a visitor of fairs and races, that acquaintance, though slight, may sometimes prove expensive.

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But casual observers cannot, from the complexity and varied circumstances of the characters now under notice, form anything like a correct view of them. I am convinced that no one can, but those who have visited their haunts and indeed lived among them for months together. They are not to be known, any more than the great city was to be built, in a day. This advantage—if so it may be called—has fallen to my lot."

The three classes of patterers above enumerated must not be confounded. The two first are essentially distinct from the last—at least they do *something* for their living; and though the pattering street-tradesmen may generally overstep the bounds of truth in their glowing descriptions of the virtues of the goods they sell, still it should be remembered they are no more dishonest in their dealings than the "enterprising" class of shopkeepers, who resort to the *printed* mode of puffing off their wares,—indeed the street-sellers are far less reprehensible than their more wealthy brother puffers of the shops, who cannot plead want as an excuse for their dishonesty. The recent revelations made by the *Lancet*, as to the adulteration of the articles of diet sold by the London grocers, show that the patterers who sell, practise far less imposition than some of our "merchant princes."

"A tradesman in Tottenham-court Road, whose address the *Lancet* advertises gratis, thus proclaims the superior qualities of his '*Finest* WHITE PEPPER. One package of this article, which is the interior part of the kernel of the finest pepper, being equal in strength to nearly three times the quantity of black pepper (which is the inferior, small, shrivelled berries, and often little more than husks), it will be not only the best but the cheapest for every purpose.' This super-excellent pepper, 'sold in packages, price 1*d*.,' was found on analysis to consist of finely-ground *black pepper, and a very large quantity of wheat-flour.*"

Indeed the *Lancet* has demonstrated that as regards tea, coffee, arrow-root, sugar, and pepper sold by "pattering" shopkeepers, the rule invariably is that those are articles which are the most puffed, and "warranted free from adulteration," and "to which the attention of families and *invalids* is particularly directed as being of the finest quality ever imported into this country," are uniformly the most scandalously adulterated of all.

We should, therefore, remember while venting our indignation against pattering street-sellers, that they are not the only puffers in the world, and that they, at least, can plead poverty in extenuation of their offence; whereas, it must be confessed, that shopkeepers can have no other cause for their acts but their own brutalizing greed of gain.

The class of patterers with whom we have here to deal are those who patter to help off their goods—but while describing them it has been deemed advisable to say a few words, also, on the class who *do nothing but patter*, as a means of exciting commiseration to their assumed calamities. These parties, it should be distinctly understood, are in no way connected with the puffing street-sellers, but in the exaggerated character of the orations they deliver, they are mostly professional beggars—or bouncers (that is to say cheats of the lowest *kind*), and *will* not work or do anything for their living. This, at least, cannot be urged against the pattering street-sellers who, as was before stated, do *something* for the bread they eat.

Further to show the extent, and system, of the lodging and routes throughout the country of the class of "lurkers," &c., here described—as all resorting to those places—I got a patterer to write me out a list, from his own knowledge, of divers routes, and the extent of accommodation in the lodging-houses. I give it according to the patterer's own classification.

"*Brighton* is a town where there is a great many furnished cribs, let to needys (nightly lodgers) that are molled up," [that is to say, associated with women in the sleeping-rooms.]

SURREY AND SUSSEX.

	Dossing Cribs, or Lodging-houses	Beds.	Needys, or Nightly Lodgers.
Wandsworth	6	9	108
Croydon	9	8	144
Reigate	5	6	60
Cuckfield	2	8	32
Horsham	3	7	52
Lewis	7	6	84
Kingston	12	8	192
Brighton	16	9	228

"*Bristol*.—A few years back an old woman kept a padding-ken here. She was a strong Methodist, but had a queer method. There was thirty standing beds, besides make-shifts and furnished rooms, which were called 'cottages.' It's not so bad now. The place was well-known to the monkry, and you was reckoned flat if you hadn't been there. The old woman, when any female, old or young, who had no tin, came into the kitchen, made up a match for her with some men. Fellows half-drunk had the old women. There was always a broomstick at hand, and they was both made to jump over it, and that was called a broomstick wedding. Without that ceremony a couple weren't looked on as man and wife. In course the man paid, in such case, for the dos (bed.)

Kensington	6	7	84
Brentford	12	8	192
Hounslow	6	5	60
Colebrook	2	7	20
Windsor	7	10	140
Maidenhead	4	5	40
Reading	12	9	216
Oxford	14	7	196
Banbury	10	12	240
Marlboro'	8	7	112
Bath	10	8	160
Bristol	20	11	440

"*Counties of Kent and Essex*.—Here is the best places in England for 'skipper-birds:' (parties that never go to lodging-houses, but to barns or outhouses, sometimes without a blanket.) The Kent farmers permit it to their own travellers, or the travellers they know. In Essex it's different. There a farmer will give 1*s*. rather than let a traveller sleep on his premises, for fear

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of robbery. 'Keyhole whistlers,' the skipper-birds are sometimes called, but they 're regular travellers. Kent's the first county in England for them. They start early to good houses for victuals, when gentlefolk are not up. I've seen them doze and sleep against the door. They like to be there before any one cuts their cart (exposes their tricks). Travellers are all early risers. It's good morning in the country when it's good night in town.

KENT.

	Dossing Cribs, or Lodging-houses	Beds.	Needys, or Nightly Lodgers.
Deptford	18	9	324
Greenwich	6	8	26
Woolwich	9	8	144
Gravesend	6	7	84
Chatham	20	10	400
Maidstone	5	7	70
Sittingbourne	3	6	36
Sheerness	4	5	40
Faversham	3	5	30
Canterbury	11	8	176
Dover	12	9	216
Ramsgate	4	5	40
Margate	6	6	72
ESSEX.			
Stratford	10	9	180
Ilford	3	7	52
Barking	4	6	48
Billericay	5	7	70
Orsett	2	8	32
Rayleigh	3	9	54
Rochford	3	8	48
Leigh	4	8	64
Prettywell	2	7	28
Southend	3	8	48
Maldon	5	9	90
Witham	4	8	64
Colchester	15	10	300

"*Windsor.*—At Ascot race-time I've paid many 1*s.* just to sit up all night.

"*Colchester.*—Life in London at the Bugle; called 'Hell upon earth' sometimes.

	Dossing Cribs, or Lodging-houses	Beds.	Needys, or Nightly Lodgers.
Barnet	5	1	80
Watford	6	8	90
Hemel-Hempstead	3	5	30
Uxbridge	6	7	84
Tring	2	6	24
Dunstable	6	5	60
Stony-Stratford	3	6	36
Northampton	13	9	234
Towcester	4	7	56
Daventry	5	9	90
Coventry	16	9	288
Birmingham	50	11	1100
HERTS AND BEDFORDSHIRE.			
Edmonton	14	7	196
Waltham-Abbey	3	6	36
Cheshunt-Street	2	7	28
Hoddesden	3	8	48
Hertford	9	9	162
Ware	7	10	140
Puckeridge	2	5	20
Buntingford	3	8	48
Royston	4	10	40
Hitchin	7	9	126
Luton	6	8	96
Bedford	9	7	126
St. Alban's	8	6	96
SUFFOLK AND NORFOLK.			
Ipswich	24	8	384
Hadleigh	8	7	112
Halsted	5	6	60
Stowmarket	4	7	56
Woodbridge	6	5	60
Sudbury	4	7	56
Bury St. Edmund's	8	8	128
Thetford	3	6	36
Attleboro'	2	5	20
Wymondham	1	11	22
Norwich	40	9	720
Yarmouth	16	8	256

OF THE "SCREEVERS," OR WRITERS OF BEGGING-LETTERS AND PETITIONS.

"SCREEVING"—that is to say, *writing* false or exaggerated accounts of afflictions and privations, is a necessary corollary to "Pattering," or making pompous *orations* in public—and I here subjoin a brief description of the "business"—for although the "screevers," "economically" considered, belong properly to the class who will *not work*, yet as they are intimately connected with the street-trade of begging I have thought it best to say a few words on the subject here, reserving a more comprehensive and scientific view of the subject till such time as I come to treat of the *professional* beggar, under the head of those who are *able* but *unwilling* to labour for their livelihood, in contradistinction to the involuntary beggars, who belong more properly to those who are *willing* but *unable* to work. The subjoined information has been obtained from one who has had many opportunities of making himself acquainted with the habits and tricks of the class here treated of,—indeed, at one part of his life he himself belonged to the "profession."

"In England and Wales the number of vagrants committed to prison annually amounts to 19,621; and as many are not imprisoned more than a dozen times during their lives, and a few never at all, the number of tramps and beggars may be estimated, at the very lowest, at 22,000 throughout England and Wales. The returns from Scotland are indeterminate. Of this wretched class many are aged and infirm; others are destitute orphans; while not a few are persons whose distress is real, and who suffer from temporary causes.

"With this excusable class, however, I have not now to do. Of professional beggars there are two kinds—those who 'do it on the *blob*' (by word of mouth), and those who do it by '*screeving*,' that is, by petitions and letters, setting forth imaginary cases of distress.

"Of these documents there are two sorts, 'slums' (letters) and 'fakements' (petitions). These are seldom written by the persons who present or send them, but are the production of a class of whom the public little imagine either the number or turpitude. I mean the 'professional begging-letter writers.'

"Persons who write begging-letters for others sometimes, though seldom, beg themselves. They are in many cases well supported by the fraternity for whom they write. A professional of this kind is called by the 'eadgers,' 'their man of business.' Their histories vary as much as their abilities; generally speaking they have been clerks, teachers, shopmen, reduced gentle-

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men, or the illegitimate sons of members of the aristocracy; while others, after having received a liberal education, have broken away from parental control, and commenced the 'profession' in early life, and will probably pursue it to their graves.

"I shall take a cursory view of the various pretences set forth in these begging documents," says my informant, "and describe some of the scenes connected with their preparation. The documents themselves are mournful catalogues of all the ills that flesh is heir to.

"I address myself first to that class of petitions which represent losses by sea, or perhaps shipwreck itself. These documents are very seldom carried by one person, unless indeed he is really an old sailor; and, to the credit of the navy be it spoken, this is very seldom the case. When the imposition under notice has to be carried out, it is, for the most part, conducted by half-a-dozen worthless men, dressed in the garb of seamen (and known as turnpike sailors), one of their number having really been at sea and therefore able to reply to any nautical inquiries which suspicion may throw out. This person mostly carries the document; and is, of course, the spokesman of the company. Generally speaking, the gang have a subscription-book, sometimes only a fly-leaf or two to the document, to receive the names of contributors.

"It may not be out of place here, to give a specimen—drawn from memory—of one of those specious but deceitful 'fakements' upon which the 'swells,' (especially those who have 'been in the service,') 'come down with a *couter*' (sovereign) if they 'granny the mauley' (perceive the signature) of a brother officer or friend. The document is generally as follows—

"'**These are to Certify**, to all whom it may concern, that the THUNDERER, Captain Johnson, was returning on her homeward-bound passage from China, laden with tea, fruit, &c., and having beside, twenty passengers, chiefly ladies, and a crew of thirty hands, exclusive of the captain and other officers. That the said vessel encountered a tremendous gale off the banks of Newfoundland, and was dismasted, and finally wrecked at midnight on' (such a day, including the hour, latitude, and other particulars). 'That the above-named vessel speedily foundered, and only the second mate and four of the crew (the bearers of this certificate) escaped a watery grave. These, after floating several days on broken pieces of the ship, were providentially discovered, and humanely picked up by the brig INVINCIBLE, Captain Smith, and landed in this town and harbour of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants. That we, the Master of Customs, and two of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said harbour and county, do hereby grant and afford to the said' (here follows the names of the unfortunate mariners) 'this our vouchment of the truth of the said wreck, and their connection therewith, and do empower them to present and use this certificate for twenty-eight days from the date hereof, to enable them to get such temporal aid as may be adequate to reaching their respective homes, or any sea-port where they may be re-engaged. And this certificate further showeth, that they are not to be interrupted in the said journey by any constabulary or other official authority; provided, that is to say, that no breach of the peace or other cognizable offence be committed by the said Petitioners,

'As witness our hands,

John Harris, M.C. . . .	£1 0 0
James Flood, J.P.	1 0 0
Capt. W. Hope, R.N., J.P. . .	1 10 0

Given at Portsmouth, this 10th day of October, 1850.

'GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.'

Rev. W. Wilkins	£1 0 0
An Officer's Widow . . .	0 10 0
An Old Sailor	0 5 0
A Friend	0 2 6'

"I have already hinted at the character and description of the persons by whom these forgeries are framed. It would seem, from the example given, that such documents are available in every sea-port or other considerable town; but this is not the case. It is true that certain kinds of documents, especially sham hawkers' licenses, may be had in the provinces, at prices suited to the importance of their contents, or to the probable gains of their circulation; but all the 'regular bang-up fakes' are manufactured in the 'Start' (metropolis), and sent into the country to order, carefully packed up, and free from observation. The following note, sent to 'Carotty Poll, at Mrs. Finder's Login-ouse facin the orse and trumpet bere shop han street Westminster London with spede,' may tend to illuminate the uninitiated as to how such 'fakements' are obtained:

'Dere pol—I ope this will find yu an george in good helth and spirits—things is very bad ere, yure sister Lizer has been konfined an got a fine strappin boye, they was very bad off wen it happend. they say in mi country it never ranes but it pores and so it was pol. for mi William as got a month along with Cockny Harry for a glim lurk and they kum out nex Mundie and i av porned my new shift and every indivigual thing to get them a brekfust and a drop a rum the mornin they kums out. They wont hav no paper to work and I dont know what they will do. Tayler Tom lent me a shillin wish I send inklosed and yu must porn sumthing for anuther shilling and get Joe the Loryer to rite a fake for William not a glim' (loss by fire) 'but a brake say as e ad a hors fell downe with the mad staggurs an broke all is plates and dishes an we are starvin you can sa that the children is got the mesuls—they av ben ill thats *no* lie—an we want to rase a little munney to git anuther hanimul to dror the kart put a fu monekurs' (names) 'tu it and make it durty and date it sum time bak do not neglect and dont fale to pay the post no more at preasant from yure luvin sister Jane N—— at Mister John H—— the Sweep—nex dore to the five Bels grinsted Colchester Essex. good by.'

"The person from whom the above letter was obtained, was in the lodging-house when it

arrived, and had it given him to read and retain for reference. Lawyer Joe was soon sent for; and the following is an outline of the scene that occurred, given in my informant's own words:

"I had called at the house whither the above letter had been addressed, to inquire for a man whom I had known in his and my own better days. The kitchen-door, or rather cellar-door, was thrust open, and in came Carrotty Poll herself.

"'Well, Poll,' asked the deputy, 'how does the world use you?'

"'B— bad,' was the reply, 'where's Lawyer Joe?'

"'Oh, he's just gone to Mother Linstead's for some tea and sugar; here he comes.'

"'Joe, I've a job for you. How much do you charge for screeving a "brake?"'

"'Oh, half a bull (half-a-crown).'

"'No, I'll give you a deuce o' deeners (two shillings), co's don't ye see the poor b— is in "stir" (prison).'

"'Well, well, I shan't stand for a tanner. Have you got paper?'

"'Yes, and a Queen's head, and all.'

"The pen and ink were found, a corner of the table cleared, and operations commenced.

"'He writes a good hand,' exclaimed one, as the screever wrote the petition.

"'I wish I could do it,' said another.

"'If you could, you'd soon be transported,' said a third; while the whole kitchen in one chorus, immediately on its completion, proclaimed, that it was d—d well done, adding to that, not one 'swell' in a score would view it in any other light than a 'ream' (genuine) concern.

"Lawyer Joe was up to his trade—he folded the paper in official style—creased it as if it was long written and often examined, attached the signatures of the minister and churchwardens, and dipping his fingers under the fireplace, smeared it with ashes, and made the whole the best representation of a true account of 'a horse in the mad staggers' and 'a child in the measles' that could be desired by the oldest and best cadger on the monkry.

"These professional writers are in possession of many autographs of charitable persons, and as they keep a dozen or more bottles of different shades of ink, and seldom write two documents on exactly the same sort of paper, it is difficult to detect the imposition. A famous lurker who has been previously alluded to in this work, was once taken before a magistrate at York whose *own* signature was attached to his fakement. The imitation was excellent, and the 'lurker' swore hard and fast to the worthy justice that he (the justice) *did* write it in his own saddle-room, as he was preparing to ride, and gave him five shillings, too. The effrontery and firmness of the prisoner's statement gained him his discharge!

"It is not uncommon in extensive districts—say, for instance, a section of a county taking in ten or a dozen townships—for a school of lurkers to keep a secretary and remit his work and his pay at the same time. In London this functionary is generally paid by commission, and sometimes partly in food, beer, and tobacco. The following is a fair estimate of the scale of charges:

	s.	d.
Friendly letter	0	6
Long ditto	0	9
Petition	1	0
Ditto, with ream monekurs (genuine signatures)	1	6
Ditto, with gammy monekurs (forged names)	2	6
Very "heavy" (dangerous)	3	0
Manuscript for a broken down author	10	0
Part of a play for ditto	7	6

"To this I may add the prices of other articles in the begging line.

	s.	d.
Loan of one child, without grub	0	9
Two ditto	1	0
Ditto, with grub and Godfrey's Cordial	0	9
If out after twelve at night, for each child, extra	0	2
For a school of children, say half-a-dozen	2	6
Loan of any garment, per day	0	2
Going as a pal to vindicate any statement	1	0

"Such is an outline, open to circumstantial variation, of the pay received for the sort of accommodation required.

"There is a very important species of 'lurking' or 'screeving,' which has not yet been alluded to.

"It is well-known that in the colliery districts an explosion of fire-damp frequently takes place, when many lives are lost, and the men who escape are often so wounded as to render amputation of a leg or arm the only probable means of saving them from the grave. Of course the accident, with every particular as to date and locality, goes the round of the newspapers. Such an event is a sort of God-send to the begging-letter writer. If he is anything of a draughtsman, so much the better. He then procures a sheet of vellum, and heads it with a picture of an explosion, and exhibiting men, boys, and horses up in the air, and a few nearer the ground, minus a head, a leg, or an arm; with a background of women tearing their hair, and a few little girls crying. Such a 'fakement,' professionally filled up and put into the hands of an experienced lurker, will bring the 'amanuensis,' or 'screever,' two guineas at least, and the proceeds of such an expedition have in many cases averaged 60*l.* per week. The lurker presenting this would have to take with him three or four countrymen, dressed in the garb of colliers, one at least knowing something of underground work. These he would engage at 'a bob a nob' (one shilling each), and if he made a

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good day, give them a 'toothful o' rum' beside. As such men are always le. : outside the jigger (door) of the houses, they are of course ignorant of the state of the subscription-list.

"A famous lurker, to whom we have previously referred, Nicholas A——, kept 'a man of business' to himself, and gave him from 5*s.* to 10*s.* 6*d.* per day. Nicholas, who was tolerably educated, could write very well, but as his 'secretary' could imitate twelve different hands, he was of course no trifling acquisition.

"It would not be easy to trace the history of all, or even many of the men, who pursue the begging-letter trade as professional writers. Many of the vagrant tribe write their own letters, but the vast majority are obliged to have assistance. Of course, they are sometimes detected by the fact that their conversation does not tally with the rhetorical statement of the petition. The few really deserving persons, well-born and highly educated, who subsist by begging, are very retired and cautious in their appeals. They write concisely, and their statements are generally true to a certain extent, or perhaps rigidly so in relation to an earlier part of their history. These seldom live in the very common lodging-houses.

"The most renowned of the tribe who write for others, and whose general trade lies in forged certificates of bankruptcy, seizure of goods for rent, and medical testimonies to infirmity, is an Irishman, brought up in London, and who may be seen almost every night at the bar of a certain public-house in Drury-lane. He lives, or did live, at one of the model lodging-houses. Very few persons know his occupation. They suppose that he is 'connected with the press.' Several years ago this person, says one who knew this trade well, was 'regularly hard up,' and made a tender of his services to a distinguished M.P., who took a lively interest in the emancipation of the Jews. He offered to visit the provinces, hold meetings, and get up petitions. The hon. member tested his abilities, and gave him clothes and a ten-pound note to commence operations. 'I saw him' (says my informant) 'the same night, and he mooted the subject to me over a glass of whiskey-punch. 'Not that *I* care (said he) if all the b—y Jews were in h—ll, but I must do something.'

"'But how,' asked my informant, 'will you get up the meetings?—and then the signatures, you know!'

"'Meetings!' was the reply, 'don't mention it; I can get *millions of signatures!*'

"The pretended Jewish Advocate never left London. He got (from Ireland) a box of old documents relative to bygone petitions for repeal, &c., and on these he put a frontispiece suited to his purpose — got them sent to Bath and Bristol, and thence transmitted to his employer—who praised his perseverance, and sent more money to the post-office of one of the above-named towns; this was countermanded to London, and jovially spent at 'Tom Spring's' in Holborn.

"Hitherto the movements of the begging-letter writer—self-considered—have been chiefly dwelt upon. There is another class of the fraternity, however, of whom some notice must here be taken; viz., those, who to meet cases of great pretension, and consequent misgivings on the part of the noblemen or gentry to whom fakements are presented, become referees to professional beggars. These referees are kept by local 'schools' of beggars in well-furnished apartments at respectable houses, and well dressed; their allowance varies from 1*l.* to 3*l.* per week.

"But the most expert and least suspected dodge is referring to some dignified person in the country; a person however who exists nowhere but in imagination. Suppose (says my informant) I am a beggar, I apply to you for relief. Perhaps I state that I am in prospect of lucrative employment, if I could get enough money to clothe myself. You plead the number of impositions; I consent to that fact, but offer you references as to the truth of my statement. I refer you to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Erskine, at Cheltenham (any name or place will do). You promise to write, and tell me to call in a few days; meanwhile, I assume the name of the gentleman to whom I have referred you, and write forthwith to the post-master of the town in question, requesting that any letter coming there directed to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Erskine, may be forwarded to my present address. I thus discover what you have written, frame a flattering reply, and address it to you. I send it (under cover) to a pal of mine at Cheltenham, or elsewhere, who posts it; I call half an hour after you receive it, and, being satisfied, you give me a donation, and perhaps introduce me to some of your friends. Thus I raise a handsome sum, and the fraud is probably never found out.

"One of the London lurkers, who has good means of forming a calculation on the subject, assures me that the average earnings of 'lurkers' in London alone (including those who write for them), cannot be less than 6,000*l.* per annum.

"Two of the class were lately apprehended, at the instance of the Duke of Wellington; on their persons was found fifteen sovereigns, one five-pound note, a silver watch with gold guard, and two gold watches with a ribbon attached to each; their subscription-book showed that they had collected 620*l.* during the current year.

"A man named M'Kensie—who was transported at the last Bristol Assizes—had just received a cheque for 100*l.* from a nobleman lately deceased.

"Most of the 'professionals' of this class include a copy of the 'Court Guide' among their stock in trade. In this all the persons known to be charitable, have the mark ⊕ set against their names. I have been furnished with a list of such persons, accompanied with comments, from the note-book of 'an old

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stager' 'thirty years on the monkery,' and, as he adds, 'never quodded but twice.'

"The late Queen Dowager.
Hon. Wm. Ashley.
The Bishop of Norwich.
Serjeant Talfourd.
Charles Dickins.
Samuel Rogers, the Poet.
Samuel Warren (Author of 'Extracts from the Diary of a Physician).
Hon. G. C. Norton, the 'beak' (magistrate), but good for all that.
Rev. E. Holland, Hyde-park-gardens.
The late Sir Robert Peel.
Countess of Essex (only good to sickness, or distressed authorship).
Marquess of Bredalbane (good on anything religious).
The Editor of the 'Sun.'
Madame Celeste.
Marquess of Blandford.
Duke of Portland.
Duke of Devonshire.
Lord George Bentinck (deceased; God A'mighty wouldn't let him live; he was too good for this world.)
Lord Skelmersdale.
Lord John Manners.
Lord Lyttleton.
Mrs. Elder, Exeter.
Lady Emily Ponsonby (a devilish pretty wench).
Miss Burdett Coutts.
F. Stewart, Esq., Bath.
Mrs. Groves, Salisbury.
Mrs. Mitchell, Dorchester.
Mrs. Taggart, Bayswater (her husband is a Unitarian minister, not so good as *she*, but he'll stand a 'bob' if you look straight at him and keep to one story.)
Archdeacon Sinclair, at Kensington (but not so good as Archdeacon Pott, as was there afore him; he *was* a good man; he couldn't refuse a dog, much more a Christian; but he had a butler, a regular 'knark,' who was a b— and a half, *good weight*,)
Lady Cottenham used to be good, but she is 'coopered' (spoilt) now, without you has a 'slum,' any one as she knows, and then she won't stand above a 'bull' (five shillings)."

Of the Probable Means of Reformation.

I shall now conclude this account of the patterers, lurkers, and screevers, with some observations from the pen of one who has had ample means of judging as to the effect of the several plans now in operation for the reformation or improvement of the class.

"In looking over the number of institutions," writes the person alluded to, "designed to reform and improve the classes under review, we are, as it were, overwhelmed with their numerous branches; and though it is highly gratifying to see so much good being done, it is necessary to confine this notice to the examination of only the most prominent, with their general characteristics.

"The churches, on many considerations—personal feelings being the smallest, but not unknown—demand attention first. I must treat this subject (for your work is not a theological magazine) without respect to doctrine, principle, or legislation.

"The object of erecting churches in poor neighbourhoods is to benefit the poor; why is it, then, that the instruction communicated should exercise so little influence upon the vicious, the destitute, and the outcast? Is it that Christian ordinances are less adapted to them than to others? Or, rather, is it not that the public institutions of the clergy are not made *interesting* to the wretched community in question? The great hindrance (in my opinion) to the progress of religion among the unsettled classes is, that having been occasionally to church or chapel, and heard nothing but doctrinal lectures or feverish mental effusions, they cannot see the application of these to every-day trade and practice; and so they arrive at the conclusion, that they can get as much or more good at home.

"Our preachers seem to be *afraid* of ascertaining the sentiments, feelings, and habits of the more wretched part of the population; and, without this, their words will die away upon the wind, and no practical echo answer their addresses.

"It will, perhaps, relieve the monotony of this statement if I give an illustration communicated to me by a person well qualified to determine the merits of the question.

"Your readers will probably recollect the opposition experienced by Dr. Hampden on his promotion to the bishopric of Hereford. Shortly after the affair was settled, his lordship accepted an invitation to preach on behalf of the schools connected with the 'ten new churches' of Bethnal-green. The church selected for the purpose was the one on Friar's-mount. It was one July Sunday in 1849, and, as I well remember, the morning was very wet; but, supposing the curiosity, or better motives, of the public would induce a large congregation, I went to the church at half-past ten. The free-seats occupying the middle aisle were all filled, and chiefly with persons of the lowest and worst classes, many of whom I personally knew, and was agreeably surprised to find them in such a place.

"I sat in the midst of the group, and at the elbow of a tall attenuated beggar, known by the name of 'Lath and Plaster,' of whom it is but justice to say that he repeated the responsive parts of the service very correctly. It is true he could not read; but having 'larned a few prayers' in the 'Downs' (Tothill-fields prison), 'he always sed 'em, night and morning, if he wasn't drunk, and then he sed 'em *twice* next day, 'cos,' reasoned he, 'I likes to rub off as I goes on.'

"In course of time, the bishop made his appearance in the pulpit. His subject was

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neglected education, and he illustrated it from the history of Eli.

"I thought proper to hang back, and observe the group as they passed out of church. There was Tailor Tom, and Brummagem Dick, and Keate-street Nancy, and Davy the Duke, and Stationer George, and at least two dozen more, most of whom were miserably clad, and several apparently without a shirt. They were not, however, without halfpence; and as I was well known to several of the party, and flattered as being 'a very knowledgeable man,' I was invited to the Cat and Bagpipes afterwards, to 'have share of what was going.'

"I was anxious," continues my informant, "to learn from my companions their opinion of the right reverend prelate. They thought, to use their own words, 'he was a jolly old brick.' But did they think he was sound in opinion about the Trinity, or was he (as alleged) a Unitarian?' They did not even understand the meaning of these words. All they *did* understand was, that 'a top-sawyer parson at Oxford, called Dr. Pussy,' had 'made himself disagreeable,' and that some of the bishops and nobility had 'jined him;' that these had persecuted Dr. Hampden, because he was 'more cleverer' than themselves; and that Lord John Russell, who, generally speaking, was 'a regular muff,' had 'acted like a man' in this instance, and 'he ought to be commended for it; and,' added the man who pronounced the above sentiment, '*it's just a picture of ourselves.*' To other ears than mine, the closing remark would have appeared impertinent, but I 'tumbled to' it immediately. It was a case of oppression; and whether the oppressors belonged to Oxford University or to Scotland-yard militated nothing against the aphorism: 'it's just a picture of ourselves!'

"It seems to me that these poor creatures understood the *circumstances* better than they did the sermon; and my inference is, that whether from the parochial pulpit, or the missionary exhortation, or in the printed form of a tract, those who wish to produce a practical effect must themselves be practical men. I, who have been in the Christian ministry, and am familiar, unhappily, with the sufferings of men of every grade among the outcast, would say: 'If you wish to do these poor outcasts real good, you must mould your language to their ideas, get hold of their common phrases—those which tell so powerfully when they are speaking to each other — let them have their own *fashion* of things, and, where it does not interfere with order and decency, use yourselves language which their unpolished minds will appreciate; and then, having gained their entire confidence, and, perhaps, their esteem, you may safely strike home, though it be as with a sledge-hammer, and they will even 'love you for the smart.'

"The temperance movement next claims attention, and I doubt not that much crime and degradation has been prevented by total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks; but I would rather raise the tone of moral feeling by intelligent and ennobling means than by those spasmodic efforts, which are without deliberation, and often without permanency. The object sought to be obtained, however, is good,—so is the motive,—and I leave to others to judge what means are most likely to secure it.

"I may also allude, as another means of reformation, to the Ragged-schools which are now studding the localities of the poorest neighbourhoods. The object of these schools is, one would hope, to take care of the uncared for, and to give instruction to those who would be otherwise running wild and growing up as a pest to society. A few instances of real reform stand, however, in juxtaposition with many of increased hardihood. I, as a man, seeing those who resort to ragged-schools, cannot understand the propriety of insulting an honest though ragged boy by classing him with a young thief; or the hope of improving the juvenile female character where the sexes are brought in promiscuous contact, and left unrestrained on their way home to say and do everything subversive of the good instruction they have received." [It is right I should here state, that these are my informant's own unbiassed sentiments, delivered without communication with myself on the subject. I say thus much, because, my own opinions being known, it might perhaps appear as if I had exerted some influence over the judgment of my correspondent.]

"The most efficient means of moral reform among the street-folk, appear to have been consulted by those who, in Westminster and other places, have opened institutions cheaper, but equally efficient, as the mechanics' institutes of the metropolis. In these, for one farthing per night, three-halfpence a week, or sixpence a month, lectures, exhibitions, newspapers, &c., are available to the *very* poor. These, and such as these, I humbly, but earnestly would commend to public sympathy and support, believing that, under the auspices of heaven, they may 'deliver the outcast and poor' from their own mistaken views and practices, and make them ornamental to that society to which they have long been expensive and dangerous."

Another laudable attempt to improve the condition of the poorer class is by the erection of model lodging-houses. The plan which induced this measure was good, and the success has been tolerable; but I am inclined to think the management of these houses, as well as their internal regulation, is scarcely what their well-meaning founders designed. The principal of these buildings is in George-street, St. Giles's; the building is spacious and well ventilated, there is a good library, and the class of lodgers very superior to what might be expected This latter circumstance makes the house in question scarcely admissible to the catalogue of reformed lodging-houses for the *very* poor.

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"The next 'model lodging-house' in importance is the one in Charles-street, Drury-lane. This, from personal observation (having lodged in it more than four months)," says my informant, "I can safely say (so far as social reform is concerned), is a miserable failure. The bed-rooms are clean, but the sitting-room, though large, is the scene of dirt and disorder. Noise, confusion, and intemperance abound from morning till night.

"There is a model lodging-house in Westminster, the private property of Lord Kinnaird. It is generally well conducted. His lordship's agent visits the place once a week. There is an almost profuse supply of cooking utensils and other similar comforts. There are, moreover, two spacious reading-rooms, abundance of books and periodicals, and every lodger, on payment of 6*d*., is provided with two lockers—one in his bed-room, and the other below-stairs. The money is returned when the person leaves the house. There is divine service every day, conducted by different missionaries, and twice on Sundays. Attendance on these services is optional; and as there are two ways of ingress and egress, the devout and undevout need not come in contact with each other. The kitchen is very large and detached from the house. The master of this establishment is a man well fitted for his situation. He is a native of Saffron Walden in Essex, where his father farmed his own estate. He received a superior education, and has twice had a fortune at his own disposal. He *did* dispose of it, however; and 'after many roving years,' as a 'traveller,' 'lurker,' and 'patterer,' he has settled down in his present situation, and maintained it with great credit for a considerable period. The beds in this house are only 3*d*. per night, and no small praise is due to Lord Kinnaird for the superiority of this 'model' over others of the same denomination.

"Such are a few of the principal of these establishments. Giving every credit to their founders, however, for purity and even excellence of motive, I doubt if 'model lodging-houses,' as at present conducted, are likely to accomplish much real good for those who get their living in the streets. Ever and anon they are visited by dukes and bishops, lords and ladies, who march in procession past every table, scrutinise every countenance, make their remarks upon the quantity and quality of food, and then go into the lobby, sign their names, jump into their carriages, and drive away, declaring that 'after all' there is not so much poverty in London as they supposed.

"The poor inmates of these houses, moreover," adds my informant, "are kept in bondage, and made to *feel* that bondage, to the almost annihilation of old English independence. It is thought by the managers of these establishments, and with some share of propriety, that persons who get their living by any honest means may get home and go to bed, according to strict rule, at a certain prescribed hour—in one house it is ten o'clock, in the others eleven. But many of the best-conducted of these poor people, if they be street-folk, are at those very hours in the height of their business, and have therefore to pack up their goods, and carry homeward their cumbersome and perhaps heavy load a distance usually varying from two or three to six or seven miles. *If they are a minute beyond time, they are shut out, and have to seek lodgings in a strange place. On their return next morning, they are charged for the bed they were prevented from occupying, and if they demur they are at once expelled!* Thus the 'model' lodgers are kept, as it were, in leading-strings, and triumphed over by lords and ladies, masters and matrons, who, while they pique themselves on the efforts they are making to 'better the condition of the poor,' are making them their slaves, and driving them into unreasonable thraldom; while the rich and noble managers, reckless of their own professed benevolence, are making the poor poorer, by adding insult to wretchedness. If my remarks upon these establishments appear," adds the writer of the above remarks, "to be invidious, it is only in 'appearance' that they are so. I give their promoters credit for the best intentions, and, as far as sanitary and moral measures are concerned, I rejoice in the benefit while suggesting the improvement.

"Everything even moderately valuable has its counterfeit. We have counterfeit money, counterfeit virtue, counterfeit modesty, counterfeit religion, and last, but not least, 'counterfeit model lodging-houses.' Many private adventurers have thus dignified their domiciles, and some of them highly merit the distinction, while with others it is only a cloak for greater uncleanliness and grosser immorality.

"There has come to my knowledge the case of one man, who owns nearly a dozen of these dens of infamy, in one of which a poor girl under fifteen was lately ruined by a gray-headed monster, who, according to the pseudo-'model' regulations, slept in an adjoining bed. The sham model-houses to which I more particularly allude," says my correspondent, "are in Short's-gardens, Drury-lane; Mill-yard, Cable-street; Keate-street, Flower and Dean-street, Thrawl-street, Spitalfields; Plough-court, Whitechapel; and Union-court, Holborn. All of these are, *without exception*, twopenny brothels, head-quarters of low-lived procuresses, and resorts of young thieves and prostitutes. Each of the houses is managed by a 'deputy,' who receives an income of 8*s*. 2*d*. per week, out of which he has to provide coke, candles, soap, &c. Of course it is impossible to do this from such small resources, and the men consequently increase their salaries by 'taking in couples for a little while,' purchasing stolen goods, and other nefarious practices. *Worse than all, the person owning these houses is a member of a strict Baptist church, and the son of a deceased minister. He lives in great splendour in one of the fashionable streets in Pimlico.*

"It still remains for me," my correspondent continues, "to contemplate the best agency for

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promoting the reformation of the poor. The 'City Mission,' if properly conducted, as it brings many good men in close contact with the 'outcast and poor,' might be made productive of real and extensive good. Whether it has done so, or done so to any extent, is perhaps an open question. Our town missionary societies sprang up when our different Christian denominations were not fully alive to the apprehension of their own duties to their poorer brethren, who were lost to principle, conscience, and society. That the object of the London City Mission is most noble, needs no discussion, and admits of no dispute. The method of carrying out this great object is by employing agents, who are required to give their whole time to the work, without engaging in any secular concerns of life; and regarding the operation of the work so done, I must say that great good has resulted from the enterprise. At the commencement of the labours of the Mission in any particular locality great opposition was manifested, and a great amount of prejudice, with habits of the most immoral kind —openly carried on without any public censure—had to be overcome. The statements of the missionaries have from time to time been published, and lie recorded against us as a nation, of the glaring evils and ignorance of a vast portion of our people. It is principally owing to the city missionaries that the other portions of society have known what they now do of the practices and habits of the poor; it is principally due to their exertions that schools have been established in connection with their labours; and the Ragged-schools—one of the principal movements of the last few years—are mainly to be attributed to their efforts.

"A man," says my informant in conclusion, "can receive little benefit from a thing he does not understand; the talk which will do for the senate will not do for the cottage, and the argument which will do for the study will not do for the man who spends all his spare time in a public-house. These remarks will apply to the distribution of tracts, which should be couched in the very language that is used by the people to whom they are addressed; then the ideas will penetrate their understanding. Some years back I met with an old sailor in a lodging-house in Westminster, who professed a belief that there had *once* been a God, but that he was either dead, or grown old and diseased. He did not dispute the inspiration of the Bible. He believed that there had been revelations made to our forefathers when God was alive and active, but that now the Almighty did not 'fash' (trouble) himself about his creatures at all!

"I endeavoured to instruct the man in his own rude language and ideas; and after he had thus been made to comprehend the doctrine of the Atonement, he said, 'I see it all plain enough—though I've liked a drop o' drink, and been a devil among the gals, and all that, in my time, if I'll humble myself I can have it all wiped off; and, as the song says, "We may be happy yet," because, as the saying is, it's all square with God A'mighty.' Whether the sailor permanently reformed, I am unable to say, for I lost sight of him shortly after; at any rate he *understood* the subject, and was thus qualified to profit by it. And what can the teachers of Christianity among the British heathen—herded together in courts and alleys —tell their poor ignorant hearers better than the old sailor's aphorism, 'You have, indeed, gone astray from your greatest and best Friend, but, if you so desire, "You may be happy yet," because it's all square with God A'mighty?'

"Before quitting this subject, I would add, if you really wish to do these poor creatures good, you must remember that your instructions are not intended for so-called fashionable society, but for those who have a fashion of their own. If you lose sight of this fact, your words will die away upon the wind, and no echo in the hearts of these poor people will answer your addresses."

The above observations are from the pen of one who has not only had the means, but is likewise possessed of the power, of judging as to the effect of the several plans (now in course of operation) for the reformation and improvement of the London poor. I have given the comments in the writer's own language, because I was anxious that the public should know the opinions of the best informed of the street-people themselves on this subject; and I trust I need not say that I have sought in no way to influence my correspondent's judgment.

I now subjoin a communication from a clergyman in the country, touching the character of the tramps and lurkers frequenting his neighbourhood, together with some suggestions concerning the means of improving the condition of the London poor. These I append, because it is advisable that in so difficult a matter the sentiments of every one having sufficient experience, judgment, and heart to fit him to speak on the subject should be calmly attended to, so that amid much counsel there may be at least some little wisdom.

"The subject of the welfare of our poorer brethren was one which engaged much of my attention twenty years ago, when studying for the bar at Lincoln's Inn, before I entered into orders; and the inquiries, &c., then made by me in reference to London, are recalled by many of your pages. I have pursued the same course, according to my limited means and opportunities (for my *benefice*, like thousands of others, is but 100*l.* a-year) in this neighbourhood, and there are very many of my clerical brethren, also, deeply anxious and exerting their means for the country poor. The details given in your numbers as to the country tramps and patterers, I can fully corroborate from personal experience and knowledge, so far as the country part of it. We *never* give money to beggars here, on any pretence whatever. We never give clothes. We never give relief to a *naked* or *half-naked* man if we can avoid it (the imposture is too barefaced).

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Medicine I *do* give occasionally to the sick, or pretended sick, and *see* them take it. Every beggar may have *dry bread*, or three or four tracts to sell, but never both. I know we are even thus *often* imposed on; but it is better to run this risk than to turn away, by chance, a starving man; and I do see the mendicants often sit down on a field near, and eat the dry bread with ravenous look. The tramps sometimes come to church on Sunday, and *then* beg: but we never give even bread on Sunday, because on that day they can get help at the Union workhouse, and it only tempts idlers. Sometimes we are days without a beggar, and then there will be ten to twenty per day, and then all at once the stream stops. There are no tramp lodging-houses in my parish (which is a village of 600 or 700 people). Most of the burglaries hereabouts seem connected with some inroad of tramps into the neighbourhood. The lodging-houses are very bad in some of the small towns near, but somehow the magistrates cannot get them put down. The gentry are alive here to the evil of crowded cottages, &c., and are using efforts to build better and more decent ones. But the evil results from the little landowners, who have an acre or two, or less, and build rows of cottages on them of the scantiest dimensions, at high rents,—ten per cent. on the cost of building. The rents of the gentry and nobility are very moderate to the poor, viz., scarcely two per cent. (beyond the yearly repairs) on the market value of the cottage.

"In 1832 I succeeded in getting land allotments for the poor here, and most of the parishes round have followed our example since. The success *to the poor* has always depended on the rent being a *real* rent, such as is paid by the land round about, and on the rules of good management and of payment of rent being rigidly enforced.

"The character of the poor of England *must* be raised, as well as their independence. They must not be left to lean on charity. I am sure that the sterling worth of the English character can only be raised by that means *to the surface* of society among the poor. The "English" is a fine material, but the poor neither value, nor are benefited, by mawkish nonsense or excessive feeling.

"I believe this parish was one of the most fearfully demoralized twenty years ago. It was said there was not *one* young female cottager of virtuous character. There was not one man who was not, or had not been, a drunkard; and theft, fighting, &c., &c., were universal. It is greatly better now—totally different—and I attribute the change to the land allotments, the provident society, the village horticultural society, the lending library, the clothing club, the coal club, the cultivating a taste for music, &c., &c., as subsidiary to the more directly pastoral work of a clergyman, and the schools, &c.

"I am probably visionary in my ideas, but the perusal of your pages has led me to think that, were I clergyman of a parish where the street-folks *lived*, I should aim at some schemes of this style, in addition to the benefit society and loan society (the last *most* important) as proposed by yourself.

"(1) To get music taught at ½*d.* a week, or something of the kind—*a ragged-school music-room*, if the people would learn gratis, would be still better—as a *step* to a "superior" music class at 1*d.* per week.

"(2) To get the poor to adorn their rooms *plentifully* with a better class of pictures—of places, of people, of natural history, and of historical and religious subjects—just as they might like, and a circulating library for pictures if they preferred change. This I find takes with the village poor. Provide these things excessively cheap for them—at *nominal prices*, just high enough to prevent them being *sold* at a profit by the poor.

"(3) To establish a monthly or fortnightly sheet—or little book for the poor—at ½*d.*, or some trifle, *full of pictures* such as they would like, but free from impropriety. It might be called 'The Coster's Barrow,' or some name which would take their fancy, and contain pictures for those who cannot read, and reading for those who can. Its contents should be instructive, and yet lively; as for instance, the 'History of London Bridge,' 'History of a Codfish,' 'Travels of Whelks,' 'Dreams of St. Paul's,' (old History of England), 'Voice from the Bottom of the Coal Exchange' (Roman tales), 'True Tale of Trafalgar,' &c., &c. All *very short articles*, at which perhaps they might be angry, or praise, or abuse, or *do anything*, but still would read, or hear, and talk about. If possible, the little work might have a corner called, 'The Next World's Page,' or any name of the kind, with *nothing* in it but the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, or a Parable, or Miracle, or discourse of Christ's—in the exact words of Scripture—without *any* commentary; which could neither annoy the Roman Catholics nor others. Those parts in which the Douay version differs from ours might be avoided, and the Romanists be given to understand that they would *always* be avoided.

"The more difficult question of cheap amusements instead of the demoralizing ones now popular, is one which as yet I cannot see my way through—but it is one which *must* be grappled with if any good is to be done.

"I write thus," adds my correspondent, "because I feel you are a fellow-worker—so far as your labours show it, for the cause of God's poor—and therefore will sympathize in anything another worker can say from experience on the same subject."

Such are the opinions of two of my correspondents—each looking at the subject from different points of view—the one living among the people of whom he treats, and daily witnessing the effects of the several plans now in operation for the moral and physical improvement of the poor, and the other in frequent in-

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tercourse with the tramps and lurkers, on their vagrant excursions through the country, as well as with the resident poor of his own parish—the former living in friendly communion with those of whom he writes, and the latter visiting them as their spiritual adviser and material benefactor.

I would, however, before passing to the consideration of the next subject, here pause to draw special attention to the distinctive features of the several classes of people obtaining their livelihood in the streets. These viewed in regard to the *causes* which have induced them to adopt this mode of life, may be arranged in three different groups, viz.:

(1.) Those who are *bred* to the streets.
(2.) Those who *take* to the streets.
(3.) Those who are *driven* to the streets.

The class bred to the streets are those whose fathers having been street-sellers before them, have sent them out into the thoroughfares at an early age to sell either watercresses, lavender, oranges, nuts, flowers, apples, onions, &c., as a means of eking out the family income. Of such street-apprenticeship several notable instances have already been given; and one or two classes of juvenile street-sellers, as the lucifer match, and the blacking-sellers, still remain to be described. Another class of street-apprentice is to be found in the boys engaged to wheel the barrows of the costers, and who are thus at an early age tutored in all the art and mystery of street traffic, and who rarely abandon it at maturity. These two classes may be said to constitute the *natives* of the streets—the tribe *indigenous* to the paving-stones—imbibing the habits and morals of the gutters almost with their mothers' milk. To expect that children thus nursed in the lap of the kennel, should when men not bear the impress of the circumstances amid which they have been reared, is to expect to find costermongers heroes instead of ordinary human beings. We might as well blame the various races on the face of the earth for those several geographical peculiarities of taste, which constitute their national characteristics. Surely there is a moral acclimatisation as well as a physical one, and the heart may become inured to a particular atmosphere in the same manner as the body; and even as the seed of the apple returns, unless grafted, to its original crab, so does the child, without training, go back to its parent stock—the vagabond savage. For the bred and born street-seller, who inherits a barrow as some do coronets, to be other than he is—it has here been repeatedly enunciated—is no fault of his but of ours, who could and yet *will* not move to make him otherwise. Might not "the finest gentleman in Europe" have been the greatest blackguard in Billingsgate, had he been born to carry a fish-basket on his head instead of a crown? and by a parity of reasoning let the roughest "rough" outside the London fish-market have had his lot in life cast, "by the Grace of God, King, Defender of the Faith," and surely his shoulders would have glittered with diamond epaulettes instead of fish scales.

I say thus much, to impress upon the reader a deep and devout sense, that we who have been appointed to another state, are, by the grace of God, what we are, and from no special merit of our own, to which, in the arrogance of our self-conceit, we are too prone to attribute the social and moral differences of our nature. Go to a lady of fashion and tell her she could have even become a fishfag, and she will think you some mad ethnologist (if indeed she had ever heard of the science). Let me not, however, while thus seeking to impress the reader's mind with a sense of the "antecedents" of the human character, be thought to espouse the doctrine that men are *merely* the creatures of events. All I wish to enforce is, that the three common causes of the social and moral differences of individuals are to be found in *race*, *organization*, and *circumstances*—that none of us are entirely proof against the influence of these three conditions—the *ethnological*, the *physiological*, and the *associative* elements of our idiosincracy. But, while I admit the full force of external nature upon us all, while I allow that we are, in many respects, merely patients, still I cannot but perceive that, in other respects we are self-agents, moving rather than being moved, by events—often stemming the current of circumstances, and at other times giving to it a special direction rather than being swept along with it. I am conscious that it is this directive and controlling power, not only over external events, but over the events of my own nature, that distinguishes me as well from the brute of the fields as it does my waking from my sleeping moments. I know, moreover, that in proportion as a man is active or passive in his operations, so is his humanity or brutality developed; that true greatness lies in the superiority of the internal forces over the external ones; and that as heroes, or extraordinary men are heroes, because they overcome the sway of one or other, or all, of the three material influences above-named, so ordinary people are ordinary, simply because they lack energy—principle—will (call it what you please) to overcome the material elements of their nature with the spiritual. And it is precisely because I know this, that I *do* know that those who are bred to the streets must bear about them the moral impress of the kennel and the gutter—unless *we* seek to develope the inward and controlling part of their constitution. If we allow them to remain the creatures of circumstances, to wander through life principleless, purposeless, conscienceless—if it be their lot to be flung on the wide waste of waters without a "guiding star" above, or a rudder or compass within, how can *we* (the well-fed) *dare* to blame them because, wanting bread, they prey and live upon their fellow-creatures?

I say thus much, because I feel satisfied that a large portion of the street-folk—and especially those who have been *bred* to the business—

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are of improvable natures; that they crave knowledge, as starving men for "the staff of life;" that they are most grateful for instruction; that they are as deeply moved by any kindness and sympathy (when once their suspicion has been overcome) as they are excited by any wrong or oppression—and I say it moreover, because I feel thoroughly convinced of the ineffectiveness of the present educational resources for the poor. We think, if we teach them reading and writing, and to chatter a creed, that we have armed them against the temptations, the trials, and the exasperations of life, believing, because we have put the knife and fork in their hands that we have really filled with food the empty bellies of their brains. We exercise their memories, make them human parrots, and then wonder that they do not act as human beings. The intellect, the conscience, the taste, indeed all that refines, enlightens, and ennobles our nature, we leave untouched, to shrivel and wither like unused limbs. The beautiful, the admirable, the true, the right, are as hidden to them as at their first day's schooling. We impress them with no purpose, animate them with no principle; they are still the same brute creatures of circumstances—the same passive instruments—human waifs and strays—left to be blown about as the storms of life may whirl them.

Of the second group, or those who *take* to the streets, I entertain very different opinions. This class is distinguished from that above mentioned, in being wanderers by choice, rather than wanderers by necessity. In the early chapters of this work, I strove to point out to my readers that the human race universally consisted of two distinct classes: the wanderers and the settlers—the civilized and the savage—those who *produced* their food, and those who merely *collected* it. I sought further to show, that these two classes were not necessarily isolated, but that, on the contrary, almost every civilized tribe had its nomadic race, like parasites, living upon it. These nomadic races I proved, moreover, to have several characteristics common to the class, one of the most remarkable of which was, their adoption of a *secret* language, with the intent of concealing their designs and exploits. "Strange to say," I then observed, "that despite its privations, dangers, and hardships, those who have once taken to a wandering life rarely abandon it. There are countless instances," I added, "of white men adopting all the usages of an Indian hunter; but there is not one example of the Indian hunter or trapper, adopting the steady and regular habits of civilized society." That this passion for "a roving life" (to use the common expression by which many of the street-people themselves designate it), is a marked feature of some natures, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any one who has contemplated even the surface differences of human beings; and nevertheless it is a point to which no social philosopher has yet drawn attention. To my mind, it is essentially the *physical* cause of crime. Too restive and volatile to pursue the slow process of production, the wanderers, and consequently the *collectors*, of subsistence must (in a land where all things are appropriated) live upon the stock of the *producers*. The nomadic or vagrant class have all an universal type, whether they be the Bushmen of Africa or the "tramps" of our own country; and Mr. Knapp, the intelligent master of the Wandsworth and Clapham Union, to whom I was referred at the time of my investigations touching the subject of vagrancy, as having the greatest experience upon the matter, gave me the following graphic account, which, as I said at the time of its first publication, had perhaps never been surpassed as an analysis of the habits and propensities of the vagabond class:

"Ignorance," to use the gentleman's own words, "is certainly not their prevailing characteristic: indeed, with a few exceptions, it is the reverse. The vagrants are mostly distinguished by their aversion to continuous labour of any kind. He never knew them to work. Their great inclination is to be on the move, and wandering from place to place, and they appear to receive a great deal of pleasure from the assembly and conversation of the casual ward. They are physically stout and healthy, and certainly not emaciated or sickly. They belong especially to the able-bodied class, being, as he says, full of health and mischief. They are very stubborn and self-willed. They are a most difficult class to govern, and are especially restive under the least restraint; they can ill brook control, and they find great delight in thwarting the authorities. They are particularly fond of amusements of all kinds. He never knew them love reading. They mostly pass under fictitious names. They are particularly distinguished by their libidinous propensities. They are not remarkable for a love of drink. He considers them to be generally a class possessing the keenest intellect, and of a highly enterprising character. They seem to have no sense of danger, and to be especially delighted with such acts as involve any peril. They are likewise characterised by their exceeding love of mischief. They generally are of a most restless and volatile disposition. They have great quickness of perception, but little power of continuous attention or perseverance. They have a keen sense of the ridiculous, and are not devoid of deep feeling. In the summer they make regular tours through the country, visiting all places that they have not seen. They are perfectly organized, so that any regulation affecting their comforts or interests becomes known among the whole body in a remarkably short space of time."

Every day my inquiries add some fresh proof to the justice of the above enumeration of the several phenomena distinguishing this class. To the more sedate portion of the human family, the attractions of "a roving life" are inexplicable. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, to the more volatile, the mere muscular exercise

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and the continual change of scene, together with the wild delight which attends the overcoming of any danger, are sources of pleasure sufficient to compensate for all the privations and hardships attending such a state of existence.

Mr. Ruxton, one of the many who have passed from settlers to wanderers, has given us the following description of the enjoyments of a life in the wilderness:

"Although liable to an accusation of barbarism, I must confess that the very happiest moments of my life have been spent in the wilderness of the Far West; and I never recall, but with pleasure, the remembrance of my solitary camp in the Bayou Solade, with no friend near me more faithful than my rifle, and no companions more sociable than my good horse and mules, or the attendant cayute which nightly serenaded us. Seldom did I ever wish to change such hours of freedom for all the luxuries of civilized life; and unnatural and extraordinary as it may appear, yet such is the fascination of the life of the mountain hunter, that I believe not one instance could be adduced of even the most polished and civilized of men, who had once tasted the sweets of its attendant liberty and freedom from every worldly care, not regretting the moment when he exchanged it for the monotonous life of the settlements, nor sighing and sighing again once more to partake of its pleasures and allurements."

To this class of voluntary wanderers belong those who *take* to the streets, glad to exchange the wearisomeness and restraint of a settled occupation for the greater freedom and license of a nomad mode of life. As a class, they are essentially the non-working, preferring, as I said before, to *collect*, rather than *produce*, what they eat. If they sell, they do so because for sundry reasons they fear to infringe the law, and as traders their transactions certainly are not marked by an excess of honesty. I am not aware that any of them are professional thieves (for these are the more daring portion of the same vagrant fraternity), though the majority assuredly are habitual cheats—delighting in proving their cleverness by imposing upon simple-minded citizens—viewing all society as composed of the same dishonest elements as their own tribes, and looking upon all sympathy and sacrifice, even when made for their own benefit, as some "artful dodge" or trick, by which to snare them.

It should be remembered, however, that there are many grades of vagrants among us, and that though they are all essentially non-producing and, consequently, predatory, still many are in no way distinguished from a large portion of even our wealthy tradesmen—our puffing grocers and slopsellers. To attempt to improve the condition of the voluntary street-sellers by teaching of any kind, would be to talk to the wind. We might as well preach to Messrs. Moses, Nicol, and Co., in the hope of Christianising them. Those who *take* to the streets are *not*, like those who are *bred* to it, an uneducated class. They are intelligent and "knowing" enough, and it is this development of their intellect at the expense of their conscience which gives rise to that excessive admiration of mere cleverness, which makes skill the sole standard of excellence with them. They approve, admire, venerate nothing but what is ingenious. Wrong with them is mere folly—right, cunning; and those who think the simple cultivation of the intellect the great social panacea of the time, have merely to study the characteristics of this class to see how a certain style of education can breed the very vice it seeks to destroy. Years ago, I wrote and printed the following passage, and every year since my studies have convinced me more and more of its truth:

"Man, if deprived of his intellect, would be the most miserable and destitute,—if of his sympathy, the most savage and cunning, of all the brute creation: consequently, we may infer that, according as solely the one or the other of these powers is expanded in us, so shall we approximate in our nature either to the instinct of the brute or to the artifice of the demon, and that only when they are developed in an equal degree, can Man be said to be educated as Man. We should remember that the intellect simply executes; it is either the selfish or moral propensity that designs. The intellectual principle enables us to perceive the means of attaining any particular object; it is the selfish or else the moral principle in us, that causes us originally to desire that object. The two latter principles are the springs, the former is merely the instrument of all human action. They are masters, whereas the intellect is but the servant of the will; and hence it is evident that in proportion as the one or the other of these two predominant principles—as either the selfish or the moral disposition is educed in man, and thus made the chief director and stimulus of the intellectual power within him, so will the cultivation of that power be the source of happiness or misery to himself and others."

The third and last class, namely, those who are *driven* to the streets, is almost as large as any. Luckily, those who *take* to that mode of life, are by far the least numerous portion of the street-folk; and if those who are bred to the business are worthy of our pity, assuredly those who are driven to it are equally, if not more, so. With some who are deprived of the means of obtaining a maintenance for themselves, the sale of small articles in the streets may, perhaps, be an excuse for begging; but in most cases, I am convinced it is adopted from a horror of the workhouse, and a disposition to do, at least, *something* for the food they eat. Often is it the last struggle of independence—the desire to give something like an equivalent for what they receive. Over and over again have I noticed this honourable pride, even in individuals who, from some privations or affliction that rendered them utterly incompetent to labour for their living, had a just claim on our sympathies and assistance. The blind—the cripple—the maimed—

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the very old—the very young—all have generally adopted a street-life, because they could do nothing else. With many it is the last resort of all. The smallness of the stock-money required—for a shilling, it has been shown, is sufficient to commence several street-trades—is one of the principal causes of so many of those who are helpless taking to the street-traffic. Moreover, the severity of the Poor-laws and the degradation of pauperism, and the aversion to be thought a common beggar by all, except the very lowest, are, I have no doubt, strong incentives to this course. There are many callings which are peculiar, as being followed principally by the disabled. The majority of the blind are musicians, or boot-lace or tape-sellers. The very old are sellers of water-cresses, lucifers, pincushions, ballads, and pins and needles, stay-laces, and such small articles as are light to carry, and require but a few pence for the outlay. The very young are sellers of flowers, oranges, nuts, onions, blacking, lucifers, and the like. Many of those who have lost an arm, or a leg, or a hand, turn showmen, or become sellers of small metal articles, as knives or nutmeg-graters; and many who have been born cripples may be seen in the streets struggling for self-support. But all who are *driven* to the streets have not been physically *disabled* for labour. Some have been *reduced* from their position as tradesmen or shopmen; others, again, have been gentlemen's servants and clerks; all, dragged down by a series of misfortunes, sometimes beyond their control, and sometimes brought about by their own imprudence or sluggishness. As we have seen, many are reduced to a state of poverty by long illness, and on their recovery are unable, from want of clothes or friends, to follow any other occupation.

But a still larger class than all, are the beaten-out mechanics and artizans, who, from want of employment in their own trade, take to make up small things (as clothes-horses, tin-ware, cutlery, brushes, pails, caps, and bonnets) on their own account. The number of artizans in the London streets speaks volumes for the independence of the working-men of this country; as well as for the difficulty of their obtaining employment at their own trades. Those who are unacquainted with the sterling pride of the destitute English mechanic, know not what he will suffer before becoming an inmate of a workhouse, or sinking to the debasement of a beggar. That handicraftsmen do occasionally pass into "lurkers" I know well; but these, I am convinced, have gradually been warped to the life by a long course of tramping, aided by the funds of their societies, and thus becoming disused to labour, have, after forfeiting all claims upon the funds of their trade, adopted beggary as a means of subsistence. But, that this is the exception rather than the rule, the following is sufficient to show:

"The destitute mechanics," said the Master of the Wandsworth and Clapham Union to me, "are entirely a different class from the regular vagrants; they have different habits, and indeed different features. During the whole of my experience I never knew a distressed artizan who applied for a night's shelter, commit an act of theft; and I have seen them," he added, "in the last stage of destitution. Occasionally they have sold the shirt and waistcoat off their backs before they applied for admittance into the workhouse, while some of them have been so weak from long starvation that they could scarcely reach the gate, and indeed had to be kept for several days in the Infirmary before their strength was recruited sufficiently to continue their journey." "The poor mechanic," said another of my informants, "will sit in the casual ward like a lost man, scared. Its shocking to think a decent mechanic's houseless. When he's beat out he's like a bird out of a cage; he doesn't know where to go, or how to get a bit."

I shall avail myself of another occasion to discuss the means of improving the condition of the street-people.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.

These traders consist of: (1) The vendors of metal articles; (2) Of chemical articles; (3) Of China, glass, and stone articles; (4) Of linen, cotton, and other textile fabrics; and (5) Of miscellaneous articles. In this classification I do not include second-hand articles, nor yet the traffic of those who make the articles they sell, and who are indeed street-artizans rather than street-sellers.

Under the first head are included, the vendors of razors, table and penknives, tea-trays, dog-collars, key-rings, articles of hardware, small coins and medals, pins and needles, jewellery, snuffers, candlesticks, articles of tin-ware, tools, card-counters, herring-toasters, trivets, gridirons, pans, tray-stands (as in the roasting of meat), and Dutch ovens.

Of the second description are the vendors of blacking, black-lead, lucifer matches, corn-salves, grease-removing compositions, china and glass cements, plating-balls, rat and beetle poisons, crackers, detonating-balls, and cigar-lights.

Under the third head come all street-sold articles of China, glass, or stone manufacture, including not only "crockery," but vases, chimney-ornaments, and stone fruit.

The fourth head presents the street-vending of cotton, silken, and linen-manufactures; such as sheetings, shirtings, a variety of laces, sew-

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ing cotton, threads and tapes, articles of haberdashery and of millinery, artificial flowers, handkerchiefs, and pretended smuggled goods.

Among the fifth class, or the "miscellaneous" street-sellers, are those who vend cigars, pipes, tobacco and snuff-boxes and cigar-cases, accordions, spectacles, hats, sponge, combs and hair-brushes, shirt-buttons and coat-studs, "lots," rhubarb, wash-leather, paper-hangings, dolls, Bristol and other toys, saw-dust, fire-wood, and pin-cushions.

There are many other manufactured articles sold in the streets, but their description will be more proper under the head of Street Artisans.

The street-sellers of manufactured articles present, as a body, so many and often such varying characteristics, that I cannot offer to give a description of them as a whole, as I have been able to do with other and less diversified classes.

Among them are several distinct and peculiar street-characters, such as the pack-men, who carry their cotton or linen goods in packs on their backs, and are all itinerants. Then there are duffers, who vend pretended smuggled goods, handkerchiefs, silks, tobacco or cigars; also, the sellers of sham sovereigns and sham gold rings for wagers. The crockery-ware and glass-sellers (known in the street-trade as "crocks"), are peculiar from their principle of *bartering*. They will sell to any one, but they *sell* very rarely, and always clamour in preference for an exchange of their wares for wearing-apparel of any kind. They state, if questioned, that their reason for doing this is—at least I heard the statement from some of the most intelligent among them—that they do so because, if they "sold outright," they required a hawker's license, and could not sell or "swop" so cheap.

Some of the street-sellers of manufactured articles are also patterers. Among these are the "cheap Jacks," or "cheap Johns;" the grease and stain removers; the corn-salve and plate-ball vendors; the sellers of sovereigns and rings for wagers; a portion of the lot-sellers; and the men who vend poison for vermin and go about the streets with live rats clinging to, or running about, their persons.

This class of street-sellers also includes many of the very old and the very young; the diseased, crippled, maimed, and blind. These poor creatures sell, and sometimes obtain a charitable penny, by offering to sell such things as boxes of lucifer-matches; cakes of blacking; boot, stay, and other laces; pins, and sewing and knitting-needles; tapes; cotton-bobbins; garters; pincushions; combs; nutmeg-graters; metal skewers and meat-hooks; hooks and eyes; and shirt-buttons.

The rest of the class may be described as merely street-sellers; toiling, struggling, plodding, itinerant tradesmen.

Of the Street-sellers of Manufactured Articles in Metal.

These street-sellers are less numerous than might be imagined, when—according to my present division—the class is confined to the sellers of articles which they do not manufacture. The metal wares thus sold I have already enumerated, and I have now to describe the characteristics of the sellers.

The result of my inquiries leads me to the conclusion, that the street-vendors of any article which is the product of the skill of the handicraftsman, have been, almost always, in their first outset in a street life, connected in some capacity or other with the trade, the manufactures of which they vend.

One elderly man, long familiar with this branch of the street-trade, expressed to me his conviction that when a mechanic sought his livelihood in the streets, he naturally "gave his mind to sell what he understood. Now, in my own case," continued my informant, "I was born and bred a tinman, and when I was driven to a street-life, I never thought of selling anything but tins. How could I, if I wished to do the thing square and proper?—it would be like trying to speak another language. If I'd started on slippers—and I knew a poor man who was set up in the streets by a charitable lady on a stock of gentlemen's slippers—what could I have done? Why, no better than he told me he did. He was a potter down at Deptford, and knew of nothing but flower-pots, and honey-jars for grocers, and them red sorts of pottery. Poor fellow, he might have died of hunger, only the cholera came quickest. But when I'm questioned about my tins, I'm my own man; and it's a great thing, I'm satisfied, in a street-trade, when there's so many cheap shops, and the police and all again you, to understand the goods you're talking about."

This statement, I may repeat, is undoubtedly correct, so far as that a "beaten-out" mechanic, when driven to the streets, in the first instance offers to the public wares of which he understands the value and quality. Afterwards, in the experience or vagaries of a street-life, other commodities may be, or may appear to be, more remunerative, and for such the mechanic may relinquish his first articles of street-traffic. "Why, sir," I was told, "there was one man who left razors for cabbages; 'cause one day a costermonger wot lived in the same house with him and was taken ill, asked him to go out with a barrow of summer cabbages—the costermonger's boy went with him—and they went off so well that Joe [the former razor-seller] managed to start in the costering line, he was so encouraged."

The street-trade in metal manufactured articles is principally itinerant. Perhaps during the week upwards of three-fourths of those carrying it on are itinerant, while on a Saturday night, perhaps, all are stationary, and almost always in the street-markets. The itinerant

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trade is carried on, and chiefly in the suburbs, by men, women, and children; but the children are always, or almost always, the offspring of the adult street-sellers.

The metal sold in the street may be divided into street-hardware, street-tinware, and street-jewellery. I shall begin with the former.

The street-sellers of hardware are, I am assured, in number about 100, including single men and families; for women "take their share" in the business, and children sell smaller things, such as snuffers or bread-baskets. The people pursuing the trade are of the class I have above described, with the exception of some ten or twelve who formerly made a living as servants to the gaming-booths at Epsom, Ascot, &c., &c., and "managed to live out of the races, somehow, most of the year;" since the gaming-booths have been disallowed, they have "taken to the street hardware."

All these street-sellers obtain their supplies at "the swag-shops;" of which I shall speak hereafter. The main articles of their trade are tea-boards, waiters, snuffers, candlesticks, bread-baskets, cheese-trays, Britannia metal tea-pots and spoons, iron kettles, pans, and coffee-pots. The most saleable things, I am told by a man who has been fifteen years in this and similar street trades, are at present 18-in. tea-boards, bought at "the swags" at from 10*s.* 6*d.* a doz., to 4*s.* each; 24-in. boards, from 20*s.* the doz. to 5*s.* each; bread-baskets, 4*s.* 6*d.* the doz.; and Britannia metal tea-pots, 10*s.* the doz. These tea-pots have generally what is called "loaded bottoms;" the lower part of the vessel is "filled with composition, so as to look as if there was great weight of metal, and as if the pot would melt for almost the 18*d.* which is asked for it, and very often got."

I learned from the same man, however, and from others in the trade, that it is far more difficult now than it was a few years ago, to sell "rubbish." There used to be also, but not within these six or eight years, a tolerable profit realised by the street-sellers of hardware in the way of "swop." It was common to take an old metal article, as part payment for a new one; and if the old article were of good quality, it was polished and tinkered up for sale in the Saturday evening street-markets, and often "went off well." This traffic, however, has almost ceased to exist, as regards the street-sellers of hardware, and has been all but monopolised by the men who barter "crocks" for wearing-apparel, or any old metal. Some hardware-men who have become well known on their "rounds"—for the principal trade is in the suburbs —sell very good wares, and at moderate profits.

"It's a poor trade, sir, is the hardware," said one man carrying it on, "and street trades are mostly poor trades, for I've tried many a one of them. I was brought up a clown, I may say; my father died when I was a child, and I might have been a clown still but for an accident (a rupture). That's long ago,—I can't say how long; but I know that before I was fifteen, I many a time wished I was dead, and I have many a time since. Why the day before yesterday, from 9 in the morning to 11 at night, I didn't take a farthing. Some days I don't earn 1*s.*, and I have a mother depending upon me who can do little or nothing. I'm a teetotaller; if I wasn't we shouldn't have a meal a day. I never was fond of drink, and if I'm ever so weary and out of sorts, and worried for a meal's meat, I can't say I ever long for a drop to cheer me up. Sometimes I can't get coffee, let alone anything else. O, I suffer terribly. Day after day I get wet through, and have nothing to take home to my mother at last. Our principal food is bread and butter, and tea. Not fish half so often as many poor people. I suppose, because we don't care for it. I know that our living, the two of us, stands to less than 1*s.* a day,—not 6*d.* a piece. Then I have two rents to pay. No, sir, not for two places; but I pay 2*s.* a week for a room, a tidy bit of a chamber, furnished, and 1*s.* a week rent, —I call it rent, for a loan of 5*s.* I've paid 1*s.* a week for four weeks on it, and must keep paying until I can hand over the 5*s.*, with 1*s.* for rent added to it, all in one sum. If I could tip up the 5*s.* the day after I'd paid the last week's 1*s.*, I must pay another shilling. The man who lends does nothing else; he lives by lending, and by letting out a few barrows to costermongers, and other street-people. I wish I could take a farewell sight of them."

The principal traffic carried on by these street-sellers is in the suburbs. Women constitute their sole customers, or nearly so. Their profits fluctuate from 20 per cent. to 100 per cent. The bread-baskets, which they buy at 4*s.* 6*d.* the doz., they retail at 6*d.* each; for it is very difficult, I have frequently been told, to get a price between 6*d.* and 1*s.* This, however, relates only to those things which are not articles of actual necessity. Half of these street-sellers, I am assured, take on an average from 20*s.* to 25*s.* weekly the year through; a quarter take 15*s.*, and the remaining quarter from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* Calculating an average taking of 15*s.* each per week, throughout the entire class, men, women, and children, we find 780*l.* expended in street-sold hardwares. Ten years ago, I am told, the takings were not less than 2,000*l.*

The following is an extract from accounts kept, not long ago, by a street-seller of hardware. His principal sale was snuffers, knives and forks, iron candlesticks, padlocks, and bed-screws. His stock cost him 35*s.* on the Monday morning, and his first week was his *best*, which I here subjoin:

	Receipts.	Profits.
Monday	8*s.*	3*s.* 0*d.*
Tuesday	5	2 3
Wednesday	4	1 6
Thursday (always a slack day)	3	——
Friday (a better day about the docks, when people are paid)	7	3 0
Saturday Morning and Even.	23	6 1
	50	15 10

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The following is the *worst* week in the account-books. The street-seller after this (about half a year ago) sold his stock to a small shopkeeper, and went into another business.

	Receipts. s.	d.	Profits. s.	d.
Monday (very cold) a common bed-screw	0	4	0	1½
Tuesday	——		——	
Wednesday	1	0	0	5
Thursday (sold cheap)	1	1	0	3
Friday	——		——	
Saturday	1	7	0	8
	4	0	1	5½

Of the Cheap Johns, or Street Han-sellers.

This class of street-salesmen, who are perhaps the largest dealers of all in hardware, are not so numerous as they were some few years ago—the Excise Laws, as I have before remarked, having interfered with their business. The principal portion of those I have met are Irishmen, who, notwithstanding, generally "hail" from Sheffield, and all their sales are effected in an attempt at the Yorkshire dialect, interspersed, however, with an unmistakeable brogue. The brogue is the more apparent when cheap John gets a little out of temper—if his sales are flat, for instance, he'll say, "By J—s, I don't belaive you've any money with you, or that you've lift any at home, at all, at all. Bad cess to you!"

There are, however, many English cheap Johns, but few of them are natives of Sheffield or Birmingham, from which towns they invariably "hail." Their system of selling is to attract a crowd of persons by an harangue after the following fashion: "Here I am, the original cheap John from Sheffield. I've not come here to get money; not I; I've come here merely for the good of the public, and to let you see how you've been imposed upon by a parcel of pompous shopkeepers, who are not content with less than 100 per cent. for rubbish. They got up a petition—which I haven't time to read to you just now—offering me a large sum of money to keep away from here. But no, I had too much friendship for you to consent, and here I am, cheap John, born without a shirt, one day while my mother was out, in a haystack; consequently I've no parish, for the cows eat up mine, and therefore I've never no fear of going to the workhouse. I've more money than the parson of the parish—I've in this cart a cargo of useful and cheap goods; can supply you with anything, from a needle to an anchor. Nobody *can* sell as cheap as me, seeing that I gets all my goods upon credit, and never means to pay for them. Now then, what shall we begin with? Here's a beautiful guard-chain; if it isn't silver, it's the same colour—I don't say it isn't silver, nor I don't say it is—in that affair use your own judgment. Now, in the reg'lar way of trade, you shall go into any shop in town, and they will ask you 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* for an article not half so good, so what will you say for this splendid chain? Eighteen and sixpence without the pound? What, that's too much! Well, then say 17, 16, 15, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10 shillings; what, none of you give ten shillings for this beautiful article? See how it improves a man's appearance" (hanging the chain round his neck). "Any young man here present wearing this chain will always be shown into the parlour instead of the tap-room; into the best pew in church, when he and—but the advantages the purchaser of this chain will possess I haven't time to tell. What! no buyers? Why, what's the matter with ye? Have you no money, or no brains? But I'll ruin myself for your sakes. Say 9*s.* for this splendid piece of jewellery—8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1—a shilling, will anybody give a shilling? Well, here 11*d.*, 10*d.*, 9*d.*, 8*d.*, 7*d.*, 6½*d.*, 6*d.*! Is there ever a buyer at sixpence? Now I'll ask no more and I'll take no less; sell it or never sell it." The concluding words are spoken with peculiar emphasis, and after saying them the cheap John never takes any lower sum. A customer perhaps is soon obtained for the guard-chain, and then the vendor elevates his voice: "Sold to a very respectable gentleman, with his mouth between his nose and chin, a most remarkable circumstance. I believe I've just one more—this is better than the last; I must have a shilling for this. Sixpence? To you, sir. Sold again, to a gentleman worth 30,000*l.* a year; only the right owner keeps him out of it. I believe I've just one more; yes, here it is; it's brighterer, longerer, strongerer, and betterer than the last. I must have at least tenpence for this. Well then, 9, 8, 7, 6; take this one for a sixpence. Sold again, to a gentleman, his father's pet and his mother's joy. Pray, sir, does your mother know you're out? Well, I don't think I've any more, but I'll look; yes, here is *one* more. Now this is better than all the rest. Sold again, to a most respectable gentleman, whose mother keeps a chandler's shop, and whose father turns the mangle." In this manner the cheap John continues to sell his guard-chain, until he has drained his last customer for that particular commodity. He has always his remark to make relative to the purchaser. The cheap John always takes care to receive payment before he hazards his jokes, which I need scarcely remark are ready made, and most of them ancient and worn threadbare, the joint property of the whole fraternity of cheap Johns. After supplying his audience with one particular article, he introduces another: "Here is a carving-knife and fork, none of your wasters, capital buck-horn handle, manufactured of the best steel, in a regular workmanlike manner; fit for carving in the best style, from a sparrow to a bullock. I don't ask 7*s.* 6*d.* for this—although go over to Mr. ——, the ironmonger, and he will have the impudence to ask you 15*s.* for a worse article." (The cheap Johns always make comparisons as to their own prices and the shopkeepers, and sometimes mention their names.) "I say 5*s.*

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THE STREET-SELLER OF NUTMEG-GRATERS.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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for the carving-knife and fork. Why, it's an article that'll almost fill your children's bellies by looking at it, and will always make 1 lb. of beef go as far as 6 lb. carved by any other knife and fork. Well, 4*s*., 3*s*., 2*s*., 1*s*. 11*d*., 1*s*. 10*d*., 1*s*. 9*d*., 1*s*. 8*d*., 1*s*. 7*d*., 18*d*. I ask no more, nor I'll take no less." The salesman throughout his variety of articles indulges in the same jokes, and holds out the same inducements. I give a few.

"*This* is the original teapot" (producing one), "formerly invented by the Chinese; the first that ever was imported by those celebrated people—only two of them came over in three ships. If I do not sell this to-day, I intend presenting it to the British Museum or the Great Exhibition. It is mostly used for making tea,—sometimes by ladies, for keeping a little drop on the sly; it is an article constructed upon scientific principles, considered to require a lesser quantity of tea to manufacture the largest quantity of tea-water, than any other teapot now in use—largely patronised by the tea-totallers. Now, here's a fine pair of bellows! Any of you want to raise the wind? This is a capital opportunity, if you'll try. I'll tell you *how*; buy these of me for 3*s*. 6*d*., and go and pawn them for 7*s*. Will you buy 'em, sir? No! well, then, you be blowed! Let's see—I said 3*s*. 6*d*.; it's too little, but as I have said it, they must go; well—3*s*.," &c. &c. "Capital article to chastise the children or a drunken husband. Well, take 'em for 1*s*.—I ask no more, and I'll take no less."

These men have several articles which they sell singly, such as tea-trays, copper kettles, fire-irons, guns, whips, to all of which they have some preamble; but their most attractive lot is a heap of miscellaneous articles:—"I have here a pair of scissors; I only want half-a-crown for them. What! you won't give 1*s*.? well, I'll add something else. Here's a most useful article—a knife with eight blades, and there's not a blade among you all that's more highly polished. This knife's a case of instruments in addition to the blades; here's a cork-screw, a button-hook, a file, and a picker. For this capital knife and first-rate pair of scissors I ask 1*s*. Well, well, you've no more conscience than a lawyer; here's something else—a pocket-book. This book no gentleman should be without; it contains a diary for every day in the week, an almanack, a ready-reckoner, a tablet for your own memorandums, pockets to keep your papers, and a splendid pencil with a silver top. No buyers! I'm astonished; but I'll add another article. Here's a pocket-comb. No young man with any sense of decency should be without a pocket-comb. What looks worse than to see a man's head in an uproar? Some of you look as if your hair hadn't seen a comb for years. Surely I shall get a customer now. What! no buyers—well I never! Here, I'll add half-a-dozen of the very best Britannia metal tea-spoons, and if you don't buy, you must be spoons yourselves. Why, you perfectly astonish me! I really believe if I was to offer all in the shop, myself included, I should not draw 1*s*. out of you. Well, I'll try again. Here, I'll add a dozen of black-lead pencils. Now, then, look at these articles"—(he spreads them out, holding them between his fingers to the best advantage)—"here's a pair of first-rate scissors, that will almost cut of themselves,—this valuable knife, which comprises within itself almost a chest of tools,—a splendid pocket-book, which must add to the respectability and consequence of any man who wears it,—a pocket-comb which possesses the peculiar property of making the hair curl, and dyeing it any colour you wish,—a half-dozen spoons, nothing inferior to silver, and that do not require half the usual quantity of sugar to sweeten your tea,—and a dozen beautiful pencils, at least worth the money I ask for the whole lot. Now, a reasonable price for these articles would be at least 10*s*. 6*d*.; I'll sell them for 1*s*. I ask no more, I'll take no less. Sold again!"

The opposition these men display to each other, while pursuing their business, is mostly assumed, for the purpose of attracting a crowd. Sometimes, when in earnest, their language is disgusting; and I have seen them, (says an informant), after selling, try and settle their differences with a game at fisticuffs: but this occurred but seldom. One of these men had a wife who used to sell for him,—she was considered to be the best "chaffer" on the road; not one of them could stand against her tongue: but her language abounded with obscenity. All the "cheap Johns" were afraid of her.

They never under-sell each other (unless they get in a real passion); this but seldom happens, but when it does they are exceedingly bitter against each other. I cannot state the language they use, further than that it reaches the very summit of blackguardism. They have, however, assumed quarrels, for the purpose of holding a crowd together, and chaff goes round, intended to amuse their expected customers.

"He's coming your way to-morrow," they'll say one of the other, "mind and don't hang your husbands' shirts to dry, ladies, he's very lucky at finding things before they're lost; he sells very cheap, no doubt—but mind, if you handle any of his wares, he don't make you a present of a Scotch fiddle for nothing. His hair looks as if it had been cut with a knife and fork."

The Irishmen, in these displays, generally have the best of it; indeed, most of their jokes have originated with the Irishmen, who complain of the piracies of other "cheap Johns," for as soon as the joke is uttered it is the property of the commonwealth, and not unfrequently used against the inventor half an hour after its first appearance.

A few of them are not over particular as to the respectability of their transactions. I recollect one purchasing a brick at Sheffield; the brick was packed up in paper, with a knife tied on the outside, it appeared like a package of

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knives, containing several dozens. The "cheap John" made out that he bought them as stolen property; the biter was deservedly bitten. A few of the fraternity are well-known "Fences," and some of them pursue the double calling of "cheap John" and gambler—keeping gambling tables at races. However the majority are hard-working men, who unite untiring industry with the most indomitable perseverance, for the laudable purpose of bettering their condition.

I believe the most successful in the line have worked their way up from nothing, gaining experience as they proceeded. I have known two or three start the trade with plenty of stock, but, wanting the tact, they have soon been knocked off the road. There is a great deal of judgment required in knowing the best fairs, and even when there, as to getting a good stand; and these matters are to be acquired only by practice.

In the provinces, and in Scotland, there may be 100 "cheap Johns," or, as they term themselves, "Han-sellers." They are generally a most persevering body of men, and have frequently risen from small hawkers of belts, braces, &c. Their receipts are from *5l.* to *30l.* per day, their profits from 20 to 25 per cent.; *20l.* is considered a good day's work; and they can take about three fairs a week during the summer months. "I have known many of these men," a man well acquainted with them informs me, "who would walk 20 miles to a fair during the night, hawk the public-houses the whole of the day, and start again all night for a fair to be held 20 miles off upon the following day. I knew two Irish lads, named ——, and I watched their progress with some interest. Each had a stock of goods worth a few shillings; and now each has a wholesale warehouse,—one at Sheffield, in the cutlery line, and the other at Birmingham, in general wares."

The goods the han-seller disposes of are mostly purchased at Sheffield and Birmingham. They purchase the cheapest goods they can obtain. Many of the han-sellers have settled in various parts of England as "swag-shop keepers." There are two or three in London, I am told, who have done so; one in the Kent-road, a large concern, —the others I am not aware of their locality. Their mode of living while travelling is rather peculiar. Those who have their caravans, sleep in them, some with their wives and families; they have a man, or more generally a boy, to look after the horse, and other drudgery, and sometimes at a fair, to hawk, or act as a *button* (a *decoy*), to purchase the first lot of goods put up. This boy is accommodated with a bed made between the wheels of the cart or wagon, with some old canvas hung round to keep the weather out—not the most comfortable quarters, perhaps, —but, as they say, "it's nothing when you're used to it." The packing-up occurs when there's no more chance of effecting sales; the horse is put to, and the caravan proceeds on the road towards the next town intended to visit. After a sufficient days' travel, the "cheap John" looks out for a spot to encamp for the night. A clear stream of water, and provender for the horse, are indispensable; or perhaps the han-seller has visited that part before, and is aware of the halting-place. After having released the horse, and secured his fore-feet, so that he cannot stray, the next process is to look for some *crack* (some dry wood to light a fire); this is the boy's work. He is told not to despoil hedges, or damage fences: "cheap John" doesn't wish to offend the farmers; and during his temporary sojourn in the green lanes, he frequently has some friendly chat with the yeomen and their servants, sometimes disposes of goods, and often barters for a piece of fat bacon or potatoes. A fire is lighted between the shafts of the cart, —a stick placed across, upon which is suspended the cookery utensil. When the meal is concluded, the parties retire to bed,—the master within the caravan, and the boy to his chamber between the wheels. Sometimes they breakfast before they proceed on their journey; at other times they travel a few miles first.

Those who have children bring them up in such a manner as may be imagined considering their itinerant life: but there are very few who have families travelling with them; though in most cases a wife; generally the children of the "cheap John" are stationary, either out at nurse or with relatives.

Some of the "cheap Johns" have wagons upon four wheels, others have carts; but both are fitted up with a wooden roof. The proprietor invariably sleeps within his portable house, both for the protection of his property and also upon the score of economy. The vans with four wheels answer all the purposes of a habitation. The furniture consists of a bed placed upon boxes, containing the stock in trade. The bed extends the whole width of the vehicle, about 6 ft. 6 in., and many generally extend about 5 ft. into the body of the van, and occupies the farthest end of the machine from the door,— which door opens out upon the horse. The four-wheeled vans are 12 ft. long, and the two-wheeled carts 9 ft. During business hours the whole of the articles most likely to be wanted are spread out upon the bed, and the assistant (either the wife or a boy) hands them out as the salesman may require them. The furniture, in addition to the bed, is very scarce; indeed they are very much averse to carry more than is really necessary. The pail, the horse takes his corn and beans from (I don't know why, but they never use nose-bags,) serves the purpose of a wash-hand basin or a washing-tub. It is generally painted the same colour as the van, with the initials of the proprietor painted upon it, and, when travelling, hangs upon a hook under the machine. They mostly begin with a two-wheeled machine, and if successful a four-wheeler follows. The tables and chairs are the boxes in which the goods are packed. A tea-kettle and saucepan, and as few delf articles as possible, and corner-cupboard, and these comprise the whole of the furniture of the van.

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In the four-wheeled wagons there is always a fire-place similar to those the captains of ships have in their cabins, but in the two-wheeled carts fire-places are dispensed with. These are mostly brass ones, and are kept very bright; for the "cheap Johns" are proud of their van and its contents. They are always gaudily painted, sometimes expensively; indeed they are most expensive articles, and cost from 80*l.* to 120*l.* The principal person for making these machines is a Mr. Davidson of Leeds. The showman's caravans are still more expensive; the last purchased by the late Mr. Wombwell cost more than 300*l.*, and is really a curiosity. He termed it, as all showmen do—the living wagon; viz. to live in—it has parlour and kitchen, and is fitted up most handsomely; its exterior presents the appearance of a first-class railway-carriage. The front exterior of the van during the trading operations of the "cheap Johns," is hung round with guns, saws, tea-trays, bridles, whips, centre-bits, and other articles, displayed to the best advantage. The name of the proprietor is always prominently displayed along the whole side of the vehicle, added to which is a signification that he is a wholesale hardwareman, from Sheffield, Yorkshire, or Birmingham, Warwickshire, and sometimes an extra announcement.

"*The original cheap John.*"

I do not know any class of men who are more fond of the good things of this life than "cheap John;" his dinner, during a fair, is generally eaten upon the platform outside his van, where he disposes of his wares, and invariably consists of a joint of baked meat and potatoes—that is where they can get a dinner baked. As little time as possible is occupied in eating, especially if trade is good. At a hill fair (that is where the fair is held upon a hill away from a town), a fire is made behind the cart, the pot is suspended upon three sticks, and dinner prepared in the usual camp fashion. The wife or boy superintends this. Tea and coffee also generally find their way to their table; and if there's no cold meat a plentiful supply of bacon, beef-steaks, eggs, or something in the shape of a relish, seem to be with "cheap John" indispensable. His man or boy (if John is unmarried) appears to be upon an equality with the master in the eating department; he is not allowanced, neither has he to wait until his superior has finished. Get it over as quick as you can seems to be the chief object. Perhaps from the circumstance of their selling guns, and consequently always having such implements in their possession, these men, when they have time on their hands, are fond of the sports of the field, and many a hare finds its way into the camp-kettle of "cheap John." I need not say that they practise this sport with but little respectful feeling towards the Game-laws; but they are careful when indulging in such amusement, and I never heard of one getting into a hobble.

During the winter (since the "cheap John" has been obliged to become a licensed auctioneer), some of them take shops and sell their goods by auction, or get up mock-auctions. I have been told by them that sometimes its a better game than "han-selling."

The commencement of the "cheap John's" season is at Lynn in Norfolk; there is a mart there commencing 14th February, it continues fourteen days. After this, there is Wisbeach, Spalding, Grantham, and other marts in Norfolk and Lincolnshire; which bring them up to Easter. At Easter there are many fairs—Manchester, Knott Mill, Blackburn, Darlington, Newcastle, &c., &c. The "cheap Johns" then disperse themselves through different parts of the country. Hill-fairs are considered the best; that is cattle-fairs, where there are plenty of farmers and country people. Hirings for servants are next to them. It may appear curious, but Sheffield and Birmingham fairs are two of the best for the "cheap John's" business in England. There are two fairs at each place during the year. Sheffield, at Whitsuntide and November; Birmingham, Whitsuntide and September. Nottingham, Derby, Leeds, Newcastle, Bristol, Glasgow—in fact, where the greatest population is, the chances for business are considered the best, and if I may judge from the number of traders in this line, who attend the largest towns, I should say they succeed better than in smaller towns.

If we calculate that there are 100 "cheap Johns" in London and in the country, and they are more or less itinerant, and that they each take 4*l.* per day for nine months in the year, or 24*l.* per week; this amounts to 2,400*l.* per week, or about 90,000*l.* in nine months. Supposing their profits to be 20 per cent., it would leave 18,000*l.* clear income. Say that during the winter there are seventy-five following the business, and that their receipts amount to 15*l.* each per week, this amounts to 3,500*l.* additional; and, at the rate of 20 per cent. profit, comes to 700*l.*,—making throughout the year the profits of the 100 "cheap Johns" 25,000*l.*, or 250*l.* a man.

The "cheap Johns" seldom frequent the crowded thoroughfares of London. Their usual pitches in the metropolis are, King's-cross, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, round about the London Docks, Paddington, Kennington, and such like places.

The Crippled Street-seller of Nutmeg-graters.

I now give an example of one of the classes *driven* to the streets by utter inability to labour. I have already spoken of the sterling independence of some of these men possessing the strongest claims to our sympathy and charity, and yet preferring to *sell* rather than *beg*. As I said before, many ingrained beggars certainly use the street *trade* as a cloak for alms-seeking, but as certainly many more, with every title to our assistance, use it as a means of redemption from

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beggary. That the nutmeg-grater seller is a noble example of the latter class, I have not the least doubt. I have made all due inquiries to satisfy myself as to his worthiness, and I feel convinced that when the reader looks at the portrait here given, and observes how utterly helpless the poor fellow is, and then reads the following plain unvarnished tale, he will marvel like me, not only at the fortitude which could sustain him under all his heavy afflictions, but at the resignation (not to say philosophy) with which he bears them every one. His struggles to earn his own living (notwithstanding his physical incapacity even to put the victuals to his mouth after he has earned them), are instances of a nobility of pride that are I believe without a parallel. The poor creature's legs and arms are completely withered; indeed he is scarcely more than head and trunk. His thigh is hardly thicker than a child's wrist. His hands are bent inward from contraction of the sinews, the fingers being curled up and almost as thin as the claws of a bird's foot He is unable even to stand, and cannot move from place to place but on his knees, which are shod with leather caps, like the heels of a clog, strapped round the joint; the soles of his boots are on the *upper* leathers, that being the part always turned towards the ground while he is crawling along. His countenance is rather handsome than otherwise; the intelligence indicated by his ample forehead is fully borne out by the testimony as to his sagacity in his business, and the mild expression of his eye by the statements as to his feeling for all others in affliction.

"I sell nutmeg-graters and funnels," said the cripple to me; "I sell them at 1*d*. and 1½*d*. a piece. I get mine of the man in whose house I live. He is a tinman, and makes for the street-trade and shops and all. I pay 7*d*. a dozen for them, and I get 12*d*. or 18*d*. a dozen, if I can when I sell them, but I mostly get only a penny a piece—it's quite a chance if I have a customer at 1½*d*. Some days I sell only three—some days not one—though I'm out from ten o'clock till six. The most I ever took was 3*s*. 6*d*. in a day. Some weeks I hardly clear my expenses—and they're between 7*s*. and 8*s*. a week; for not being able to dress and ondress myself, I'm obligated to pay some one to do it for me—I think I don't clear more than 7*s*. a week take one week with another. When I don't make that much, I go without—sometimes friends who are kind to me give me a trifle, or else I should starve. As near as I can judge, I *take* about 15*s*. a week, and out of that I clear about 6*s*. or 7*s*. I pay for my meals as I have them—3*d*. or 4*d*. a meal. I pay every night for my lodging as I go in, if I can; but if not my landlady lets it run a night or two. I give her 1*s*. a week for my washing and looking after me, and 1*s*. 6*d*. for my lodging. When I do very well I have three meals a day, but it's oftener only two—breakfast and supper—unless of Sunday. On a wet day when I can't get out, I often go without food. I may have a bit of bread and butter give me, but that's all—then I lie a-bed. I feel miserable enough when I see the rain come down of a week day, I can tell you. Ah, it *is* very miserable indeed lying in bed all day, and in a lonely room, without perhaps a person to come near one—helpless as I am—and hear the rain beat against the windows, and all that without nothing to put in your lips. I've done *that* over and over again where I lived before; but where I am now I'm more comfortable like. My breakfast is mostly bread and butter and tea; and my supper, bread and butter and tea with a bit of fish, or a small bit of meat. What my landlord and landlady has I share with them. I never break my fast from the time I go out in the morning till I come home—unless it is a halfpenny orange I buy in the street; I do that when I feel faint. I have only been selling in the streets since this last winter. I was in the workhouse with a fever all the summer. I was destitute afterwards, and obliged to begin selling in the streets. The Guardians gave me 5*s*. to get stock. I had always dealt in tin ware, so I knew where to go to buy my things. It's very hard work indeed is street-selling for such as me. I can't walk no distance. I suffer a great deal of pains in my back and knees. Sometimes I go in a barrow, when I'm travelling any great way. When I go only a short way I crawl along on my knees and toes. The most I've ever crawled is two miles. When I get home afterwards, I'm in great pain. My knees swell dreadfully, and they're all covered with blisters, and my toes ache awful. I've corns all on top of them.

"Often after I've been walking, my limbs and back ache so badly that I can get no sleep. Across my lines it feels as if I'd got some great weight, and my knees are in a heat, and throb, and feel as if a knife was running into them. When I go up-stairs I have to crawl upon the back of my hands and my knees. I can't lift nothing to my mouth. The sinews of my hands is all contracted. I am obliged to have things held to my lipe for me to drink, like a child. I *can* use a knife and fork by leaning my arm on the table and then stooping my head to it. I can't wash nor ondress myself. Sometimes I think of my helplessness a great deal. The thoughts of it used to throw me into fits at one time—very bad. It's the Almighty's will that I am so, and I must abide by it. People says, as they passes me in the streets, 'Poor fellow, it's a shocking thing;' but very seldom they does any more than pity me; some lays out a halfpenny or a penny with me, but the most of 'em goes on about their business. Persons looks at me a good bit when I go into a strange place. I *do* feel it very much, that I haven't the power to get my living or to do a thing for myself, but I never begged for nothing. I'd sooner starve than I'd do that. I never thought that people whom God had given the power to help theirselves ought to help me. I *have* thought that I'm as I am—obliged to go on my hands and knees, from no fault of my own. Often I've done that, and I've over and over again laid in

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bed and wondered why the Almighty should send me into the world in such a state; often I've done that on a wet day, with nothing to eat, and no friend to come a-nigh me. When I've gone along the streets, too, and been in pain, I've thought, as I've seen the people pass straight up, with all the use of their limbs, and some of them the biggest blackguards, cussing and swearing, I've thought, Why should I be deprived of the use of mine? and I've felt angry like, and perhaps at that moment I couldn't bring my mind to believe the Almighty was so good and merciful as I'd heard say; but then in a minute or two afterwards I've prayed to Him to make me better and happier in the next world. I've always been led to think He's afflicted me as He has for some wise purpose or another that I can't see. I think as mine is so hard a life in this world, I shall be better off in the next. Often when I couldn't afford to pay a boy, I've not had my boots off for four or five nights and days, nor my clothes neither. Give me the world I couldn't take them off myself, and then my feet has swollen to that degree that I've been nearly mad with pain, and I've been shivering and faint, but still I was obliged to go out with my things; if I hadn't I should have starved. Such as I am can't afford to be ill—it's only rich folks as can lay up, not we; for us to take to our beds is to go without food altogether. When I was without never a boy, I used to tie the wet towel round the back of one of the chairs, and wash myself by rubbing my face up against it. I've been two days without a bit of anything passing between my lips. I couldn't go and beg for victuals—I'd rather go without. Then I used to feel faint, and my head used to ache dreadful. I used then to drink a plenty of water. The women sex is mostly more kinder to me than the men. Some of the men fancies, as I goes along, that I can walk. They often says to me, 'Why, the sole of your boot is as muddy as mine;' and one on 'em is, because I always rests myself on that foot—the other sole, you see, is as clean as when it was first made. The women never seem frightened on me. My trade is to sell brooms and brushes, and all kinds of cutlery and tin-ware. I learnt it myself. I never was brought up to nothing, because I couldn't use my hands. Mother was a cook in a nobleman's family when I were born. They say as I was a love-child. I was not brought up by mother, but by one of her fellow-servants. Mother's intellects was so weak, that she couldn't have me with her. She used to fret a great deal about me, so her fellow-servant took me when she got married. After I were born, mother married a farmer in middling circumstances. They tell me as my mother was frightened afore I was born. I never knew my father. He went over to Buonos Ayres, and kept an hotel there—I've heard mother say as much. No mother couldn't love a child more than mine did me, but her feelings was such she couldn't bear to see me. I never went to mother's to live, but was brought up by the fellow-servant as I've told you of. Mother allowed her 30*l.* a-year. I was with her till two years back. She was always very kind to me—treated me like one of her own. Mother used to come and see me about once a-year—sometimes not so often: she was very kind to me then. Oh, yes; I used to like to see her very much. Whatever I wished for she'd let me have; if I wrote to her, she always sent me what I wanted. I was very comfortably then. Mother died four years ago; and when I lost her I fell into a fit—I was told of it all of a sudden. She and the party as I was brought up with was the only friends as I had in the world—the only persons as cared anything about a creature like me. I was in a fit for hours, and when I came to, I thought what would become of me: I knew I could do nothing for myself, and the only friend as I had as could keep me was gone. The person as brought me up was very good, and said, while she'd got a home I should never want; but, two years after mother's death, she was seized with the cholera, and then I hadn't a friend left in the world. When she died I felt ready to kill myself; I was all alone then, and what could I do—cripple as I was? She thought her sons and daughters as I'd been brought up with—like brothers and sisters—would look after me; but it was not in their power—they was only hard-working people. My mother used to allow so much a year for my schooling, and I can read and write pretty well." (He wrote his name in my presence kneeling at the table; holding the pen almost as one might fancy a bird would, and placing the paper sideways instead of straight before him.) "While mother was alive, I was always foraging about to learn something unbeknown to her. I wanted to do so, in case mother should leave me without the means of getting a living. I used to buy old bedsteads, and take them to a man, and get him to repair them, and then I'd put the sacking on myself; I can hold a hammer somehow in my right hand. I used to polish them on my knees. I made a bench to my height out of two old chairs. I used to know what I should get for the bedsteads, and so could tell what I could afford to give the man to do up the parts as I couldn't manage. It was so I got to learn something like a business for myself. When the person died as had brought me up, I *could* do a little; I had then got the means. Before her death I had opened a kind of shop for things in the general line; I sold tin-ware, and brass-work, and candlesticks, and fire-irons, and all old furniture, and gown-prints as well. I went into the tally business, and that ruined me altogether. I couldn't get my money in; there's a good deal owing to me now. Me and a boy used to manage the whole. I used to make all my account-books and everything. My lodgers didn't pay me my rent, so I had to move from the house, and live on what stock I had. In my new lodging

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I went on as well as I could for a little while; but about eighteen months ago I could hold on no longer. Then I borrowed a little, and went hawking tin-ware and brushes in the country. I sold baking-dishes, Dutch ovens, roasting-jacks, skewers and gridirons, teapots, and saucepans, and combs. I used to exchange sometimes for old clothes. I had a barrow and a boy with me; I used to keep him, and give him 1*s.* a week. I managed to get just a living that way. When the winter came on I gave it up; it was too cold. After that I was took bad with a fever; my stock had been all gone a little while before, and the boy had left because I couldn't keep him, and I had to do all for myself. All my friends was dead, and I had no one to help me, so I was obligated to lay about all night in my things, for I couldn't get them off alone; and that and want of food brought on a fever. Then I was took into the workhouse, and there I stopped all the summer, as I told you. I can't say they treated me bad, but they certainly didn't use me well. If I could have worked after I got better, I could have had tea; but 'cause I couldn't do nothing, they gave me that beastly gruel morning and night. I had meat three times a week. They would have kept me there till now, but I would die in the streets rather than be a pauper. So I told them, if they would give me the means of getting a stock, I would try and get a living for myself. After refusing many times to let me have 10*s.*, they agreed to give me 5*s.* Then I came out, but I had no home, and so I crawled about till I met with the people where I am now, and they let me sit up there till I got a room of my own. Then some of my friends collected for me about 15*s.* altogether, and I did pretty well for a little while. I went to live close by the Blackfriars-road, but the people where I lodged treated me very bad. There was a number of girls of the town in the same street, but they was too fond of their selves and their drink to give nothing. They used to buy things of me and never pay me. They never made game of me, nor played me any tricks, and if they saw the boys doing it they would protect me. They never offered to give me no victuals; indeed, I shouldn't have liked to have eaten the food they got. After that I couldn't pay my lodgings, and the parties where I lodged turned me out, and I had to crawl about the streets for four days and nights. This was only a month back. I was fit to die with pain all that time. If I could get a penny I used to go into a coffee-shop for half-a-pint of coffee, and sit there till they drove me out, and then I'd crawl about till it was time for me to go out selling. Oh! dreadful, dreadful, it was to be all them hours—day and night—on my knees. I couldn't get along at all, I was forced to sit down every minute, and then I used to fall asleep with my things in my hand, and be woke up by the police to be pushed about and druv on by them. It seemed like as if I was walking on the bare bones of my knees. The pain in them was like the cramp, only much worse. At last I could bear it no longer, so I went afore Mr. Secker, the magistrate, at Union Hall, and told him I was destitute, and that the parties where I had been living kept my bed and the few things I had, for 2*s.* 6*d.* rent, that I owed them. He said he couldn't believe that anybody would force me to crawl about the streets, for four days and nights, cripple as I was, for such a sum. One of the officers told him I was a honest and striving man, and the magistrate sent the officer, with the money, to get my things, but the landlady wouldn't give them till the officer compelled her, and then she chucked my bed out into the middle of the street. A neighbour took it in for me and took care of it till I found out the tinman who had before let me sit up in his house. I should have gone to him at first, but he lived farther than I could walk. I am stopping with him now, and he is very kind to me. I have still some relations living, and they are well to do, but, being a cripple, they despise me. My aunt, my mother's sister, is married to a builder, in Petersham, near Richmond, and they are rich people—having some houses of their own besides a good business. I have got a boy to wheel me down on a barrow to them, and asked assistance of them, but they will have nothing to do with me. They won't look at me for my affliction. Six months ago they gave me half-a-crown. I had no lodgings nor victuals then; and *that* I shouldn't have had from them had I not said I was starving and must go to the parish. This winter I went to them, and they shut the door in my face. After leaving my aunt's, I went down to Ham Common, where my father-in-law lives, and there his daughter's husband sent for a policeman to drive me away from the place. I told the husband I had no money nor food; but he advised me to go begging, and said I shouldn't have a penny of them. My father-in-law was ill up-stairs at the time, but I don't think he would have treated me a bit better—and all this they do because the Almighty has made me a cripple. I can, indeed, solemnly say, that there is nothing else against me, and that I strive hard and crawl about till my limbs ache enough to drive me mad, to get an honest livelihood. With a couple of pounds I could, I think, manage to shift very well for myself. I'd get a stock, and go into the country with a barrow, and buy old metal, and exchange tin ware for old clothes, and, with that, I'm almost sure I could get a decent living. I'm accounted a very good dealer."

In answer to my inquiries concerning the character of this man, I received the following written communication:

"I have known C—— A—— twelve years; the last six years he has dealt with me for tinware. I have found him honest in all his dealings with me, sober and industrious.

"C—— H——, Tinman."

From the writer of the above testimonial I

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received the following account of the poor cripple:—

"He is a man of generous a disposition, and very sensitive for the afflictions of others. One day while passing down the Borough he saw a man afflicted with St. Vitus's dance shaking from head to foot, and leaning on the arm of a woman who appeared to be his wife." The cripple told my informant that he should never forget what he felt when he beheld that poor man. "I thought," he said, "what a blessing it is I am not like him." Nor is the cripple, I am told, less independent than he is generous. In all his sufferings and privations he never pleads poverty to others; but bears up under the trials of life with the greatest patience and fortitude. When in better circumstances he was more independent than at present, having since, through illness and poverty, been much humbled.

"His privations have been great," adds my informant. "Only two months back, being in a state of utter destitution and quite worn out with fatigue, he called at the house of a person (where my informant occupied a room) about ten o'clock at night, and begged them to let him rest himself for a short while, but the inhuman landlady and her son laid hold of the wretched man, the one taking him by the arms and the other by the legs, and literally hurled him into the street. The next morning," my informant continued, "I saw the poor creature leaning against a lamp-post, shivering with the cold, and my heart bled for him; and since that he has been living with me."

Of the Swag-shops of the Metropolis.

By those who are not connected with the street trade, the proprietors of the swag-shops are often called "warehousemen" or "general dealers," and even "slaughterers." These descriptions apply but partially. "Warehousemen" or "general dealers" are vague terms, which I need not further notice. The wretchedly under-paid and over-worked shoe-makers, cabinet-makers and others call these places "slaughter-houses," when the establishment is in the hands of tradesmen who buy their goods of poor workmen without having given orders for them. On Saturday afternoons pale-looking men may be seen carrying a few chairs, or bending under the weight of a cheffonier or a chest of drawers, in Tottenham-court Road, and thoroughfares of a similar character in all parts. These are "small masters," who make or (as one man said to me, "No, sir, I don't make these drawers, I put them together, it can't be called making; it's not workmanship") who "put together" in the hastiest manner, and in any way not positively offensive to the eye, articles of household furniture. The "slaughterers" who supply all the goods required for the furniture of a house, buy at "starvation prices" (the common term), the artificer being often kept waiting for hours, and treated with every indignity. One East-end "slaughterer" (as I ascertained in a former inquiry) used habitually to tell that he prayed for wet Saturday afternoons, because it put 20*l.* extra into his pocket! This was owing to the damage sustained in the appearance of any painted, varnished, or polished article, by exposure to the weather; or if it had been protected from the weather, by the unwillingness of the small master to carry it to another slaughter-house in the rain. Under such circumstances—and under most of the circumstances of this unhappy trade—the poor workman is at the mercy of the slaughterer.

I describe this matter more fully than I might have deemed necessary, had I not found that both the "small masters" spoken of—for I called upon some of them again—and the street-sellers, very frequently confounded the "swag-shop" and the "slaughter-house." The distinction I hold to be this:—The slaughterer buys as a rule, with hardly an exception, the furniture, or whatever it may be, made for the express purpose of being offered to him on speculation of sale. The swag shop-keeper *orders* his goods as a rule, and buys, as an exception, in the manner in which the slaughterer buys ordinarily. The slaughterer sells by retail; the swag-shop keeper only by wholesale.

Most of the articles, of the class of which I now treat, are "Brummagem made." An experienced tradesman said to me: "All these low-priced metal things, fancy goods and all, which you see about, are made in Birmingham; in nineteen cases out of twenty at the least. They may be marked London, or Sheffield, or Paris, or any place — you can have them marked North Pole if you will—but they're genuine Birmingham. The carriage is lower from Birmingham than from Sheffield—that's one thing."

The majority of the swag-shop proprietors are Jews. The wares which they supply to the cheap shops, the cheap John's, and the street-sellers, in town and country, consist of every variety of article, apart from what is eatable, drinkable, or wearable, in which the trade class I have specified can deal. As regards what is wearable, indeed, such things as braces, garters, &c., form a portion of the stock of the swag-shop.

In one street (a thoroughfare at the east-end of London) are twenty-three of these establishments. In the windows there is little attempt at display; the design aimed at seems to be rather to *crowd* the window—as if to show the amplitude of the stores within, "the wonderful resources of this most extensive and universal establishment"—than to tempt purchasers by exhibiting tastefully what may have been tastefully executed by the artificer, or what it is desired should be held to be so executed.

In one of these windows the daylight is almost precluded from the interior by what may be called a perfect wall of "pots." A street-seller who accompanied me called them merely "pots" (the trade term), but they were all pot

ornaments. Among them were great store of shepherdesses, of greyhounds of a gamboge colour, of what I heard called "figures" (allegorical nymphs with and without birds or wreaths in their hands), very tall-looking Shaksperes (I did not see one of these windows without its Shakspere, a sitting figure), and some "pots" which seem to be either shepherds or musicians; from what I could learn, at the pleasure of the seller, the buyer, or the inquirer. The shepherd, or musician is usually seated under a tree; he wears a light blue coat, and yellow breeches, and his limbs, more than his body, are remarkable for their bulk; to call them merely fat does not sufficiently express their character, and in some "pots," they are as short and stumpy as they are bulky. On my asking if the dogs were intended for Italian greyhounds, I was told, "No, they are German." I alluded however to the species of the animal represented; my informant to the place of manufacture, for the pots were chiefly German. A number of mugs however, with the Crystal Palace very well depicted upon them, were unmistakably English. In another window of the same establishment was a conglomeration of pincushions, shaving-brushes, letter-stamps (all in bone), cribbage-boards and boxes (including a pack of cards), necklaces, and strings of beads.

The window of a neighbouring swag-shop presented, in the like crowding, and in greater confusion, an array of brooches (some in coloured glass to imitate rubies, topazes, &c., some containing portraits, deeply coloured, in purple attire, and red cheeks, and some being very large cameos), time-pieces (with and without glasses), French toys with moveable figures, telescopes, American clocks, musical boxes, shirt-studs, backgammon-boards, tea-trays (one with a nondescript bird of most gorgeous green plumage forming a sort of centrepiece), razor-strops, writing-desks, sailors' knives, hair-brushes, and tobacco-boxes.

Another window presented even a more "miscellaneous assortment;" dirks (apparently not very formidable weapons), a mess of steel pens, in brown-paper packages and cases, and of black-lead pencils, pipe-heads, cigar-cases, snuff-boxes, razors, shaving-brushes, letter-stamps, metal tea-pots, metal tea-spoons, glass globes with artificial flowers and leaves within the glass (an improvement one man thought on the old ornament of a reel in a bottle), Peel medals, Exhibition medals, roulette-boxes, scent bottles, quill pens with artificial flowers in the feathery part, fans, side-combs, glass pen-holders, and pot figures (caricatures) of Louis Philippe, carrying a very red umbrella, Marshal Haynau, with some instrument of torture in his hand, while over all boomed a huge English seaman, in yellow waistcoat and with a brick-coloured face.

Sometimes the furniture of a swag-shop window is less plentiful, but quite as heterogenous. In one were only American clocks, French toys (large), opera-glasses, knives and forks, and powder-flasks.

In some windows the predominant character is jewellery. Ear-drops (generally gilt), rings of all kinds, brooches of every size and shade of coloured glass, shawl-pins, shirt-studs, necklaces, bead purses, small paintings of the Crystal-palace, in "burnished 'gold' frames," watch-guards, watch-seals (each with three impressions or mottoes), watch-chains and keys, "silver" tooth-picks, medals, and snuff-boxes. It might be expected that the jewellery shops would present the most imposing display of any; they are, on the contrary, among the dingiest, as if it were not worth the trouble to put clean things in the window, but merely what sufficed to characterise the nature of the trade carried on.

Of the twenty-three swag-shops in question, five were confined to the trade in all the branches of stationery. Of these I saw one, the large window of which was perfectly packed from bottom to top with note-paper, account and copy-books, steel-pens, pencils, sealing-wax, enamelled wafers (in boxes), ink-stands, &c.

Of the other shops, two had cases of watches, with no attempt at display, or even arrangement. "Poor things," I was told by a person familiar with the trade in them, "fit only to offer to countrymen when they've been drinking at a fair, and think themselves clever."

I have so far described the exterior of these street-dealers' bazaars, the swag-shops, in what may be called their head-quarters. Upon entering some of these places of business, spacious rooms are seen to extend behind the shop or warehouse which opens to the street. Some are almost blocked up with what appears a litter of packing-cases, packages, and bales—but which are no doubt ordered systematically enough—while the shelves are crammed with goods in brown paper, or in cases or boxes. This uniformity of package, so to speak, has the effect of destroying the true character of these swag store-rooms; for they present the appearance of only three or four different kinds of merchandise being deposited on a range of shelves, when, perhaps, there are a hundred. In some of these swag-shops it appears certain, both from what fell under my own observation, and from what I learned through my inquiries of persons long familiar with such places, that the "litter" I have spoken of is disposed so as to present the appearance of an affluence of goods without the reality of possession.

In no warehouses (properly "swag," or wholesale traders) is there any arranged display of the wares vended. "Ve don't vant people here," one street-seller had often heard a swag-shopkeeper say, "as looks about them, and says, ''Ow purty!—Vot nice things!' Ve vants to sell, and not to show. Ve is all for bisness, and be d——d." All of these places which I saw were dark, more or less so, in the interior, as if a customer's inspection were uncared for.

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Some of the swag-shop people present cards, or "circulars with prices," to their street and other customers, calling attention to the variety of their wares. These circulars are not given without inquiry, as if it were felt that one must not be wasted. On one I find the following enumeration:—

Shopkeepers and Dealers supplied with the following Articles:—

CLOCKS—American, French, German, and English eight-day dials.
WATCHES—Gold and Silver.
MUSICAL BOXES—Two, Four, Six, and Eight Airs.
WATCH-GLASSES—Common Flint, Geneva, and Lunettes.
MAIN-SPRINGS—Blue and Straw-colour, English and Geneva.
WATCH MATERIALS—Of every description.
JEWELLERY—A general assortment.
SPECTACLES—Gold, Silver, Steel, Horn, and Metal Frames, Concave, Convex, Coloured, and Smoked Eyes.
TELESCOPES—One, two, and three draws.
MATHEMATICAL INSTRUMENTS.
COMBS—Side, Dressing, Curl, Pocket, Ivory, Small-Tooth, &c.
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS—Violins, Violincellos, Bows, &c., Flutes, Clarionets, Trombones, Ophoclides, Cornopeans, French-Horns, Po-t-Horns, Trumpets, and Passes, Violin Tailboards, Pegs, and Bridges.
ACCORDIONS—French and German of every size and style.

It must not be thought that swag-shops are mainly repositories of "fancy" articles, for such is not the case. I have described only the "windows" and outward appearances of these places—the interior being little demonstrative of the business; but the bulkier and more useful articles of swag traffic cannot be exposed in a window. In the miscellaneous (or Birmingham and Sheffield) shops, however, the useful and the "fancy" are mixed together; as is shown by the following extracts from the Circular of one of the principal swag-houses. I give each head, with an occasional statement of prices. The firm describe themselves as "Wholesale, Retail. and Export Furnishing Ironmongers, General Hardwaremen, Manufacturers of Clocks, Watches, and Steel Pens, and Importers of Toys, Beads, and other Foreign Manufactures."

Table Cutlery.

	s.	d.
Common knives and forks, per doz.	2	0
Ivory-handle table knives and fork, per set of fifty-pieces	30	0
Tables, per doz.	15	0
Desserts, per doz.	11	3
Carvers, per pair	4	0

Fire-Irons.

	s.	d.
Strong wrought-iron for kitchens, per set 2s. to	6	0
Ditto for parlours or libraries, bright pans, 4s. 6d. to	7	0

Fenders.

	s.	d.
Kitchen fenders, 3 ft. long, with sliding bar	3	0
Green ditto, brass tops, for bed rooms	1	8

"Britannia Metal Goods" (tea-pots, &c.), "German Silver Goods" (tea-spoons, 1s. to 2s. per dozen, &c.).

Bellows.

	s.	d.
Kitchen, each 10d. to	2	0
Parlour ditto, brass pipes and nails.... 2s 3d. to	3	0

Japanned goods, brass goods, iron saucepans, oval iron pots, iron tea-kettles, &c., iron stew-pans, &c. The prices here run very systematically:—

	s.	d.
One quart	1	2
Three pints	1	8
Two quarts	2	0
Three quarts	3	0
Four quarts	3	9
Five quarts	4	0

Patent enamelled saucepans, oval tin boilers, tin saucepans, tea-kettles, coffee-pots. In all these useful articles the prices range in the same way as in the iron stew-pans. Copper goods (kettles, coal-scoops, &c.), tin fish-kettles, dish-covers, rosewood workboxes, glass, brushes (tooth, hair, clothes, scrubbing, stove, shoe, japanned hearth, banister, plate, carpet, and dandy), tools, plated goods (warranted silver edges), snuffers, beads, musical instruments (accordions from 1s. to 5s., &c.). Then come dials and clocks, combs, optics, spectacles, eye-glasses, telescopes, opera glasses, each 10d. to 10s., China ornaments, lamps, sundries (these I give verbatim, to show the nature of the trade), crimping and goffering-machines, from 14s., looking-glasses, pictures, &c., beads of every kind, watch-guards, shaving-boxes, guns, pistols, powder-flasks, belts, percussion caps, &c., corkscrews, 6d. to 2s., nut-cracks, 6d. to 1s. 6d., folding measures, each 2s. to 4s., silver spoons, haberdashery, skates per pair 2s. to 10s., carpet bags, each 3s. to 10s., egg-boilers, tapers, flat and box irons, Italian irons and heaters, earthenware jugs, metal covers, tea-pots, plaited straw baskets, sieves, wood pails, camera-obscuras, medals, amulets, perfumery and fancy soaps of all kinds, mathematical instruments, steel pens, silver and German silver patent pencil-cases and leads, snuff-boxes "in great variety," strops, ink, slates, metal eyelet-holes and machines, padlocks, braces, belts, Congreves, lucifers, fuzees, pocket-books, bill-cases, bed-keys, and a great variety of articles too numerous to mention.

Notwithstanding the specific character and arrangement of the "Circulars with prices," it is common enough for the swag-shop proprietors to intimate to any one likely to purchase that those prices are not altogether to be a guidance, as thirty-five per cent. discount is allowed on the amount of a ready-money purchase. One of the largest "swags" made such an allowance to a street-seller last week.

The swag-shops (of which I state the numbers in a parenthesis) are in Houndsditch (their principal locality) (23), Minories (4), Whitechapel (2), Ratcliffe-highway (20), Shoreditch (1), Long-lane, Smithfield (4), Fleet-lane (2), Holywell-street, Strand (1), Tothill-street (4), Compton-street, Soho (1), Hatton-garden (2), Clerkenwell (10), Kent-street, Borough (8), New-cut (6), Blackman-street (2), Tooley-street (3), London-road (3), Borough-road (1), Waterloo-road (4)—in all 101; but a person who had been upwards of twenty years a frequenter of these places counted up fifty others, many of them in obscure courts and alleys near Houndsditch, Ratcliffe Highway, &c., &c. These "outsiders" are generally of a smaller class than those I have described; "and I can tell you, sir," the same man said, "some of them—ay, and some of the big ones,

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too—are real *swag*-shops still,—partly so, that is; you understand me, sir." The word "swag," I should inform my polite readers, means in slang language, "plunder."

It may be safely calculated, then, that there are 150 swag-shops to which the different classes of street-sellers resort for the purchase of stock. Among these establishments are pot swag, stationery swag, haberdashery swag, jewellery swag, and miscellaneous swag—the latter comprise far more than half of the entire number, and constitute the warehouses which are described by their owners as "Birmingham and Sheffield," or "English and Foreign," or "English and German." It is in these last-mentioned "swags" that the class I now treat of—the street-sellers of metal manufactures—find the commodities of their trade. To this, however, there is one exception. Tins for household use are not sold at the general swag-shops; but "fancy tins," such as japanned and embellished trays, are vended there extensively. The street-sellers of this order are supplied at the "tin-shops,"—the number of the wholesale tin-men supplying the street-sellers is about fifty. The principle on which the business is conducted is precisely that of the more general swag-shop; but I shall speak of them when I treat of the street-sellers of tins.

An intelligent man, who had been employed in different capacities in some of the principal swag-shops, told me of one which had been carried on by the same family, from father to son, for more than seventy years. In the largest of the "swags" about 200 "hands" are employed, in the various capacities of salesmen, buyers, clerks, travellers, unpackers, packers, porters, &c., &c. On some mornings twenty-five large packages—some of small articles entirely—are received from the carriers. In one week, when my informant assisted in "making up the books," the receipts were upwards of 3000*l.* "In my opinion, sir," he said, "and it's from an insight into the business, Mr. ——'s profit on that 3000*l.* was not less than thirty-five per cent.; for he's a great capitalist, and pays for everything down upon the nail; that's more than 1000*l.* profit in a week. Certainly it was an extra week, and there's the 200 hands to pay,—but that wouldn't range higher than 300*l.*, indeed, not so high; and there's heavy rent and taxes, and rates, no doubt, and he (the proprietor is a Jew) is a fair man to the trade, and not an uncharitable man—but he will drive a good bargain where it's possible; so considering everything, sir, the profits must be very great, and they are mostly made out of poor buyers, who sell it to poor people in the streets, or in small shops. It's a wonderful trade."

From the best information I could obtain I come to the conclusion that, including small and large shops, 3000*l.* yearly is the average receipt of each—or, as it is most frequently expressed, that sum is "turned over" by the swag-shop keepers yearly. There is great competition in the trade, and much of what is called "cutting," or one tradesman underselling another. The profit consequently varies from twenty to thirty-five and (rarely) fifty per cent. Sometimes a swag-shop proprietor is "hung-up" with a stock the demand for which has ceased, and he must dispose of it as "a job lot," to make room for other goods, and thus is necessarily "out of pocket." The smaller swag-shops do not "turn over" 500*l.* a year. The calculation I have given shows an outlay, yearly, of 450,000*l.* at the swag-shops of London; "but," said a partner in one of these establishments, "what proportion of the goods find their way into the streets, what to the shops, what to the country, and what for shipping, I cannot form even a guess, for we never ask a customer for what purpose he wants the goods, though sometimes he will say, 'I must have what is best for such or such a trade.' Say half a million turned over in a year, sir, by the warehousemen who sell to the street-people, among others, and you're within the mark."

I found the street-sellers characterize the "swags" as hard and grinding men, taking every advantage "in the way of trade." There is, too, I was told by a man lately employed in a swag-shop, a constant collision of clamour and bargaining, not to say of wits, between the smarter street-sellers—the pattering class especially—and the swag-men with whom they are familiar.

The points in which the "swag-shops" resemble the "slaughter-houses," are in the traffic in work-boxes, desks, and dressing-cases.

Of the Life of a Cheap-John.

The following narrative, relative to this curious class, who, in many respects, partake of the characteristics which I have pointed out as proper to the mountebank of old, was taken from one of the fraternity. It may be cited as an example of those who are bred to the streets:—"My father and mother," said he, "both followed a travelling occupation, and were engaged in vending different things, from the old brimstone matches up to clothes lines, clothes props, and clothes pegs. They never got beyond these,—the other articles were thread, tapes, nutmeg graters, shoe-ties, stay-laces, and needles. My father, my mother used to tell me, was a great scholard, and had not always been a travelling vagrant. My mother had never known any other life. I, however, did not reap any benefit from my father's scholarship. At a very early age, five or six perhaps, I recollect myself a poor little neglected wretch, sent out each day with a roll of matches, with strict injunctions not to come home without selling them, and to bring home a certain sum of money, upon pain of receiving a sound thrashing, which threat was mostly put into execution whenever I failed to perform the task imposed upon me. My father seldom worked, that is, seldom hawked, but my mother, poor thing, had to travel and work very hard to support four of us—my father, myself, and a sister, who is since dead. I was but little assistance, and sometimes when I did not bring home the sum required, she would make it up, and tell my father I had been a good boy. My father was an inveterate drinker, and a very violent temper. My mother, I am sorry to

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say, used to drink too, but I believe that ill-usage drove her to it. They led a dreadful life; I scarcely felt any attachment for them; home we had none, one place was as good another to us. I left my parents when scarcely eight years old. I had received a thrashing the day before for being a defaulter in my sale, and I determined the following morning to decamp; and accordingly, with my nine-pennyworth of matches (the quantity generally allotted me), I set out to begin the world upon my own account. Although this occurred 25 years ago, I have never met my parents since. My father, I heard, died a few years after my leaving, but my mother I know not whether she be living or dead. I left my parents at Dover, and journeyed on to London. I knew there were lodging-houses for travellers in every town, some of them I had stopped at with my father and mother. I told the people of these houses that my parents would arrive the following day, and paid my 2*d.* for the share of a third, fourth, fifth, or even sixth part of a bed, according to the number of children who inhabited the lodging-house upon that particular night. My matches I could always sell if I tried, but I used to play my time away, and many times night has arrived before I thought of effecting sales sufficient to pay my expenses at the beggar's hotel. Broken victuals I got in abundance, indeed more than sufficient for my own consumption. The money I received for the matches, after paying my lodging, and purchasing a pennyworth of brimstone to make more (the wood I begged at the carpenters), I gambled away at cards. Yes, young as I was, I understood Blind Hookey. I invariably lost; of course I was cheated.

"I remained in a lodging house in Mill-lane, Deptford, for two years, discontinued the match-selling, and, having a tidy voice, took to hawking songs through the public-houses. The sailors used to ask me to sing, and there were few days that I did not accumulate 2*s.* 6*d.*, and from that to 4*s.*, especially when I chose to be industrious; but my love of pitch and toss and blind hookey always kept me poor. I often got into debt with my landlady, and had no difficulty in doing so, for I always felt a pride in paying. From selling the printed songs, I imbibed a wish to learn to read, and, with the assistance of an old soldier, I soon acquired sufficient knowledge to make out the names of each song, and shortly afterwards I could study a song and learn the words without any one helping me. I stopped in Deptford until I was something more than twelve years old. I had then laid the songs aside, and taken to hawking small wares, tapes, thread, &c.; and in the winter season I was a buyer of rabbit and hare skins. I kept at this for about three years, sometimes entirely without a stock. I had run it out, perhaps gambled it away; and at such times I suffered great privations. I never could beg. I have often tried, but never could. I have approached a house with a begging intention, knocked at the door, and when it has been opened I have requested a drink of water. When I was about 16 I joined in partnership with a man who used to make phosphorus boxes. I sold them for him. A piece of phosphorus was stuck in a tin tube, the match was dipped into the phosphorus, and it would ignite by friction. I was hawking these boxes in Norwich, when the constable considered they were dreadful affairs, and calculated to encourage and assist thieves and burglars. He took me before the magistrate, at the beak's own private house, and he being equally horrified, I was sent to prison for a month. I have often thought since that the proceeding was illegal. What would be said now if a man was to be sent to jail for selling lucifer matches? In Norwich prison I associated with the rest, and if I had been inclined to turn thief I had plenty of opportunities and offers of gratuitous instruction. The separate or silent system was not in vogue then. I worked on the treadmill. Dinner was allowed to be sent in on the Sunday by the prisoner's friends. My dinner was sent in on the first Sunday by the man I sold the boxes for, as it was on the second, third, and fourth; but I had lost it before I received it. I had always gambled it away, for there were plenty of opportunities of doing so in the prisons then. On leaving the jail I received 1*s.*; with this I purchased some songs and travelled to Yarmouth. I could do best among sailors. After a few weeks I had accumulated about 8*s.*, and with that sum I purchased some hardware at the swag-shop, commenced hawking, and cut the vocal department altogether; still I gambled and kept myself in poverty. In the course of time, however, I had amassed a basket of goods, worth, perhaps, 3*l.* I gambled and lost them all in one night. I was so downcast and unhappy from this circumstance, that it caused me to reflect seriously, and I made an oath that I never would gamble again. I have kept it, and have reason to bless the day that I made so good a resolution. After losing my basket of goods, the winner gave me articles amounting to a few shillings, and I began the world once more. Shortly afterwards I commenced rag gatherer, and changed my goods for old rags, of course not refusing cash in payment. My next step was to have some bills printed, whereon I requested all thrifty wives to look out their old rags or old metal, or old bones, &c.; stating at the bottom that the bill would be called for, and that a good price in ready money would be given for all useless lumber, &c. Some months at this business realized me a pretty sum of money. I was in possession of nearly 5*l.* Then I discontinued the rag-gathering; not that the trade was declining, but I did not like it—I was ambitious. I purchased a neat box, and started to sell a little Birmingham jewellery. I was now respectably dressed, was getting a living, and had entirely left off stopping at common lodging-houses; but I confined my visits to small villages—I was afraid of the law; and as I was pursuing my calling near Wakefield, a constable inquired for my hawker's licence. I had none to produce. He took me into custody, and introduced me to a magistrate, who committed me to prison for a

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month, and took away my box of goods. I endured the month's imprisonment upon the silent system; they cut my hair short; and at the expiration of the term I was thrust out upon the world heart-broken, without a shilling, to beg, to steal, or to starve.

"I proceeded to Leeds, the fair was on at this time. I got engaged to assist a person, from whom I had been accustomed occasionally to purchase goods. He was a 'Cheap-John.' In the course of the day he suggested that I should have a try at the hand-selling. I mounted the platform, and succeeded beyond my own expectations or that of my master. He offered me a regular engagement, which I accepted. At times I would help him sell, and at other times I hawked with his licence. I had regular wages, besides all I could get above a certain price that he placed upon each of the goods. I remained with this person some fifteen months, at the end of which period I commenced for myself, having saved nearly 25*l.* I began at once the hand-selling, and purchased a hawker's licence, which enabled me to sell without danger. Then I always called at the constable's house, and gave a louder knock at his door than any other person's, proud of my authority, and assured of my safety. At first I borrowed an empty cart, in which I stood and sold my wares. I could chaff as well as the best, and was as good a salesman as most of them. After that I purchased a second-hand cart from a person who had lately started a waggon. I progressed and improved in circumstances, and at last bought a very handsome waggon for myself. I have now a nice caravan, and good stock of goods, worth at least 500*l.* Money I have but little. I always invest it in goods. I am married, and have got a family. I always travel in the summer, but remain at home during the winter. My wife never travels. She remains behind, and manages a little swag-shop, which always turns in at least the family expenses."

The Street-Sellers of Cutlery.

The cutlery sold in the streets of London consists of razors, pen-knives, pocket-knives, table and carving-knives and forks, scissors, shears, nail-filers, and occasionally (if ordered) lancets. The knives are of various kinds—such as sailors' knives (with a hole through the handle), butchers' knives, together with choppers and steels (sold principally at Newgate and Billinsgate Markets, and round about the docks), oyster and fish-knives (sold principally at Billinsgate and Hungerford Markets), bread-knives (hawked at the bakers' shops), ham and beef knives (hawked at the ham and beef shops), cheese-knives with tasters, and ham-triers, shoemakers' knives, and a variety of others. These articles are usually purchased at the "swag-shops," and the prices of them vary from 2½*d.* to 1*s.* 1½*d.* each. They are bought either by the dozen, half-dozen, or singly, according to the extent of the street-seller's stock-money. Hence it would appear that the street-seller of cutlery can begin business with only a few pence; but it is only when the swag-shop keeper has known the street-seller that he will consent to sell one knife alone "to sell again;" to street-sellers with whom he is unacquainted, he will not vend less than half-a-dozen. Even where the street-seller is known, he has, if "cracked-up," to beg hard, I am told, before he can induce the warehouseman to let him have only one article. "The swag-shops won't be bothered with it," say the men—"what are our troubles to them? if the rain starves us out and makes us eat up all our stock-money, what is it to such folks? they wouldn't let us have even a row of pins without the money for 'em—no, not if we was to drop down dead for want of bread in their shops. They have been deceived by such a many that now they won't listen to none." I subjoin a list of the prices paid and received by the street-sellers of cutlery for the principal articles in which they deal:

	Lowest price paid per half-dozen.		Sold at in streets.		Highest price paid per half-dozen.		Sold at in streets.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Table-knives and forks..	1	3	2	0	5	0	7	6
Ditto, without forks	0	9	1	3	4	0	6	0
Pocket-knives	1	0	1	6	4	0	6	0
Pen-knives..............	1	9	2	6	2	6	3	9
Razors..................	1	9	2	6	5	0	7	6
Scissors	0	3½	0	6	1	9	2	6

Their usual rate of profit is 50 per cent., but rather than refuse a ready sale the street cutlery-seller will often take much less. Many of the sellers only pursue the trade for a few weeks in the year. A number of the Irish labourers take to it in the winter-time when they can get no work. Some few of the sellers are countrymen, but these mostly follow the business continuously. "I don't see as there is hardly one upon the list as has ever been a cutler by trade," said one street-seller to me, "and certainly none of the cutlery-sellers have ever belonged to Sheffield—they may say so, but its only a dodge." The cutlery street-sellers are not one-quarter so numerous as they were two years back. "The reason is," I am told, "that things are got so bad a man can't live by the trade—mayhap he has to walk three miles now before he can sell for 1*s.* a knife that has cost him 8½*d.*, and then mayhap he is faint, and what's 3½*d.*, sir, to keep body and soul together, when a man most likely has had no victuals all the day before." If they had a good bit of stock they might perhaps get a crust, they say. "Things within the last two or three years," to quote the words of one of my informants, "have been getting much worse in the streets; 'specially in the cutlery line. I can't give no account for it, I'm sure, sir; the sellers have not been half as many as they were. What's become of them that's gone, I can't tell; they 're in the workhouse, I dare say." But, notwithstanding this decrease in the number of sellers, there is a greater difficulty to vend their goods now than formerly. "It's all owing to the times, that's all I can say. People, shopkeepers, and all says to me, I can't tell why things is so bad, and has been so bad in

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trade; but so they is. We has to walk farther to sell our goods, and people beat us down so terrible hard, that we can't get a penny out of them when we do sell. Sometimes they offers me 9*d*., yes, and often 6*d*. for an 8½*d*. knife; and often enough 4*d*. for one that stands you in 3½*d*. —a ½*d*. profit, think of that, sir. Then they say, 'Well, my man, will you take my money?' and so as to make you do so, they'll flash it before your eyes, as if they knew you was a starving, and would be sure to be took in by the sight of it. Yes, sir, it is a very hard life, and we has to put up with a good deal—a good deal—starvation and hard-dealing, and insults and knockings about, and all. And then you see the swag-shops is almost as hard on us as the buyers. The swag-men will say, if you merely makes a remark, that a knife they've sold you is cracked in the handle, 'Oh, is it; let me see whereabouts;' and when you hands it to 'em to show it 'em, they'll put it back where they took it from, and tell you, 'You're too particular by half, my man. You'd better go and get your goods somewhere else; here take your money, and go on about your business, for we won't sarve you at all.' They'll do just the same with the scissors too, if you complains about their being a bit rusty. 'Go somewhere else,' they'll say, 'We won't sarve you.' Ah, sir, that's what it is to be a poor man; to have your poverty flung in your teeth every minute. People says, 'to be poor and seem poor is the devil;' but to be poor, and be treated like a dog merely because you *are* poor, surely is ten thousand times worse. A street-seller now-a-days is looked upon as a 'cadger,' and treated as one. To try to get a living for one's self is to do something shameful in these times."

The man then gave me the following history of himself. He was a kindly-looking and hearty old man. He had on a ragged fustian jacket, over which he wore a black greasy-looking and tattered oilskin coat—the collar of this was torn away, and the green baize lining alone visible. His waistcoat was patched in every direction, while his trousers appeared to be of corduroy; but the grease and mud was so thick upon them, that it was difficult to tell of what material they were made. His shoes—or rather what remained of them—were tied on his feet with pieces of string. His appearance altogether denoted great poverty.

"My father was a farmer, sir. He had two farms, about 800 acres in all. I was one of eleven (ten sons and one daughter). Seven years before my father's death he left his farm, and went to live on his money. He had made a good bit at farming; but when he died it was all gone, and we was left to shift as we could. I had little or no education. My brothers could read and write, but I didn't take to it; I went a bird's-nesting, boy-like, instead, so that what little I did larn I have forgot. I am very sorry for that now. I used to drive the plough, and go a harrowing for father. I was brought up to nothing else. When father died, I thought as I should like to see London. I was a mere lad—about 20—and so I strolled up to town. I had 10*s*. with me, and that, with a bundle, was all that I possessed in the world. When I got to London I went to lodge at a public-house—the Red Lion—in Great Wild-street; and while I was there I sought about for work, but could not get any; when all was gone, I was turned out into the streets, and walked about for two days and two nights, without a bed, or a bit to eat, unless what I picked out of the gutter, and eat like a dog—orange-peel and old cabbage-stumps, indeed *anything* I could find. When I was very hard put to it, I was coming down Drury-lane, and I looked in, quite casual like, to ask for a job of work at the shop of Mr. Bolton, the needle-maker from Redditch. I told him as how I was nigh starving, and would do anything to get a crust; I didn't mind what I put my hand to. He said he would try me, and gave me two packets of needles to sell—they was the goolden-eyed ones of that time of day—and he said when I had got rid of them I was to come back to him, and I should have two packets more. He told me the price to ask—sixpence a paper—and away I went like a sand-boy, and got rid of the two in an hour and a half. Then I went back, and when I told him what I'd done, he shook hands with me, and said, as he burst out laughing, "Now, you see I've made a man of you." Oh, he was an uncommon nice gentleman! Then he told me to keep the shilling I had taken, and said he would trust me with two more packets. I sold them, and two others besides, that day. Then, he says, 'I shall give you something else, and he let me have two packets of tailors' needles and half a dozen of tailors' thimbles. He told me how to sell them, and where to go, and on them I did better. I went round to the tailors' shops and sold a good lot, but at last they stopped me, because I was taking the bread out of the mouths of the poor blind needle-sellers what supplies the journeymen tailors at the West-end. Then Mr. Bolton sent me down to one of his relations, a Mr. Crooks, in Fetter Lane, who was a Sheffield man, and sold cutlery to the hawkers; and Mr. Crooks and Mr. Bolton sot me up between them, and so I've followed the line ever since. I dare say I shall continue in it to my dying day. After I got fairly set agoing, I used to make—take good and bad, wet and dry days together—18*s*. a week; three shillings a day was what I calculated on at the least, and to do that I was obligated to take between 2*l*. and 3*l*. a week, or about eight or nine shillings each day. I went on doing this for upwards of thirty year. I have been nearly forty years, altogether, in the streets, selling cutlery. I did very tidy till about 4 years back—I generally made from 18*s*. to 1*l*. a week up to that time. I used to go round the country—to Margate, Brighton, Portsmouth—I mostly travelled by the coast, calling at all the sea-port towns, for I always did best among the sailors. I went away every Spring time, and came to London again at the fall of the year. Sixteen year ago, I married the widow of a printer—a pressman—she had no money, but you see I had no home, and I thought I should be more comfortable, and so

I have been—a great deal more comfortable—and so I should be now, if things hadn't got so bad. Four year ago, as I was a telling you, it was just after the railways had knocked off work, things began to get uncommon bad—before then, I had as good as 30s. or 40s. stock, and when things got slack, it went away, little by little. I couldn't make profit enough to support me and my old woman—she has got the rheumatics and can't earn me a halfpenny or a farden in the world; she hasn't done so for years. When I didn't make enough to live upon, of course I was obligated to break into my stock; so there it kept going shilling by shilling, and sixpence by sixpence, until I had got nothing left to work upon —not a halfpenny. You see, four or five months ago, I was took very bad with the rheumatic fever and gout. I got wet through in the streets, and my clothes dried on me, and the next day I was taken bad with pains in my limbs, and then everything that would fetch me a penny went to the pawn-shop; all my own and my old woman's clothes went to get us food—blankets, sheets and all. I never would go nigh the parish; I couldn't bring myself to have the talk about it. When I got well and out into the streets again, I borrowed 2s. or 3s. of my landlady—I have lived with her these three years—to get my stock again, but you see that got me so few things, that I couldn't fetch myself up. I lost the greater portion of my time in going backards and forrards to the shop to get fresh goods as fast as I sold them, and so what I took wasn't enough to earn the commonest living for me and my missus. Since December we have been nearly starving, and that's as true as you have got the pen in your very hand. Sunday after Sunday we have been without a bit of dinner, and I have laid a-bed all day because we have had no coal, and then been obligated to go out on Monday morning without a bit of victuals between my lips. I've been so faint I couldn't hardly walk. I've picked the crusts off the tables of the tap-rooms where I have been to hawk my goods, and put them in my pocket to eat them on the sly. Wet and dry I'm obligated to be out; let it come down ever so hard I must be in it, with scarcely a bit of shoe, and turned 60 years old, as I am. Look here, sir," he said, holding up his foot; "look at these shoes, the soles is all loose, you see, and let water. On wet days I hawk my goods to respectable shops; tap-rooms is no good, decent people merely get insulted there. But in most of the shops as I goes to people tells me, 'My good man it is as much as we can do to keep ourselves and our family in these cutting times.' Now, just to show you what I done last week. Sunday, I laid a-bed all day and had no dinner. Monday, I went out in the morning without a morsel between my lips, and with only 8½d. for stock-money; with that I bought a knife and sold it for a shilling, and then I got another and another after that, and that was my day's work—three times 3½d. or 10½d. in all, to keep the two of us. Tuesday, I sold a pair of small scissors and two little pearl-handled knives, at 6d. each article, and cleared 10½d. on the whole, and that is all I did. Wednesday, I sold a razor-strop for 6d., a four-bladed knife for a shilling, and a small hone for 6d.; by these I cleared 10d. altogether. Thursday, I sold a pair of razors for a shilling, clearing by the whole 11½d. Friday, I got rid of a pair of razors for 1s. 9d., and got 9d. clear." I added up the week's profits and found they amounted to 4s. 3½d. "That's about right," said the man, "out of that I shall have to pay 1s. for my week's rent; we've got a kitchen, so that I leave you to judge how we two can live out of what's remaining." I told him it would'nt average quite 6d. a day. "That's about it," he replied, "we have half a loaf of bread a day, and that thank God is only five farthings now. This lasts us the day, with two-penny-worth of bits of meat that my old woman buys at a ham-shop, where they pare the hams and puts the parings by on plates to sell to poor people; and when she can't get that, she buys half a sheep's head, one that's three or four days old, for then they sells 'em to the poor for 1½d. the half; and these with ¾d. worth of tea, and ½d. worth of sugar, ½d. for a candle, 1d. of coal—that's seven pounds—and ¾d. worth of coke—that's half a peck—makes up all we gets." These items amount to 6½d. in all. "That's how we do when we can't get it, and when we can't, why we lays in bed and goes without altogether."

Of the Blind Street-Sellers of Tailors' Needles, etc.

It is customary with many trades, for the journeymen to buy such articles as they require in their business of those members of their craft who have become incapacitated for work, either by old age, or by some affliction. The tailors—the shoemakers—the carpenters—and many others do this. These sellers are, perhaps, the most exemplary instances of men *driven* to the streets, or to hawking for a means of living; and they, one and all, are distinguished by that horror of the workhouse which I have before spoken of as constituting a peculiar feature in the operative's character. At present I purpose treating of the street-sellers of needles and "trimmings" to the tailors.

There are, I am informed, two dozen "broken-down" journeymen tailors pursuing this avocation in and around London. "There may be more," said one who had lost his sight stitching, "but I get my information from the needle warehouse, where we all buy our goods; and the lady there told me she knew as many as twenty-four hawkers who were once tailors. These are all either decayed journeymen, or their widows. Some are vicapicated by age, being between sixty and seventy years old; the greater part of the aged journeymen, however, are inmates of the tailors' almshouses. I am not aware," said my informant, "of there being more than one very old man hawking needles to the tailors, though there may be many that I know nothing about. The one I am acquainted with is close upon eighty, and he is a very respectable man, much esteemed in St.

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James's and St. George's; he sells needles, and 'London Labour and the London Poor' to the journeymen: he is very feeble indeed, and can scarcely get along." Of the two dozen needle-sellers above mentioned, there are only six who confine their "rounds" solely to the metropolis. Out of these six my informant knew two who were blind beside himself (one of these sells to the journeymen in the city). There are other blind tailors who were formerly hawkers of needles, but being unable to realize a subsistence thereby, have been obliged to become inmates of the workhouses; others have recently gained admission into the almshouses. Last February, I am assured, there were two blind needle-sellers, and two decrepit, in St. James's workhouse. There are, moreover, two widows selling tailors' needles in London. One of these, I am told, is wretchedly poor, being "eat up with the rheumatics, and scarcely able to move"—she is the relict of a blind journeyman, and well known in St. James's. The other widow is now in St. Pancras Workhouse, having been unable, to use the words of my informant, "to get anything to keep life and soul together at the needle trade;" she, too, I am told, is well known to the journeymen. The tailors' needle-sellers confining themselves more particularly to London consist of, at present, one old man, three blind, one paralyzed, and one widow; besides these, there are now in the alms-houses, two decrepit and one paralyzed; and one widow in the workhouse, all of whom, till recently, were needle-sellers, and originally connected with the trade.

"That is all that I believe are now in London," said one to me, "I should, I think, know if there were more; for it is not from one place we get our articles, but many; and there I hear that six is about the number of tailors' hawkers in town; the rest of the two dozen hawkers that I spoke of go a little way out into the suburbs. The six, however, stick to London altogether." The needle-sellers who go into the country, I am told, travel as far as Reading, westward, and to Gravesend, in the opposite direction, or Brentwood, in Essex, and they will keep going back'ards and for'ards to the metropolis immediately their stock is exhausted. These persons sell not only tailors' needles, but women's needles as well, and staylaces and cottons, and small ware in general, which they get from Shepherd's, in Compton Street; they have all been tailors, and are incapacitated from labour, either by old age or some affliction. There was one widow of a tailor among the number, but it is believed she is now either too old to continue her journeys, or else that she is deceased. The town-sellers confine their peregrinations mostly to the parishes of St. James's and St. George's (my informant was not aware that any went even into Marylebone). One travels the City, while the other five keep to the West End; they all sell thimbles, needles, inch-measures, bodkins, inch sticks, scissars ("when they can get them," I was told, "and that's very seldom"), and bees'-wax, basting cotton, and, many of them, publications. The publications vended by these men are principally the cheap periodicals of the day, and two of these street-sellers, I am informed, do much better with the sale of publications than by the "trimmings." "*They* get money, sir," said one man to me, "while *we* are starving. They have their set customers and have only to go round and leave the paper, and then to get their money on the Monday morning."

The tailors' hawkers buy their trimmings mostly at the retail shops. They have not stock-money sufficient, I am assured, to purchase at the wholesale houses, for "such a thing as a paper of needles large tradesmen don't care about of selling us poor men." They tell me that if they could buy wholesale they could get their goods one-fourth cheaper, and to be "obligated" to purchase retail is a great drawback on their profits. They call at the principal tailors' workshops, and solicit custom of the journeymen; they are almost all known to the trade, both masters and men, and, having no other means of living, they are allowed to enter the masters' shops, though some of the masters, such as Allen, in Bond-street; Curlewis, Jarvis, and Jones, in Conduit-street, and others, refuse the poor fellows even this small privilege. The journeymen treat them very kindly, the needle-sellers tell me, and generally give them part of the provisions they have brought with them to the shop. If it was not for this the needle-sellers, I am assured, could hardly live at all. "There's that boy there," said a blind tailor, speaking of the youth who had led him to my house, and who sat on the stool fast asleep by the fire,—"I'm sure he must have starved this winter if it hadn't been for the goodness of the men to us, for it's little that me and his mother has to give him; she's gone almost as blind as myself working at the 'sank work' (making up soldiers' clothing). Oh, ours is a miserable life, sir!—worn out—blind with over work, and scarcely a hole to put one's head in, or a bit to put in one's mouth. God Almighty knows that's the bare truth, sir." Sometimes the hawkers go on their rounds and take only 2*d.*, but that is not often; sometimes they take 5*s.* in a day, and "that is the greatest sum," said my informant, "I ever took; what others might do I can't say, but that I'm confident is about the highest takings." In the summer three months the average takings rise to 4*s.* per day; but in the winter they fall to 1*s.*, or at the outside 1*s.* 6*d.* The business lasts only for three hours and a half each day, that is from eight till half-past eleven in the morning; after that no good is to be done. Then the needle-sellers, I am told, go home, and the reason of this is, I am told, if they appear in the public streets selling or soliciting alms, the blind are exempted from becoming recipients of the benefits of many of the charitable institutions. The blind man whom I saw, told me that after he had done work and returned home, he occupied himself with pressing the seams of the soldiers' clothes when his "missus" had sewed them. The tailors' needle-sellers are all married, and one of the wives has a mangle; and "perhaps," said my informant, "the blind

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husband turns the mangle when he goes home, but I can't say." Another wife is a bookfolder, but she has no work. The needles they usually sell five a penny to the journeymen, but the most of the journeymen will take but four; they say "we can't get a living at all if we sell the needles cheaper. The journeymen are mostly very considerate—very indeed; much more than the masters; for the masters won't hardly look at us. I don't know that a master ever gave me a farden—and yet there's some of them very soothing and kind in speaking." The profit in the needles, I am told, is rather more than 100 per cent.; "but," say the sellers, "only think, sir, we must get rid of 150 needles even to take 3*s.* The most we ever sell in one shop is 6*d.* worth—and the usual amount is 2*d.* worth. You can easy tell how many shops we must travel round to, in order to get rid of 3*s.* worth." Take one shop with another, the good with the bad, they tell me they make about 1*d.* profit from each they visit. The profit on the rest of the articles they vend is about 20 per cent., and they calculate that all the year round, summer and winter, they may be said to take 2*s.* a day, or 12*s.* a week; out of which they clear from 5*s.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* They sell far more needles than anything else. Some of the blind needle-sellers make their own bees'-wax into "shapes," (pennyworths) themselves, melting into and pouring into small moulds.

The blind needle-seller whom I saw was a respectable-looking man, with the same delicacy of hand as is peculiar to tailors, and which forms so marked a contrast to the horny palms of other workmen. He was tall and thin, and had that upward look remarkable in all blind men. His eyes gave no signs of blindness (the pupils being full and black), except that they appeared to be directed to no one object, and though fixed, were so without the least expression of observation. His long black surtout, though faded in colour, was far from ragged, having been patched and stitched in many places, while his cloth waistcoat and trowsers were clean and neat—very different from the garments of street-sellers in general. In his hand he carried his stick, which, as he sat, he seemed afraid to part with, for he held it fast between his knees. He came to me accompanied by his son, a good-looking rough-headed lad, habited in a washed-out-blue French kind of pinafore, and whose duty it was to lead his blind father about on his rounds. Though the boy was decently clad, still his clothes, like those of his father, bore many traces of that respectable kind of poverty which seeks by continuous mending to hide its rags from the world. The face of the father, too, was pinched, while there was a plaintiveness about his voice that told of a wretched spirit-broken and afflicted man. Altogether he was one of the better kind of handicraftsmen—one of those fine specimens of the operatives of this country—independent even in their helplessness, scorning to beg, and proud to be able to give some little equivalent for the money bestowed on them. I have already given accounts of the "beaten-out" mechanic from those who certainly cannot be accused of an excess of sympathy for the poor—namely the Poor Law Commissioners and masters of workhouses; and I can only add, that all my experience goes fully to bear out the justice of these statements. As I said before, the class who are *driven* to the streets to which the beaten-out or incapacitated operative belongs, is, of all others, the most deserving of our sympathy; and the following biography of one of this order is given to teach us to look with a kindly eye upon the many who are forced to become street-sellers as the sole means of saving themselves from the degradation of pauperism or beggary.

"I am 45 years of age next June," said the blind tailor. "It is upwards of 30 years since I first went to work at the tailoring trade in London. I learnt my business under one of the old hands at Mr. Cook's, in Poland-street, and after that went to work at Guthrie's, in Bond-street. I belonged to the Society held at the Old White Hart. I continued working for the honourable trade and belonging to Society for about 15 years. My weekly earnings then averaged 1*l.* 16*s.* a week while I was at work, and for several years I was seldom out of work, for when I got into a shop it was a long time before I got out again. I was not married then. I lived in a first floor back room, well-furnished, and could do very comfortably indeed. I saved often my 15*s.* or 16*s.* in a week, and was worth a good bit of money up to the time of my first illness. At one period I had nearly 50*l.* by me, and had it not been for "vacations" and "slack seasons" I should have put by more; but you see to be out of work even a few weeks makes a large hole in a journeyman's savings. All this time I subscribed regularly to Society, and knew that if I got superannuated I should be comfortably maintained by the trade. I felt quite happy with the consciousness of being provided for in my old age or affliction then, and if it had not been for that perhaps I might have saved more even than I did. I went on in this way, as I said before, for 15 years, and no one could have been happier than I was—not a working man in all England couldn't. I had my silver watch and chain. I could lay out my trifle every week in a few books, and used to have a trip now and then up and down the river, just to blow the London smoke off, you know. About 15 years ago my eyes began to fail me without any pain at all; they got to have as it were a thick mist, like smoke, before them. I couldn't see anything clear. Working by gas-light at first weakened and at last destroyed the nerve altogether. I'm now in total darkness. I can only tell when the gas is lighted by the heat of it.

"It is not the black clothes that is trying to the sight—black is the steadiest of all colours to work at; white and all bright colours makes the eyes water after looking at 'em for any long time; but of all colours scarlet, such as is used for regimentals, is the most blinding, it seems to burn the eyeballs, and makes them ache dreadful. After working at red there's always flying colours before the eyes; there's no steady colour to be seen in anything for some time. Everything

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seems all of a twitter, and to keep changing its tint. There's more military tailors blind than any others. A great number of tailors go blind, but a great many more has lost their sight since gas-light has come up. Candle-light was not half so pernicious to the sight. Gas-light is so very heating, and there's such a glare with it that it makes the eyes throb, and shoot too, if you work long by it. I've often continued working past midnight with no other light than that, and then my eyes used to feel like two bits of burning coals in my head. And you see, sir, the worst of it was, as I found my sight going bad I was obliged to try it more, so as to keep up with my mates in the shop. At last my eyes got so weak that I was compelled to give up work, and go into the country, and there I stopped, living on my savings, and unable to do any work for fear of losing my sight altogether. I was away about three years, and then all my money was gone, and I was obligated, in spite of my eyes, to go back to work again. But then, with my sight defective as it was, I could get no employment at the honourable trade, and so I had to take a seat in a shop at one of the cheap houses in the city, and that was the ruin of me entirely; for working there, of course I got "scratched" from the trade Society, and so lost all hope of being provided for by them in my helplessness. The workshop at this cheap house was both small and badly ventilated. It was about seven foot square, and so low, that as you sot on the floor you could touch the ceiling with the tip of your finger. In this place seven of us worked—three on each side and one in the middle. Two of my shopmates were boys, or else I am sure it would not have held us all. There was no chimney, nor no window that could be opened to let the air in. It was lighted by a skylight, and this would neither open nor shut. The only means for letting out the foul air was one of them working ventilators—like cockades, you know, sir—fixed in one of the panes of glass; but this wouldn't work, so there we were, often from 5 in the morning till 10 at night, working in this dreadful place. There was no fire in the winter, though we never needed one, for the workshop was over-hot from the suffocation, and in the summer it was like an oven. This is what it was in the daytime, but mortal tongue can't tell what it was at night, with the two gas-lights burning away, and almost stifling us. Many a time some of the men has been carried out by the others fainting for air. They all fell ill, every one of them, and I lost my eyes and my living entirely by it. We spoke to the master repeatedly, telling him he was killing us, and though when he came up to the workshop hisself, he was nearly blown back by the stench and heat, he would not let us have any other room to work in—and yet he'd plenty of convenience up stairs. He paid little more than half the regular wages, and employed such men as myself—only those who couldn't get anything better to do. What with illness and all, I don't think my wages there averaged above 12*s.* a week: sometimes I could make 1*l.* in the week, but then, the next week, maybe I'd be ill, and would get but a few shillings. It was impossible to save anything then—even to pay one's way was a difficulty, and, at last, I was seized with rheumatics on the brain, and obliged to go into St. Thomas's Hospital. I was there eleven months, and *came out stone blind.* I am convinced I lost my eyesight by working in that cheap shop; nothing on earth will ever persuade me to the contrary, and what's more, my master robbed me of a third of my wages and my sight too, and left me helpless in the world, as, God knows, I am now. It is by the ruin of such men as me that these masters are enabled to undersell the better shops; they get hold of the men whose eyes are just beginning to fail them, like mine did, because they know they can get them to work cheap, and then, just at the time when a journeyman requires to be in the best of shops, have the best of air, and to work as little by gas-light as possible, they puts him into a hole of a place that would stifle a rat, and keeps him working there half the night through. That's the way, sir, the cheap clothes is produced, by making blind beggars of the workmen, like myself, and throwing us on the parish in our old age. You are right, sir, they not only robs the men but the ratepayers too.

"Well, sir, as I said, I come out of the hospital stone blind, and have been in darkness ever since, and that's near upon ten years ago. I often dream of colours, and see the most delightful pictures in the world; nothing that I ever beheld with my eyes can equal them—they're so brilliant, and clear and beautiful. I see then the features and figures of all my old friends, and I can't tell you how pleasureable it is to me. When I have such dreams they so excite me that I am ill all the next day. I often see, too, the fields, with the cows grazing on a beautiful green pasture, and the flowers, just at twilight like, closing up their blossoms as they do. I never dream of rivers; nor do I ever remember seeing a field of corn in my visions; it's strange I never dreamt in any shape of the corn or the rivers, but maybe I didn't take so much notice of them as of the others. Sometimes I see the sky, and very often indeed there's a rainbow in it, with all kinds of beautiful colours. The sun is a thing I often dream about seeing, going down like a ball of fire at the close of the day. I never dreamt of the stars, nor the moon—it's mostly bright colours that I see.

"I have been under all the oculists I could hear of—Mr. Turnbull, in Russell-square, but he did me no good; then I went to Charing-cross, under Mr. Guthrie, and he gave me a blind certificate, and made me a present of half-a-sovereign; he told me not to have my eyes tampered with again, as the optic nerve was totally decayed. Oh, yes; if I had all the riches in the world I'd give them every one to get my sight back, for it's the greatest pressure to me to be in darkness. God help me! I know I am a sinner, and believe I'm so afflicted on account of my sins. No, sir, it's nothing like when you shut your eyes; when I had my sight, and closed mine, I remember I

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could still see the light through the lids, the very same as when you hold your hand up before the candle; but mine's far darker than that—pitch black. I see a dark mass like before me, and never any change—everlasting darkness, and no chance of a light or shade in this world. But I feel consolated some how, now it is settled; although it's a very poor comfort after all. I go along the streets in great fear. If a baby have hold of me, I am firm, but by myself, I reel about like a drunken man. I feel very timid unless I have hold of something—not to support me, but to assure me I shall not fall. If I was going down your staircase, sir, I should be all right so long as I touched the bannister, but if I missed that, I'm sure I should grow so giddy and nervous I should fall from the top to the bottom. After losing my sight, I found a great difficulty in putting my food into my mouth, for a long time—six months or better—and I was obliged to have some one to guide my hand, for I used often to put the fork up to my forehead instead of my mouth. Shortly after my becoming quite blind, I found all my other senses much quickened—my hearing—feeling—and reckoning. I got to like music very much indeed; it seemed to elevate me—to animate and cheer me much more than it did before, and so much so now, that when it ceases, I feel duller than ever. It sounds as if it was in a wilderness to me—I can't tell why, but that's all I can compare it to; as if I was quite alone with it. My smell and taste is very acute" (he was given some violets to smell)—"Oh, that's beautiful," he cried, "very reviving indeed. Often of an evening, I can see things in my imagination, and that's why I like to sit alone then; for of all the beautiful thoughts that ever a man possessed, there's none to equal a blind man's, when he's by hisself.

"I don't see my early home, but occurrences that has recently took place. I see them all plain before me, in colours as vivid as if I had my sight again, and the people all dressed in the fashion of my time; the clothes seem to make a great impression on me, and I often sit and see in my mind master tailors trying a coat on a gentleman, and pulling it here and there. The figures keep passing before me like soldiers, and often I'm so took by them that I forget I'm blind, and turn my head round to look after them as they pass by me. But that sort of thinking would throw me into a melancholly—it's too exciting while it lasts, and then leaves me dreadful dull afterwards. I have got much more melancholy since my blindness; before then, I was not seriously given, but now I find great consolation in religion. I think my blindness is sent to try my patience and resignation, and I pray to the Almighty to give me strength to bear with my affliction. I was quick and hot-tempered before I was blind, but since then, I have got less hasty like; all other troubles appears nothing to me. Sometimes I revile against my affliction—too frequently—but that is at my thoughtless moments, for when I'm calm and serious, I feel thankful that the Almighty has touched me with his correcting rod, and then I'm happy and at peace with all the world. If I had run my race, and not been stopped, I might never have believed there was a God. My wife works at the 'sauk work.' She makes soldiers' coats; she gets 1*s.* 1*d.* for making one, and that's nearly a day and a half's work; then she has to find her own trimmings, and they're 1*d.* It takes her 16 hours to finish one garment, and the over-work at that is beginning to make her like as I was myself. If she takes up a book to read to me now, it's all like a dirty mass before her, and that's just as my sight was before I lost it altogether. She slaves hard to help me; she's anxious and willing—indeed too much so. If she could get constant work, she might perhaps make about 7*s.* a week; but as it is, her earnings are, take one week with another, not more than 3*s.* Last week she earned 5*s.*; but that was the first job of work she'd had to do for two months. I think the two of us make on an average about 8*s.*; and out of that there is three people to keep—our two selves and our boy. Our rent is 2*s.* 6*d.*, so that after paying that, we has about 5*s.* 6*d.* left for food, firing, and clothing for the whole of us. How we do it I can't tell; but I know we live very, very hard: mostly on pieces of bread that the men gives to me and my boy, as we go round to the workshops. If we was any of us to fall ill, we must all go to the parish; if my boy was to go sick, I should be left without any one to lead me about, and that would be as bad as if I was laid-up myself; and if anything was to happen to my wife, I'd be done clean altogether. But yet the Lord is very good, and we'd get out of that, I dare say. If anything was to drive me to the parish, I should lose all hopes of getting some help from the blind institutions; and so I dread the workhouse worse than all. I'd sooner die on the step of a door, any time, than go there and be what they call well kept. I don't know why I should have a dislike to going there, but yet I do possess it. I do believe, that any one that is willing to work for their bread, hates a workhouse; for the workhouse coat is a slothful, degrading badge. After a man has had one on his back, he's never the same. I would'nt go for an order for relief so long as I could get a halfpenny loaf in twenty-four hours. If I could only get some friend to give me a letter of recommendation to Mr. Day's Charity for the Blind, I should be happy for the rest of my days. I could give the best of references to any one who would take pity on me in my affliction."

The Public-House Hawkers of Metal Spoons, etc.

The public-house hawkers are never so prosperous as those who confine their calling to private houses; they are often invited to partake of drink; are not the most industrious class of hawkers, and, to use their own language, are more frequently *hard up* than those who keep away from tap-room selling. The profits of the small hawkers in public-houses vary considerably. Some of them, when they have earned a shilling or two,

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THE STREET-SELLER OF CROCKERY-WARE

BARTERING FOR OLD CLOTHES.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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are content to spend it before they leave the tap-room, and so they lose both their stock and profit. I do not mean to infer that this is the case with the whole of the public-house hawkers, for some among them strive hard to better their condition, and occasionally succeed; but there are too many who are content to drawl out their existence by always suffering to-morrow to provide for itself. The man who gave me the routine of small hawkers' business I found in a tap-room in Ratcliffe Highway. He was hawking tea-spoons, and all the stock he possessed was half-a-dozen. These he importuned me to purchase with great earnestness. He prayed of me to lay out a trifle with him. He had not taken a penny the whole day he said, and had nothing to eat. "What's much worse for such as me," he added, "I'm dying for a glass of rum." I might have his tea-spoons, he told me, at any price. If I would but pay for a glass of rum for him they should be mine. I assured him some bread and cheese would do him more good, as he had not eaten anything that day; but still he *would* have the rum. With a trembling hand he threw the liquor down his throat, smacked his lips, and said "that there dram has saved my life." A few minutes afterwards he sold his spoons to a customer for sixpence; and he had another glass of rum. "*Now*," said he, "I'm all right for business; if I'd twopence more I could buy a dozen tea-spoons, and I should earn a 'bob' or two yet before I went to bed." After this he grew communicative, and told me he was as good a hawker as there was in London, and he thought he could do more than any other man with a small stock. He had two or three times resolved to better himself, and had '*put in the pin*,' meaning he had made a vow to refrain from drinking; but he had broken out again and gone on in his old course until he had melted the whole of his stock, though twice it had, during his sobriety, amounted to 5*l.*, and was often worth between 2*l.* and 3*l.* It was almost maddening when he came to his senses, he said, to find he had acted so foolishly; indeed, it was so disheartening to discover all the result of his good resolutions dissipated in a moment, that he declared he never intended to try again. After having drunk out his stock, he would if possible commence with half-a-dozen Britannia metal tea-spoons; these cost him 6*d.*, and would sell for 9*d.* or 1*s.* When one half-dozen were disposed of he would procure another, adding a knife, or a comb or two. If entirely destitute, he would stick a needle in a cork, and request to know of "the parties" assembled in some tap-room, if they wanted anything in the ironmongery line, though the needle was all the stock he had. This was done for the purpose of "raising the wind;" and by it he would be sure to obtain a glass or two of ale if he introduced himself with his "ironmongery establishment" among the sailors. Sometimes he would manage to beg a few pence, and then he would purchase a knife, pair of braces, or half-a-dozen tea-spoons, and begin to practise his trade in a legitimate manner. In answer to my inquiry he said he had not always been a hawker. His father had been a soldier, and he had worked in the armoury. His father had been discharged upon a pension, and he (the hawker) left the army with his parents. He had never enlisted while his father was a soldier, but he had since. His mother adopted the business of a hawker upon the receipt of his father's first quarter's pension; and then he used to accompany her on her rounds. With the pension and the mother's exertions they managed to subsist tolerably well. "Being the only child, I was foolishly spoilt by my parents," he said; "and when I was a very young man—15 or 16—I became a great trouble to them. At 18 I enlisted in the 7th Fusileers, remained in the regiment three months, and then, at my own request, was bought off. My mother sold off most of her stock of goods to raise the money (twenty pounds). When I returned home I could not think of trudging by my mother's side, as I had been used to do when carrying the goods; nor did I feel inclined to exert myself in any way for my own support. I considered my mother had a right to keep me without my working, and she, poor thing, thought so too. I was not only supported in idleness, but my mother would give me many a shilling, though she could ill afford it, for me to spend with my companions. I passed most of my time in a skittle ground. I was not what you might term a skittle sharp, for I never entered into a plot to victimise any person, although I confess I have often bet upon the 'greenness' of those who were silly enough to make wagers that they could not possibly win. Sometimes, after I had lost the trifle supplied me by my mother, I would return, and be blackguard enough to assume the bully unless my demands on her for a further supply were attended to. Poor thing, she was very meek, and with tears in her eyes she would grant my request. I often weep when I think how I treated her" (here the tears trickled down the man's cheek), "and yet, badly as I used her, in my heart I loved her very much. I got tired of the skittle grounds in consequence of getting into a hobble relative to a skittle swindle: some sharpers had obtained a flat; I was speculating in a small way, betting pennies and twopences in such a manner as always to win; I was practising upon the flat upon my own account, without having any connection with the others; they fleeced their dupe out of several pounds, and he made a row about it. The police interfered, and I was singled out as one of the gang; the principals were also apprehended; they got six months each, and I was accommodated with a month's board and lodging at the expense of the nation. I thought this at the time unjust, but I was as culpable as any of them, for at the time I only regretted I had not more money to stake larger wagers, and envied the other parties who were making a better thing of the business than I was. When I came out of jail, my poor mother treated me as a martyr. She thought I was as innocent as a child. Shortly after my release from prison my father died, and with him went the pension of course. I was then obligated to do something for myself. A few shillings' worth

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of goods only were procured—for my father's funeral and my extravagances had sadly crippled my mother's means. I behaved very well for a short time. My mother then was often ill, and she never recovered the death of my father. In about a year after my father died I lost my mother; our stock of goods had dwindled down to a very poor lot, and I was obligated to ask relief of the parish towards her funeral expenses. When all was over, the value of my goods and cash did not amount to 20*s*. Ten years have elapsed since my mother's death, and I don't think I have ever been, during the whole period, sober for a month together."

While I sat in this tap-room, I counted in the course of an hour and a quarter,—4 hawkers of sheep's trotters, who visited the place; 3 sellers of shrimps, pickled whelks, and periwinkles; 2 baked potato-sellers; 8 song-hawkers; the same number with lucifer matches; and 3 with braces, &c. Not one of these effected a sale.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF JEWELLERY.

THE jewellery now sold in the streets far exceeds, both in cheapness and quality, what was known even ten years ago. Fifty years ago the jewellery itinerant trade was almost entirely, if not entirely, in the hands of Jews, who at any rate professed to sell really gold articles, and who asked large prices; but these traders have lost their command over this, as I have shown that they have over other street callings, as not a twelfth of the street-jewellers are now Jews. A common trade among such street and country itinerant jewellers was in large watch seals, the bodies of which were of lead, more or less thickly plated with gold, and which were unsaleable even as old metal until broken to pieces,—but not always saleable then. The street or itinerant trade was for a long time afterwards carried on only by those who were regularly licensed as hawkers, and who preferred "barter" or "swopping" to actual sale, the barter being usually for other and more solid articles of the goldsmith's trade.

The introduction of "mosaic" and other cheap modes of manufacturing *quasi* gold ornaments, brought about considerable changes in the trade, pertaining, however, more to the general manufacture, than to that prepared for the streets.

The itinerants usually carry their wares in boxes or cases, which shut up close, and can be slung on the shoulder for conveyance, or hung round the neck for the purposes of sale. These cases are nearly all glazed; within them the jewellery is disposed in such manner as, in the street-seller's judgment, is the most attractive. A card of the larger brooches, or of cameos, often forms the centre, and the other space is occupied with the shawl-pins, with their globular tops of scarlet or other coloured glass: rings, armlets, necklaces, a few earrings and ear-drops, and sometimes a few side-combs, small medals for keepsakes, clasps, beads, and bead-purses, ornamental buttons for dresses, gilt buckles for waist-belts, thimbles, &c., constitute the street jeweller's stock-in-trade. The usual prices are from 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*; the price most frequently obtained for any article being 3*d.* It will be seen from the enumeration of the articles, that the stock is such as is required "for women's wear," and women are now almost the sole customers of the street-jewellers. "In my time, sir," said one elderly street-trader, "or rather, when I was a boy, and in my uncle's time—for he was in jewellery, and I helped him at times—quite different sorts of jewellery was sold, and quite different prices was had; what's a high figure now was a low figure then. I've known children's coral and bells in my uncle's stock—well, I don't know whether it was real coral or not—and big watch keys with coloured stones in the centre on 'em, such as I 've seen old gents keep spinning round when they was talking, and big seals and watch-chains; there weren't no guards then, as I remember. And there was plated fruit-knives—silver, as near as a toucher—and silver pencils (pencil-cases), and gilt lockets, to give your sweetheart your hair in for keepsakes. Lor' bless you! times is turned upside down."

The disposition of the street-stalls is somewhat after the same fashion as that in the itinerant's box, with the advantage of a greater command of space. Some of the stalls—one in Tottenham-court Road, I may instance, and another in White-chapel—make a great show.

I did not hear of any in this branch of the jewellery trade who had been connected with it as working jewellers. I heard of two journeymen watchmakers and four clockmakers now selling jewellery (but often with other things, such as eye-glasses) in the street, but that is all. The street mass selling jewellery in town and country are, I believe, composed of the various classes who constitute the street-traders generally.

Of the nature of his present trade, and of the class of his customers, I had the following account from a man of twelve years' experience in the vending of street jewellery:—

"It's not very easy to tell, sir," he said, "what sells best, for people begins to suspect everything, and seems to think they 're done if they give 3*d.* for an agate brooch, and finds out it ain't set in gold. I think agate is about the best part of the trade now. It seems a stone as is easy imitated. Cornelians, too, ain't so bad in brooches—people likes the colour; but not what they was, and not up to agates. But nothing is up to what it once was; not in the least. Sell twice as much—when you can, which often stands over till to-morrow come-never—and get half the profit. I don't expect very much from the Great Exhibition. They sends goods so cheap from Germany, they 'll think anything dear in London, if it's only at German prices. I think it's a mistake to fancy that the cheaper a jewellery article is the more you 'll sell of it. You won't. People 's of opinion—at least that's my notion of it—that it's so common everybody 'll have it, and so they won't touch it. It 's Thames water, sir, against beer, is poor low-priced jewellery, against tidy and fair-priced; but then the low-priced has now ruined the other sorts, for they 're all thought to go under the same um-

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brella,—all of a sort; 1*s.* or 1*d.* Why, as to who 's the best customers, that depends on where you pitches your pitch, or works your round, and whether you are known, or are merely a upstart. But I can tell you, sir, who 's been my best customers—and is yet, but not so good as they was —and that 's women of the town; and mostly (for I 've tried most places) about Ratcliff Highway, Whitechapel, Mile-end-road, Bethnal-green, and Oxford-street. The sailors' gals is the best of all; but a'most all of them is very particular, and some is uncommon tiresome. 'I'm afeard,' they says, 'this colour don't suit my complexion; it 's too light, or it 's too dark. How does that ring show on my finger?' I 've known some of the fat and fair ones—what had been younger, but would be older—say, 'Let me have a necklace of bright black beads;' them things shows best with the fat 'uns—but in gen'ral them poor creatures is bad judges of what becomes them. The things they 're the most particular of all in is necklaces. Amber and pearl sells most. I have them from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* I never get more than 1*s.* 6*d.* Cornelian necklaces is most liked by children, and most bought for them. I 've trusted the women of the town, and trust them still. One young woman in Shadwell took a fancy the t' other week for a pearl necklace, 'it became her so,' which it didn't; and offered to pay me 6*d.* a week for it if I wouldn't sell it away from her. The first week she paid 6*d.*; the second nothing; and next week the full tip, 'cause her Jack had come home. I never lost a halfpenny by the women. Yes, they pays you a fairish price, but nothing more. Sometimes they 've beat me down 1*d.*, and has said, 'It 's all the money I has.'

"It 's not very long ago that one of them offered me a fine goold watch which I could have bought at any price, for I saw she knew nothing of what it was worth. I never do anything that way. I believe a very few in my line does, for they can't give the prices the rich fences can. It 's common enough for them gals to ask any street-jeweller they knows how much a watch ought to pop for, or to sell for, afore they tries it on. But it isn't they as tries it on, sir; they gets some respeckbel old lady, or old gent, to do that for them. I 've had cigars and Cavendish of them; such as seamen had left behind them; you know, sir, I've never given money, only jewellery for it. Plenty of shopkeepers is glad to buy it of me, and not at a bad price. They asks no questions, and I tells them no lies. One reason why these gals buys free is that when the jewellery gets out of order or out of fashion, they can fling it away and get fresh, it 's so cheap. When I 've had no money on a day until I has sold to these women, I 've oft enough said, 'God bless 'em!' Earrings is hardly any go now, sir; nothing to what they was; they 're going out. The penny jewellery 's little good; it 's only children what buys, or gets it bought for them. I sell most of brooches from 3*d.* to 6*d.*, very seldom higher, and bracelets—they calls them armlets now—at the same price. I buys all my goods at a swag-shop: there 's no other market. Watchguards was middling sale, both silver and goold, or washed white and washed yellow, and the swags made money in them; but instead of 1*s.*, they 're not to be sold at a Joey now, watchguards ain't, if a man patters ever so."

I am informed that there are not less than 1000 individuals who all buy their jewellery at the London swag-shops, and sell it in the streets, with or without other articles, but principally without; and that of this number 500 are generally in London and its suburbs, including such places as Gravesend, Woolwich, and Greenwich. Of these traders about one-tenth are women; and in town about three-fifths are itinerant, and the others stationary. One-half, or thereabouts, of the women, are the wives of street-sellers; the others trade on their own account. A few "swop" jewellery for old clothes, with either the mistress or the maids. Four or five, when they see a favourable opportunity, offer to tell any servant-maid her fortune. "'Buy this beautiful agate brooch, my dear,' the woman 'll say, 'and I 'll only charge you 1*s.* 6*d.*'—a German thing, sir, costing her seven farthings one street-jeweller informed me,—'and I 'll tell you your fortune into the bargain.'"

One "old hand" calculated, that when a street-jeweller could display 50*s.* worth of stock, he could clear, all the year round, 15*s.* a week. "People," said this man, "as far as I've known the streets, like to buy of what they think is a respectable man, and seemingly well to do; they feel safe with him." Those, however, who cannot boast so large a stock of jewellery as 50*s.* worth, may only clear 10*s.* instead of 15*s.* weekly. One trader thought that the average earnings of his fraternity might be taken at 12*s.* a week; another—and both judged from their own experience—thought 10*s.* 6*d.* was high enough. Calculating, then, at a weekly profit of 10*s.* 6*d.*, and a receipt of 18*s.* per individual, we find 23,410*l.* expended in the street-trade, including the sales at Gravesend, Woolwich, and Greenwich; where—both places being resorted to by pleasure-seekers and seamen—the trade is sometimes considerable; watches, which now are almost unknown in a regular street-trade, there forming an occasional part of it.

Of The Pedlar-Jewellers.

I have heard a manufacturer of Birmingham jewellery assert, that one pound of copper was sufficient to make 10*l.* worth of jewellery; consequently, the material to provide the unmanufactured stock in trade of a wholesale dealer in Birmingham jewellery, is not over expensive. It may be imagined then that the pedlars who hawk jewellery do not invest a very great capital in the wares they sell; there are some few, however, who have very valuable stocks of goods, pedlars though they be. This trade is principally pursued by Jews, and to a great extent (especially in a small way) by foreign Jews. The Jews are, I think, more attentive to the wants of their poorer brethren than other people; and instead of supplying them with trifling sums of money, which must necessarily soon be

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expended, they give them small quantities of goods, so that they may immediately commence foraging for their own support. Many of these poor Jews, when provided with their stock of merchandise, can scarcely speak a word of English, and few of them know but little respecting the value of the goods they sell; they always take care to ask a good price, leaving plenty of room for abatement. I heard one observe that they could not easily be taken in by being overcharged, for according what they paid for the article they fixed the price upon it. Some of these men, notwithstanding their scanty knowledge of the trade at starting, have eventually become excellent judges of jewellery; some of them, moreover, have acquired riches in it; indeed from the indomitable perseverance of the Hebrew race, success is generally the result of their untiring industry. If once you look at the goods of a Jew pedlar, it is not an easy matter to get out of his clutches; it is not for want of perseverance if he does not bore and tease you, until at length you are glad to purchase some trifle to get rid of him. One of my informants tells me he is acquainted with several Jews, who now hold their heads high as merchants, and are considered very excellent judges of the wares they deal in, who originally began trading with but a small stock of jewellery, and that a charitable donation. As well as Jews there are Irishmen who deal in such commodities. The pedlar generally has a mahogany box bound with brass, and which he carries with a strap hung across his shoulder; when he calls at a house, an inquiry is made whether there is any old silver or gold to dispose of. "I will give you a full price for any such articles." If the lady or gentleman accosted seems to be likely to buy, the box is immediately opened and a tempting display of gold rings, chains, scent-boxes, lockets, brooches, breast-pins, bracelets, silver thimbles, &c., &c., are exposed to view. All the eloquence the pedlar can command is now brought into play. The jewellery is arranged about the persons of his expected customers to the best advantage. The pedlar says all he can think of to enhance their sale: he will chop and change for anything they may wish to dispose of—any old clothes, books, or useless lumber may be converted into ornaments for the hair or other parts of dress. The Irish pedlar mostly confines his visits to the vicinity of large factories where there are many girls employed; these he supplies with earrings, necklaces, shawl-pins, brooches, lockets, &c., which are bought wholesale at the following prices:—Earrings and drops at from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 12*s*. per dozen pairs; the 3*d*. earring is a neat little article says my informant, and those sold at 1*s*. each, wholesale, are gorgeous-looking affairs; many of the latter have been disposed of by the pedlars at 1*l*. the pair, and even a greater price. Necklaces are from 5*s*. to 1*l*. per dozen. Lockets may be purchased wholesale at from 2*s*. to 10*s*. per dozen; guard chains (German silver) are 4*s*. per dozen; gilt heavy-looking waistcoat chains 6*s*. per dozen: and all other articles are equally low in price. The pedlar jeweller can begin business "respectably" for two pounds. His box costs him 7*s*. 6*d*.; half-a-dozen pairs of earrings of six different sorts, 3*s*.; half-a-dozen lockets (various), 1*s*. 9*d*.; half-a-dozen guard chains, 2*s*.; half-a-dozen shawl brooches, 2*s*. 6*d*.; one dozen breast-pins (different kinds), 3*s*.; one dozen finger rings of various descriptions, 3*s*. 6*d*.; half-a-dozen brooches at 4*d*. each, 2*s*.; one dozen necklaces (a variety), at 6*s*.; three silver pencil-cases at 1*s*. 9*d*. each, 5*s*. 3*d*.; half-a-dozen waistcoat chains, 3*s*.; one silver toothpick, at 1*s*. 6*d*. These make altogether two pounds. If the articles are arranged with taste and seeming care (as if they were very valuable), with jeweller's wadding under each, and stuck on pink cards, &c., while the finger rings are inserted in the long narrow velvet-lined groove of the box, and the other "valuables" well spread about the little portable shop—they may be made to assume a very respectable and almost "rich" appearance. Many who now have large establishments commenced life with much less stock than is here mentioned. The Jews, I do not think, continues my informant, are the best salesmen; and the fact of their being Israelites is, in many instances, a bar to their success; country people, especially, are afraid of being taken in by them. The importunities and appeals of the Hebrew, however, are far more urgent than any other tradesman; and they always wait where they think there's the slightest chance of effecting a sale, until the door is slammed in their face. I believe there are not, at the present time, many (especially small traders) who deal exclusively in jewellery; they mostly add other small and light articles—such as fancy cutlery, side combs, &c. There may, at a rough guess, be 500 of them travelling the country; half the number are poor foreign Jews; a quarter are Jews, who have, perhaps, followed the same calling for years; and the remaining quarter, a mixture of Irish and English, with a small preponderance of Irishmen. All these "swop" their goods for old gold and silver, and frequently realize a large sum, by changing the base metal for the sterling article. Their goods are always sold as being gold or silver—If asked whether a particular article be gold, they reply "It's jewellers' gold;" "Is this ring gold?" inquires the customer, taking one from the box—"No, ma'am, I wouldn't deceive you!" is the answer, "*that* is not gold; but here is one," adds the pedlar (taking up one exactly of the same description, and which cost the same price) "which is of a similar shape and fashion, and the best jeweller's gold that is made." The profits of the pedlar-jewellers it is almost impossible to calculate, for they will sell at any price upon which the smallest amount of profit can be realized. The foreign Jews, especially, will do this, and it is not an unusual circumstance for one of these men to ask 5*s*. for an article which originally cost them 3*d*., and which they will eventually sell for 4*d*.

In London there are about 200 hawkers of jewellery, who visit the public-houses; but few of these have boxes—they invite customers by displaying some chains in their hands, or having one or two arranged in front of their waistcoats, while

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the smaller articles are carried in their waistcoat pockets. The class of persons who patronize the public-house hawkers are those who visit the taprooms of taverns, and countrymen in the vicinity of Smithfield upon market days, (one of the hawkers tells me, that they succeed better upon the hay-market days than at the cattle sales, for the butchers, they say, are too "fly" for them. Sailors are among their best customers, but the coster-girls are very fond of drop earrings and coral beads; the sailors, however, give the best prices of all. I am told that the quantity of old gold and silver which the country pedlars obtain in exchange for their goods is "astonishing;" and there have been occasions on which a pedlar has been enriched for life by one single transaction of barter; some old and unfashionable piece of jewellery, that they received for their goods, has been composed of costly stones, which had lain by for years, and of which the pedlar's customer was unacquainted with the value. The more respectable jewellery pedlars put up at the better class of public-houses, and, even after their day's travels are over, they still have an eye to business; they open the box upon the table of the tap-room where they are lodging, and, under the pretence of cleaning or arranging their goods, temptingly display their glittering stock. The bar-maid, kitchen-maid, the landlady's daughter, or perhaps the landlady herself, admires some ornaments, which the pedlar declares would become them vastly. He hangs a necklace upon the neck of one of them; holds a showy earring and drop to the ear of another; facetiously inquires of the girls whether they are not likely to want something of this sort shortly—as he holds up first a wedding-ring, and then a baby's coral; or else he exhibits a ring set with Turquoise, or pearls and small diamonds in a cluster, to the landlady, and tries it on her finger; and by such arts a sale that will cover his expenses is generally effected. There is one peculiarity these men have when bartering their goods. A worn-out ornament of jewellery is brought to them, and, although it be brass, the pedlar never attempts to undeceive the possessor, if he finds it is considered to be genuine. Of course he never gives cash for such articles; but he offers a large price in barter. "I will take 10*s.* for this ring, and allow you 5*s.* for the old one," says the pedlar. It would never do to say the ornament was not gold; the customer bought it years ago for such, and no one ever disputed its being the precious metal; should our pedlar do so, he might as well shut up shop immediately. The lady would be angry and suspicious; neither would she believe him, but rather suspect that he wanted only to cheat her; consequently the pedlar barters, obtains the old ring, or some other article, and 5*s.*, for his commodity; and though the article he has taken in exchange is worth only a few pence, he very likely profits to the amount of 200 per cent. upon the cash received. The pedlars of lesser consequence put up at humble private or public-houses, and some of them at the common lodging-houses. Those who have only small stocks confine their visits to farm-houses and villages.

Of the Street-Sellers of Card-Counters, Medals, etc.

The "card-counters," or, as I have heard them sometimes called by street-sellers, the "small coins," are now of a very limited sale. The slang name for these articles is "Jacks" and "Half Jacks." They are sold to the street-people at only two places in London; one in Holborn, and the other at Black Tom's (himself formerly a street-seller, now "a small swag"), in Clerkenwell. They are all made in Birmingham, and are of the size and colour of the genuine sovereigns and half sovereigns; but it is hardly possible that any one who had ever received a sovereign in payment, could be deceived by the substitution of a Jack. Those now sold in the streets are much thinner, and very much lighter. Each presents a profile of the Queen; but instead of the superscription "Victoria Dei Gratiâ" of the true sovereign, the Jack has "Victoria Regina." On the reverse, in the place of the "Britanniarum Regina Fid. Def." surrounding the royal arms and crown, is a device (intended for an imitation of St. George and the Dragon) representing a soldier on horseback—the horse having three legs elevated from the ground, while a drawn sword fills the right hand of the equestrian, and a crown adorns his head. The superscription is, "to Hanover," and the rider seems to be sociably accompanied by a dragon. Round the Queen's head on the half Jack is "Victoria, Queen of Great Britain," and on the reverse the Prince of Wales's feather, with the legend, "The Prince of Wales's Model Half Sovereign."

Until within these five or six years the gilt card-counters had generally the portraiture of the monarch, and on the reverse the legend "Keep your temper," as a seasonable admonition to whist players. Occasionally the card-counter was a gilt coin, closely resembling a sovereign; but the magistracy, eight or nine years back, "put down" the sale of these imitations.

Under another head will be found an account of the use made of these sovereigns, in pretended wagers. A further use of them was to add to the heaps of apparent gold at the back of the table-keeper in a race booth, when gambling was allowed at Epsom, and the "great meetings."

There are now only two men regularly selling Jacks in the streets. There have been as many as twelve. One of these street-sellers is often found in Holborn, announcing "30*s.* for 1*d.*! 30*s.* for 1*d.*! cheapest bargain ever offered; 30*s.* for 1*d.*!"

The Jacks cost, wholesale, 4*s.* 6*d.* the gross; the half Jacks 2*s.* 9*d.* The two are sold for 1*d.* If the sale be not brisk, the street-seller will give a ring into the bargain. These rings cost 1*s.* the gross, or the third part of a farthing each.

If there be, on the year's average, only two street-sellers disposing of the Jacks, and earning 9*s.* a week—to earn which the receipts will be about 20*s.*—we find 104*l.* expended in the streets on these trifles.

Of medals the street sale is sometimes considerable, at others a mere nothing. When a

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popular subject is before the public, many of the general patterers "go to medals." I could not learn that any of the present street-people vended medals in the time of the war; I believe there are none at present among the street folk who did so. I am told that the street sale in war medals was smaller than might reasonably have been expected. The manufacture of those articles in the Salamanca, Vittoria, and even Waterloo days, was greatly inferior to what it is at present, and the street price demanded was as often 6*d.* as a smaller sum. These medals in a little time presented a dull, leaden look, and the knowledge that they were "poor things" seems to have prevented the public buying them to any extent in the streets, and perhaps deterred the street-sellers from offering them. Those who were the most successful of the medal-sellers had been, or assumed to have been, soldiers or seamen.

Within the last eighteen years, or more, there has hardly been any public occurrence without a comparatively well-executed medal being sold in the streets in commemoration of it. That sold at the opening of London-bridge was, I am told, considered "a superior thing," and the improvement in this art or manufacture has progressed to the present time. Within the last three years the most saleable medals, an experienced man told me, were of Hungerford Suspension (bridge), the New Houses of Parliament, the Chinese Junk, and Sir Robert Peel. The Thames Tunnel medals were at one time "very tidy," as were those of the New Royal Exchange. The great sale is at present of the Crystal Palace; and one man had heard that there were a great many persons coming to London to sell them at the opening of the Great Exhibition. "The great eggs and bacon, I call it," he said; "for I hope it will bring us that sort of grub. But I don't know; I'm afraid there'll be too many of us. Besides, they say we shan't be let sell in the park."

The exhibition medal is as follows :—

What the street medal-sellers call the "right-side"—I speak of the "penny" medal, which commands by far the greatest sale—presents the Crystal Palace, raised from the surface of the medal, and whitened by the application of aqua fortis. The superscription is "THE BUILDING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, LONDON, 1851." On the "wrong side" (so called) is the following inscription, occupying the whole face of the medal:

THE CONSTRUCTION IS OF
IRON AND OF GLASS,
1848 FEET LONG.
ABOUT HALF IS 456 WIDE.
THE REMAINDER 408 FEET WIDE,
AND 66 FEET HIGH;
SITE, UPWARDS OF 20 ACRES.
COST £150,000.
JOSH. PAXTON, ARCHT.

The size of this medal is between that of a shilling and a half-crown.

A patterer, who used to sell medals on Sunday mornings in the park, informed me that he told his customers the Crystal Palace part was dead silver, by a new discovery making silver cheap; but for all that he would risk changing it for a four-penny bit!

The two-penny medal is after the same style, but the letters are more distinct. On my stating, to a medal-seller, that it was difficult to read the inscription on his "pennies," he said, "Not at all, sir; but it's your eyes is dazzled." This was said quietly, and with a touch of slyness, and I have no doubt was the man's "cut-and-dried" answer.

The patterer whom I have mentioned, told me, that encouraged by a tolerably sale and "a gathering of the aristocrats," on a very fine Sunday in January or February—he could not remember which—he ventured upon 6 "sixpenny medals," costing him 1*s.* 9*d.* He sold them all but one, which he showed me. It was exactly the size of a crown-piece. The Crystal Palace was "raised," and of "dead silver," as in the smaller medals. The superscription was the same as on the penny medal; but underneath the representation of the palace were raised figures of Mercury and of a naked personage, with a quill as long as himself, a cornucopia, and a bee-hive: this I presume was Industry. These twin figures are supporters to a medallion, crown-surmounted, of the Queen and Prince Albert: being also in "dead silver." On the reverse was an inscription, giving the dimensions, &c., of the building.

The medals in demand for street-sale in London seem to be those commemorative of local events only. None, for instance, were sold relating to the opening of the Britannia Bridge.

The wholesale price of the medals retailed in the street at 1*d.* is 7*s.* the gross; those retailed at 2*d.* are 12*s.* the gross, but more than three-fourths of those sold are penny medals. They are all bought at the swag-shops, and are all made in Birmingham. It is difficult to compute how many persons are engaged in this street trade, for many resort to it only on occasions. There are, however, from 12 to 20 generally selling medals, and at the present time about 30 are so occupied: they, however, do not sell medals exclusively, but along with a few articles of jewellery, or occasionally of such street stationery as letter stamps and "fancy" pens, with coloured glass or china handles. A fourth of the number are women. The weather greatly influences the street medal trade, as rain or damp dims their brightness. One seller told me that the day before I saw him he had sold only four medals. "I've known the trade, off and on," he said, "for about six years, and the greatest number as ever I sold was half-a-gross one Saturday. I cleared rather better than 3*s.* I sold them in Whitehall and by Westminster-bridge. There was nothing new among them, but I had a good stock, and it was a fine day, and I was lucky in meeting parties, and had a run for sets." By a "run for sets," my informant meant that he had met with customers who bought a medal of each of the kinds he displayed; this is called "a set."

An intelligent man, familiar with the trade, and who was in the habit of clubbing his stock-money with two others, that they might buy a gross at a time, calculated that 15 medal sellers were engaged in the traffic the year through, and earned, in medals alone, 6*d.* a day each, to clear

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which they would take 6*s.* 6*d.* weekly, giving a yearly outlay of 253*l.* 10*s.* It must be remembered, to account for the smallness of the earnings, that the trade in medals is irregular, and the calculation embraces all the seasons of the trade.

On occasions when medals are the sole or chief articles of traffic, they are displayed on a tray, which is a box with a lid, and thus look bright as silver on the faded brown velvet, with which the box is often lined. Among the favourite pitches are Oxford-street, the approaches to London, Blackfriars, Westminster, and Waterloo-bridges, the railway stations, and the City-road.

Of small coins (proper) there is now no sale in the streets. When there was an issue of half-farthings, about seven years ago, the street-sellers drove a brisk trade, in vending them at four a penny, urging on the sale before the coins got into circulation, which they never did. "It's not often," said one patterer to me, "that *we* has anything to thank the Government for, but we may thank them for the half-farthings. I dare say at least 30 of us made a tidy living on them for a week or more; and if they wasn't coined just to give us a spirt, I should like to know what they *was* coined for! I once myself, sir, for a lark, gave one to a man that swept a capital crossing, and he was in a thundering passion, and wanted to fight me, when I told him they was coined to pay the likes of him!"

There was afterwards a tolerable sale of the "new silver pennies, just issued from the Mint, three ha'pence each, or 7 for 6*d.*;" also of "genuine models of the new English florin, only 1*d.*:" both of these were fictitious.

Of the Street-Sellers of Rings and Sovereigns for Wagers.

This class is hardly known in the streets of London at present. Country fairs and races are a more fitting ground for the ring-seller's operations. One man of this class told me that he had been selling rings, and occasionally medals, for wagers for this last fifteen years. "It 's only a so-so game just now," he said; "the people get so fly to it. A many hold out their penny for a ring, and just as I suppose I 'm a going to receive it, they put the penny into their pockets, and their thumb upon their nose. I wish I had some other game, for this is a very dickey one. I gives 3*d.* a-dozen for the rings at the swag shop; and sometimes sells a couple of dozen in a day, but seldom more. Saturday is no better day than any other. Country people are my best customers. I know them by their appearance. Sometimes a person in the crowd whispers to others that he bought one the other day and went and pawned it for 5*s.*, and he 'd buy another, but he 's got no money. I don't ask for such assistance; I suppose it 's done for a lark, and to laugh at others if they buy. Women buy more frequently than any one else. Several times since I have been on this dodge, women have come back and abused me because the ring they bought for a penny was not gold. Some had been to the pawn shop, and was quite astonished that the pawnbroker wouldn't take the ring in. I do best in the summer at races: people think it more likely that two sporting gents would lay an out of the way wager (as you know I always make out) then than at any other time. I have been interfered with at races before now for being an impostor, and yet at the same time the gamblers was allowed to keep their tables; but of course theirs was all fair—no imposition about them—oh no! I am considered about one of the best patterers among our lot. I dare say there may be twenty on us all together, in town and country, on rings and sovereigns. Sometimes, when travelling on foot to a race or fair, I do a little in the *Fawney dropping* line;" (fawneys are rings;) "but that is a dangerous game, I never did it but two or three times. There were some got lagged for it, and that frightened me. In ring-dropping we pretend to have found a ring, and ask some simple-looking fellow if it 's good gold, as it 's only just picked up. Sometimes it is immediately pronounced *gold:* 'Well it 's no use to me,' we 'll say, 'will you buy it?' Often they are foolish enough to buy, and it 's some satisfaction to one's conscience to know that they think they are a taking you in, for they give you only a shilling or two for an article which if really gold would be worth eight or ten. Some ring-droppers write out an account and make a little parcel of jewellery, and when they pick out their man, they say, 'If you please, sir, will you read this for me, and tell me what I should do with these things, as I 've just found them?' Some people advise they should be taken to the police office—but very few say that; some, that they should be taken to the address; others, that they should be sold, and the money shared; others offer a price for them, stating that they 're not gold, they 're only trumpery they say, but they 'll give half-a-crown for them. It 's pleasant to take such people in. Sometimes the finder says he 's in haste, and will sell them for anything to attend to other business, and he then transfers his interest at perhaps 200 per cent. profit. This game won't friz now, sir, it 's very dangerous. I 've left it off long since. I don't like the idea of quod. I 've been there once." Another plan of dropping rings is to write a letter. This is the style:—

> "My dear Anne,
> "I have sent you the ring, and hope it will fit.—Excuse me not bringing it. John will leave it with you.—You know I have so much to attend to.—I shall think every minute a year until the happy day arrives.
> "Yours devotedly,
> "James Brown."

This love epistle containing the wedding-ring was most successful when it first came up, but the public now are too wide awake. According to another informant, the ring-dropping "lurk" is now carried on this way, for the old style is "coopered." "A woman" he says, "is made up so as to appear in the family-way—pretty far gone—and generally with a face as long as a boy's kite. Up she goes to any likely ken, where she knows there are women that are married or expect to get married, and commences begging. Then comes the tale of woe, if she can get them to

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listen—'I'm in the family-way,' she says, 'as you can plainly see *young ladies* (this she says to the *servants*, and that prides them you know). My husband has left me after serving me in this way. I don't know where he is, and am forced to solicit the ladies' charity.' Well, the servants will bring broken victuals and make a little collection among themselves for the 'unprotected female;' for which in return, with many thanks for their kindness, she offers her gold wedding-ring for sale, as she wants to get back to her suffering kids to give them something to eat, poor things, and they shall have the gold ring, she says, for half what it's worth; or if they won't buy it, will they lend 2*s.* or 3*s.* on it till she can redeem it, as she hasn't been in the habit of pledging! The girls are taken off their guard (she not being in the habit of pledging is a choker for them) by the woman's seeming simplicity, and there's a consultation. One says to the other—'Oh, you'll want it, Mary, for John;' and another, 'No, you'll want it first, Sally, for William.' But the woman has her eye on the one as says the least, as the likeliest of all to want it, and so she says to the John and William girls, 'Oh, you don't want it; but *here* (touching the silent one), here's a *young lady* as does,' (that sweetens the servant girl up directly.) She says, 'I don't want it, bless you (with a giggle), but I'll lend you a trifle, as you are in this state, and have a family, and are left like this by your husband—aint he cruel, Sally (she adds to her fellow-servant)?' The money the ring-woman gets, sir, depends upon the servant's funds; if it is just after quarter-day, she generally gets a tidy tip—if not, 4 or 5 bob. I've known one woman get 10*s.* and even 12*s.* this way. The ring is made out of brass gilt buttons, and stunning well: it's faked up to rights, and takes a good judge even at this day to detect it without a test."

"The best sort of rings for *fawney dropping* is the Belchers. They are a good thick looking ring, and have the crown and V. R. stamped upon them. They are 7*d.* a dozen. I takes my stand now, in my ring-selling, as if I was in a great hurry, and pulls out my watch. I used to have a real one, but now it's a dummy. 'Now, ladies and gentlemen,' says I, 'I am not permitted to remain more than ten minutes in one spot. I have rings to sell to decide a wager recently made between two sporting noblemen, to the effect that I do not sell a certain quantity of these rings in a given time, at a penny a piece. I can recommend the article as being well worth the money I ask for it, perhaps something more. I do not say they are gold; in fact, I must not say too much, as there is a person in this company watching my proceedings, and seeing that I do not remain more than ten minutes in this spot,'—here I always looks very hard at the most respectable and gentlemanly-looking person among my hearers, and sometimes gives him a wink, and sometimes a nod,—'but if you should hear anything more about these rings, and you want to purchase, don't be vexed if I am gone when you want me. The ten minutes has nearly expired; three minutes more; any more buyers? It makes no difference to me whether I sell or not—I get my pay all the same; but, if you take my advice, buy; and perhaps if you was to call at the sign of the Three Balls, as you go home, you may be agreeably surprised, and hear something to your advantage. Perhaps I have said too much. I have one minute more, before I close the establishment. After shutting the box, I dare not sell another in this spot, if you were to offer me 5*l.* for it; therefore, if you wish to purchase, now is your time.' I make many a pitch, and do not sell a single ring; and the insults I receive used to aggravate me very much, but I do not mind them now, I'm used to it. The flyest cove among all us ring-sellers is little Ikey, the Jew. There were two used to work the game. They had a real gold ring, just like the ones they were selling, and they always used to pitch near a pawnbroker's shop. Ikey's pal would buy a ring for a penny, of the street-seller, and would then say, loud enough to be heard by the bystanders, 'There's a pawn shop—I'll go and ask them to take it in.' A crowd would follow him. He would enter the pawnbroker's—present a real gold ring—obtain a loan of 5*s.*, and would present the ticket to the bystanders, who would then buy very fast. When the pitch was over, Ikey's pal would take the ring out of pawn, and away the two would go to work near some other pawnbroker's. I have heard Ikey say they have pawned the ring thirty-five times in a day. I tried the same caper; but my pal cut with the gold ring the first day, and I've never had another go at that *fake* since.

"Before I commenced the jewellery line," continued my candid informant, "a good many years ago, I used to hold horses about Bond-street. Afterwards I was taken as an errand boy at a druggist's, was out of an errand one day and got 6*d.* for holding a gentleman's horse, which kept me nearly an hour; when I went back to my master's I was told I wasn't wanted any more. I had been cautioned about stopping of errands two or three times before; however I didn't like the situation, it was too confining. I next got a place as pot-boy, in Brick Lane. Here I was out one day gathering in the pots. I hung the strap of pots to a railing to have a game at chances (pitch and toss), somebody prigged my strap of pots, and I cut. A few weeks after I was grabbed for this, and got a month at the mill; but I was quite innocent of prigging—I was only careless. When I came out of prison, I went to Epsom races, thinking to get a job there at something or other. A man engaged me to assist him in 'pitching the hunters.' Pitching the hunters is the three sticks a penny, with the snuffboxes stuck upon sticks; if you throw your stick, and they fall out of the hole, you are entitled to what you knock off. I came to London with my master the pitcher-hunter, he went to a swag shop in Kent-street, in the Borough, to purchase a new stock. I saw a man there purchasing rings, this was little Ikey, the Jew; some days afterwards I saw him making a pitch, and selling very fast. I had fourpence

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in my pocket; went to Kent-street, to the swag shops, bought a dozen rings, and commenced selling them. I sold that day three dozen; that wasn't bad considering that my toggery was very queer, and I looked anything but like one who would be trusted with ten pounds' worth of gold rings. This wager between the two sporting noblemen has been a long time settling. I've been at it more than fifteen years. The origin of it was this here: when sovereigns were first coined, the Jew boys and others used to sell medals and card-counters upon particular occasions, the same as they do now, and shove them in a saucepan lid, with silver paper under them. Captain Barclay, and another of the same sort, bet a wager, that one of these Jew-boys could not dispose of a certain number of real sovereigns in a given time, supposing the Jew-boy cried out nothing more than 'here's sovereigns, only a penny a piece.' The number he was to sell was 50 within the hour, and to take his station at London Bridge. The wager was made, the Jew-boy procured, and the sovereigns put into the pot lid. 'Here are real sovereigns a penny a piece, who'll buy?' he cried; but he sold only a few. The number disposed of, within the hour, I have heard, was seventeen. Those who purchased, when they found that they had really bought sovereigns at a penny a piece, returned for more, but the salesman was gone. A good harvest was afterwards reaped among the Jews, who got up a medal something like a sovereign, and sold them in every quarter of London, for the Captain's wager soon spread about everywhere. It's a stale game now; it was so before my time, but I've heard the Jews talk about it. The second day I tried the ring dodge, I was a little more successful; indeed every day for some time exceeded the day before, for, as I improved in patter, my sales increased. My appearance, too, was improving. At one time I was a regular swell, sported white kid gloves, white choker, white waistcoat, black ribbon, and a quizzing glass. Some people used to chaff me, and cry out 'there's a swell.' I never was saving, always spent my money as fast as I got it. I might have saved a goodish bit, and I wish I had now. I never had a wife, but I have had two or three broomstick matches, though they never turned out happy. I never got hold of one but what was fond of lush. I live in Westminster, at a padding-ken. I'd rather not tell you where, not that I've anything to fear, but people might think I was a *nose*, if anybody came after me, and they would crab me. I'd rather get something else to do if I could, but I think this is the best street game I could follow. I don't believe any of the ring-sellers dispose of more than myself, except little Ikey; he now adds other articles, a silver thimble (he calls it), some conundrums, a song-book and a seal, and all for a penny. I tried the same thing, but found I could do just as well with the rings alone. We all expects to do great things during the Exhibition. I think all on us ought to be allowed to sell in the parks. Foreigners are invited to witness specimens of British Industry, and it's my opinion they should see all, from the highest to the lowest. We *did* intend petitioning the Prince on the subject, but I don't suppose it would be any go, seeing as how the slang coves" (the showmen), "have done so, and been refused."

Of the Street-Sellers of Children's Gilt Watches.

These articles were first introduced into general street sale about 10 years ago. They were then German made. The size was not much larger than that of a shilling, and to this tiny watch was appended as tiny a chain and seal. The street-price was only 1*d*., and the wholesale price was 8*s*. the gross. They were sold at eight of the swag-shops, all "English and foreign," or "English and German" establishments. From the price it would appear that the profit was 4*d*. a dozen, but as the street-sellers had to "take the watches as they came," the profit was but 3*d*., as a dozen watches in a gross had broken glasses, or were otherwise damaged and unsaleable. The supply of these watches was not equal to the demand, for when a case of them was received, "it could have been sold twice over." One street-seller told me that he had sold 15 and even 16 dozen of these watches on a day, and that once on a Saturday night, and early on Sunday morning, he had sold 2 gross, or 24 dozen. Such, however, was not the regular sale; a "good week" was a profit of 15*s*.

About six years ago gilt watches of a very superior kind were sold in the streets in a different way. They were French made, and were at first vended at 1*s*. each. Some were displayed in case-boxes, fitted up with divisions, in which were placed the watches with the guard-chains, about three-quarters of a yard long, coiled round them. There were also two or three keys, one in the form of a pistol. The others were hung from a small pole, sometimes a dozen, and sometimes two, being so suspended, and they had a good glittering appearance in a bright light; this street fashion still continues. The street-sellers, however, are anxious not to expose these watches too much, as they are easily injured by the weather, and any stain or injury is irreparable. The shilling sale continued prosperously for about six weeks, and then the wholesale price—owing, the street-sellers were told at the swag-shops, to "an opposition in the trade in Paris,"—was reduced to 4*s*. 6*d*. the dozen, and the retail street-price to 6*d*. each. When the trade was "at its best" there were thirty men and twenty women selling these watches, all May, June, and July, and each clearing from 12*s*. to 20*s*. (but rarely the latter sum) a week. Last "season" there were for the same period about half the number of sellers mentioned, averaging a profit of about 15*d*. a day each, or 9*s*. a week. The cry is—"Handsome present for 6*d*. Beautiful child's watch and chain, made of Peruvian metal, by working jewellers out of employ. Only 6*d*. for a handsome present."

The vendors of these watches are the regular

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street-sellers, some of them being tolerably good patterers. One of these men, in the second year of the street-sale of watches, appeared one morning in an apron and sleeves, to which brass and copper filings were made to adhere, and he announced himself as an English working jeweller unemployed, offering his own manufactures for sale, "better finished and more solider nor the French." The man's sale was greatly increased. On the following day, however, four other English working jewellers appeared in Leicester-square and its approaches, each in besprinkled apron and sleeves, and each offering the productions of his own handicraft! The apron and sleeves were therefore soon abandoned.

Among the best "pitches,"—for the watch-sellers are not itinerant, though they walk to and fro—are the Regent's-park, Leicester-square, the foot of London-bridge, and of Blackfriars-bridge, and at the several railway stations.

The principal purchasers, I was told by an intelligent patterer, who sometimes "turned his hand to the watches," were "fathers and mothers," he thought, "and them as wished to please such parties."

Calculating that twenty-five persons now vend watches for twelve weeks in the year, and—as they are 10 per cent. cheaper than they were at the swag-shops—that each clears 8*s.* weekly, we find 360*l.* yearly expended in London streets in these toy watches.

Of the Street-Sellers of Tinware.

The sellers of tins, who carry them under their arms, or in any way on a round, apart from the use of a vehicle, are known as hand-sellers. The word hand-seller is construed by the street-traders as meaning literally *hand-seller*, that is to say, a *seller* of things held or carried in the *hand;* but the term is clearly derived from the Scotch *hand-sell*, as in "handsell penny." Handsell, according to Jamieson, the Scotch etymologist, means, (1) "The first money that a trader receives for goods; also a gift conferred at a particular season. (2) A piece of bread given before breakfast." Ihre, the Gothic lexicographer, views the term handsell as having sprung from the Mæso-Gothic *hunsla* (sacrifice or offering). This is the same as the Anglo-Sax *husl* (the Eucharist), whence comes the English *housel* and *unhouseled;* and he considers the word to have originally meant a gift or offering of any kind. Hence, the hand-sellers of tin and other wares in the street, would mean simply those who *offered* such tin or other wares for sale. The goods they dispose of are dripping-pans (sometimes called "square pans"), sold at from 3*d.* to 18*d.*, the 3*d.* pans being "6 inch," and the 18*d.* "15 inch;" cullenders, 6*d.* to 9*d.*; hand-bowls, for washerwomen, 1*s.* (now a very small portion of the trade); roasting-jacks, with tin bodies, 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* (this used to be the best article for profit and ready sale in the trade, but "they are going out of date"); and the smaller articles of graters, &c.

The hand-sellers also trade in other articles which are less portable; the principal sale, however, is at "stands," and there chiefly on a Saturday night, the great business-time of street-commerce! These less portable articles are tea-kettles, 10*d.* to 18*d.*; saucepans of all sizes, the smallest being the "open pints" at 2*d.* or 2½*d.* each (they cost them 20*d.* a dozen; it's a bargain to get them at 18*d.*), and the largest the "nine quart;" but the kinds most in demand are the "three pints" and "two quarts," sold at 6*d.* and 8*d.* There are also fish-kettles in this street-traffic, though to a very limited extent—"one fish-kettle," I was told, "to four-and-twenty saucepans;" the selling price for the fish-kettles is 5*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* each; candlesticks are sold at 4*d.* to 1*s.*; and shaving-pots, 4*d.* A few tin things used to be sold at the mews, but the trade is now almost entirely abandoned. These were tins for singeing horses, 2*s.* 6*d.* each when first introduced, ten or twelve years ago, but now 1*s.*, and stable lanterns, of punched tin, which cannot be sold now for more than 1*s.* each, though they cost 10*s.* per dozen at a tin-shop.

There are other tin articles vended in the streets, but they will be more properly detailed in my account of street-artisans, as the maker and the street-seller are the same individual. Among these are Dutch ovens, which are rarely offered now by those who purchase their goods at the tin-shops, as the charge there is 6*d.* "Why," said a working tinman to me, "I've had 10*d.* many a week for making ovens, and the stuff found. It takes two plates of tin to make an oven, that's 3*d.* at any tin-shop, before a minute's labour is given to it, and yet the men who hawk their own goods sell their ovens regularly enough at 4*d.* It's the ruin of the trade." The tin-shops, I may observe, supply the artisans with the materials they require, as well as the ready-made articles, to the street-seller.

One of the largest street-stands "in tin" is in St. John-street, Clerkenwell, on Saturday evenings, but the proprietor pertains to the artisan class, though he buys some of his goods at the tin-shops.

The hand-sellers of tin are about 100 in number, and 60 of that number may be said to be wives and children of the remaining 40; as the majority of the itinerant vendors of tinware are married men with families. "Tins" are not a heavy carriage, and can very well be borne from house to house by women, while children sell such things as nutmeg-graters, pepper-boxes, extinguishers, and save-alls. Those who sell the larger tin articles in the streets are generally the makers of them. "A dozen years back or more, perhaps, there was," I was informed, "some prime block-tin tea-pots sold in the streets; there's none now. Metal's druv out tin."

Among the street tin-sellers I heard many complaints of the smallness, and the constantly diminishing rate of their earnings. "Our people has bad luck, too," said one man, "or they isn't wide awake. You may remember, sir, that a few weeks back, a new save-all came in, and was called candle-wedges, and went off well. It was a tin thing, and ought by rights to have been started by the tin-shops for us. But it was first put out by the

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swag-men at 3*s.* the gross. The first and second days the men were soon sold out. Them as could patter tidy did the best—I tried, but you see, sir, I'm no scholar. Well, they went at night to Mr. ——'s, in Houndsditch, I think it is, and he says, 'I'm out of them, but I'll have some in the morning.' They goes in the morning, and the swag says: 'O, I can't afford 'em at three shillings, you can have 'em at four.' He put 1*s.* exter on the gross, cause they sold, nothing else, sir; and a relation of mine heard the swag shopkeeper say, 'Why, they're cheap at four; Jim (the street-seller) there made 3*s.* 3*d.* on 'em yesterday. I ain't a going to slave, and pay rent, and rates, and taxes, to make *your* fortens; it ain't likely.' You see, sir, they was sold at ½*d.* each, and cost ¼*d.*, which is 3*d.* a dozen, and so the swag got a higher profit, while the poor fellows had to sell for less profit."

From the most reliable information which I could acquire, it appears that these tin-sellers, taken altogether, do not earn above 6*s.* a week each, as regards the adult men, and half that as regards the children and women. To realize this amount, the adults must take 13*s.*, and the women and children 7*s.*, for the latter are less "priced down." Thus, if we calculate an average receipt, per individual, of 10*s.* weekly, reckoning 100 sellers, we find a yearly expenditure on tins, bought in the street, of 2500*l.* The trade is greatest in the suburbs, and some men, who have become "known on their rounds," supply houses, by order, with all the tins they require.

There is a branch of the tin-trade carried on in a way which I have shown prevailed occasionally among the costermongers, viz., the selling of goods on commission. This system is now carried on among all the parties who trade "from" swag-barrows.

The word "*swag*" which has been so often used in this work of late, is, like many other of the street-terms, of Scotch origin (as *handseller*, and *busker*). The Scotch word is *sweg* or *swack*, and means, according to Jamieson, a quantity, a considerable number, a large collection of any kind. (The root appears to be an ancient German term, *sweig*—a flock, a herd.) Hence a Swag Warehouse is a warehouse containing a large collection of miscellaneous goods; and a Swag Barrow, a barrow laden with a considerable assortment of articles. The slang term *swag* means booty, plunder—that is to say, the collection of goods—the "lot," the "heap" stolen.

Of these swag-barrowmen, there are not less than 150, and the barrows are mostly the property of three individuals, who are not street-sellers themselves. One of these men has 50 barrows of his own, and employs 50 men to work them. The barrow proprietor supplies not only the vehicle, but the stock, and the men's remuneration is 3*d.* in the 1*s.* on the amount of sales. Each article they sell is charged to the public 1*d.* The tin-wares of the swag-barrows are nutmeg-graters, bread-graters, beer-warmers, fish-slices, goblets, mugs, save-alls, extinguishers, candle-shades, money-boxes, children's plates, and rattles. In addition to the tin-wares, the swag-barrows are stocked with brooches, rings, pot-ornaments, plates, small crockeryware, toys, &c., each article being also vended at 1*d.* The trade is so far stationary, that the men generally confine themselves to one neighbourhood, if not to one street. The majority of the swag-barrowmen have been costermongers, and nearly the whole have been engaged in street avocations all their lives. One man familiar with the trade thought I might state that the whole were of this description; for though there was lately a swag-barrowman who had been a tradesman in an extensive way, there was, he believed, no such exception at the present time. These barrowmen are nearly all uneducated, and are plodding and persevering men, though they make few exertions to better their condition. As the barrow and stock are supplied to them, without any outlay on their part, their faculties are not even sharpened, as among many of the costermongers, by the necessity of providing stock-money, and knowing how to bargain and buy to advantage. They have merely to sell. Their commission furnishes little or nothing more than the means of a bare subsistence. The great sale is on Saturday nights at the street-markets, and to the working people, who then crowd those places, and, as one said to me, "has a few pennies to lay out." At such times as much as 3*l.* has been taken by a swag-barrowman. During the other days of the week their earnings are small. It is considered a first-rate week, and there must be all the facilities for street-trade afforded by fine weather, to take 2*s.* a day (clearing 6*d*), and 3*l.* on a Saturday night. This gives the swag-barrowman a commission of 18*s.*; but I am informed, by competent persons, that the average of the weekly profits of these street-traders does not exceed 10*s.* a week. This shows a yearly receipt, by the men working the barrows, of 3900*l.* as their profit or payment, and a gross receipt of 11,700*l.* Of this large amount nearly two-thirds, I am assured, is expended on tin-wares.

The prime cost, at the tin-shops, of these wares, to the barrow proprietors, are 7*s.* and 7*s.* 6*d.* the gross, leaving from 1½*d.* to 2*d.* profit on every shilling, over the 3*d.* commission paid to the salesman. The tins are all made in London. The jewellery, and other stock of the swag-barrows, are bought at the general swag-shops, of which I have before spoken.

Of the Life of a Tin-Ware Seller.

The following street-biography was communicated to me in writing. It is, I believe, a striking instance of the vicissitudes and privations to which a street-life is subject. It forms, moreover, a curious example of those moral contradictions which make the same individual at one time give way *hopelessly* to the force of circumstances, and at another resolutely control them.

"My object," says my correspondent, "for writing this, what some folks no doubt will call a nonsensical epistle, is merely to show how much human nature is capable of enduring in the shape of privations. People in easy circumstances will

scarcely credit what I am about to relate; and many of the poor will smile at what I have termed hardships, and at my folly in endeavouring to paint the misery I have endured, which will appear slight when compared to what they themselves have suffered.

"I am the son of a mechanic who was accidentally drowned some weeks previous to my birth. My mother, through industry and perseverance, endeavoured to support me and my sister till we arrived at the ages of 15 and 18, I being the younger. I entered a gentleman's service as pantry-boy, where I continued until I considered myself competent to take a higher situation. Still a servant's life was not the bent of my inclinations; martial music and viewing soldiers on parade made me think that a rifle was a more graceful tool than a toasting-fork. I resolved to serve his Majesty, and for that purpose enlisted in the 60th Rifles on the route for India, but Providence ordained it otherwise. On the afternoon on which I 'listed I fell by accident and broke my leg, and as I was not sworn in I was entitled to no pension. I was six months confined to my bed, and it was three years before I could go without my crutch. Grief for my misfortunes had borne my mother to an early grave, and I was left a cripple and destitute. Whether by design or accident I do not recollect, but I met with the lady (Lady M———) in whose service I first entered as pantry-boy; she took pity on my forlorn condition, and kindly invited me to her Mansion, where I remained until completely restored to health, but still crippled. After this I was employed painting and glazing, &c., and, considering myself competent to get my living in that line, I resolved to go to London—the theatre of all my misery to come, for I was disappointed. On reaching the metropolis my paint-brush was turned into a shovel, my paint-pot into a dust sieve, for I could only get employed by a man to work in a dust-yard at 10*s.* a week. From thence I went to a firm belonging to a friend at Beckenham, near Croydon, as working time-keeper, or foreman; but during a fair in that village I neglected to back the time, and being discharged was cast upon the world again with only 3*s.* in my pocket, which I eat and drank up, having no idea of street trading. Then came my trials; but having had sufficient food during the day, I did not feel much the effects of my first night in the streets. The next day I had no food, and towards dusk began bitterly to feel my situation; that night I slept, or rather lay, in an empty house. Towards noon of the next day I felt weak, and drank large quantities of water, for I had no particular desire for food. Passing by a shop where old clothes were offered for sale, I saw a man wretched in appearance disposing of an old vest for a few pence. I caught the malady and was instantly spoiled of my coat, having received in exchange for it 2*s.* and an old frock—such as are generally worn by waggoners or countrymen. I more than once smiled at my novel appearance. A penny loaf, a drink of water, and a threepenny lodging was the first assault upon my 2*s.* I regretted, however, the 3*d.* paid for my lodging, and determined not to risk another, for my bedfellows were so numerous, and of such teazing propensities, that they would not allow me to sleep; truly indeed is it said that 'poverty makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows.' At this time I formed an acquaintance with a man whose condition was similar to my own; he engaged to put me 'fly to a dodge' or two; an explanation from him was necessary to make me acquainted with the sense of his words, which I soon found simply meant artful manœuvres. One of these dodges was to snooze (a term for sleeping) in the Adelphi arches; I felt grateful for such a mark of disinterested friendship, and next day my friend and me fared sumptuously on the produce of my coat, and at night we repaired to the Arches in question, and there found a comfortable lodging in a hay-loft. I lay for some time, but did not sleep. I was several times addressed by my companion in an under tone, 'Are you asleep,' he whispered, 'ain't it a stunning dos?' (which means a good bed). I was not in a mood for conversation, and made no reply; to silence him completely I affected to snore, and this had the desired effect. For a few minutes he was quite quiet, and then he commenced with great caution to unlace my boots, with a view to stealing them. I perceived his object, and immediately left my lodging and companion. I felt grieved and disappointed at the loss of one in whom I placed all confidence; but this time wisdom was purchased cheaply, inasmuch as I suffered no loss except that my money might have lasted me a little longer. The remainder of that night I strayed about the Strand and Charing cross, after a drink of water; I took a seat on a curb surrounding the pump; many wretched beings came and seated themselves beside me, and a conversation ensued respecting their several destinations during the day. One proposed going to Hungerford-market to do a feed on decayed shrimps or other offal laying about the market; another proposed going to Covent-garden to do a 'tightener' of rotten oranges, to which I was humorously invited; I accepted the invitation, and proceeded with my new companion. I fared well; I filled my hat, took a seat, and made a most delicious breakfast. I remained strolling about the Garden all day, and towards evening was invited by my companions to a 'dos' in an open shed in Islington; this I declined, alleging that I had a lodging, but that night I slept amongst a heap of stones near the pillar at Charing-cross. I continued to attend the Garden for several weeks, subsisting entirely on the offal of that market. One day I took notice of a man there selling chestnut leaves; I enquired how he obtained them: he told me he plucked them from the trees without hindrance, and directed me to where I could obtain some. I went to a grove in the vicinity of Kilburn, and lay there all night. Next morning I found no leaves, so I returned disappointed to town, and on going through the market a woman employed me to carry a bushel of pears some little distance for her for a penny. I felt quite elevated in anticipation of

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such a treat as a penny loaf, but alas! I fell down under the weight of the fruit and poverty; my employer, however, kindly gave me the penny, though some of her pears were injured, and I had not taken them half the required distance. With the money I purchased a loaf, and sat on a stone near the pump in Covent Garden and began my meal. Here I soon had a companion, who after rincing a lettuce at the pump, began to devour it. I shared my loaf with him. 'O God!' said he, 'what are we destined to suffer. I have escaped the bullets of the Carlists in Spain to die in the streets of London with hunger.' I felt an interest in the poor fellow, who I discovered in the course of conversation had been a gentleman's servant in his time; he assured me he had been living in the same way for several weeks as I myself had been. Towards night my companion asked me where I slept. I told him my different haunts, he told me I'd better go to the straw-yard with him; this was a place I had not yet heard of; it was the nightly refuge for the houseless poor. I accompanied him without hesitation; my confidence was not misplaced; I slept there several nights. Bread was distributed to us night and morning, and this was fortunate, for the Garden began to fail. In the course of conversation with some of the inmates of the Refuge, we found that we could obtain employment at stone-breaking; this we tried the next morning, and succeeded. We worked all day, and received 6*d.* each on leaving work. We then made up our minds to go to lodgings that we might have an opportunity of washing what were once shirts.

"Misery had not had that wasting influence on my companion as it had on me. I was at this time a complete skeleton; a puff of wind would cause me to stagger. I continued stone-breaking, but about noon of the third day I sunk exhausted on the heap of stones before me. Poverty had done its work, and I anticipated with pleasure approaching dissolution. I was assisted to my lodging by my companion, and went to bed. When the woman at the lodging-house discovered that I was ill, she ordered some of her domestics to dress me and put me in the street, alleging that she was under a penalty of 20*l.* were it discovered that she lodged a sick stranger. I was, therefore, cast into the street at 12 o'clock at night. My companion then gave me the 3*d.* he had earned that day to procure me a lodging if possible, and he slept in the streets the remainder of the night. I went to another lodging, concealing as much as possible my illness; my money was taken, and I was conducted to bed. I spent a wretched night, and next morning I was very bad. The landlady led me to the workhouse; I was admitted directly; had they detained me asking questions I should have sunk on the floor. My disorder was pronounced English cholera. I lay three weeks in a precarious state, but at the end of seven weeks was recovered sufficiently to walk about. I was then discharged; but on going towards the Abbey in Westminster I fainted, and on recovery found myself surrounded by a number of persons. I was advised to return to the house; I did so, and was admitted for a short time, after which I was again discharged, but I received out-door relief twice a week; and for some time a small portion of bread and cheese as well. *I had now lost not only all hope, but even desire of bettering my condition;* during these trials I made none acquainted with my privations, save those situated as I was. I now altered my condition as regards sleeping; I walked about during the night, and slept a portion of the day on a heap of sand near Westminster-bridge. I then remembered to have a poor relative in Kensington; I did not plead distress, but merely asked whether she knew where I might procure employment. I had a cup of tea, the first I had tasted since I was in the workhouse, a period of five weeks. Being asked some question by my relative, I could not help making reference to some of my sufferings. At this place I found a young man of whom I had had a previous acquaintance; I told him of my inability to procure a lodging, and he allowed me without the knowledge of his parents to sleep in the stable-loft; the bed was hard, but the coal sacks kept me warm. Here I had many opportunities of earning a few pence, and I began to regain my spirits. On one occasion, seeing a lad illtreated by a young man who was much his superior in size and strength, I interposed, and it may be conjectured in what manner. This circumstance procured me a friend, for, with the assistance of the lad I had protected, I was enabled to live tolerably well, and after a short while I got a situation at a coal-shed at 10*s.* a week. I continued in this place eighteen months, but, my master giving up the business, I was again cast on the world. I then began to think seriously of some way of living, and for the first time asked for the loan of 15*s.* With this I purchased a few articles of furniture, laid out 7*s.* 6*d.* for two hundred of oranges, with which I walked and hawked about two days, taking but 4*d.* during the time. I disposed of the remainder of my stock, wholesale, for 6*s.*; with this I purchased a small tin saucepan, a piece of marble slab, and commenced sugar-boiling. I retailed my manufacture in the streets. By dint of perseverance and economy I managed to live this way through the winter and a portion of the spring; but summer being now come, people needed none of my compounds to warm their mouths, so it was necessary for me to change my hand. What should I do? Thoughts came and vanished at their births. I recollected having seen a person selling rings at a penny each; I made up my mind to try the same. I laid out 5*s.* in a tray and stock; after arranging the goods to the best advantage I sallied into the streets. The glittering baubles took for a while, but when discoloured were useless. Having once a considerable stock of these soiled rings, I was prompted to begin "lot selling." After calculating the profits, I commenced selling in that line. As this continued for seven weeks I managed to get a living. The system then became general; every street in the metropolis contained a lot seller, so I was determined to change my hand. One day in the street I saw a

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girl with a bundle of old umbrellas going towards a marine store shop; I asked if the umbrellas were for sale; she replied in the affirmative; the price she asked was 4*d.*; I became a purchaser. With these old umbrellas I commenced a new life. I bought some trifling tools necessary for repairing umbrellas, and, after viewing well the construction of the articles, I commenced operations. I succeeded, and in a little time could not only mend an old umbrella, but make a new one. This way of living I followed three years. In one of my walks through the streets crying old umbrellas to sell, I saw a street tinker repairing a saucepan; he seemed so very comfortable with his fire-pan before him, that I resolved from that moment to become a tinker, and for that purpose I bought a few tools, prepared a budget, and sallied into the streets with as much indifference as if I had been at the business since my birth. After a little practice I fancied I was fit for better things than mending old saucepans, and flattered myself that I was able to make a new one. This I resolved to attempt, and succeeded so well, that I at once abandoned the rainy-day system, and commenced manufacturing articles in tin-ware, such as are now sold in the streets, namely funnels, nutmeg-graters, penny mugs, extinguishers, slices, savealls, &c. I soon became known to the street-sellers and swag-shop proprietors. The prices I get are low, and I am deficient in some of the tools necessary to forward the work, with the required speed to procure returns adequate to my expenses; but thanks to the Lord I am better off than ever I expected to be, with the difference only of a somewhat shattered constitution. There are many at the present day suffering as I have done, and they may be found in and about the different markets of the metropolis."

Of the Street-sellers of Dog-Collars.

Of these street-traders there are now regularly twelve; one man counted to me fourteen, but two of these only sold dog-collars occasionally, when they could not get employment in their trade as journeymen brass-founders. Of the regular hands, one, two, and sometimes three sell only dog-collars (with the usual adjuncts of locks, and sometimes chains, and key-rings), but even these, when their stock-money avails, prefer uniting to the collars some other trifling article.

Two of the most profitable pitches for the sale of these articles are in the neighbourhood of the Old Swan Pier, off Thames-street, and at a corner of the Bank. Neither of these two traders confines his stock to dog-collars, though they constitute the most valuable portion of it. The one sells, in addition to his collars, key-rings, keys and chains, dog-whistles, stamps with letters engraved upon them, printer's type, in which any name or initials may be set up, shaving-brushes, trowser-straps, razors, and a few other light articles. The other sells little more than "dog" articles, with the addition of brass padlocks and small whips. But the minor commodities are frequently varied, according to the season and to the street-seller's opinion of what may "sell."

Some of these traders hang their wares against the rails of any public or other building in a good situation, where they can obtain leave. Others have stalls, with "a back," from the corners of which hang the strings of dog-collars, one linked within another. The manner in which one street-seller displays his wares is shown in the illustration before given. Of the whole number, half are either itinerant on a round, or walk up and down a thoroughfare and an adjacent street or two. "Dog-collars," said one man, "is no good at Saturday-night markets. People has said to me—for I was flat enough to try once—'Dogs! pooh, I 've hardly grub enough for the kids.' For all that, sir, some poor people has dogs, and is very fond of them too; ay, and I 've sold them collars, but seldom. I think it 's them as has no children has dogs."

The collars most in demand are brass. One man pointed out to me the merits of his stock, which he retailed from 6*d.* each (for the very small ones) to 3*s.*—for collars seemingly big enough for Pyrenean sheep dogs. Some of the street-sold collars have black and red rims and linings; others are of leather, often scarlet, stitched ornamentally over a sort of jointed iron or wire-work. A few are of strong compact steel chain-work; "but them 's more the fashion," said one seller, "for sporting dogs, like pointers and greyhounds, and is very seldom bought in the streets. It 's the pet dogs as is our best friends."

The dog-collar sellers have, as regards perhaps one-half, been connected in their youth with some mechanical occupation in metal manufacture. Four, I am told, are or were pensioners to a small amount, as soldiers or sailors.

Some further particulars of the business will be found in the following statement given me by a man in the trade. He was sickly-looking, seemed dispirited at first, but to recover his spirits as he conversed, and spoke with a provincial (I presume a Warwickshire or Staffordshire) accent.

"I served my time, sir; my relations put me—for my parents died when I was a boy—to a harness furniture maker, in Wa'sall (Walsal), who supplied Mr. Dixon, a saddler's ironmonger, in a good way. I had fair makings, and was well treated, and when I was out of my time I worked for another master, and I then found I could make my pad territs" (the round loops of the harness pad, through which the reins are passed), "my hooks, my buckles, my ornaments (some of 'em crests), as well as any man. I worked only in brass, never plated, but sometimes the body for plating, and mostly territs and hooks. Thinking I 'd better myself, I came to London. I was between five and six weeks before I got a stroke of work, and my money had gone. I found that London harness makers and coachmakers' names was put on Walsal-made goods, and 'London made' and 'town made' was put too. They might be as good, but they wasn't town made no more nor I am. I can't tell what I suffered, and felt, and thought, as at last I walked the streets. I was afraid to call at any brass-worker's—for I can do many sorts of brass work—I was so shabby. I called once at

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Mr. A——'s, near Smithfield, and he, or his foreman perhaps it was, says to me, 'Give that tug-buckle a file.' I 'd had nothing to eat but an apple I found in the street that day, and my hand trembled, and so he told me that drunkards, with trembling hands, wouldn't do there. I was never a drinking man; and at that time hadn't tasted so much as beer for ten days. My landlady—I paid her 1*s*. a week for half a bed with a porter—trusted me my rent, 'cause I paid her when I had it; but I walked about, narvussed and trembling, and frightened at every sudden sound. No, sir, I 've stood looking over a bridge, but, though I may have thought of suicide, I never once had really a notion of it. I don't know how to tell it, but I felt stupified like, as much as miserable. *I felt I could do nothing.* Perhaps I shouldn't have had power of mind to drown myself if I'd made up my resolution; besides, it 's a dreadful wickedness. I always liked reading, and, before I was fairly beaten out, used to read at home, at shop-windows, and at book-stalls, as long as I dared, but latterly, when I was starving, I couldn't fix my mind to read anyhow. One night I met a Wa's'll friend, and he took me to his inn, and gave me a good beef-steak supper and some beer, and he got me a nice clean bed in the house. In the morning he gave me what did me most good of all, a good new shirt, and 5*s*. I got work two days after, and kept it near five years, with four masters, and married and saved 12*l*. We had no family to live, and my poor wife died in the cholera in 1849, and I buried her decently, thank God, for she was a good soul. When I thought the cholera was gone, I had it myself, and was ill long, and lost my work, and had the same sufferings as before, and was without soles to my shoes or a shirt to my back, 'till a gentleman I 'd worked for lent me 1*l*., and then I went into this trade, and pulled up a little. In six weeks I paid 15*s*. of my debt, and had my own time for the remaining 5*s*. Now I get an odd job with my master sometimes, and at others sell my collars, and chains, and key-rings, and locks, and such like. I 'm ashamed of the dog-collar locks; I can buy them at 2*d*. a dozen, or 1*s*. 6*d*. a gross; they 're sad rubbish. In two or three weeks sometimes, the wire hasp is worn through, just by the rattling of the collar, and the lock falls off. I make now, one way and another, about 10*s*. a week. My lodging 's 2*s*. a week for a bed-room—it 's a closet tho,' for my furniture all went. God's good, and I 'll see better days yet. I have sure promise of regular work, and then I can earn 30*s*. to 40*s*. I do best with my collars about the docks. I 'm sure I don't know why."

I am told that each of the street-sellers of dog-collars sell on the average a dozen a week, at a medium receipt of 12*s*. ("sometimes 20*s*., and sometimes 6*s*."), though some will sell three and even four dozen collars in the week. Any regular dog-collar seller will undertake to get a name engraved upon it at 1*d*. a letter. The goods are bought at a swag-shop, or an establishment carried on in the same way. The retailer's profit is 35 per cent.

Reckoning 12*s*. weekly taken by twelve men, we find 374*l*. expended yearly in the streets in dog-collars.

OF THE LIFE OF A STREET-SELLER OF DOG-COLLARS.

FROM the well-known vendor of these articles whose portrait was given in No. 10 of this work, I had the following sketch of his history:—

"I was born in Brewer-street, St. James," he said, in answer to my questions; "I am 73 years of age. My father and mother were poor people; I never went to school; my father died while I was young; my mother used to go out charing; she couldn't afford to pay for schooling, and told me, I must look out and *yearn* my own living while I was a mere chick. At ten years of age I went to sea in the merchant sarvice. While I was in the merchant sarvice, I could get good wages, for I soon knowed my duty. I was always of an industrious turn, and never liked to be idle; don't you see what I mean. In '97 I was pressed on board the INCONSTANT frigate; I was paid off six months arterwards, but hadn't much to take, and that, like all other young men who hadn't larned the dodges of life, I spent very soon; but I never got drunk—thank God!" said the old man, "I never got drunk, or I shouldn't ha been what I am now at 73 years of age. I was drafted into the Woolwich 44-gun ship; from her to the OVERISAL." I inquired how the name of the ship was spelt; "Oh I am not scholard enough for that there," he replied, "tho' I did larn to read and write when abord a man of war. I larned myself. But you must look into a *Dutch dictionary*, for it's a Dutch name. I then entered on board the AMPHINE frigate, and arter I had sarved some months in her, I entered the merchant sarvice again, and arter that I went to Greenland to the whale-fishery—they calls me here in the college" (he is now an inmate of Greenwich Hospital) "'*Whaler Ben*,' but I arnt affronted—most on 'em here have nicknames. I went three voyages besides to the West Ingees. I never got drunk even there, though I was obliged to drink rum; it wouldn't ha done to ha drunk the water NEAT, there was so many insects in it. When my sailor's life was over I comes to Liverpool and marries a wife—aye and as good a wife as any poor man ever had in England. I had saved a goodish bit o' money, nearly 300*l*., for I was not so foolish as some of the poor sailors, who yearns their money like horses and spends it like asses, I say. Well we sets up a shop—a chandler shop—in Liverpool: me and my old 'ooman does; and I also entered into the pig-dealing line. I used to get some of my pigs from Ireland, and some I used to breed myself, but I was very misfortunate. You recollect the year when the disease was among the cattle, in course you recollects that; well, sir, I lost 24 pigs and a horse in one year, and that was a good loss for a poor man, wer'n't it? I thought it werry hard, for I 'd worked hard for my money at sea, and I was always werry careful, arter I knowed what life was. My poor wife too used to trust a good deal in the shop, and by-and-

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by, behold you, me and my old 'ooman was on our beam ends. My wife was took ill too—and, for the purpose of getting the best adwice, I brings her to London, but her cable had run out, and she died, and I 've been a poor forlorned creatur' ever since. You wouldn't think it, but arter that I never slept on a bed for seven years. I had blankets and my clothes—but what I means is that I never had a bed to lie on. I sold most of my bits o' things to bury my wife. I didn't relish applying to the parish. I kept a few sticks tho', for I don't like them ere lodging-houses. I can't be a werry bad kerackter, for I was seven years under one landlord, and I warrant me if I wanted a room agin he would let me have one. Arter my wife died, knowing some'at about ropes I gets work at Maberley's, the great contractors—in course you knows *him*. I made rope traces for the artillery; there's a good deal of leather-work about the traces, and stitching them, you see, puts me up to the making of dogs'-collars. I was always handy with my fingers, and can make shoes or anythink. I can work now as well as ever I could in my life, only my eyes isn't so good. Ain't it curious now, sir, that wot a man larns in his fingers he never forgets? Well being out o' work, I was knocking about for some time, and then I was adwised to apply for a board to carry at one of them cheap tailors, but I didn't get none; so I takes to hawking link buttons and key rings, and buys some brass dog-collars; it was them brass collars as made me bethought myself as I could make some leather ones. Altho' I had been better off I didn't think it any disgrace to get a honest living. The leather collars is harder to make than the brass ones, only the brass ones wants more implements. There are about a dozen selling in the streets as makes brass-collars—there 's not much profit on the brass ones. People says there 's nothing like leather, and I thinks they are right. Well, sir, as I was a telling you, I commences the leather-collar making,—in course I didn't make 'em as well at first as I do now. It was werry hard lines at the best of times. I used to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning in the summer time, and make my collars; then I 'd turn out about 9, and keep out until 7 or 8 at night. I seldom took more than 2*s*. per day. What profit did I get out of 2*s*.? Why, lor' bless you, sir! if I hadn't made them myself, I shouldn't have got no profit at all. But as it was, if I took 2*s*., the profits was from 1*s*. to 1*s*. 6*d*.; howsomever, sometimes I didn't take 6*d*. Wet days too used to run me aground altogether; my rheumatics used to bore me always when the rain come down, and then I couldn't get out to sell. If I 'd any leather at them times I used to make it up; but if I hadn't none, why I was obligated to make the best on it. Oh, sir! you little knows what I 've suffered; many a banyan day I 've had in my little room—upon a wet day—aye, and other days too. Why, I think I 'd a starved if it hadn't a been for the 'bus-men about Hungerford-market. They are good lads them there 'bus lads to such as me; they used to buy my collars when they didn't want them. Ask any on 'em if they know anything about old Tom, the collar-maker, and see if they don't flare up and respect me. They used sometimes to raffle my collars and give 'em back to me. Mr. Longstaff too, the landlord of the Hungerford Arms—I believe it 's called the Hungerford Hotel—has given me something to eat very often when I was hungry, and had nothing myself. There 's what you call a hor'nary there every day. You knows what I mean—gentlemen has their grub there at so much a head, or so much a belly it should be, I says. I used to come in for the scraps, and werry thankful I was for them I can assure you. Yes, Mr. Longstaff is what you may call a good man. He 's what you calls a odd man, and a odd man 's always a good man. All I got to say is, 'God bless him!' he 's fed me many time when I 've been hungry. I used to light upon other friends too,—landlords of public-houses, where I used to hawk my collars; they seemed to take to me somehow; it wer'n't for what I spent in their houses I'm sure, seeing as how I 'd nothing to spend. I had no pension for my sarvice, and so I was adwised to apply for admission to 'the house here' (Greenwich Hospital). I goes to Somerset-House; another poor fellow was making a application at the same time; but I didn't nothing till one very cold day, when I was standing quite miserable like with my collars. I 'd been out several hours and hadn't taken a penny, when up comes the man as wanted to get into the house, running with all his might to me. I thought he was going to tell me he had got into the house, and I was glad on it, for, poor fellow, he was werry bad off; howsomever he says to me, 'Tom,' says he, 'they wants you at the Admirality.' 'Does they?' says I, and 'cordingly away I goes; and arter telling the admiral my sarvice, and answering a good many questions as he put to me, the admiral says, says he, 'The order will be made out; you shall go into the house.' I think the admiral knowed me or somethink about me, you see. I don't know his name, and it would'nt ha' done to have axed. God bless him, whoever he is, I says, and shall say to my dying day; it seemed like Providence. I hadn't taken a ha'penny all that day; I was cold and hungry, and suffering great pain from my rheumatics. Thank God," exclaimed the old man in conclusion, "I am quite comfortable now. I 've everythink I want except a little more tea and shuggar, but I 'm quite content, and thank God for all his merçies."

The old man informed me moreover that he did not think there were more than half-a-dozen street-sellers besides himself who made leather collars; it was a poor trade, he said, and though the other makers were younger than he was, he "could lick them all at stitching." He did not believe, he told me, that any of the collar-sellers sold more than he did—if as many—for he had friends that perhaps other men had not. He makes collars now sometimes, and wishes he could get some shopkeeper to sell them for him, and then maybe, he says, he could obtain a little more tea and shuggar, and assist a sister-in-law of his whom he tells me is in great distress, and whom he has been

in the habit of assisting for many years, notwithstanding his poverty. The old man, during the recital of his troubles, was affected to tears several times—especially when he spoke of his wife, and the distress he had undergone—and with much sincerity blessed God for the comforts that he now enjoys.

Of the Street-Sellers of Tools.

These people are of the same class as the sellers of hardware articles, though so far a distinct body that they generally sell tools only.

The tools are of the commonest kind, and supplied by the cheapest swag-shops, from which establishments the majority of the street-traders derive their supplies. They are sometimes displayed on a small barrow, sometimes on a stall, and are mostly German-made.

The articles sold and the price asked—and generally obtained, as no extravagant profit is demanded—is shown by the following :—

Claw hammers, 6*d*. Large claw, black and glaze-faced, 1*s*. Pincers, 4*d*.; larger ones, 6*d*. Screw-drivers, from 2*d*. to 1*s*.! Flat-nose pliers, 6*d*. a pair; squares, 6*d*. to 1*s*. Carpenters' oil-cans, from 9*d*. to 1*s*. 3*d*. Nests of brad-awls (for joiners, and in wooden cases), 6*d*. to 2*s*. Back saws, 1*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*.

While many of the street-sellers of tools travel the several thoroughfares and suburbs of the metropolis, others vend tools of a particular kind in particular localities. These localities and sellers may be divided into four distinct classes:—(1) The street-sellers of tools in the markets; (2) The street-sellers of tools at the docks and warehouses; (3) The street-sellers of tools at mews, stable-yards, and job-masters'; and (4) The street-sellers of tools to working men at their workshops.

The markets which are usually frequented by the vendors of tools are Newgate and Leadenhall. There are, I am informed, only five or six street-sellers who at present frequent these markets on the busy days. The articles in which they deal are butchers' saws, cleavers, steels, meat-hooks, and knives; these saws they sell from 2*s*. to 4*s*. each; knives and steels, from 9*d*. to 1*s*. 3*d*. each; cleavers, from 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. each; and meat-hooks at 1*d*., 2*d*., and 3*d*. each, according to the size. It is very seldom, however, that cleavers are sold by the street-sellers, as they are too heavy to carry about. I am told that the trade of the tool-sellers in Newgate and Leadenhall markets is now very indifferent, owing chiefly to the butchers having been so frequently imposed upon by the street-sellers, that they are either indisposed or afraid to deal with them. When the itinerant tool-sellers are not occupied at the markets they vend their wares to tradesmen at private shops, but often without success. "It is a poor living," said one of the hawkers to me; "sometimes little better than starving. I have gone out a whole day and haven't taken a farthing." I am informed that the greater portion of these street-sellers are broken-down butchers. The tools they vend are purchased at the Brummagem warehouses. To start in this branch of the street-business 5*s*. or 10*s*. usually constitutes the amount of capital invested in stock, and the average takings of each are about 2*s*. or 2*s*. 6*d*. a day.

"A dozen years back twenty such men offered saws at my shop," said a butcher in a northern suburb to me; "now there's only one, and he seems half-starving, poor fellow, and looks very hungrily at the meat. Perhaps it's a way he's got to have a bit given him, as it is sometimes."

The only street-seller of tools at present frequenting Billingsgate-market is an elderly man, who is by trade a working cutler. The articles he displays upon his tray are oyster-knives, fish-knives, steels, scissors, packing-needles, and hammers. This tradesman makes his own oyster-knives and fish-knives; the scissors and hammers are second-hand; and the packing-needles are bought at the ironmongers. Sometimes brad-awls, gimlets, nails, and screws form a part of his stock. He informed me that he had frequented Billingsgate-market upwards of ten years. "Wet or dry," he said, "I am here, and I often suffer from rheumatics in the head and limbs. Sometimes I have taken only a few pence; on other occasions I have taken 3*s*. or 4*s*., but this is not very often. However, what with the little I take at Billingsgate, and at other places, I can just get a crust, and go on from day to day."

The itinerant saw-sellers offer their goods to any one in the street as well as at the shops, and are at the street markets on Saturday evenings with small saws for use in cookery. With the butchers they generally barter rather than sell, taking any old saw in exchange with so much money, for a new one. "I was brought up a butcher," said one of these saw-sellers, "and worked as a journeyman, off and on, between twenty and thirty year. But I grew werry delicate from rheumaticks, and my old 'ooman was bad too, so that we once had to go into Marylebone work 'us. I had no family living, perhaps they 're better as it is. We discharged ourselves after a time, and they gave us 5*s*. I then thought I 'd try and sell a few saws and things. A master-butcher that 's been a friend to me, lent me another 5*s*., and I asked a man as sold saws to butchers to put me in the way of it, and he took me to a swag-shop. I do werry badly, sir, but I 'll not deny, and I can't deny—not anyhow—when you tell me Mr. —— told you about me—that there 's 'elps to me. If I make a bargain, for so much; or for old saws or cleavers, or any old butcher thing, and so much; a man wot knows me says, 'Well, old boy, you don't look satisfied; here 's a bit of steak for you.' Sometimes it 's a cut off a scrag of mutton, or weal; that gives the old 'ooman and me a good nourishing bit of grub. I can work at times, and every Saturday a'most I'm now a porter to a butcher. I carries his meat from Newgate, when he 's killed hisself, and wants no more than a man's weight from the market; and when he 'asn't killed hisself in course he hires a cart. I makes 1*s*. a day the year round, I think, on saws, and my old 'ooman makes more than 'arf as much at charing, and there 's the 'elps, and then I gets 18*d*. and my

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grub every Saturday. It 's no use grumbling; lots isn't grubbed 'arf so well as me and my old 'ooman. My rent 's 20*d.* a week."

The articles vended by the second class of the street-sellers of tools, or those whose purchasers are mostly connected with the docks and warehouses, consist of iron-handled claw-hammers, spanners, bed-keys, and corkscrews. Of these street-traders there are ten or twelve, and the greater portion of them are blacksmiths out of employ. Some make their own hammers, whereas others purchase the articles they vend at the swag-shops. "We sell more hammers and bed-keys than other things," said one, "and sometimes we sells a corkscrew to the landlord of a public-house, and then we have perhaps half-a-pint of beer. Our principal customers for spanners are wheelwrights. Those for hammers are egg-merchants, oilmen, wax and tallow-chandlers, and other tradesmen who receive or send out goods in wooden cases; as well as chance customers in the streets." The amount of capital required to start in the line is from 5*s.* to 15*s.*: "it is not much use," said one, "to go to shop with less than 10*s.*"

A third class of the street-sellers of tools are the vendors of curry-combs and brushes, mane-combs, scrapers, and clipping instruments; and these articles are usually sold at the several mews, stable-yards, and jobbing-masters' in and about the metropolis. The sellers are mostly broken-down grooms, who, not being able to obtain a situation, resort to street-selling as a last shift. "It is the last coach, when a man takes to this kind of living," said one of my informants, a groom in a "good place;" "and it 's getting worse and worse. The poor fellows look half-starved. Why, what do you think I gave for these scissors? I got 'em for 6*d.* and a pint of beer, and I should have to give perhaps half-a-crown for 'em at a shop." The trade is fast declining, and to gentlemen's carriage mews the street-sellers of such tools rarely resort, as the instruments required for stable-use are now bought, by the coachmen, of the tradesmen who supply their masters. At the "mixed mews," as I heard them called, there are two men who, along with razors, knives, and other things, occasionally offer "clipping" and "trimming" scissors. Four or five years ago there were four of these street-sellers. The trimming-scissors are, in the shops, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a pair. There is one trade still carried on in these places, although it is diminutive compared to what it was: I allude to the sale of curry-combs. Those vended by street-sellers at the mews are sold at 7*d.* or 6*d.* The best sale for these curry-combs is about Coventry-street and the Haymarket, and at the livery-stables generally. Along with curry-combs, the street-vendors sell wash-leathers, mane-combs (horn), sponges (which were like dried moss for awhile, I was told, got up by the Jews, but which are now good), dandy-brushes (whalebone-brushes, to scrape dirt from a horse's legs, before he is groomed), spoke-brushes (to clean carriage-wheels), and coach-mops. One dweller in a large West-end mews computed that 100 different street-traders resorted thither daily, and that twenty sold the articles I have specified. In this trade, I am assured, there are no broken-down coachmen or grooms, only the regular street-sellers. A commoner curry-comb is sold at 2*d.* (prime cost 1*s.* 3*d.* a dozen), at Smithfield, on market-days, and to the carmen, and the owners of the rougher sort of horses; but this trade is not extensive.

There may be ten men, I am told, selling common "currys;" and they also sell other articles (often horse oil-cloths and nose-bags) along with them.

The last class of street-sellers is the beaten-out mechanic or workman, who, through blindness, age, or infirmities, is driven to obtain a livelihood by supplying his particular craft with their various implements. Of this class, as I have before stated, there are six men in London who were brought up as tailors, but are now, through some affliction or privation, incapacitated from following their calling. These men sell needles at four and five for 1*d.*; thimbles 1*d.* to 2*d.* each; scissors from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; and wax 1*d.* the lump. There are also old and blind shoemakers, who sell a few articles of grindery to their shopmates, as they term them, as well as a few decayed members of other trades, hawking the implements of the handicraft to which they formerly belonged. But as I have already given a long account of one of this class, under the head of the blind needle-seller, there is no occasion for me to speak further on the subject.

From one of the street-traders in saws I had the following account of his struggles, as well as the benefit he received from teetotalism, of which he spoke very warmly. His room was on the fourth floor of a house in a court near Holborn, and was clean and comfortable-looking. There were good-sized pictures, in frames, of the Queen, the Last Supper, and a Rural Scene, besides minor pictures: some of these had been received in exchange for saws with street-picture-sellers. A shelf was covered with china ornaments, such as are sold in the streets; the table had its oil-skin cover, and altogether I have seldom seen a more decent room. The rent, unfurnished, was 2*s.* a week.

"I 've been eight years in this trade, sir," the saw-seller said, "but I was brought up to a very different one. When a lad I worked in a coal-pit along with my father, but his behaviour to me was so cruel, he beat me so, that I ran away, and walked every step from the north of England to London. I can't say I ever repented running away—much as I 've gone through. My money was soon gone when I got to London, and my way of speaking was laughed at. [He had now very little of a provincial accent.] That 's fourteen year back. Why, indeed, sir, it puzzles me to tell you how I lived then when I did live. I jobbed about the markets, and slept, when I could pay for a lodging, at the cheap lodging-houses; so I got into the way of selling a few things in the streets, as I saw others do. I sold laces and children's handkerchiefs. Sometimes I was miserable enough when I hadn't a farthing, and if I managed to make a sixpence I got tipsy on it. For six weeks I slept every night in the Peckham Union. For another five or six weeks I slept every

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THE BLIND BOOT-LACE SELLER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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night in the dark arches by the Strand. I've sometimes had twenty or thirty companions there. I used to lie down on the bare stones, and was asleep in a minute, and slept like a top all night, but waking was very bad. I felt stiff, and sore, and cold, and miserable. How I lived at all is a wonder to me. About eleven years ago I was persuaded to go to a Temperance Meeting in Harp Alley (Farringdon-street), and there I signed the pledge; that is, I made my mark, for I can't read or write, which has been a great hinder to me. If I'd been a scholard a teetotal gent would have got me into the police three years ago, about the time I got married. I did better, of course, when I was a teetotaller—no more dark arches. I sold a few little shawls in the streets then, but it was hardly bread and butter and coffee at times. Eight year ago I thought I would try saw-selling: a shopkeeper advised me, and I began on six salt saws, which I sold to oilmen. They're for cutting salt only, and are made of zinc, as steel would rust and dirty the salt. The trade was far better at first than it is now. In good weeks I earned 16*s.* to 18*s.* In bad weeks 10*s.* or 12*s.* Now I may earn 10*s.*, not more, a week, pretty regular: yesterday I made only 6*d.* Oilmen are better customers than chance street-buyers, for I'm known to them. There's only one man besides myself selling nothing but saws. I walk, I believe, 100 miles every week, and that I couldn't do, I know, if I wasn't teetotal. I never long for a taste of liquor if I'm ever so cold or tired. It's all poisonous."

The saws sold are 8 inch, which cost at the swag-shops 8*s.* and 8*s.* 6*d.* a dozen; 10 inch, 9*s.* and 9*s.* 6*d.*; and so on, the price advancing according to the increased size, to 18 inch, 13*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. Larger sizes are seldom sold in the streets. The second man's earnings, my informant believed, were the same as his own.

The wife of my informant, when she got work as an embroideress, could earn 11*s.* and 12*s.* At present she was at work braiding dresses for a dressmaker, at 2½*d.* each. By hard work, and if she had not her baby to attend to, she could earn no more than 7½*d.* a day. As it was she did not earn 6*d.*

Of the Beggar Street-Sellers.

Under this head I include only such of the beggar street-sellers as are neither infirm nor suffering from any severe bodily affliction or privation. I am well aware that the aged—the blind—the lame and the halt often *pretend* to sell small articles in the street—such as boot-laces, tracts, cabbage-nets, lucifer-matches, kettle-holders, and the like; and that such matters are carried by them partly to keep clear of the law, and partly to evince a disposition to the public that they are willing to do something for their livelihood. But these being really objects of charity, they belong more properly to the second main division of this book, in which the poor, or those that can't work, and their several means of living, will be treated of.

Such, though beggars, are not "lurkers"—a lurker being strictly one who loiters about for some dishonest purpose. Many modes of thieving as well as begging are termed "lurking"—the "dead lurk," for instance, is the expressive slang phrase for the art of entering dwelling-houses during divine service. The term "lurk," however, is mostly applied to the several modes of plundering by representations of sham distress.

It is of these alone that I purpose here treating—or rather of that portion of them which pretends to deal in manufactured articles.

In a few instances the street-sellers of small articles of utility are also the manufacturers. Many, however, *say* they are the producers of the things they offer for sale, thinking thus to evade the necessity of having a hawker's licence. The majority of these petty dealers know little of the manufacture of the goods they vend, being mere tradesmen. Some few profess to be the makers of their commodities, solely with the view of enlisting sympathy, and thus either selling the trifles they carry at an enormous profit, or else of obtaining alms.

An inmate of one of the low lodging-houses has supplied me with the following statement:—"Within my recollection," says my informant, "the great branch of trade among these worthies, was the sale of sewing cotton, either in skeins or on reels. In the former case, the article cost the 'lurkers' about 8*d.* per pound; one pound would produce thirty skeins, which, sold at one penny each, or two for three halfpence, produced a heavy profit. The lurkers could mostly dispose of three pounds per day; the article was, of course, damaged, rotten, and worthless.

"The mode of sale consisted in the 'lurkers' calling at the several houses in a particular district, and representing themselves as Manchester cotton spinners out of employ. Long tales, of course, were told of the distresses of the operatives, and of the oppression of their employers; these tales had for the most part been taught them at the padding-ken, by some old and experienced dodger of 'the school;' and if the spokesman could patter well, a much larger sum was frequently obtained in direct alms than was reaped by the sale."

Cotton on reels was—except to the purchaser—a still better speculation; the reels were large, handsomely mounted, and displayed in bold relief such inscriptions as the following:—

PIKE'S
PATENT COTTON.
120 Yards.

The reader, however, must divide the "120 yards," here mentioned, by 12, and then he will arrive at something like the true secret as to the quantity; for the surface only was covered by the thread.

"The 'cotton Lurk' is now 'cooper'd' (worn out); a more common dodge—and, of course, only an excuse for begging—is to envelope a packet of 'warranted' needles, or a few inches of 'real Honiton lace' in an envelope, with a few lines to the 'Lady of the House,' or a printed bill, setting forth the misery of the manufacturers, and the intention of the parties leaving the 'fakement' to presume to call for an answer in a few hours. I subjoin a copy of one of these documents.

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'*THE LACE-MAKERS' APPEAL.*

'It is with extreme regret we thus presume to trespass on your time and attention, we are Lace Makers by trade, and owing to the extensive improvements in Machinery, it has made hand labour completely useless.

'So that it has thrown hundreds of honest and industrious men out of employment, your petitioners are among the number. Fifteen men with their families have left their homes with the intention of emigrating to South Australia, and the only means we have of supporting ourselves till we can get away, is by the sale of some Frame Thread and Traced Lace Collars of our own manufacture, at the following low prices—Fashionable Frame Lace Collars 3d. each, warranted to wash and wear well; Frame Thread Collars 6d. each, Traced Lace Collars 1s. each, the best that can be made, and we trust we shall meet with that encouragement from the Friends of Industry which our necessities require.

'The enclosed two 6d.

'The patry calling for this, will have an assortment of the Newest Patterns of Frame Thread Lace and Edgings for your inspection, and the smallest purchase will be thankfully received and gratefully remembered by G. DAVIS, Lace Makers.

'We beg to state that a number of the families being destitute of clothing, the bearer is authorised to receive any articles of such in exchange for Lace, Edgings or Collars.

' ALLEN, Printer, Long-row, Nottingham."

"These are left by one of 'the school' at the houses of the gentry, a mark being placed on the door post of such as are 'bone' or 'gammy,' in order to inform the rest of 'the school' where to call, and what houses to avoid. As the needles cost but a few pence per thousand, and the lace less than one halfpenny per yard—a few purchasers of the former at 1*s.* per packet (25 needles), or of the latter at 2*s.* 6*d.* per yard, is what these 'lurkers' term a 'fair day's work for a fair day's wages.'

"Another and very extensive branch of the pseudo-'manufacturing' fraternity is to be found among the sham street-sellers of cutlery.

"At some of the least respectable of the swag-shops may be bought all the paraphernalia requisite in order to set up as the real manufacturer of Sheffield and 'Brummagem' goods—including, beside the cutlery, chamois-leather aprons, paper caps (ready crushed, to give them the appearance of age and usage), and last, but not least, a compound of black lead and tallow, to 'take the granny' off them as has white 'ands, so as the flat's shan't 'tumble' to the 'unworkmanlike appearance of the palms of the 'lurker.'

"Thus 'got up' for the part," continues my informant, "and provided with a case of razors, which perhaps has cost him two groats, and (if he can raise as much) a noggin o' rum to 'give him cheek' and make him 'speak up' to his victims—'Jack Beaver,' the 'king of the street-cutlers,' will sally forth, and meet, intercept, and follow any gentleman who seems a 'likely spec,' till worried perhaps by importunity, the 'swell' buys what he does not want, and, I need scarcely add, what he cannot use. Next, in importance, to 'Jack Beaver,' is the notorious 'Pat Connor.' Pat 'does nothing on the blob,' that is to say (he does not follow people and speak to them on the streets). His 'dodge'—and it has been for years a successful one—is to go round to the public offices, dressed as before described, with the exception of being in his shirt sleeves (he has every day a *clean* shirt), and teaze the clerks till they purchase a pen-knife. He has been known to sell from fifteen to twenty knives in one day, at two shillings each, the first cost being about threepence-halfpenny. Of course he is often interrupted by porters and other officials, but he always carries in one hand a roll of wire, and a small hammer in the other, and having got the name of some gentleman up stairs, he pretends that he is going to mend Mr. So-and-so's bell. This worthy, a short time ago, made free—in the Custom House—with a timepiece, belonging to one of the clerks, for which the 'Sheffield manufacturer' got twelve months in Newgate. I have not seen him since," adds my informant, "and therefore imagine that he is now taking a provincial tour."

Of the "House of Lords," a Street-Seller's Defunct Club.

I have given an account of a defunct club, of which the "paper workers" were the chief members; and I have now to do the same of a society not very dissimilar in its objects, of which the street-sellers of manufactured articles constituted the great majority. It was called the "house of lords," and was established about eight years ago, at the Roebuck-tavern, Holborn, and existed three years. Its object was to relieve its members in sickness. The subscription was 2*d.* a week, and the relief to a sick member was as many pennies a week as the club contained members, with, in any pressing case, an additional halfpenny, which the members paid into the fund, over and above their weekly subscription. For the greater part of its existence the club contained ninety members (a few of them honorary), and there were very few cases of "declaring on the fund" by sick members. At one period for many weeks there were no such declarations, and the "house of lords" had 30*l.* in hand. One of the leading members, a very intelligent man, who had "a good connection in hardware," had taken great pains to prepare a code of rules, which, having been approved by the other members, it was considered time that the "house of lords" should be enrolled. Delays, however, intervened. "To tell you the truth, sir," one of them said, "we were afraid to employ an attorney, and thought of waiting upon Mr. Tidd Pratt ourselves, but it wasn't to be."

The club was, moreover, looked upon as somewhat select. "No costers were admitted, sir," I was told by a hardware-seller in the streets;

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"not but what there 's many very industrious and honest men among them, but they 're in a different line, and are a different sort of people to us." The members met once a week, and, though they were merry and talkative enough, drunkenness was strongly discouraged. It was common for the subscribers who were regarded as the "geniuses" of the trade, to take counsel together, and "invent any new move." They were reputed to be knowing among the most knowing, in all street arts and dodges, and the way in which the club came to an end, considering the strong claims to knowingness of its members, was curious enough.

One Saturday evening a member who was considered a respectable man, and was sufficiently regular in his payments, appeared at the weekly meeting, introducing his landlord, who, as a non-member, had to pay 1*d*. for admission. The man told how his family had suffered from illness, and how he had been ill, and got into arrears of rent, for he did not like to distress the fund; and how his landlord was then in possession of his "sticks," which must be sold in the morning if he could not pay 15*s*.; and, moreover, how his landlord—a very kind-hearted, indulgent man—was forced to do this, for he himself was in difficulties. The members voted that the 15*s*. should be advanced; but before the next meeting night it was discovered that the statement of the poor member in arrears was an imposition. The landlord was merely a confederate; the worthy couple had been drinking together, and, to prolong their tippling, had hit upon the roguish scheme I have mentioned.

This, among other things, lowered the confidence of the members. The numbers fell off until it was thought best to "wind up the concern." The small funds in hand were fairly apportioned among the remaining members, and the club ceased to exist.

Another Street-sellers' Club has recently been formed by the men themselves, of which the following is the prospectus, and it is to be hoped that this attempt on the part of the street-folk to better their condition will meet with a better fate than its predecessor:—

Our motto is "To live honestly by daily perseverance and industry."

Street Mechanics, Labourers, Hawkers, &c.

PROTECTION ASSOCIATION,

HELD AT THE LAMB TAVERN,

NEW TURNSTILE, HOLBORN,

Proprietor, Mr. White.

The above-named classes are kindly invited to attend a Meeting convened for

SUNDAY EVENING NEXT,

And every succeeding Sunday Evening, at the above house, to carry out the object unanimously agreed to by the Enrolled Members and the General Committee. Furthermore, to take into consideration the most appropriate means whereby we may be enabled to assist each other in the time of adversity.

COMMITTEE:

Mr. Taylor, Chairman,	Mr. Thoresby,
— Travers,	— Dowse,
— Cowan,	— Manly,
— Moody,	— Morris,
— Moore,	— Lawson,
— Hand,	— Lamb,
— Martin.	

Mr. J. White, Treasurer. Mr. F. A. Thoresby, Secretary.

The chair will be taken at Seven o'clock, and the Committee are requested to be in attendance one hour previous.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF CROCKERY AND GLASS-WARES.

WE now come to a new class of the street-sellers of manufactured articles—viz., the "crocks," as they are termed. I have before alluded to one characteristic of these traders—that they all strive to be barterers in preference to salesmen. They also present other varying qualities when compared with other classes of street-sellers. Of these "crocks," there are, from the best data I could obtain from men in the trade, and from the swag-shop people who supply them, 250 men and 150 women; of these, 120 couples (man and woman) "work" together; of the remainder, sometimes two men work in unison, and some women work singly. On my inquiring of one of these street folk if ever three worked together, I was told that such was never the case, as the "crocks" would quote a saying: "Two 's good company, three 's none at all." Of the men and women carrying on this traffic conjointly more than half are married; showing a difference of habits to the costermongers. The reason assigned to me by one of the class (himself once a costermonger) was that the interest of the man and woman in the business was closer than in costermongering, while the serviceableness of a woman helpmate in "swopping," or bartering, was much greater. This prompts the women, I am told, even if they are unmarried at the outset, to insist upon wedlock; and the man—sometimes, perhaps, to secure a valuable "help," at others, it may be, from better motives—consents to what in this rank of life, and under the circumstances of such street-traders, is more frequently the woman's offer than the man's. The trade, in its present form, has not been known more than twelve years.

The goods, which are all bought at the crock swag-shops, of which an account is given below, are carried in baskets on the head, the men having pads on the cloth caps which they wear—or sometimes a padding of hay or wool inside the cap—while the women's pads are worn outside their bonnets or caps, the bonnet being occasionally placed on the basket. The goods, though carried in baskets on the head to the locality of the traffic, are, whilst the traffic is going on, usually borne from house to house, or street to street, on the arm, or when in large baskets carried before them by the two hands. These baskets are strongly made; the principal mart is close to Spitalfields-market.

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The men engaged in this trade are usually strong, robust, and red-faced. Most of them are above the middle stature; very few are beyond middle age, and the majority of them are under or little more than 30. The women, more than the men, have contracted a stoop or bend to one side, not so much by carrying weights on the head, as by carrying them on the arm. The weights they carry are from three to five stone. The dress of the men is the same as the costermongers, with the exception of shooting-cut jackets being more frequent among the "crocks" than the costers, and red plush waistcoats are very popular with them. When not at work, or on Sundays—for they never work on the Sabbath, though they do not go to church or chapel—these men are hardly ever seen to wear a hat. Both men and women wear strong boots and, unless when "hard-up," silk handkerchiefs. Their places of residence are, as regards the majority, in Spitalfields, Bethnal-green, and Shoreditch. Of the others the greater portion reside in the neighbourhood of Kent-street, in the Borough. Their abode usually consists of one room, which is in most cases more comfortable, and better furnished than those of the costers. "We pick up a tidy ornament now and then," one crock said, "such as a picture, in the way of swop, and our good women likes to keep them at home for a bit of show." They live well, in general, dining out almost every day; and I am told that, as a body, they have fewer children than any other class of street-folk.

The trade is almost entirely itinerant. Crock-sellers are to be seen at street-markets on Saturday nights, but they are not the regular crocks, who, as I have said, do not care to *sell*. The crocks go on "rounds," the great trade being in the suburbs. Sometimes a round lasts a week, the couple resting at a fresh place every night. Others have a round for each day of the week.

The long rounds are to Greenwich, Woolwich, Northfleet, Gravesend, Stroud, Rochester, Chatham, and then to Maidstone. Some will then make Maidstone the head-quarters, and work the neighbouring villages—such as East Farleigh, Town Malling, Yalding, Aylesford, and others. The return to town may be direct by railway, or by some other route, if any stock remains unsold. On these long rounds the higher priced goods are generally carried, and stock is forwarded from London to the "crock" whilst on the round, if the demand require it. Another long round is Vauxhall, Wandsworth, Kingston-on-Thames, and Guildford, with divergings to the villages. The return from Guildford is often by Richmond, Kew, &c. A third long round is Hampstead, Kilburn, Barnet, Watford, and so on to St. Alban's. The other long rounds are less frequented; but some go to Uxbridge; others to Windsor and Eton, and as far as Reading; others to Cambridge, by Tottenham, Edmonton, Ware, &c. When no trade is to be done close to London, the "crocks" often have themselves and their wares conveyed to any town by rail. The short, or town rounds, are the Dover-road, New Kent-road, Walworth, Camberwell, and back by Newington; Kennington, Brixton, Clapham, and back by Vauxhall; Bayswater, Notting-hill, and back by Paddington; Camden Town, St. John's Wood, and Hampstead; Stoke Newington, Dalston, Clapton, Shacklewell, and Stamford-hill; Mile-end, Stratford, and Bow; Limehouse, Poplar, and back by the Commercial-road. It would be easy to cite other routes, but these show the character of the trade. Some occupy two days. A few crocks "work" the poor neighbourhoods, such as Hoxton, Kingsland-road, parts of Hackney, &c., and cry, "Here we are—now, ladies, bring out your old hats, old clothes, old umbrellers, old anythink; old shoes, metal, old anythink; *here* we are!"

The trade, from the best information I could acquire, is almost equally divided into what may be called "fancy" and "useful" articles. A lodging-letter, for instance, will "swop" her old gowns and boots, and drive keen bargains for plates, dishes, or wash-hand basins and jugs. A housekeeper, who may be in easier circumstances, will exchange for vases and glass wares. Servant-maids swop clothes and money for a set of china, "'gainst they get married." Perhaps there are no more frequent collisions between buyer and seller than in the crock swag-shops. A man who had once been an assistant in one of these places, told me that some of the "crocks" were tiresome beyond measure, and every now and then a minute or two was wasted by the "crock" and the swag-shop-man in swearing one at another. Some of these street traffickers insist upon testing the soundness of *every* article, by striking the middle finger nail against it. This they do to satisfy their customers also, in the course of trade, especially in poor neighbourhoods.

From the best data at my command, one quarter of the goods sold at the swag-shops are sold to the crock dealers I have described, and in about equal proportions as to amount in fancy or useful articles. There are, in addition to the crock barterers, perhaps 100 traders who work the poor streets, chiefly carrying their goods in barrows, but they *sell*, and though they will barter, do not clamour for it. They cry: "Free trade for ever! Here's cup and saucer for a halfpenny! Pick 'em out at your own price! Tea-pot for three halfpence! Pick 'em out! Oho! oho! Giving away here!" They rattle dishes and basins as they make this noise. These men are all supplied at the swag-shops, buying what is called "common lots," and selling at 30 per cent. profit. Such traders have only been known in the streets for five years, and for three or four months of the year half of these "go to costering." The barrows are about seventy in number, and there are thirty stalls. Seven-eighths of the "barrow-crocks" are men. The swag-barrowmen also sell small articles of crockery wares, and altogether one half of the trade of the crock swag-shops (which I have described) is a trade for the streets.

Of the way in which the "crock barterers" dispose of their wares, &c., I have given an account below. They are rapidly supplanting the "old clo'" trade of the Jews.

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The hucksters of crockery-ware are a considerable class. One who has great experience in the business thinks there must be some hundreds employed in it throughout London. He says he meets many at the swag warehouses on the evenings that he goes there. He is often half an hour before he can be served. There are seven or eight swag warehouses frequented by the hucksters, and at the busy time my informant has often seen as many has twenty-five at each house, and he is satisfied that there must be three or four hundred hucksters of china and glass throughout the metropolis. The china and glass in which they deal are usually purchased at the east end of the town, upon the understanding that if the huckster is unable to dispose of them in the course of the day the articles will be taken back in the morning, if uninjured, and the money returned. The hucksters usually take out their goods early in the day. Their baskets are commonly deposited at the warehouse, and each warehouse has from thirty to forty baskets left there over-night, when the unsold articles are returned. The baskets are usually filled with china and glass and ornaments, to the amount of from 5*s.* to 15*s.*, according to the stock-money of the huckster. A basket filled with 15*s.* worth of china is considered, I am told, "a very tidy stock." In the same neighbourhood as they get the crockery, are made the baskets in which it is carried. For these baskets they pay from 2*s.* to 6*s.*, and they are made expressly for the hucksters; indeed, on one side of a well-known street at the east end, the baskets made in the cellars may be seen piled outside the houses up to the second-floor windows. The class of persons engaged in hawking china through the metropolis are either broken-down tradesmen or clerks out of place, or Jews, or they may be Staffordshire men, who have been regularly bred to the business. They carry different kinds of articles. The Staffordshire man may generally be known by the heavy load of china that he carries with him. He has few light or fancy articles in his basket; it is filled chiefly with plates and dishes and earthenware pans. The broken-down tradesmen carries a lighter load. He prefers tea services and vases, and rummers and cruet-stands, as they are generally of a more delicate make than the articles carried by the Staffordshire men. The Jew, however, will carry nothing of any considerable weight. He takes with him mostly light, showy, Bohemian goods—which are difficult "to be priced" by his customers, and do not require much labour to hawk about. The hucksters usually start on their rounds about nine. There are very few who take money; indeed they profess to take none at all. "But that is all flam," said my informant. "If any one was to ask me the price of an article in an artful way like, I shouldn't give him a straightforward answer. To such parties we always say, 'Have you got any old clothes?'" The hucksters *do* take money when they can get it, and they adopt the principle of exchanging their goods for old clothes merely as a means of evading the licence. Still they are compelled to do a great deal in the old clothes' line. When they take money they usually reckon to get 4*d.* in the shilling, but at least three-fourths of their transactions consist of exchanges for old clothes. "A good tea-service we generally give," said my informant, "for a left-off suit of clothes, hat, and boots—they must all be in a decent condition to be worth that. We give a sugar-basin for an old coat, and a rummer for a pair of old Wellington boots. For a glass milk-jug I should expect a waistcoat and trowsers, and they must be tidy ones too. But there's nothing so saleable as a pair of old boots to us. There is always a market for old boots, when there is not for old clothes. You can any day get a dinner out of old Wellingtons; but as for coats and waistcoats—there's a fashion about them, and what pleases one don't another. I can sell a pair of old boots going along the streets if I carry them in my hand. The snobs will run after us to get them—the backs are so valuable. Old beaver hats and waistcoats are worth little or nothing. Old silk hats, however, there's a tidy market for. They are bought for the shops, and are made up into new hats for the country. The shape is what is principally wanted. We won't give a farden for the polka hats with the low crowns. If we can double an old hat up and put it in our pockets, it's more valuable to us than a stiff one. We know that the shape must be good to stand that. As soon as a hatter touches a hat he knows by the touch or the stiffness of it whether it's been 'through' the fire or not; and if so, they'll give it you back in a minute. There is one man who stands in Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate-street, waiting to buy the hats of us as we go into the market, and who purchases at least thirty dozen of us a week. There will be three or four there besides him looking out for us as we return from our rounds, and they'll either outbid one another, according as the demand is, or they'll all hold together to give one price. The same will be done by other parties wanting the old umbrellas that we bring back with us. These are valuable principally for the whalebone. Cane ribbed ones are worth only from 1*d.* to 2*d.*, and that's merely the value of the stick and the supporters. Iron skewers are made principally out of the old supporters of umbrellas." The china and crockery bought by the hucksters at the warehouses are always second-rate articles. They are most of them a little damaged, and the glass won't stand hot water. Every huckster, when he starts, has a bag, and most of them two—the one for the inferior, and the other for the better kind of old clothes he buys. "We purchase gentlemen's left-off wearing apparel. This is mostly sold to us by women. They are either the wives of tradesmen or mechanics who sell them to us, or else it is the servant of a lodging-house, who has had the things given to her, and with her we can deal much easier than the others. She's come to 'em light, and of course she parts with 'em light," said the man, "and she'll take a pair of sugar basins worth about 6*d.*, you know, for a thing that 'll fetch two or three shillings sometimes. But the mistresses of the houses are she-dragons. They wants a whole dinner *chany* service for their husband's

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rags. As for plates and dishes, they think they can be had for picking up. Many a time they sells their husband's things unbeknown to 'em, and often the gentleman of the house coming up to the door, and seeing us make a deal—for his trowsers maybe—puts a stop to the whole transaction. Often and often I've known a woman sell the best part of her husband's stock of clothes for *chany* ornaments for her mantelpiece. And I'm sure the other day a lady stripped the whole of her passage, and gave me almost a new great coat, that was hanging up in the hall, for a few trumpery tea-things. But the greatest 'screws' we has to deal with are some of the ladies in the squares. They stops you on the sly in the streets, and tells you to call at their house at sitch a hour of the day, and when you goes there they smuggles you quietly into some room by yourselves, and then sets to work Jewing away as hard as they can, pricing up their own things, and downcrying yourn. Why, the other day I was told to call at a fashionable part of Pimlico, so I gave a person 3*d*. to mind the child, and me and my good woman started off at eight in the morning with a double load. But, bless you, when we got there, the lady took us both into a private room unbeknown to the servants, and wanted me to go and buy expressly for her a green and white chamber service all complete, with soap trays and brush trays, together with four breakfast cups—and all this here grand set-out she wanted for a couple of old washed-out light waistcoats, and a pair of light trowsers. She tried hard to make me believe that the buttons alone on the waistcoats was worth 6*d*. a piece, but I knowed the value of buttons afore she was borned; at first start off I'm sure they wouldn't have cost 1*d*. each, so I couldn't make a deal of it no how, and I had to take all my things back for my trouble. I asked her even for a pint of beer, but she wouldn't listen to no such thing. We generally cry as we go, 'any old clothes to sell or exchange,' and I look down the area, and sometimes knock at the door. If I go out with a 15*s*. basket of crockery, may be after a tidy day's work I shall come home with 1*s*. in my pocket (perhaps I shall have *sold* a couple of tumblers, or half a dozen plates), and a bundle of old clothes, consisting of two or three old shirts, a coat or two, a suit of left-off livery, a woman's gown may be, or a pair of old stays, a couple of pair of Wellingtons, and a waistcoat or so. These I should have at my back, and the remainder of my *chany* and glass on my head, and werry probably a humberella or two under my arm, and five or six old hats in my hand. This load altogether will weigh about three quarters of a cwt., and I shall have travelled fifteen miles with that, at least; for as fast as I gets rid on the weight of the crockery, I takes up the weight of the old clothes. The clothes I hardly know the value on till I gets to the Clothes Exchange, in Houndsditch. The usual time for the hucksters arriving there is between three and four in the winter, or between five and six in the summer. In fact, we must be at the Exchange at them hours, because there all our buyers is, and we can't go out the next day until we've sold our lot. We can't have our baskets stocked again until we've got the money for our old clothes." The Exchange is a large square plot of damp ground, about an acre in extent, enclosed by a hoarding about eight feet high, on the top of which is a narrow sloping roof, projecting sufficiently forward to shelter one person from the rain. Across this ground are placed four rows of double seats, ranged back to back. Here meet all the Jew clothesmen, hucksters, dealers in second-hand shoes, left-off wardrobe keepers, hareskin dealers, umbrella dealers and menders, and indeed buyers and sellers of left-off clothes and worn-out commodities of every description. The purchasers are of all nations, and in all costumes. Some are Greeks, others Swiss, and others Germans; some have come there to buy up old rough charity clothing and army coats for the Irish market, others have come to purchase the hareskins and old furs, or else to pick up cheap old teapots and tea-urns. The man with the long flowing beard and greasy tattered gaberdine is worth thousands, and he has come to make another sixpence out of the rags and tatters that are strewn about the ground in heaps for sale. At a little before three o'clock the stream of rag-sellers sets in in a flood towards this spot. At the gate stands "Barney Aaron," to take the half-penny admission of every one entering the ground. By his side stands his son with a leather pouch of half-pence, to give change for any silver that may be tendered. The stench of the old clothes is positively overpowering. Every one there is dressed in his *worst*. If he has any good clothes he would not put them on. Almost each one that enters has a bag at his back, and scarcely has he passed the gate before he is surrounded by some half dozen eager Jews—one feels the contents of the bundle on the huckster's back—another clamours for the first sight. A third cries, "I'm sure you have something that'll suit me." "You know me," says a fourth, "I'm a buyer, and give a good price." "Have you got any breaking?" asks this Jew, who wants an old coat or two to cut up into cloth caps—"Have you got any fustian, any old cords, or old boots?" And such is the anxiety and greediness of the buyers, that it is as much as the seller can do to keep his bundle on his back. At length he forces his way to a seat, and as he empties the contents of his sack on the ground, each different article is snapped up and eagerly overhauled by the different Jews that have followed him to his seat. Then they all ask what sum is wanted for the several things, and they, one and all, bid one quarter of the price demanded. I am assured that it requires the greatest vigilance to prevent the things being carried off unpaid in the confusion. While this scene is going on, a Jew, perched upon a high stage in the centre of the ground, shouts aloud to the multitude, "Hot wine, a half-penny a glass, here." Beside him stands another, with smoking cans of hot eels; and next to this one is a sweetmeat stall, with a crowd of Jew boys gathered round the keeper of it, gambling with marbles for Albert rock and hardbake. Up and down

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between the seats push women with baskets of sheep's trotters on their arms, and screaming, "Legs of mutton, two for a penny; who 'll give me a handsel—who 'll give me a handsel?" After them comes a man with a large tin can under his arm, and roaring, "Hot pea, oh! hot pea, oh!" In one corner is a coffee and beer shop. Inside this are Jews playing at draughts, or settling and wrangling about the goods they have bought of one another. In fact, in no other place is such a scene of riot, rags, and filth to be witnessed. The cause of this excitement is the great demand on the part of the poor, and the cheap clothiers as well, for those articles which are considered as worthless by the rich. The old shoes are to be cobbled up, and the cracks heel-balled over, and sold out to the working-classes as strong durable articles. The Wellingtons are to be new fronted, and disposed of to clerks who are expected to appear respectable upon the smallest salaries. The old coats and trowsers are wanted for the slop-shops; they are to be "turned," and made up into new garments. The best black suits are to be "clobbered" up—and those which are more worn in parts are to be cut up and made into new cloth caps for young gentlemen, or gaiters for poor curates; whilst others are to be transformed into the "best boys' tunics." Such as are *too* far gone are bought to be torn to pieces by the "devil," and made up into new cloth—or "shoddy" as it is termed—while such as have already done this duty are sold for manure for the ground. The old shirts, if they are past mending, are bought as "rubbish" by the marine store dealers, and sold as rags to the paper-mills, to be changed either into the bank-note, the newspaper, or the best satin note-paper.

The average earnings of the hucksters who exchange crockery, china and glass for the above articles, are from 8*s.* to 10*s.* per week. Some days, I am told, they will make 3*s.*, and on others they will get only 6*d.* However, taking the good with the bad, it is thought that 10*s.* a week is about a fair average of the earnings of the whole class. The best times for this trade are at the turn of the winter, and at the summer season, because then people usually purchase new clothes, and are throwing off the old ones. The average price of an old hat is from 1*d.* to 8*d.*; for an old pair of shoes, from 1*d.* to 4*d.*; an old pair of Wellingtons fetch from 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* (those of French leather are of scarcely any value). An old coat is worth from 4*d.* to 1*s.*; waistcoats are valued from 1*d.* to 3*d.*; trowsers are worth from 4*d.* to 8*d.*; cotton gowns are of the same value; bonnets are of no value whatever; shirts fetch from 2*d.* to 6*d.*; stockings are 1*d.* per pair; a silk handkerchief varies in value from 3*d.* to 1*s.* The party supplying me with the above information was originally in the coal and greengrocery business, but, owing to a succession of calamities, he has been unable to carry it on. Since then he has taken to the vending of crockery in the streets. He is a man far above the average of the class to which he at present belongs.

Of the "Swag," Crockery, and Glass Shops.

In addition to the 150 general and particular "swag-shops," or shops having a large *collection* of goods, of which I have spoken, there are twenty establishments for the sale of crockery and china, which I heard styled by persons in the trade "swag-crocks," or "crock-shops." The principle on which the trade is conducted in these places is the same as that of the swag-shops, inasmuch as the sales are wholesale, to street-sellers, shop-keepers, and shippers, but rarely to private individuals.

The crock swag-shops are to be found in the streets neighbouring Spitalfields market, and in and near to Liquorpond-street. As at the more general or miscellaneous swag-shops, the crock-swags make no display. In one of the most extensive, indeed, two large windows are filled with goods. Here are spirit-stands, with the invariable three bottles (invariable in the cheap trade), blue, green, or uncoloured; some lettered "gin," "rum," "brandy," but most of them unlabelled. Here, too, are cruet-stands, and "pot" or spar figures under glass shades; and a number of many-coloured flower-glasses, some of them profusely gilded; and small china vases; but the glass wares greatly predominate. Although there are glass and colour and gilding enough to make "an imposing display," the display is nevertheless anything but showy; the goods look dingy, and, if I may so speak of such things, faded. Some of the coloured glass seems to be losing its colour, and few of the wares have the bright look of newness.

The windows of these shops are, for the most part, literally *packed* to a certain height, so as almost to exclude the light, with pitchers, and basins, and cups, and jugs, and the sundry smaller articles of this multifarious trade, all undusted, and seemingly uncared for. In one "large concern" I saw a number of glass salt-cellars wrapped severally in paper, which had changed from white to a dusty brown, and which from age, and perhaps damp, seemed about to fall to tatters.

The "interiors" of some of these warehouses are very spacious. I saw one large and lofty shop, into which two apartments and a yard had been flung, the partitions having been taken down, and the ceilings supported by pillars, in order to "extend the premises." It was really a hall of pots. On the floor were large crates, the tops removed so that the goods might be examined, packed, one with cups, another with saucers, a third with basins, and packed as only a potter could pack them. Intermixed with them were piles of blue-and-white dishes and plates, and, beside them, washing-pans, fitted one into another like the old hats on a Jew's head. The pillars had their festoons of crockery, being hung with children's white and gold mugs "for a good boy," and with white metal-lidded and brown-bodied mustard pots, as well as other minor articles. The shelves were loaded with tea-services of many shapes and hues, while the unoccupied space was what sufficed to allow the warehousemen and the

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customers to thread the mazes of this labyrinth of crockerywares. Of the glass goods there was little display, as they are generally kept in cases and other packages, to preserve their freshness of appearance.

The crockery of the swag-shops is made in Staffordshire; the glass principally in Lancashire. At none of these establishments do they issue circulars of prices, such as I have cited of the general swag-shops. The articles are so very many, I was told, that to specify all the sizes and prices "would take a volume and a half." I give a statement, however, of the prices of the goods most in demand, on the occasions when the street vendors sell them without barter, and the prices at which they are purchased wholesale: Blue-edged plates sold at 1*d.* each cost 1*s.* 8*d.* the dozen; this would appear to entail a loss of 8*d.* on every dozen sold, but in this article "30 is a dozen." Dishes are bought at the "swag-crocks" in "nests," which comprise 10 dishes, or 5 pairs, of different sizes. These the street crockman sells, if possible, in pairs, but he will sell them singly, for he can always make up the complement of his "nest" at the warehouse. The prices run, chiefly according to size, from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* (sometimes 1*s.* 8*d.*) the pair. "The 8*d.* a pair," said one street crock-seller, "costs me 6*d.*, not a farthing under, and the 18*d.* a pair—it's very seldom we can 'draw' 1*s.* 8*d.*—costs 1*s.* 2*d.* That's all, sir; and the profit's so small, it makes us keen to swop. I'll swop for old clothes, or dripping, or grease, or anything. You see the profit, when you sells downright down, *must* be small, 'cause there's so many pot-shops with prices marked on the plates and other things. They can buy better than us sometimes, and they're hard to stand up against. If a woman says to me—for I very seldom deal with men—'Why, they're cheaper at D——'s, in Oxford-street,'—I answers, 'And worser. I'll tell you what it is, ma'am. The cheapest place was in two houses, painted all red, in the London-road. But one fine morning them two houses fell, and the pots was smashed as a matter of course. It was a judgment on their bad pots.' But it's a fact, sir, that these houses fell, about 7 or 8 years ago, I think, and I've seen goods, with one or two of 'em broken, offered for sale when the place was re-built, having been 'rescued from the ruins;' and at less than half price.' Of course that was gammon. I've cracked and broke a few plates, myself, and sold them in the New Kent-road, and in Walworth and Newington, at half price, from the ruins, and at a very tidy profit." A stone china tea-service, of 32 pieces—12 cups, 12 saucers, 4 bread-and-butter plates, a tea-pot, a sugar-basin, a slop-basin, and a cream-jug—is bought for 6*s.* 9*d.* while 9*s.* is asked for it, and sometimes obtained. A "china set" costs, as the general price, 10*s.* 6*d.*, and for it 14*s.* is asked.

The glass wares are so very rarely sold—being the most attractive articles of barter—that I could hardly get any street-seller to state his prices. "Swop, sir," I was told repeatedly, "they all goes in swop." The glass goods, however, which are the most sold in the streets, I ascertained to be cream-jugs, those vended at 6*d.* each, costing 4*s.* the dozen; and flower-glasses, the most frequent price being 1*s.* a pair, the prime cost 7*d.*

I have estimated the sum turned over by the general swag-shops at 3000*l.* each. From what I can learn, the crock swag-shops, averaging the whole, turn over a larger sum, for their profits are smaller, ranging from 10 to 30 per cent., but rarely 30. Calculating, then, that each of these swag-shops turns over 4000*l.* yearly, we find 80,000*l.* expended, but this includes the sales to shopkeepers and to shippers, as well as to street-folk.

Of the Street-Sellers of Spar and China Ornaments, and of Stone Fruit.

"Spars," as spar ornaments are called by the street-sellers, are sold to the retailers at only four places in London, and two in Gravesend (where the hawkers are for the most part supplied). The London spar-houses are—two in Westminster, one in Shoreditch, and one on Battle-bridge. None of them present any display of their goods which are kept in large drawers, closets, and packages. At Gravesend the spar-shops are handsome.

These wares are principally of Derbyshire spar, and made in Matlock; a few are German. The "spars" are hawked on a round, and are on fine Saturday nights offered for sale in the street and markets. The trade was unknown as a street, or a hawking trade in London, I am informed, until about twenty-five years ago, and then was not extensive, the goods, owing to the cost of carriage, &c., being high-priced. As public conveyance became more rapid, certain and cheap, the trade in spars increased, and cheaper articles were prepared for the London market. From ten to fifteen years ago the vendors of spars "did well in swop" (as street-sellers always call barters). The articles with which they tempted housewives were just the sort of article to which it was difficult for inexperienced persons to attach a value. They were massive and handsome ornaments, and the spar-sellers did not fail to expatiate on their many beauties. "God rest Jack Moody's soul," said an Irishman, now a crock-seller, to me; "Jack Moody was only his nick-name, but that don't matter; God rist his sowl and the hivens be his bid. He was the boy to sell the spar-r's. They was from the cavrents at the bottom of the say, he towld them, or from a new island in the frozen ocean. He did well; God rist him; but he died young." The articles "swopped" were such as I have described in my account of the tradings of the crock-sellers; and if the "swop" were in favour of the spar-seller, still the customer became possessed of something solid, enduring, and generally handsome.

At the outset of the street or hawking trade, the spar-sellers carried their goods done up in paper, in strong baskets on their heads; the man's wife sometimes carrying a smaller basket, with less burdensome articles, on her arm. Men have been known to start on a round, with a basket of spars, which would weigh from 1 cwt. to 1½ cwt. (or 12 stone). This, it must be remembered, might

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have to be borne for three or four miles into the suburbs, before its weight was diminished by a sale. One of these traders told me that twelve years ago he had sold spar watch-stands, weighing above 15 lbs. These stands were generally of a square form; the inner portion being open, except a sort of recess for the watch. "The tick sounds well on spar, I've often heard," said one spar-seller.

Some of the spar ornaments are plain, white, and smooth. Of these many have flowers, or rims, or insects, painted upon them, and in brilliant colours. Those which are now in demand for the street sales, or for itinerant barterings, are—Small microscopes, candlesticks, inkstands, pin-cushions, mugs, paper-holders, match perfumery, and shaving-boxes, etc. The general price of these articles is 6*d*. to the street-seller or hawker, some of the dealers being licensed hawkers. The wholesale price varies from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*. per dozen; or an average of 3*s*. 9*d*. or 4*s*. Of the larger articles the most saleable are candlesticks, at from 1*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. each; from 1*s*. to 1*s*. 6*d*. being the most frequent price. Watch-stands and vases are now, I am told, in small demand. "People's got stocked, I think," one man said, "and there's so much cheap glass and chaney work, that they looks on spars as heavy and old-fashioned."

Some street-sellers have their spars in covered barrows, the goods being displayed when the top of the barrow is removed, so that the conveyance is serviceable whether the owner be stationary or itinerant. The spar-sellers, however, are reluctant to expose their goods to the weather, as the colours are easily affected.

In this trade I am informed that there are now twelve men, nine of whom are assisted by their wives, and that in the summer months there are eighteen. Their profits are about 15*s*. per week on an average of the whole year, including the metropolis and a wide range of the suburbs. What amount of money may be expended by the public in the street purchase of "spars" I am unable to state, so much being done in the way of barter; but assuming that there are fourteen sellers throughout the year, and that their profits are cent. per cent., there would appear to be about 1000*l*. per annum thus laid out.

Of stone fruit there are now usually six street sellers, and in fine weather eight. Eight or ten years ago there were twenty. The fruit is principally made at Chesterfield in Derbyshire, and is disposed of to the London street-sellers in the swag-shops in Houndsditch. Some of the articles, both as regards form and colour, are well executed; others are far too red or too green; but that, I was told, pleased children best. The most saleable fruits are apples, pears, peaches, apricots, oranges, lemons and cucumbers. The cucumbers, which are sometimes of pot as well as of stone, are often hollow, and are sometimes made to serve for gin-bottles, holding about a quartern.

The price at the swag-shops is 4*s*. 3*d*. for a gross of fruit of all kinds in equal quantities; for a better quality the price is 7*s*. 6*d*. The street-seller endeavours to get 1*d*. each for the lower priced, and 2*d*. for the higher, but has most frequently to be content with ½*d*. and 1*d*. The stone fruitmen are itinerant during the week and stationary in the street markets on Saturday, and sometimes other evenings. They carry their stock both in baskets and barrows. One man told me that he always cried, "Pick 'em out! pick 'em out! Half-penny each! Cheapest fruit ever seen! As good to-morrow as last week! Never lose flavour! Ever-lasting fruit."

Supposing that there are six persons selling stone fruit in the streets through the year, and that each earns—and I am assured that is the full amount—9*s*. weekly (one man said 7*s*. 6*d*. was the limit of his weekly profits in fruit), we find 140*l*. received as profit on these articles, and calculating the gains at 33 per cent., an outlay of 420*l*.

The trade in China ornaments somewhat differs from the others I have described under the present head. It is both a street and a public-house trade, and is carried on both in the regular way and by means of raffles. At some public-houses, indeed, the China ornament dealers are called "rafflers."

The "ornaments" now most generally sold or raffled are Joy and Grief (two figures, one laughing and the other crying); dancing Highlanders; mustard pots in the form of cottages, &c.; grotesque heads, one especially of an old man, which serves as a pepper-box, the grains being thrown through the eyes, nose, and mouth; Queen and Alberts (but not half so well as the others); and, until of late, Smith O'Briens. There are others, also, such as I have mentioned in my account of the general swag-shops, to the windows of many of which they form the principal furniture. Some of these "ornaments" sold "on the sly" can hardly be called obscene, but they are dirty, and cannot be further described.

The most lucrative part of the trade is in the raffling. A street-seller after doing what business he can, on a round or at a stand, during the day, will in the evening resort to public-houses, where he is known, and is allowed to offer his wares to the guests. The ornaments, in public-house sale, are hardly ever offered for less than 6*d*. each, or 6*d*. a pair. The raffling is carried on rapidly and simply. Dice are very rarely used now, and when used, provoke many murmurs from the landlords. The raffler of the China ornaments produces a portable roulette box or table—these tables becoming an established part of street traffic—eight or ten inches in diameter. What may be called "the board" of some of these "roulettes" is numbered to thirty-two. It is set rapidly spinning on a pivot, a pea is then slipped through a hole in the lid of the box, and, when the motion has ceased, the pea is found in one of the numbered partitions. "Now, gentlemen," a raffler told me he would say, "try your luck for this beautiful pair of ornaments; six of you at 1*d*. a piece. If you go home rather how came you so, show what you've bought for the old lady, and it'll be all right and peaceful." If six persons contribute 1*d*. each, the one "spinning" the highest number

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gains the prize, and is congratulated by the ornament seller on having gained for 1*d.* what was only too cheap at 6*d.* "Why, sir," said a man who had recently left the trade for another calling, and who was anxious that I should not give any particular description of him, "in case he went back to the raffling,"—"Why, sir, I remember one Monday evening four or five months back, going into a parlour, not a tap-room, mind, where was respectable mechanics. They got to play with me, and got keen, and played until my stock was all gone. If one man stopped raffling, another took his place. I can't recollect how many ornaments I raffled, but I cleared rather better than 3*s.* 6*d.* When there was no ornaments left they gave me 1*d.* a piece—there was eleven of them then—and a pint of beer to let them have the roulette till 12 o'clock; and away they went at it for beer and screws, and bets of 1*d.* and 2*d.* One young man that had been lucky in winning the ornaments got cleaned out, and staked his ornaments for 2*d.*, or for a 1*d.* rather than not play. That sort of thing only happened to me once, to the same extent. If the landlord came into the room, of course they was only playing for drink, or he might have begun about his licence."

The ornaments are bought at the swag shops I have described, and are nearly all of German make. They are retailed from 1*d.* and sometimes ½*d.* to 1*s.* each, and the profit is from 25 to 75 per cent. There are, I am informed, about thirty persons in this trade, two-thirds of them being rafflers, and their receipts being from 25*s.* to 30*s.* weekly. Most of them mix "fancy glass" goods and spars, and other articles, with their "ornament" trade, so that it is not easy to ascertain what is expended upon the china ornaments independently of other wares. If we calculate it at 10*s.* weekly (a low average considering the success of some of the raffles), we find 780*l.* expended in the streets in these ornamental productions.

Of the Street-Sellers of Textile Fabrics.

These street-folk present perhaps as great a diversity of character as any of which I have been called upon to treat.

Among them are the strong persevering men, who carry rolls of linen or cotton manufacture in packs on their backs, and trudge along holding a yard-wand by the middle, which—it is a not uncommon joke against them—is always worn down an inch or two, by being used as a walking-stick in their long pedestrian journeys. Such, however, is not the case, for the packman—when measuring is resorted to—generally shows the justice of his measure, or invites the purchaser to use her own yard-wand (for women are now their most frequent customers). Some of these men love to tell of the many hundreds of miles they have walked in their time, and in the three kingdoms. The most of those who make London, or any large town their head-quarters, and take regular journeys into the country, are licensed hawkers; those who confine their sales exclusively to London and its immediate vicinity, frequently conduct their business without incurring the annual cost of a licence. The penalty for hawking without a licence is 10*l.*, or an imprisonment (in default of payment) not exceeding three months, with a discretionary power of mitigation to the magistrates. Some of these men may be styled hereditary hawkers, having first accompanied and then succeeded their parents on a round; some were in their youth assistants to hawkers; some had been unsuccessful as tallymen when shopkeepers, or travellers for tally-shops, and have resorted to hawking or street-trading, occasionally, in their transactions with different parties, blending the tally system with the simple rules of sale for ready money.

In striking contrast to these sturdy and often astute traders are the street-sellers of lace and millinery, the majority of whom are women. A walk through a street-market, especially on a Saturday evening, will show any one the frequent difference of the established street-milliner to the other female traders surrounding her stall. The milliner, as she is commonly called by the street-folk, wears a clean, and often tasty cap, beneath her closely-fitting bonnet, a cap in which artificial flowers are not wanting, should she sell those adornments. Her shawl is pinned beneath her collar; her gown, if it be old or of poor material, is clean; and she is rarely to be seen in boots or shoes made for men's wear. Near her stall are stout, coarse-looking Irish girls, with unstringed bonnets, half-ragged shawls, thrown loose round their shoulders, necks red from exposure to the weather, coarse and never brushed, but sometimes scraped, shoes, when shoes are worn, and a general dirtiness of apparel. The street-milliners have been ladies'-maids, working milliners and dress-makers, the wives of mechanics who have been driven to the streets, and who add to the means of the family by conducting a street-trade themselves, with a sprinkling from other classes.

The street-sellers of lace are of the same class as the milliners, but with perhaps less smartness, and carrying on an inferior trade both as regards profit and display.

The street-sellers of boot and stay-laces and of such things as sewing cotton, threads and tapes, when sold separately from more valuable articles, are children and old people, some of whom are infirm, and some blind. The children have, in some instances, been bred to the streets; the old people probably are worn out in street-trades requiring health and strength, and so adopt a less laborious calling, or else they have been driven to it, either from comparatively better circumstances, or by some privation or affliction, in order to avoid the workhouse.

The sale of belts, stockings, braces, straps and garters, is mostly in the hands of men, who, from all that I can learn, are regular street-sellers, who "turn their hands first to this and then to that," but this portion of street-traffic is often combined with the sale of dog-collars, chains, &c. The trade is more a public-house than a distinct traffic in the street. The landlord of a well-frequented inn in Lambeth told me that every day at least 100 of such street-sellers—not including match-girls and

women— entered his house to offer their wares; the greatest number of such sellers was in the evening.

I have so far described what may be called the fair traders, but to them the street-sellers of textile fabrics are not confined. There are besides these, two other classes known as "Duffers" and as "Lumpers," and sometimes the same man is both "Duffer" and "Lumper." The two names are often confounded, but an intelligent street-seller, versed in all the arts and mysteries of this trade, told me that he understood by a "Duffer," a man who sold goods under false pretences, making out that they were smuggled, or even stolen, so as to enhance the idea of their cheapness; whereas a "Lumper" would sell linens, cottons, or silks, which might be really the commodities represented; but which, by some management or other, were made to appear new when they were old, or solid when they were flimsy.

Of the Haberdashery Swag-Shops.

By this name the street-sellers have long distinguished the warehouses, or rather shops, where they purchase their goods. The term *Swag*, or *Swack*, or *Sweg*, is, as was before stated, a Scotch word, meaning a large collection, a "lot." The haberdashery, however, supplied by these establishments is of a very miscellaneous character; which, perhaps, can best be shown by describing a "haberdashery swag," to which a street-seller, who made his purchases there, conducted me, and which, he informed me, was one of the most frequented by his fraternity, if not *the* most frequented, in the metropolis.

The window was neither dingy, nor, as my companion expressed it, "gay." It was in size, as well as in "dressing," or "show"—for I heard the arrangement of the window goods called by both those names by street people—half-way between the quiet plainness of a really wholesale warehouse, and the gorgeousness of a retail drapery concern, when a "tremendous sacrifice" befools the public. Not a quarter of an inch of space was lost, and the announcements and prices were written many of them in a bungling school-boy-like hand, while others were the work of a professional "ticket writer," and show the eagerness of so many of this class of trade to obtain custom. In one corner was this announcement: "To bootmakers. Boot fronts cut to any size or quality." There was neither boot nor shoe visible, but how a boot front *can be* cut "to any quality," is beyond my trade knowledge. Half hidden, and read through laces, was another announcement, sufficiently odd, in a window decorated with a variety of combustible commodities: "Hawkers supplied with fuzees cheaper than any house in London." On the "ledge," or the part shelving from the bottom of the window, within the shop, were paper boxes of steel purses with the price marked so loosely as to leave it an open question whether 1*s.* 0¾*d.* or 10¾*d.* was the cost. There was also a good store of silk purses, marked 2½*d.*; bright-coloured ribbons, in a paper box, and done up in small rolls, 1½*d.*; cotton reels, four a penny; worsted balls, three a penny; girls' night-caps, 1¾*d.*; women's caps, from 2¾*d.* to 7¾*d.*; (the ¾*d.* was always in small indistinct characters, but it was a very favourite adjunct); diamond patent mixed pins—London and Birmingham—1*d.* an oz. My companion directed my attention to the little packets of pins: "They're well done up, sir, as you can see, and in very good and thick and strong pink papers, with ornamental printers' borders, and plenty of paper for three ounces. The paper's weighed with the pins, and the price is 1*d.* an oz.; so the paper fetches 1*s.* 4*d.* a pound." There were also many papers of combs, and one tied outside the packet as a specimen, without a price marked upon them. "The price varies, sir;" said my guide and informant, and I heard the same account from others; "it varies from 1*d.* a pair to such as me; up to 6*d.* or perhaps 1*s.* to a servant-maid what looks innocent."

From what appeared to be slender rods fitted higher up to the breadth of the window depended "black lace handkerchiefs, 4¾*d.*;" and cap fronts, some being a round wreath of gauze ornamented with light rose-coloured artificial flowers, and marked "only 5½*d.*;" together with lace (or edgings) which hung in festoons, and filled every vacancy. Higher up were braces marked 5*d.*; and more lace; and to the back of all was a sort of screen—for it shuts out all view of the inside of the shop—of big-figured shawls (the figures in purple, orange, and crimson) and of silk handkerchiefs: "They're regular duffers," I was told, "and very tidy duffers too—very, for it's a respectable house."

In the centre of the window ledge was a handsome wreath of artificial flowers, marked 2½*d.* "If a young woman was to go in to buy it at 2½*d.*, I've seen it myself, sir," said the street-seller, "she's told that the ticket has got out of its place, for it belonged to the lace beneath, but as she'd made a mistake without thinking of the value, the flowers was 1*s.* 6*d.* to her, though they was cheap at 2*s.* 6*d.*"

From this account it will be seen that the swag or wholesale haberdashers are now very general traders; and that they trade "retail" as well as "wholesale." Twenty or twenty-five years ago, I am informed, the greater part of these establishments were really haberdashery swags; but so fierce became the competition in the trade, so keen the desire "to do business," that gradually, and more especially within these four or five years, they became "all kinds of swags."

A highly respectable draper told me that he never could thoroughly understand where hosiery, haberdashery, or drapery, began or ended; for hosiers now were always glovers, and often shirt-makers; haberdashers were always hosiers (at the least), and drapers were everything; so that the change in the character of the shops from which the street-sellers of textile fabrics procure their supplies, is but in accordance with the change in the general drapery trade. The literal meaning of the word haberdashery is unknown to etymologists.

There are now about fifty haberdashery swags

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resorted to by street-sellers, but only a fifth part of them make the trade to street-sellers a principal, while none make it a sole feature of their business. In the enumeration of the fifty haberdashery "swags," five are large and handsome shops carried on by "cutting" drapers. Some of these—one in the borough, especially—do not "serve" the street-sellers, except at certain hours, generally from four to six.

There is another description of shops from which a class of street traders derive their supplies of stock. These are the "print-brokers," who sell "gown-pieces" to the hawkers or street-traders. Only about a dozen of such shops, and those principally in the borough and in Wormwood-street, Bishopsgate, are frequented by the London street-sellers. One man showed me a draper's shop, at which hawkers were "supplied," but without an announcement of such a thing, as it might affect the character of the concern for gentility. The gown-pieces were rolled loosely together, and to each was attached a ticket, 2*s.* 11*d.* or 3*s.* 11*d.*, with intermediate prices, but those here mentioned were the most frequent. The 11*d.* was in pencil, so that it could be altered at any time, without the expense of a new ticket being incurred. "That one marked 2*s.* 11*d.*," said the street-seller, "would be charged to me 2*s.* 2*d.*, and the 3*s.* 11*d.* in the same way 3*s.* 2*d.*, or I might get it at 3*s.* If those gown-pieces don't take—and they are almost as thin as silver-paper,—they'll be marked down to 2*s.* 2*d.* and 3*s.* 2*d.*, just by degrees, as you see them shown in the window." The regular "print-brokers" make no display in their windows or premises.

The "duffers" and "lumpers" are supplied almost entirely at one shop in the east end. The proprietor has the sham, or inferior, silk handkerchiefs manufactured for the purpose; and for the supply of his other silk-goods, he purchases any silk "miscoloured" in the dyeing, or faded from time. "A faded lavender," one of his customers told me, "he'll get dyed black, and made to look quite new and fresh. Sometimes it's good silk, but it's mostly very dicky." This tradesman is also a retailer.

Such things as braces and garters are sold to the street people at the general as well as the haberdashery swag-shops; and are more frequently sold wholesale than other goods; indeed the general swag-shop keepers sell them by no other way; but the "wholesale haberdashers" will sell a single pair, though not, of course, at wholesale price. Some houses again supply the more petty street-sellers, solely with such articles as are known in Manchester by the name of small-ware, including thread, cotton, tapes, laces, &c.

Of Hawkers, Pedlars, and Petty Chapmen.

The machinery for the distribution of commodities has, in this and in all other "progressive" countries, necessarily undergone many changes; but whether these changes have been beneficial to the community, or not, this is not the place for me to inquire; all I have to do here is to set forth the order of such changes, and to show the position that the hawker and pedlar formerly occupied in the state.

The "distributor" of the produce of the country is necessarily a kind of go-between, or middleman, introduced for the convenience of bringing together the producer and consumer—the seller and the buyer of commodities. The producer of a particular commodity being generally distinct from the consumer, it follows, that either the commodity must be carried to the consumer, or the consumer go to the commodity. To save time and trouble to both parties, it seems to have been originally arranged that producer and consumer should meet, periodically, at appointed places. Such periodical meetings of buyers and sellers still exist in this and many other countries, and are termed either fairs or markets, according as they are held at long or short intervals—the fair being generally an annual meeting, and the market a weekly one. In the olden time the peculiar characteristic of these commercial congregations was, that the producer and consumer came into immediate contact, without the intervention of any middleman. The fair or market seemed to be a compromise between the two, as to the inconvenience of either finding the other when wanted. The producer brought his goods, so to speak, half way to the consumer, while the consumer travelled half way to the goods. "There would be a great waste of time and trouble," says Stewart Mill, "and an inconvenience often amounting to impracticability, if consumers could only obtain the article they want by treating directly with the producers. Both producers and consumers are too much scattered, and the latter often at too great a distance from the former."

"To diminish this loss of time and labour," continues Mr. Mill, "the contrivance of fairs and markets was early had recourse to, where consumers and producers might periodically meet, without any intermediate agency; and this plan still answers tolerably well for many articles, especially agricultural produce—agriculturists having at some seasons a certain quantity of spare time on their hands. But even in this case, attendance is often very troublesome and inconvenient to buyers who have other occupations, and do not live in the immediate vicinity; while, for all articles the production of which requires continuous attention from the producers, these periodical markets must be held at such considerable intervals, and the wants of the consumers must either be provided for so long beforehand, or must remain so long unsupplied, that even before the resources of society permitted the establishment of shops, the supply of those wants fell universally into the hands of *itinerant dealers*, the pedlars who might appear once a month, being preferred to the fair, which only returned once a year. In country districts, remote from towns or large villages, the vocation of the pedlar is not yet wholly superseded. But a dealer who has a fixed abode, and fixed customers," continues Mr. Mill, "is so much more to be depended on, that customers prefer resorting to him, if he is conveniently accessible; and dealers, therefore, find their advantage in esta-

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blishing themselves in every locality where there are sufficient consumers near at hand to afford them remuneration."

Thus we see that the pedlar was the original distributor of the produce of the country—the primitive middleman, as well as the prime mover in extending the markets of particular localities, or for particular commodities. He was, as it were, the first "free-trader;" increasing the facilities for the interchange of commodities, without regard to market dues or tolls, and carrying the natural advantages of particular districts to remote and less favoured places; thus enabling each locality to produce that special commodity for which it had the greatest natural convenience, and exchanging it for the peculiar produce of other parts.

Now, this extension of the markets necessarily involved some machinery for the conveyance of the goods from one district to another. Hence, the pedlar was not only the original merchant, but the primitive carrier—to whom, perhaps, we owe both our turnpike-roads and railways. For, since the peculiar characteristic of the pedlar was the carrying the produce to the consumer, rather than troubling the consumer to go after the produce, of course it soon became necessary, as the practice increased, and increased quantities of goods had to be conveyed from one part of the country to another, that increased facilities of transit should be effected. The first change was from the pack-*man* to the pack-*horse*: for the former a foot-way alone was required; while the latter necessitated the formation of some kind of a road. Some of these ancient pack-horse roads existed till within these few years. Hagbush-lane, which was described by William Hone only twenty years ago, but which has now vanished, was the ancient bridle or pack-horse road from London to the North, and extended by the Holloway back road as far as the City-road, near Old-street. "Some parts of Hagbush-lane," says Hone, "are much lower than the meadows on either side." At one time a terraced ridge, at another a deep rut, the pack-horse road must have been to the unaccustomed traveller a somewhat perilous pass. The historian of Craven, speaking of 1609, says, "At this time the communication between the north of England and the Universities was kept up by the carriers, who pursued their long but uniform route with trains of pack-horses. To their care were consigned packages, and not unfrequently the persons of young scholars. It was through their medium, also, that epistolary correspondence was managed; and as they always visited London, a letter could scarcely be exchanged between Yorkshire and Oxford in less time than a month." The General Post Office was established by Act of Parliament in the year 1660, and all letters were to be sent through this office, "except such letters as shall be sent by coaches, common-known carriers of goods by carts, waggons, and pack-horses, and shall be carried along with their carts, waggons, and pack-horses respectively."

"There is no such conveyance as a waggon in this country" (Scotland), says Roderick Random, referring to the beginning of the last century, "and my finances were too weak to support the expense of hiring a horse. I determined therefore to set out with the carriers, who transport goods from one place to another on horseback; and this scheme I accordingly put in execution on the 1st day of November, 1739, sitting on a pack-saddle between two baskets, one of which contained my goods in a knapsack. But by the time we arrived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, I was so fatigued with the tediousness of the carriage, and benumbed with the coldness of the weather, that I resolved to travel the rest of my journey on foot, rather than proceed in such a disagreeable manner."

The present mode of travelling, compared with that of the pack-horse means of conveyance as pursued of old, forms one of the most striking contrasts, perhaps, in all history.

Hence we see that the pedlar was originally both carrier and seller; first conveying his pack on his back, and then, as it increased in bulk, transferring it to the back of "the pack-horse." But as soon as the practice of conveying the commodities to the buyers, instead of compelling the buyers to go to the commodities, was found to be advantageous to both consumer and producer, it was deemed expedient that the two distinct processes of carriage and sale, which are included in the distribution of commodities, should be conducted by distinct persons, and hence the carrying and selling of goods became separate vocations in the State; and such is now the machinery by which the commodities of different parts of this country, as well as of others, are at present diffused over the greater portion of this kingdom. In remote districts however, and the poorer neighbourhoods of large towns, where there are either too few consumers, or too few commodities required now to support a fixed distributor with a distinct apparatus of transit, the pedlar still continues to be the sole means of diffusing the produce of one locality among the inhabitants of another; and it is in this light—as the poor man's merchant—that we must here consider him.

Among the more ancient of the trades, then, carried on in England is that of the hawker or pedlar. It is generally considered, as I said before, that hawking "is as ancient a mode of trade as that carried on in fairs and markets, towns and villages, as well as at the castles of the nobles or the cottages of their retainers." To fix the origin of fairs is impossible, for, in ancient and mediæval times, every great gathering was necessarily a fair. Men—whom it is no violence to language to call "hawkers"—resorted alike to the Olympic games and to the festivals of the early Christian saints, to sell or barter their wares. Of our English fairs Mr. Jacob says, in his "Law Dictionary"—"Various privileges have been annexed to them, and numerous facilities afforded to the disposal of property in them. To give them a greater degree of solemnity, they were originally, both in the ancient and modern world, associated with religious festivals. In most places, indeed, they are still held on the same day with the wake or feast of the saint to whom the church is dedicated; and till the practice was prohibited, it was customary

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in England to hold them in churchyards. This practice, I may add, was not fully prohibited until the reign of Charles II., although it had long before fallen into disuse. Thus the connection between church and market is shown to be of venerable antiquity."

The hawker dealt, in the old times, more in textile fabrics than in anything else. Indeed, Shakspere has dashed off a catalogue of his wares, in the song of *Autolycus:*

> "Lawn as white as driven snow,
> Cyprus black as e'er was crow."

In the reigns succeeding the termination of the Wars of the Roses, and down to the Commonwealth, the hawker's pack was often stocked with costly goods; for great magnificence in dress was then the custom of the wealthy, and even the burgesses on public occasions wore velvet, fine cambric ruffs, and furs. The hawker was thus often a man of substance and frequently travelled on horseback, with his wares slung in bags on his horse's side, or fitted to the crupper or pommell of his saddle. He was often, moreover, attended by a man, both for help in his sales, and protection in travelling. In process of time an established hawker became the medium of news and of gossip, and frequently the bearer of communications from town to town. His profits were often great, but no little trust seems to have been reposed in him as to the quality and price of his goods; and, until the present century or so, slop goods were little manufactured, so that he could not so well practise deceptions. Neither, during the prosperity of the trade, does it appear that any great degree of dishonesty characterized the hawker, though to this there were of course plenty of minor exceptions as well as one glaring contradiction. The wreckers of our southern coasts, who sometimes became possessed of rich silks, velvets, laces, &c.—(not unfrequently murdering all the mariners cast on shore, and there was a convenient superstition among the wreckers, that it was unlucky to offer help to a drowning man) —disposed of much of their plunder to the hawkers; and as communication was slow, even down to Mr. Palmer's improvements in the Post Office in 1784, the goods thus rescued from the deep, or obtained by the murder of the mariners, were disposed of even before the loss of the vessel was known at her destination; for we are told that there was generally a hawker awaiting a wreck on the most dangerous shores of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Sussex.

During the last century, and for the first ten years of the present, the hawker's was a profitable calling. He usually in later times travelled with horse and covered cart, visiting fairs, markets, and private houses, more especially in the country. In some parts the calling was somewhat hereditary, son succeeding to father after having officiated as his assistant, and so becoming known to the customers. The most successful of the class, alike on both sides of the border, were Scotchmen.

In 1810 the prosperity of this trade experienced a check. In that year "every hawker, pedlar, or petty chapman going from town to town, or to other men's houses, and travelling on foot, carrying to sell or exposing for sale any goods" was required to pay a yearly licence of 4*l*., with an additional 4*l*. for every horse, ass, or mule, used in the business. Nothing, however, in the Act in question, 50 Geo. III. c. 41, as I have before intimated, "extended to prohibit" the hawking for sale of "any fish, fruit, or victuals" without licence. Neither is there any extension of the prohibition to the unlicensed workers or makers of any goods or wares, or their children or servants resident with them, hawking such goods, and selling them "in every city, borough, town corporate, or market town," but not in villages or country places. "Tinkers, coopers, glaziers, plumbers, and harness-menders," are likewise permitted to carry about with them the proper materials necessary for their business, no licence being necessary.

The passing of this Act did not materially check the fraudulent practices of which the hawkers were accused, and of which a portion of them were doubtlessly guilty; indeed some of the manufacturers, whose names were pirated by the hawkers, were of opinion that the licensing for ten or twenty years facilitated fraud, as many people, both in London and the country, thought they were safe in dealing with a "licensed" hawker, since he could not procure a licence without a certificate of his good character from the clergyman of his place of residence, and from two "reputable inhabitants." Linen of good quality used to be extensively hawked, but from 1820 to 1825, or later in some parts, the hawkers got to deal in an inferior quality, "unions" (a mixture of linen and cotton), glazed and stiffened, and set off with gaudy labels bearing sometimes the name of a well-known firm, but altered in spelling or otherwise, and expressed so as to lead to the belief that such a firm were the manufacturers of the article. Jews, moreover, as we have seen, travelled in all parts with inferior watches and jewellery, and sometimes "did well" by persuading the possessors of old solid watches, or old seals or jewellery, that they were ridiculously out of fashion, and so inducing them to give money along with the old watch for a watch or other article of the newest fashion, which yet was intrinsically valueless compared with the other. These and other practices, such as selling inferior lace under pretence of its having been smuggled from France, and of the choicest quality, tended to bring the hawker's trade into disrepute, and the disrepute affected the honest men in the business. Some sank from the possession of a good horse and cart to travelling on foot, as of yore, forwarding goods from place to place by the common carriers, and some relinquished the itinerant trade altogether. The "cutting" and puffing shopkeepers appeared next, and at once undersold the "slop" hawker, and foiled him on his own ground of pushing off inferior wares for the best. The numbers of the hawkers fell off considerably, but notwithstanding I find, in the last census tables (1841), the following returns as to the numbers of "hawkers, hucksters, and pedlars," distributed throughout Great Bri-

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tain. The Government returns, however, admit of no comparison being formed between these numbers and those of any previous time.

England and Wales.	
Bedford	79
Berks	160
Bucks	129
Cambridge	139
Chester	362
Cornwall	175
Cumberland	217
Derby	427
Devon	230
Dorset	97
Durham	301
Essex	339
Gloucester	437
Hereford	44
Hertford	137
Huntingdon	45
Kent	284
Lancaster	1862
Leicester	292
Lincoln	435
Middlesex	1597
Monmouth	163
Norfolk	431
Northampton	214
Northumberland	426
Nottingham	267
Oxford	94
Rutland	23
Salop	240
Somerset	201
Southampton	226
Stafford	472
Suffolk	288
Surrey	609
Sussex	238
Warwick	476
Westmorland	44
Wilts	109
Worcester	247
City of York	63
East Riding of York	200
North Riding	187
West Riding	1039
	14,038
Wales.	
Anglesey	14
Brecon	63
Cardigan	38
Carmarthen	49
Carnarvon	32
Denbigh	69
Flint	35
Glamorgan	202
Merioneth	25
Montgomery	31
Pembroke	46
Radnor	20
Islands in the British Seas	47
	624
Scotland.	
Aberdeen	105
Argylll	44
Ayr	144
Blanff	33
Berwick	41
Bute	17
Caithness	4
Clackmannan	18
Dumbarton	29
Dumfries	72
Edinburgh	401
Elgin, or Moray	37
Fife	77
Forfar	108
Haddington	54
Inverness	33
Kincardine	27
Kinross	9
Kirkcudbright	46
Lanark	677
Linlithgow	33
Nairn	2
Orkney and Shetland	10
Peebles	13
Perth	119
Renfrew	107
Ross and Cromarty	11
Roxburgh	96
Selkirk	18
Stirling	95
Sutherland	5
Wigtown	36
	2561

Thus we find that, in 1841, there were of these trades in

England	14,038
Wales	624
British Isles	47
Scotland	2,561
Total in Great Britain	17,270

The counties in which the hawkers, hucksters, and pedlars most abound appear to be—1st, Lancaster; 2nd, Middlesex; 3rd, Yorkshire (West Riding); 4th, Lanark; and 5th, Surrey.

What rule, if any rule, was observed in classing these "hawkers, hucksters, and pedlars," or what distinction was drawn between a hawker and a huckster, I am unable to say, but it is certain that the number of "licensed hawkers" was within one-half of the 17,270; for, in 1841, the hawkers' duty realized only 32,762*l.* gross revenue, and waiving the amount paid for the employment of horses, &c., the official return, reckoning so many persons paying 4*l.* each, shows only 8190 licensed hawkers in 1841.

The hawker's business has been prosecuted far more extensively in country than in town, but he still continues to deal in London.

Of the Packmen, or Hawkers of Soft Wares.

The packman, as he is termed, derives his name from carrying his merchandise or pack upon his back. These itinerant distributors are far less numerous than they were twenty or twenty-five years since. A few years since, they were mostly Irishmen, and their principal merchandise, Irish linens—a fabric not so generally worn now as it was formerly.

The packmen are sometimes called Manchester-men. These are the men whom I have described as the sellers of shirtings, sheetings, &c. One man, who was lately an assistant in the trade, could reckon twenty men who were possessed of good stocks, good connections, and who had saved money. They traded in an honourable manner, were well known, and much respected. The majority of them were natives of the north of Ireland, and two had been linen manufacturers. It is common, indeed, for all the Irishmen in this trade to represent themselves as having been connected with the linen manufacture in Belfast.

This trade is now becoming almost entirely a country trade. There are at present, I am told, only five pursuing it in London, none of them having a very extensive connection, so that only a brief notice is necessary. Their sale is of both cottons and linens for shirts. They carry them in rolls of 36 yards, or in smaller rolls, each of a dozen yards, and purchase them at the haberdashery swag-shops, at from 9*d.* to 18*d.* a yard. I now speak of good articles. Their profits are not very large—as for the dozen yards, which cost them 9*s.*, they often have a difficulty in getting 12*s.*—while in street-sale, or in hawking from house to house, there is great delay. A well-furnished pack weighs about one cwt., and so necessitates frequent stoppages. Cotton, for sheetings, is sold in the same manner, costing the vendors from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* a yard.

Of the tricks of the trade, and of the tally system of one of these chapmen, I had the following account from a man who had been, both as principal and assistant, a travelling packman, but was best acquainted with the trade in and about London.

"My master," he said, "was an Irishman, and told everybody he had been a manager of a linen factory in Belfast. I believe he was brought up to be a shoemaker, and was never in the north of Ireland. Anyhow, he was very shy of talking about Irish factories to Irish gentlemen. I heard one say to him, 'Don't tell me, you have the Cork brogue.' I know he'd got some knowledge of linen weaving at Dundee, and could talk about it very clever; indeed he was a clever fellow. Sometimes, to hear him talk, you'd think he was quite a religious man, and at others that he was a big blackguard. It wasn't drink that made the difference, for he was no drinker. It's a great thing on a round to get a man or woman into a cheerful talk, and put in a joke or two; and that he could do, to rights. I had 12*s.* a week, standing wages, from him, and bits of commissions on

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sales that brought me from 3*s.* to 5*s.* more. He was a buyer of damaged goods, and we used to 'doctor' them. In some there was perhaps damages by two or three threads being out all the way, so the manufacturers wouldn't send them to their regular customers. My master pretended it was a secret where he got them, but, lord, I knew; it was at a swag-shop. We used to cut up these in twelves (twelve yards), sometimes less if they was very bad, and take a Congreve, and just scorch them here and there, where the flaws was worst, and plaster over other flaws with a little flour and dust, to look like a stain from street water from the fire-engine. Then they were from the stock of Mr. Anybody, the great draper, that had his premises burnt down—in Manchester or Glasgow, or London—if there'd been a good fire at a draper's—or anywhere; we wasn't particular. They was fine or strong shirtings, he'd say—and so they was, the sound parts of them—and he'd sell as cheap as common calico. I've heard him say, 'Why, marm, sure marm, with your eyes and scissors and needle, them burns—ah! fire's a dreadful judgment on a man—isn't the least morsel of matter in life. The stains is cured in a wash-tub in no time. It's only *touched* by the fire, and you can humour it, I know, in cutting out as a shirt ought to be cut; it should be as carefully done as a coat.' Then we had an Irish linen, an imitation, you know, a kind of 'Union,' which we call double twist. It is made, I believe, in Manchester, and is a mixture of linen and cotton. Some of it's so good that it takes a judge to tell the difference between it and real Irish. He got some beautiful stuff at one time, and once sold to a fine-dressed young woman in Brompton, a dozen yards, at 2*s.* 6*d.* a yard, and the dozen only cost him 14*s.* Then we did something on tally, but he was dropping that trade. The shopkeepers undersold him. 'If you get 60*l.* out of 100*l.*, in tally scores,' he often said, 'it's good money, and a fair living profit; but he got far more than that. What was worth 8*s.* was 18*s.* on tally, pay 1*s.* a week. He did most that way with the masters of coffee-shops and the landlords of little public-houses. Sometimes, if they couldn't pay, we'd have dinner, and that went to account, and he'd quarrel with me after it for what was my share. There's not much of this sort of trade now, sir. I believe my old master got his money together and emigrated."

"Do you want any ginuine Irish linin, ma'am?" uttered in unmistakable brogue, seemed to authenticate the fact, that the inquirer (being an Irishman) in all likelihood possessed the legitimate article; but as to their obtaining their goods from Coleraine and other places in the Emerald Isle, famed for the manufacture of linen, it was and is as pure fiction as the Travels of Baron Munchausen.

The majority of these packmen have discontinued dealing in linens exclusively, and have added silks, ladies' dresses, shawls and various articles connected with the drapery business. The country, and small towns and villages, remote from the neighbourhood of large and showy shops, are the likeliest markets for the sale of their goods. In London the Irish packmen have been completely driven out by the Scotch tallymen, who indeed are the only class of packmen likely to succeed in London. If the persevering Scotch tallyman can but set foot in a decent-looking residence, and be permitted to display his tempting finery to the "lady of the house," he generally manages to talk her into purchasing articles that perhaps she has no great occasion for, and which serve often to involve her in difficulties for a considerable period—causing her no little perplexity, and requiring much artifice to keep the tallyman's weekly visits a secret from her husband—to say nothing of paying an enormous price for the goods; for the many risks which the tallyman incurs, necessitates of course an exorbitant rate of profit.

"The number of packmen or hawkers of shawls, silks, &c., I think" (says one of their own body) "must have decreased full one-half within the last few years. The itinerant haberdashery trade is far from the profitable business that it used to be, and not unfrequently do I travel a whole day without taking a shilling: still, perhaps, one day's good work will make up for half a dozen bad ones. All the packmen have hawkers' licences, as they have mostly too valuable a stock to incur the risk of losing it for want of such a privilege. Some of the fraternity" (says my informant) "do not always deal 'upon the square;' they profess to have just come from India or China, and to have invested all their capital in silks of a superior description manufactured in those countries, and to have got them on shore 'unbeknown to the Custom-house authorities.' This is told in confidence to the servant-man or woman who opens the door—'be so good as tell the lady as much,' says the hawker, 'for really I'm afraid to carry the goods much longer, and I have already sold enough to pay me well enough for my spec—go, there's a good girl, tell your missus I have splendid goods, and am willing almost to give them away, and if we makes a deal of it, why I don't mind giving you a handsome present for yourself.'" This is a bait not to be resisted. Should the salesman succeed with the mistress, he carries out his promise to the maid by presenting her with a cap ribbon, or a cheap neckerchief.

The most primitive kind of packmen, or hawkers of soft-wares, who still form part of the distributing machinery of the country, traverse the highlands of Scotland. They have their regular rounds, and regular days of visiting their customers; their arrival is looked for with interest by the country people; and the inmates of the farm-house where they locate for the night consider themselves fortunate in having to entertain the packman; for he is their newsmonger, their story-teller, their friend, and their acquaintance, and is always made welcome. His wares consist of hose—linsey wolsey, for making petticoats—muslins for caps—ribbons—an assortment of needles, pins, and netting-pins—and all sorts of small wares. He always travels on foot. It is suspected that he likewise does a little in the "jigger line," for many of these

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Highlanders have, or are supposed to have, their illicit distilleries; and the packmen are suspected of trafficking without excise interference. Glasgow, Dundee, Galashiels, and Harwick are the principal manufacturing towns where the packman replenishes his stock. "My own opinion," says an informant of considerable experience, "is that these men seldom grow rich; but the prevailing idea in the country part of Scotland is, that the pedlar has an unco lang stockin wi' an awfu' amount o goden guineas in it, and that his pocket buik is plumped out wi' a thick roll of bank notes. Indeed there are many instances upon record of poor packmen having been murdered—the assassins, doubtlessly, expecting a rich booty." It scarcely ever costs the packman of Scotland anything for his bed and board. The Highlanders are a most hospitable people with acquaintances—although with strangers at first they are invariably shy and distant. In Ireland there is also the travelling pedlar, whose habits and style of doing business are nearly similar to that of the Scotchman. Some of the packmen of Scotland have risen to eminence and distinction. A quondam lord provost of Glasgow, a gentleman still living, and upon whom the honour of knighthood has been conferred, was, according to common report, in his earlier days a packman; and rumour also does the gentleman the credit to acknowledge that he is not ashamed to own it.

I am told by a London hawker of soft goods, or packman, that the number of his craft, hawking London and its vicinity, as far as he can judge, is about 120 (the census of 1841 makes the London hawkers, hucksters and pedlars amount to 2041). In the 120 are included the Irish linen hawkers. I am also informed that the fair trader's profits amount to about 20 per cent., while those of the not over-particular trader range from 80 to 200 per cent. In a fair way of business it is said the hawker's taking will amount, upon an average, to 7*l.* or 8*l.* per week; whereas the receipts of the "duffer," or unfair hawker, will sometimes reach to 50*l.* per week. Many, however, travel days, and do not turn a penny.

Statement of a Packman.

Of the way of trading of a travelling-pedlar I had the following account from one of the body. He was well dressed, and a good but keen-looking man of about thirty-five, slim, and of rather short stature, with quick dark eyes and bushy whiskers, on which it was evident no small culture was bestowed. His manners were far from obtrusive or importunate—to those whom he sought to make customers—for I happened to witness a portion of his proceedings in that respect; but he had a quiet perseverance with him, which, along with perfect civility, and something like deference, might be the most efficient means of recommending himself to the maid-servants, among whom lay his chief customers. He showed a little of the pride of art in describing the management of his business, but he would not hear that he "pattered:" he talked to his customers, he declared, as any draper, who knew his business well, might talk to *his*.

When I saw him, his pack, which he carried slung over one shoulder, contained a few gown-pieces of printed cotton, nearly all with pink grounds; a few shawls of different sizes; and three rolls firmly packed, each with a card-label on which was neatly written, "French Merino. Full duty paid. A.B.—L.F.—18—33—1851. French Chocolate." There were also six neat paper packages, two marked "worked collars," three, "gauze handkerchiefs," and the other "beautiful child's gros de naples." The latter consisted of 4½ yards of black silk, sufficient for a child's dress. He carried with him, moreover, 5 umbrellas, one inclosed in a bright glazed cover, while from its mother-of-pearl handle hung a card addressed—"The Lady's Maid, Victoria Lodge, 13*s.* 6*d.*"

"This is a very small stock," he said, "to what I generally carry, but I'm going on a country round to-morrow, and I want to get through it before I lay in a new one. I tell people that I want to sell off my goods cheap, as they're too good for country sale; and that's true, the better half of it."

On my expressing some surprise that he should be leaving London at this particular time, he answered:—

"I go into the country because I think all the hawkers will be making for town, and there'll be plenty of customers left in the country, and fewer to sell to them at their own places. That's my opinion."

"I sell to women of all sorts. Smart-dressing servant-maids, perhaps, are my best customers, especially if they live a good way from any grand ticketing shop. I sold one of my umbrellas to one of them just before you spoke to me. She was standing at the door, and I saw her give half a glance at the umbrellas, and so I offered them. She first agreed to buy a very nice one at 3*s.* 3*d.* (which should have been 4*s.*), but I persuaded her to take one at 3*s.* 9*d.* (which should have been 4*s.* 6*d.*). 'Look here, ma'am,' said I, 'this umbrella is much bigger you see, and will carry double, so when you're coming from church of a wet Sunday evening, a friend can have share of it, and very grateful he'll be, as he's sure to have his best hat on. There's been many a question put under an umbrella that way that's made a young lady blush, and take good care of her umbrella when she was married, and had a house of her own. I look sharp after the young and pretty ladies, Miss, and shall as long as I'm a bachelor.' 'O,' says she, 'such ridiculous nonsense. But I'll have the bigger umbrella, because it's often so windy about here, and then one must have a good cover if it rains as well.'

"That's my way, sir. I don't mind telling that, because they do the same in the shops. I've heard them, but they can't put love and sweet-hearting so cleverly in a crowded shop as we can in a quiet house. It's that I go for, love and sweet-hearting; and I always speak to any smart servant as if I thought she was the mistress, or as

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if I wasn't sure whether she was the mistress or the lady's-maid; three times out of four she's house-maid or maid of all work. I call her 'ma'am,' and 'young lady,' and sometimes 'miss.' It's no use offering to sell until a maid has tidied herself in the afternoon—not a bit. I should make a capital draper's shopman, I know, only I could never bear the confinement. I never will hear such words as 'I don't want it,' or, 'nothing more to-day,' no more than if I was behind a counter.

"The great difficulty I have is to get a chance of offering my goods. If I ring at a gate—for I always go a little way out of town—they can see who it is, and I may ring half an hour for nothing. If the door's opened it's often shut again directly, and I just hear 'bother.' I used to leave a few bills, and I do so still in some parts of the country, with a list of goods, and 'this bill to be called for' printed at the bottom. But I haven't done that in town for a long time; it's no good. People seem to think it's giving double trouble. One of the prettiest girls I ever saw where I called one evening, pointed—just as I began to say, 'I left a bill and'—to some paper round a candle in a stick, and shut the door laughing.

"In selling my gown-pieces I say they are such as will suit the complexion, and such like; and I always use my judgment in saying so. Why shouldn't I? It's the same to me what colour I sell. 'It's a genteel thing, ma'am,' I'll say to a servant-maid, 'and such as common people won't admire. It's not staring enough for them. I'm sure it would become you, ma'am, and is very cheap; cheaper than you could buy at a shop; for all these things are made by the same manufacturers, and sold to the wholesale dealers at the same price, and a shopkeeper, you know, has his young men, and taxes, and rates, and gas, and fine windows to pay for, and I haven't, so it don't want much judgment to see that I must be able to sell cheaper than shopkeepers, and I think your own taste, ma'am, will satisfy you that these here are elegant patterns.'

"That's the way I go on. No doubt there's others do the same, but I know and care little about them. I have my own way of doing business, and never trouble myself about other people's patter or nonsense.

"Now, that piece of silk I shall, most likely, sell to the landlady of a public-house, where I see there's children. I shall offer it after I've got a bit of dinner there, or when I've said I want a bit. It's no use offering it there, though, if it isn't cheap; they're too good judges. Innkeepers aren't bad customers, I think, taking it altogether, to such as me, if you can get to talk to them, as you sometimes can at their bars. They're generally wanting something, that's one step. I always tell them that they ought to buy of men, in my way, who live among them, and not of fine shop-keepers, who never came a-near their houses. I've sold them both cottons and linens, after such talk as that. I live at public-houses in the country. I sleep nowhere else.

"My trade in town is nothing to what it was ten or a dozen years back. I don't know the reason exactly. I think so many threepenny busses is one; for they'll take any servant, when she's got an afternoon, to a thoroughfare full of ticket-shops, and bring her back, and her bundle of purchases too, for another 3*d*. I shall cut it altogether, I think, and stick to the country. Why, I've known the time when I should have met from half-a-dozen to a dozen people trading in my way in town, and for these three days, and dry days too, I haven't met one. My way of trading in the country is just the same as in town. I go from farm-house to farm-house, or call at gentlemen's grand seats—if a man's known to the servants there, it may be the best card he can play—and I call at every likely house in the towns or villages. I only go to a house and sell a mistress or maid the same sort of goods (a little cheaper, perhaps), and recommend them in the same way, as is done every day at many a fine city, and borough, and West-End shop. I never say they're part of a bankrupt's stock; a packfull would seem nothing for that. I never pretend that they're smuggled. Mine's a respectable trade, sir. There's been so much dodging that way, it's been a great stop to fair trading; and I like to go on the same round more than once. A person once taken-in by smuggled handkerchiefs, or anything, won't deal with a hawker again, even though there's no deception. But 'duffing,' and all that is going down fast, and I wish it was gone altogether. I do nothing in tally. I buy my goods; and I've bought all sorts, in wholesale houses, of course, and I'd rather lay out 10*l*. in Manchester than in London. O, as to what I make, I can't say it's enough to keep me (I've only myself), and escape the income-tax. Sometimes I make 10*s*. a week; sometimes 20*s*.; sometimes 30*s*.; and I have made 50*s*.; and one week, the best I ever did, I made as much as 74*s*. 6*d*. That's all I can say."

Perhaps it may be sufficiently accurate to compute the average weekly earnings of a smart trader like my informant, at from 21*s*. to 25*s*. in London, and from 25*s*. to 30*s*. in the country.

Of the Tally Packman.

The pedlar tallyman is a hawker who supplies his customers with goods, receiving payment by weekly instalments, and derives his name from the tally or score he keeps with his customers. Linen drapery—or at least the general routine of linen-draper's stock, as silk-mercery, hosiery, woollen cloths, &c.—is the most prevalent trade of the tallyman. There are a few shoemakers and some household furniture dealers who do business in the tally or "score" system; but the great majority are linen-drapers, though some of them sell household furniture as well. The system is generally condemned as a bad one; as leading to improvidence in the buyer and rapacity in the seller. There are many who have incurred a tally debt, and have never been able to "get a-head of it," but have been kept poor by it all their lives. Some few, however, may have been benefited by the system, and as an outfit for a young man or woman entering service is necessary—when the parties are too poor to pay ready money—it is an

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THE LUCIFER MATCH GIRL.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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accommodation. I have never heard any of the tallyman's customers express an opinion upon the subject, other than that they wish they had done with the tallyman, or could do without him.

The system does not prevail to so great an extent as it did some years back. The pedlar or hawking tallyman travels for orders, and consequently is said not to require a hawker's licence. The great majority of the tally-packmen are Scotchmen. The children who are set to watch the arrival of the tallyman, and apprise the mother of his approach, when not convenient to pay, whisper instead of "Mother, here 's the Tallyman," "Mother, here 's the Scotchman." These men live in private houses, which they term their warehouse; they are many of them proprietors themselves in a small way, and conduct the whole of their business unassisted. Their mode of doing business is as follows :—they seldom knock at a door except they have a customer upon whom they call for the weekly instalment, but if a respectable-looking female happens to be standing at her door, she, in all probability, is accosted by the Scotchman, "Do you require anything in my way to-day, ma'am?" This is often spoken in broad Scotch, the speaker trying to make it sound as much like English as possible. Without waiting for a reply, he then runs over a programme of the treasures he has to dispose of, emphasising all those articles which he considers likely to suit the taste of the person he addresses. She doesn't want perhaps any—she has no money to spare then. "She may want something in his way another day, may-be," says the tallyman. "Will she grant him permission to exhibit some beautiful shawls—the last new fashion? or some new style of dress, just out, and an extraordinary bargain?" The man's importunities, and the curiosity of the lady, introduces him into the apartment,—an acquaintance is called in to pass her opinion upon the tallyman's stock. Should she still demur, he says, "O, I 'm sure your husband cannot object—he will not be so unreasonable; besides, consider the easy mode of payment, you 'll only have to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for every pound's worth of goods you take; why it 's like nothing; you possess yourself of respectable clothing and pay for them in such an easy manner that you never miss it; well, I 'll call next week. I shall leave you this paper." The paper left is a blank form to be filled up by the husband, and runs thus :—"I agree on behalf of my wife to pay, by weekly instalments of 1*s.* 6*d.* upon every pound's worth of good she may purchase." This proceeding is considered necessary by the tallymen, as the judges in the Court of Requests now so frequently decide against him, where the husband is not cognisant of the transaction.

These preliminaries being settled, and the question having been asked what business the husband is—where he works—and (if it can be done without offence) what are his wages? The Scotchman takes stock of the furniture, &c. ; the value of what the room contains gives him a sufficiently correct estimate of the circumstances of his customers. His next visit is to the nearest chandler's shop, and there as blandly as possible he inquires into the credit, &c., of Mr. ——. If he deal, however, with the chandler, the tallyman accounts it a bad omen, as people in easy circumstances seldom resort to such places. "It is unpleasant to me," he says to the chandler, "making these inquiries; "but Mrs. —— wishes to open an account with me, and I should like to oblige them if I thought my money was safe." "Do *you* trust them, and what sort of payers are they?" According to the reply—the tallyman determines upon his course. But he rarely stops here; he makes inquiries also at the greengrocer's, the beer shop, &c.

The persons who connect themselves with the tallyman, little know the inquisition they subject themselves to.

When the tallyman obtains a customer who pays regularly, he is as importunate for her to recommend him another customer, as he originally was to obtain her custom. Some tallymen who keep shops have "travellers" in their employ, some of whom have salaries, while others receive a percentage upon all payments, and do not suffer any loss upon bad debts. Notwithstanding the caution of the tallyman, he is frequently "victimised." Many pawn the goods directly they have obtained them, and in some instances spend the money in drink. Their many losses, as a matter of course, *somebody* must make good. It therefore becomes necessary for them to charge a higher price for their commodities than the regular trader.

However charitably inclined the tallyman may be at first, he soon becomes, I am told, inured to scenes of misery, while the sole feeling in his mind at length is, "I will have my money;" for he is often tricked, and in some cases most impudently victimised. I am told by a tallyman that he once supplied goods to the amount of 2*l.*, and when he called for the first instalment, the woman said she didn't intend to pay, the goods didn't suit her, and she would return them. The tallyman expressed his willingness to receive them back, whereupon she presented him a pawnbroker's duplicate. She had pledged them an hour after obtaining them. This was done in a court in the presence of a dozen women, who all chuckled with delight at the joke.

The principal portion of the tallyman's customers are poor mechanics. When the appearance of the house, and the inquiries out of doors are approved of, no security is required; but the tallyman would at all times rather add a security, when attainable. Servant-girls who deal with tallymen must find the security of a housekeeper; and when such housekeeper agrees to be responsible for the payments, the same inquisitorial proceedings are adopted, in order to ascertain the circumstances of the surety. There are about fifty drapery shops in London where the tally-trade is carried on; and about 200 Scotchmen, besides fifty others (part English, part Irish), are engaged in the trade. A clerk of a tally-shop, at the West-end, informs me that there are ten collectors and canvassers for customers, out each day, from that one establishment; and that, until

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lately, they were accustomed to collect moneys on Sundays. Some collect as much as 12*l.* or 14*l.* a day; and some not more than 2*l.* or 3*l.* The average sum collected may be about 5*l.* each, or 50*l.* per day by the whole. The profits are 30 per cent., the bad debts 10 per cent., thus leaving 20 per cent. net.

The Scotchman who does not choose to extend his business beyond his own cautious superintendence, is content with smaller profits, perhaps 20 per cent., and his bad debts may be estimated at 2½ per cent. One of the body informed me that he had been in the tally-trade about five years; that he commenced with a capital of only 10*l.*, and that now his collections average 30*l.* per week. He never bought, he said, on credit; and his stock on hand is worth nearly 200*l.* cost price, while his outstanding debts are nearly 200*l.* also. "This is a flourishing state of affairs," he remarked; "I do not owe a penny in the world, and I have accomplished all this in little less than five years." This man had served his apprenticeship to a draper in Glasgow, and had originally arrived in London with 20*l.* in his pocket. After some weeks' fruitless endeavour to obtain a situation, his money dwindling away the while, he was advised, by a fellow-countryman, who was a tallyman, to try the tally-trade. For a few days previous to adopting the business, he went the "rounds" with his friend, for the purpose of getting initiated, and the week after started on his own account. Notwithstanding his having no hawker's licence, he tried to effect sales for ready money, and, to a trifling extent, succeeded. The first week he obtained three tally customers. He could have got, he said, a dozen; but he selected three whom he considered good, and he was not deceived, for they continued to be customers of his to this day. The amount of goods that each of these took of him was 20*s.*; and the three instalments of 1*s.* 6*d.* each (4*s.* 6*d.* per week) the tallyman determined to subsist upon, though his lodging and washing cost him 2*s.* per week. He lived principally upon "parritch" and skim milk, indulging now and then in the luxury of a herring and a few potatoes. In twelve weeks he had added only one more credit customer to his books. He had hawked for ready money, and had succeeded so far as to increase his stock to 15*l.* in value. His first three customers had, by this time, paid their accounts, and again patronized him. In the course of a little time his fourth customer had also paid up, and had another supply of goods; he then added two more tally customers, and commenced indulging (though very seldom) in a mutton chop. He progressed slowly, and is now in flourishing circumstances. He states that he has met with only one loss during his connection with the tally-trade, and that but a trifling one. It is those who wish to drive a very extensive business, he says, who are principally victimised. The most industrious of the packmen tallymen seldom travel less than twenty miles a day, carrying a burthen upon their backs of from 100 to 120 lbs. They used to carry merely patterns to their customers, but they find that the full-length article is more likely to secure purchasers and customers. Those who keep shops do not carry goods with them; the would-be customer is invited to the shop.

The best day for business in the tally-trade is Monday, and most of these shops upon that day are crowded. Sometimes an unsolicited customer (mostly a female) presents herself, and wishes to be supplied with goods on tally. "Who recommended you?" inquires the tallyman. "Oh, Mrs. ——, sir, a customer of yours." "Ah! indeed, very much obliged to Mrs. ——," is the answer. The articles required are shown, selected, and cut. The new customer is treated most civilly by the tallyman, who further inquires her name and abode. The purchaser, of course, expects the next process will be to deliver up the parcel to her, when she is informed that they "will send it home for her." "Oh," she replies, "I won't trouble you, I can carry it myself." "Our rule, ma'am," returns the tallyman, "is always to send parcels home. We certainly cannot doubt your respectability, but we never deviate from our practice." The disappointed female departs, and if the inquiries do not prove satisfactory, she never hears further from the tallyman. The goods which she selected, and which were cut expressly for her, find their way to the shelves of the establishment. If, however, a good customer accompanies a friend whom she wishes to recommend, the parcels are delivered when purchased, if required. The tallyman (to good customers) often extends his civilities to a glass of wine; or, if the "Ladies" prefer it (which it must be confessed they mostly do), a glass of gin.

There is another class of tallymen who sell clocks, receiving payment by weekly instalments. These are content with an instalment of 1*s.* in the pound per week. They are principally Germans who can speak English. Their proceedings altogether are similar to the tally linen-draper.

I have given the rise and progress of a Scotch tallyman, and will now relate the downfall of another—an Englishman. He commenced a tally-shop in the neighbourhood of ———, and was carrying on a prosperous and daily increasing trade. At one time, a bill in the shop window announced that an errand boy was wanted—an applicant soon presented himself—was engaged, and proved a steady lad. In the course of a few weeks, this youth was promoted to the office of serving in the shop, and afterwards became collecting clerk. "George," said his master one day, "we have three days in the week unemployed; suppose you try and form a connection around Finchley, Highgate, Hampstead, and that neighbourhood." George was quite willing to make the experiment, and succeeded beyond expectation. The country connection soon surpassed the town trade; and George, the errand boy, became a man of some consequence in the establishment. The principal of the firm was what is termed "gay." He was particularly fond of attending public entertainments. He sported a little as well, and delighted in horse-racing. His business,

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though an excellent one, was neglected; the books got out of order; and he became involved in difficulties. An examination of his affairs took place; and a Mr. R—— was engaged from a wholesale house in the city to assist in making up the accounts, &c. During this person's sojourn in the shop, he saw that George (the quondam errand boy) was the chief support of the concern. The country customers had never seen any other person, and a partnership was proposed. The proposal was accepted, and the firm R—— and W—— became one of the most prosperous tally-shops in the neighbourhood of Tottenham-court-road. George's master was made bankrupt, and is now a street-seller in Fitzroy-market—vending sandwiches, &c.

The cases are not a few where ruin has followed a connection with the tallymen. I will particularize one instance related to me on good authority. A lawyer's clerk married, when young, a milliner; his salary was a guinea per week, and he and his wife had agreed to "get on in the world." They occupied furnished lodgings at first, but soon accumulated furniture of their own, and every week added some little useful article towards their household stock. "At the end of a year," said the individual in question, "I had as comfortable a little home as any man would wish to possess; I was fond of it too, and would rather have been there than anywhere else. My wife frequently wished to obtain credit; 'it would be so easy,' said she, 'to pay a trifling instalment, and then we could obtain immediately whatever we might want.' I objected, and preferred supplying our wants gradually, knowing that for ready money I could purchase to much better advantage. Consequently we still kept progressing, and I was really happy. Judge my astonishment one day, when I came home, and found an execution was in the house. My wife had run in debt with the tallyman unknown to me. Summonses had been served, which by some means she had concealed from me. The goods which I had taken so much pains to procure were seized and sold. But this was not all. My wife grew so much alarmed at the misery she had caused that she fled from me, and I have never seen her but once since. This occurred seven years ago, and she has been for some time the companion of those who hold their virtue of little worth. For some time after this I cared not what became of me; I lost my situation, and sunk to be a supernumerary for 1*s.* a night at one of the theatres. Here, after being entrusted with a line to speak, I eventually rose to a 'general utility man,' at 12*s.* per week. With this and some copying, that I occasionally obtain from the law-stationers, I manage to live, but far from comfortably, for I never think of saving now, and only look out for copying when I stand in need of more money. I am always poor, and scarcely ever have a shilling to call my own."

Some of the principal establishments, "doing largely" in the tally-trade, are in or about Red Lion-square and street, the higher part of High Holborn, the vicinity of Tottenham-court-road, the Blackfriars, Waterloo, Westminster, St. George's, Walworth, New Kent, and Dover roads.

At some of these tally-shops horses and carts are kept to carry out the goods ordered of the "travellers," especially when furniture is supplied as well as drapery; while in others the "travellers" are resident on the premises, and are occasionally shopmen, for a "large" tally-master not unfrequently carries on a retail trade in addition to his tally-business.

The tallymen not concerned with these large establishments, but carrying on trade on their own account, reside generally in the quieter streets in the neighbourhood of the thoroughfares I have mentioned, and occupy perhaps the ground-floor, letting (for the house is generally their own) the other apartments. Sometimes a piece of cotton-print is placed in their parlour-window, and sometimes there is no indication whatever of any business being carried on within, for the hawking tallymen do not depend in any measure upon situation or display, but solely on travelling and personal solicitations at people's own residences.

OF THE "DUFFERS" OR HAWKERS OF PRETENDED SMUGGLED GOODS.

OF "duffers" and "lumpers," as regards the sale of textile fabrics, there are generally, I am informed, about twenty in London. At such times as Epsom, Ascot-heath, or Goodwood races, however, there is, perhaps, not one. All have departed to prey, if possible, upon the countrymen. Eight of them are Jews, and the majority of the others are Irishmen. They are generally dressed as sailors, and some wear either fur caps, or cloth ones, with gilt bands round them, as if they were the mates or stewards of ships. They look out for any likely victim at public-houses, and sometimes accost persons in the streets—first looking carefully about them, and hint that they are smugglers, and have the finest and cheapest "Injy" handkerchiefs ever seen. These goods are now sold in "pieces" of three handkerchiefs. When times were better, I was told, they were in pieces of four, five, and six. One street-seller said to me, "Yes, I know the 'duffers;' all of them. They do more business than you might think. Everybody likes a smuggled thing; and I should say these men, each of the 'duffers,' tops his 1*l.* a week, clear profit." I am assured that one of the classes most numerously victimised is a body who generally account themselves pretty sharp, viz. gentlemen's grooms, and coachmen at the several mews. Sailors are the best customers, and the vicinity of the docks the best locality for this trade; for the hawker of pretended smuggled goods always does most business among the "tars." The mock handkerchiefs are damped carefully with a fine sponge, before they are offered for sale; and they are often strongly perfumed, some of the Jews supplying cheap perfumes, or common "scents." When the "duffer" thinks he may venture upon the assertion, he assures a customer that this is "the smell the handkerchiefs brought with 'em from foreign parts, as they was smuggled in a bale of spices!"

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The trade however is not without its hazards; for I am informed that the "duffers" sometimes, on attempting their impositions imprudently, and sometimes on being discovered before they can leave the house, get soundly thrashed. They have, of course, no remedy.

The "pieces" of three handkerchiefs sold by the "duffers" are purchased by them in Houndsditch, at from 3*s.* to 7*s.*; but 7*s.* is only given when there is a design to palm off the 3*s.* goods along with them. Cent. per cent. is a low profit in this trade.

One intelligent street-trader, to whom I am indebted for carefully-considered information, said to me very quietly: "I 've read your work, sir, at a coffee-shop; for I can't afford to take it in. I know you're going to open the eyes of the public as to the 'duffer's' tricks, now. All right, sir, they're in honest men's ways. But, sir, when are you going to say something about the rich shopkeepers as sells, and the rich manufacturers as makes, the 'duffer's' things? Every man of them knows it 's for roguery."

There is a peculiar style among the "duffers;" they never fold their goods neatly—the same as drapers do, but thrust them into the pack, in a confused heap, as if they did not understand their value—or their business. There are other classes of "duffers" whose calling is rather more hazardous than the licensed-hawker "duffer." "I have often thought it strange," says a correspondent, "that these men could induce any one to credit the fact of their being sailors, for, notwithstanding the showy manner in which they chew their quid, and the jack-tar like fashion in which they suffer their whiskers to grow, there is such a fresh-waterfied appearance about them, that they look no more like a regular mariner than the supernumerary seamen in a nautical drama, at the Victoria Theatre. Yet they obtain victims readily. Their mode of proceeding in the streets is to accost their intended dupes, while walking by their side; they usually speak in a half whisper, as they keep pace with them, and look mysteriously around to see if there be any of 'them ere Custom-house sharks afloat.' They address the simple-looking passers by thus: 'Shipmate' (here they take off their fur-cap and spit their quid into it)—'shipmate, I 've just come ashore arter a long voyage—and splice me but I 've something in the locker that 'll be of service to you; and, shiver my timbers' (they are very profuse in nautical terms), 'you shall have it at your own price, for I'm determined to have a spree, and I haven't a shot in the locker; helm 's a-lee; just let's turn into this creek, and I 'll show you what it is' (perhaps he persuades his dupe down a court, or to a neighbouring public-house). 'Now here is a beautiful piece of *Ingy* handkerchiefs.' (They are the coarsest description of spun not *thrown* silk, well stiffened into stoutness, and cost the "duffer" perhaps 15*d.* each; but as business is always done on the sly, in a hurry, and to escape observation, an examination seldom or never takes place). 'I got 'em on shore in spite of those pirates, the Custom-house officers. You shall have 'em cheap, there 's half a dozen on 'em, they cost me 30*s.* at Madras, you shall have 'em for the same money.' (The victim, may be, is not inclined to purchase. The pretended tar, however, must have money.) 'Will you give me 25*s.* for them?' he says; 'd—n it, a pound? Shiver my topsails, you don't want them any cheaper than that, do you?' The 'duffer' says this to make his dupe believe that he really does want the goods, or has offered a price for them. Perhaps if the 'duffer' cannot extort more he takes 10*s.* for the half dozen 'Ingy' handkerchiefs, the profit being thus about 2*s.* 6*d.*; but more frequently he gets 100 and even 200 per cent. on his transactions according to the gullibility of his customers. The 'duffer' deals also in cigars; he accosts his victim in the same style as when selling handkerchiefs, and gives himself the same sailor-like airs.

"Sometimes the 'duffers' visit the obscure streets in London, where there are small chandlers' shops; one of them enters, leaving his mate outside to give him the signal in case the enemy heaves in sight. He requests to be served with some trifling article—when if he approve of the physiognomy of the shopkeeper, and consider him or her likely to be victimised—he ventures an observation as to how enormously everything is taxed' (though to one less innocent it might appear unusual for a sailor to talk politics); 'even this 'ere baccy' he says, taking out his quid, 'I can't chew, without paying a tax; but,' he adds, chuckling—'us sailor chaps sometimes shirks the Custom-house lubbers, sharp as they are.' (Here his companion outside puts his head in at the door, and, to make the scene as natural as possible, says, 'Come, Jack, don't stop there all night spinning your yarns; come, bear a hand, or I shall part convoy.') 'Oh, heave to a bit longer, my hearty,' replies the 'duffer,' 'I will be with you in the twinkling of a marling spike. I'll tell you what we've got, marm, and if you likes to buy it you shall have it cheap, for me and my mate are both short of rhino. We've half-a-dozen pounds of tea—you can weigh it if you like—and you shall have the lot for 12*s.*' Perhaps there is an immediate purchase, but if 12*s.* is refused, then 10*s.* 8*s.* or 6*s.* is asked, until a sale be effected, after which the sailors make their exit as quickly as possible. Then the chandler's-shop keeper begins to exult over the bargain he or she has made, and to examine more minutely the contents of the neatly packed, and tea-like looking packet thus bought. It proves to be lined with a profuse quantity of tea lead, and though some Chinese characters are marked on the outside, it is discovered on opening to contain only half-a-pound of tea, the remainder consisting principally of chopped hay. The 'duffers' enact the same part, and if a purchaser buy 10 lbs. of the smuggled article, then 9 lbs. at least consist of the same chopped hay.

"Sometimes the 'duffers' sell all their stock to one individual. No sooner do they dispose of the handkerchiefs to a dupe, than they introduce the smuggled tobacco to the notice of the unsuspecting customer; then they palm off their cigars, next their tea, and lastly, as the 'duffer' is determined to raise as much money as he can 'to

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have his spree;' 'why d—e,' he exclaims to his victim—'I'll sell you my watch. It cost me 6*l.* at Portsmouth—give me 3*l.* for it and it's yours, shipmate. Well, then, 2*l.*—— 1*l.*' The watch, I need not state, is made solely for sale.

"It is really astonishing," adds my informant, "how these men ever succeed, for their look denotes cunning and imposition, and their proceedings have been so often exposed in the newspapers that numbers are alive to their tricks, and warn others when they perceive the "duffers" endeavouring to victimise them; but, as the thimble-men say, "There's a fool born every minute."

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF "SMALL-WARE," OR TAPE, COTTON, ETC.

THE street-sellers of tape and cotton are usually elderly females; and during my former inquiry I was directed to one who had been getting her living in the street by such means for nine years. I was given to understand that the poor woman was in deep distress, and that she had long been supporting a sick husband by her little trade, but I was wholly unprepared for a scene of such startling misery, sublimed by untiring affection and pious resignation, as I there discovered.

I wish the reader to understand that I do not cite this case as a type of the sufferings of this particular class, but rather as an illustration of the afflictions which frequently befall those who are solely dependent on their labour, or their little trade, for their subsistence, and who, from the smallness of their earnings, are unable to lay by even the least trifle as a fund against any physical calamity.

The poor creatures lived in one of the close alleys at the east end of London. On inquiring at the house to which I had been directed, I was told I should find them in "the two-pair back." I mounted the stairs, and on opening the door of the apartment I was terrified with the misery before me. There, on a wretched bed, lay an aged man in almost the last extremity of life. At first I thought the poor old creature was really dead, but a tremble of the eyelids as I closed the door, as noiselessly as I could, told me that he breathed. His face was as yellow as clay, and it had more the cold damp look of a corpse than that of a living man. His cheeks were hollowed in with evident want, his temples sunk, and his nostrils pinched close. On the edge of the bed sat his heroic wife, giving him drink with a spoon from a tea-cup. In one corner of the room stood the basket of tapes, cottons, combs, braces, nutmeg-graters, and shaving-glasses, with which she strove to keep her old dying husband from the workhouse. I asked her how long her good man had been ill, and she told me he had been confined to his bed five weeks last Wednesday, and that it was ten weeks since he had eaten the size of a nut in solid food. Nothing but a little beef-tea had passed his lips for months. "We have lived like children together," said the old woman, as her eyes flooded with tears, "and never had no dispute. He hated drink, and there was no cause for us to quarrel. One of my legs, you see, is shorter than the other," said she, rising from the bed-side, and showing me that her right foot was several inches from the ground as she stood. "My hip is out. I used to go out washing, and walking in my pattens I fell down. My hip is out of the socket three-quarters of an inch, and the sinews is drawn up. I am obliged to walk with a stick." Here the man groaned and coughed so that I feared the exertion must end his life. "Ah, the heart of a stone would pity that poor fellow," said the good wife.

"After I put my hip out, I couldn't get my living as I'd been used to do. I couldn't stand a day if I had five hundred pounds for it. I must sit down. So I got a little stall, and sat at the end of the alley here with a few laces and tapes and things. I've done so for this nine year past, and seen many a landlord come in and go out of the house that I sat at. My husband used to sell small articles in the streets—black lead and furniture paste, and blacking. We got a sort of a living by this, the two of us together. It's very seldom though we had a bit of meat. We had 1*s.* 9*d.* rent to pay—Come, my poor fellow, will you have another little drop to wet your mouth?" said the woman, breaking off. "Come, my dearest, let me give you this," she added, as the man let his jaw fall, and she poured some warm sugar and water flavoured with cinnamon—all she had to give him—into his mouth. "He's been an ailing man this many a year. He used to go of errands and buy my little things for me, on account of my being lame. We assisted one another, you see. He wasn't able to work for his living, and I wasn't able to go about, so he used to go about and buy for me what I sold. I am sure he never earned above 1*s.* 6*d.* in the week. He used to attend me, and many a time I've sat for ten and fourteen hours in the cold and wet and didn't take a sixpence. Some days I'd make a shilling, and some days less; but whatever I got I used to have to put a good part into the basket to keep my little stock." [A knock here came to the door; it was for a halfpenny-worth of darning cotton.] "You know a shilling goes further with a poor couple that's sober than two shillings does with a drunkard. We lived poor, you see, never had nothing but tea, or we couldn't have done anyhow. If I'd take 18*d.* in the day I'd think I was grandly off, and then if there was 6*d.* profit got out of that it would be almost as much as it would. You see these cotton braces here" (said the old woman, going to her tray). "Well, I gives 2*s.* 9*d.* a dozen for them here, and I sells 'em for 4½*d.*, and oftentimes 4*d.* a pair. Now, this piece of tape would cost me seven farthings in the shop, and I sells it at six yards a penny. It has the *name* of being eighteen yards. The profit out of it is five farthings. It's beyond the power of man to wonder how there's a bit of bread got out of such a small way. And the times is so bad, too! I think I could say I get 8*d.* a day profit if I have any sort of custom, but I don't exceed that at the best of times. I've often sat at the end of the alley and taken only 6*d.*, and that's not much more than 2*d.* clear—it an't 3*d.* I'm

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sure. I think I could safely state that for the last nine year me and my husband has earned together 5*s.* a week, and out of that the two of us had to live and pay rent—1*s.* 9*d.* a week. Clothes I could buy none, for the best garment is on me; but I thank the Lord still. I've paid my rent all but three weeks, and that isn't due till to-morrow. We have often reckoned it up here at the fire. Some weeks we have got 5*s.* 3*d.*, and some weeks less, so that I judge we have had about 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a week to live upon the two of us, for this nine year past. Half-a-hundred of coals would fit me the week in the depths of winter. My husband had the kettle always boiling for me against I came in. He used to sit here reading his book—he never was fit for work at the best—while I used to be out minding the basket. He was so sober and quiet too. His neighbours will tell that of him. Within the last ten weeks he's been very ill indeed, but still I could be out with the basket. Since then he's never earnt me a penny—poor old soul, he wasn't able! All that time I still attended to my basket. He wasn't so ill then but what he could do a little here in the room for hisself; but he wanted little, God knows, for he couldn't eat. After he fell ill, I had to go all my errands myself. I had no one to help me, for I'd nothing to pay them, and I'd have to walk from here down to Sun-street with my stick, till my bad leg pained me so that I could hardly stand. You see the hip being put out has drawn all the sinews up into my groin, and it leaves me oncapable of walking or standing constantly; but I thank God that I've got the use of it anyhow. Our lot's hard enough, goodness knows, but we are content. We never complain, but bless the Lord for the little he pleases to give us. When I was away on my errands, in course I couldn't be minding my basket; so I lost a good bit of money that way. Well, five weeks on Wednesday he has been totally confined to his bed, excepting when I lifted him up to make it some nights; but he can't bear *that* now. Still the first fortnight he was bad, I did manage to leave him, and earn a few pence; but, latterly, for this last three weeks, I haven't been able to go out at all, to do anything."

"She's been stopping by me, minding me here night and day all that time," mumbled the old man, who now for the first time opened his gray glassy eyes and turned towards me, to bear, as it were, a last tribute to his wife's incessant affection. "She has been most kind to me. Her tenderness and care has been such that man never knew from woman before, ever since I lay upon this sick bed. We've been married five-and-twenty years. We have always lived happily—very happily, indeed—together. Until sickness and weakness overcome me I always strove to help myself a bit, as well as I could; but since then she has done all in her power for me—worked for me—ay, she has worked for me, surely—and watched over me. My creed through life has been repentance towards God, faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all my brethren. I've made up my mind that I must soon change this tabernacle, and my last wish is that the good people of this world will increase her little stock for her. She cannot get her living out of the little stock she has, and since I lay here it's so lessened, that neither she nor no one else can live upon it. If the kind hearts would give her but a little stock more, it would keep her old age from want, as she has kept mine. Indeed, indeed, she does deserve it. But the Lord, I know, will reward her for all she has done to me." Here the old man's eyelids dropped exhausted.

"I've had a shilling and a loaf twice from the parish," continued the woman. "The overseer came to see if my old man was fit to be removed to the workhouse. The doctor gave me a certificate that he was not, and then the relieving officer gave me a shilling and a loaf of bread, and out of that shilling I bought the poor old fellow a sup of port wine. I bought a quartern of wine, which was 4*d.*, and I gave 5*d.* for a bit of tea and sugar, and I gave 2*d.* for coals; a halfpenny rushlight I bought, and a short candle, that made a penny—and that's the way I laid out the shilling. If God takes him, I know he'll sleep in heaven. I know the life he's spent, and am not afraid; but no one else shall take him from me—nothing shall part us but death in this world. Poor old soul, he can't be long with me. He's a perfect skeleton. His bones are starting through his skin."

I asked what could be done for her, and the old man thrust forth his skinny arm, and laying hold of the bed-post, he raised himself slightly in his bed, as he murmured "If she could be got into a little parlour, and away from sitting in the streets, it would be the saving of her." And, so saying, he fell back overcome with the exertion, and breathed heavily.

The woman sat down beside me, and went on. "What shocked him most was that I was obligated in his old age to go and ask for relief at the parish. You see, he was always a spiritful man, and it hurted him sorely that he should come to this at last, and for the first time in his lifetime. The only parish money that ever we had was this, and it *does* hurt him every day to think that he must be buried by the parish after all. He was always proud, you see."

I told the kind-hearted old dame that some benevolent people had placed certain funds at my disposal for the relief of such distress as hers; and I assured her that neither she nor her husband should want for anything that might ease their sufferings.

The day after the above was written, the poor old man died. He was buried out of the funds sent to the "Morning Chronicle," and his wife received some few pounds to increase her stock; but in a few months the poor old woman went mad, and is now, I believe, the inmate of one of the pauper lunatic asylums.

Of the Street-Sellers of Lace.

This trade is carried on both by itinerants and at stands, or "pitches." The itinerants, of whom I will first treat, are about forty in number (thirty

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women and ten men). They usually carry their lace in boxes, or cases. It is not uncommon for the women to represent themselves as lacemakers from Marlow, or some other place in Buckinghamshire, or from Honiton, in Devonshire, while the men assert they are from Nottingham. I am informed that there are among these itinerant lace-sellers two women and one man who really have been lacemakers. They all buy their wares at the haberdashery swag-shops.

The lace, which is the principal staple of this trade, is "edgings," or the several kinds of cheap lace used for the bordering of caps and other female requirements. Among street-people the lace is called "driz," and the sellers of it "driz-fencers." It gained this slang name, I was informed, many years ago, when it was sold, and often to wealthy ladies, as rare and valuable lace, smuggled from Mechlin, Brussels, Valenciennes, or any foreign place famous, or once famous, for its manufacture. The pretended smuggled lace trade is now unknown in London, and is very little practised in the country. There is, however, still some smuggling connected with lace-selling. Two, and sometimes three, female lace-sellers are also "jigger-workers." They carry about their persons pint bladders of "stuff," or "jigger stuff" (spirit made at an illicit still). "I used to supply them with it until lately," one street-trader told me, "from a friend that kept a 'jigger,' and a tidy sale some of them had. Indeed, I've made the stuff myself. I knew one woman, six or seven years back, that did uncommon well at first, but she got too fond of the stuff, and drank herself into the work'us. They never carried gin, for brandy was most asked for. They sold the brandy at 2*s.* 6*d.* the pint; rum at 1*s.* 6*d.*; and whiskey at 2*s.*; sometimes higher, and always trying for 6*d.* a pint profit, at least. O yes, sir; I know they got the prices I've mentioned, though they seem high; for you must remember that the jigger spirit is above proof, and a pint will make two pints of gin-palace stuff. They sold it, I've heard them say, to ladies that liked a drop on the sly; and to some as pretended they bought that way for economy; yes, and to shopkeepers and publicans too. One old lady used to give 3*s.* for three yards of driz, and it was well enough understood, without no words, that a pint of brandy was part of them three yards. But the trade that way is nothing to what it was, and gets less and less every year."

From a middle-aged woman selling laces I had the following account:—

"I've been in the trade about six years, sir. Ten years back or more I was in place, and saved a little money, as a servant of all work. I married a house-painter, but trade got bad, and we both had illnesses; and my husband, though he's as good a man as need be, can't stick to anything very long at a time." (A very common failing, by the bye, with the street-folk.) "It seems not in his nature. When we was reduced very low he got on a cab—for he can turn his hand to almost anything—and after that we came to street-selling. He's now on jewellery, and I think it suits him as well or better than anything he's tried; I do my part, and we get on middling. If we're ever pushed it's no use fretting. We had one child, and he died when he wanted just a month of three years old, and after I'd lost him I said I would never fret for trifles no more. My heart was broke for a long time—it was indeed. He was the loveliest boy ever seen, and everybody said so. I went into lace, because my husband got to know all about it, and I had no tie at home then. I was very shy and ashamed at first to go into houses, but that wears off, and I met with some nice people that bought of me and was very civil, so that encourages one. I sell nothing but lace. I never cleared more than 2*s.* 6*d.* in a day, and that only once. I suppose I clear from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a week now; perhaps, take it altogether, rather more than 4*s.* I have a connection, and go to the houses in and about the Regent's Park, and all the small streets near it, and sometimes Maida Hill way. I once tried a little millinery made-up things, but it didn't suit somehow, and I didn't stick to it. You see, sir, I sell my lace to very few but servant maids and small shopkeepers' wives and daughters; but then they're a better sort of people than those as has to buy everything ready made like servants has. They can use their own needles to make themselves nice and smart, and they buy of such as me to do it cheap, and they're not often such beaters down as them that buys the ready-made. I can do nothing, or next to nothing, in very wet weather. If I'm in the habit of going into a nice kitchen, perhaps the housemaid flies at me for 'bringing in all that dirt.' My husband says all women is crossest in bad weather, and perhaps servants is.

"I buy my lace near Shoreditch. It's a long walk, but I think I'm best used there. I buy generally a dozen yards, from 3½*d.* to 1*s.*, and sometimes up to 2*s.* I sell the commoner at 1*d.* a yard, and three yards 2*d.*; and the better at 2*d.* and 3*d.* a yard. It's a poor trade, but it's doing something. My husband seldom earns less than 12*s.* a week, for he's a good salesman, and so we pay 2*s.* rent regular every Monday for an unfurnished room, and has the rest to live on. I have sold in the Brill on a Saturday night, but not often, nor lately I don't like it; I haven't tongue enough."

In addition to the itinerants there are about seventy stationary lace sellers, and not less than eighty on the Saturday evenings. The best pitches are, I am told, near the Borough-market; in Clare-market; the New Cut (on Saturday nights); Walworth-road; Tooley-street; and Dockhead, Bermondsey. From the best information at my command, it appears that at least half of these traders sell only lace, or rarely anything else. The others sell also net for making caps and "cauls," which are the plain portion at the back, to be trimmed or edged according to the purchaser's taste. Some sell also, with their lace, cap ribbons—plain or worked collars—and muslin, net, or worked under-sleeves. Braid and gimp were formerly sold by them, but are now in no demand. The prices run from 2*d.* to 6*d.* for lace articles, and about the same for net, &c. per yard; the lowest priced are most sold.

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In this stationary trade are as many men and youths as women and girls. One woman, who had known street-selling for upwards of twenty years, said she could not do half so well now as she could twenty years ago, for the cheaper things got the cheaper people would have them. "Why, twenty year ago," she exclaimed, "I bought a lot of 'leno' cheap—it was just about going out of fashion for caps then, I think—and one Saturday night in the Cut, I cleared 15*s.* on it. I don't clear that in a fortnight now. I have sold to women of the town, as far as I've known them to be of that sort, but very seldom. It's not often you'll catch *them* using a needle for theirselves. They do use their needles, I know. You can see some of them sewing at their doors and windows in Granby-street, Waterloo-road, or could lately—for I haven't passed that way for some time—but I believe it's all for money down, for the slop-shops. It suits the slop-shops to get work cheap anyway; and it suits the women to have some sort of occupation, which they needn't depend upon for their living."

The stationary lace sellers, for the most part, display their goods on stalls, but some spread them on a board, or on matting on the ground. Some of the men gather an audience by shouting out, "Three yards a penny, edging!" As at this rate the lace-seller would only clear ½*d.* in a dozen yards, the cry is merely uttered to attract attention. A few who patter at the trade—but far fewer than was once the case—give short measure. One man, who occasionally sold lace, told me, that when he was compelled to sell for "next to no profit, and a hungry Sunday coming," he gave good shop measure, thirty full inches to a yard. His yard wand was the correct length, "but I can do it, sir," he said with some exultation, "by palming," and he gave a jerk to his fingers, to show how he caught in the lace, and "clipped it short."

Calculating that 100 persons in this trade each take 10*s.* 6*d.* weekly, the profit being about cent. per cent., we find 2600*l.* expended in the streets in lace and similar commodities.

Of the Street-Sellers of Japanned Table-Covers.

This trade, like several others, as soon as the new commodities became in established demand, and sufficiently cheap, was adopted by street-sellers. It has been a regular street-trade between four and five years. Previously, when the covers were dearer, the street-sellers were afraid to speculate much in them; but one man told me that he once sold a table-cover for 8*s.*, and at another time for 10*s.*

The goods are supplied to the street-folk principally by three manufacturers—in Long-lane, Smithfield, Whitechapel-road, and Petticoat-lane. The venders of the glazed table-covers are generally considered among the smartest of the street-folk, as they do not sell to the poor, or in poor neighbourhoods, but "at the better sort of houses, and to the wealthier sort of people." Table-covers are now frequently disposed of by raffle. "I very seldom sell in the streets," said one man, "though I one evening cleared 4*s.* by standing near the Vinegar-works, in the City-road, and selling to gents on their way home from the city. The public-house trade is the best, and indeed in winter evenings, and after dark generally, there's no other. I get rid of more by raffling than by sale. On Saturday evening I had raffles for two covers, which cost me 1*s.* 4*d.* each. I had some trouble to get 1*s.* 9*d.* for one; but I got up a raffle for the other, and it brought me 2*s.*; six members at 4*d.* each. It's just the sort of thing to get off in a raffle on Saturday night, or any time when mechanics have money. A man thinks—leastways I've thought so myself, when I've been in a public-house raffle—now I've spent more money than I ought to, and there's the old woman to face; but if I win the raffle, and take the thing home, why my money has gone to buy a nice thing, and not for drink." I may remark that in nearly all raffles got up in this manner, the article raffled for is generally something coveted by a working man, but not so indispensably necessary to him, that he feels justified in expending his money upon it. This fact seems well enough known to the street-sellers who frequent public-houses with their wares. I inquired of the informant in question if he had ever tried to get up a raffle of his table-covers in a coffee-shop as well as a public-house. "Never, with table-covers," he said, "but I have with other things, and find it's no go. In a coffee-shop people are quiet, and reading, unless it's one of them low places for young thieves, and such like; and they've no money very likely, and I wouldn't like to trust them in a raffle if they had. In public-houses there's talk and fun, and people's more inclined for a raffle, or anything spicy that offers."

There are now fifteen regular street-sellers, or street-hawkers of these table-covers, in London, four of whom are the men's wives, and they not unfrequently go a round together. Sometimes, on fine days, there are twenty. I heard of one woman who had been very successful in bartering table-covers for old clothes. "I've done a little that way myself," said a man in the trade, "but nothing to her, and people sees into things so now, that there's hardly a chance for a crust. The covers is so soft and shiny, and there's such fine parrots and birds of paradise on them, that before the price was known there was a chance of a good bargain. I once got for a cover that cost me 2*s.* 9*d.* a great coat that a Jew, after a hard bargaining, gave me 6*s.* 3*d.* for."

The prices of the table-covers (wholesale) run from 8*s.* a dozen to 30*s.*; but the street-sellers rarely go to a higher price than 18*s.* They can buy a dozen, or half a dozen—or even a smaller quantity—of different sizes. Some of these street-traders sell, with the table-covers, a few wash-leathers, of the better kind. Calculating that fifteen street-sellers each take 25*s.* weekly the year round—one-half being the profit, including their advantages in bartering and raffling—we find 975*l.* expended yearly upon japanned table-covers, bought in the streets.

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OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF BRACES, BELTS, HOSE, TROWSER-STRAPS, AND WAISTCOATS.

THE street-sellers of braces are a numerous and a mixed class. They are nearly all men, and the majority are Irishmen; but this relates only to the itinerant or public-house brace-sellers. These wares are sold also by street-traders, who make other articles the staple of their trade—such as the dog-collar-sellers.

The braces sold thirty years ago were of a very different manufacture from those vended in the streets at present. India-rubber web was then unknown as a component part of the street braces. The braces, which in some parts of the country are called "gallowses," were, at the time specified, made of a woollen web, both washable and durable. "One pair of such braces, good ones," said an old tailor with whom I had some talk on the subject, "would last a poor man his lifetime. Now they're in a rope or in rags in no time." These woollen braces were sold at from 1*s.* to 2*s.* the pair in the streets; the straps being of good firm leather. Not long after this period a much cheaper brace-web was introduced—a mixture of cotton with the woollen—and the cheap manufacture gradually supplanted the better article, as respects the street trade. The cheaper braces were made with sheepskin straps, which soon yielded to friction, and were little serviceable. The introduction of the India-rubber web was another change in the trade, and the manufacture has become lower and lower-priced until the present time.

The braces sold in the streets, or hawked in the public-houses, are, however, not all of the very inferior manufacture. Some are called "silk," others "buck-leather," and others "knitted cotton." The "silk" are of a silken surface, with an admixture of cotton and India-rubber; the "buck-leather" (a kind now very little known in street sale) are of strong sheepskin, dressed buck-leather fashion; and the "knitted" cotton are woven, some kinds of them being very good and strong.

The street brace-sellers, when trying to do business in the streets, carry their goods generally with a few belts, and sometimes with hose in their hands and across their arms. They stretch them from end to end, as they invite the custom of passers by, to evince the elasticity and firmness of the web. Sometimes the braces are slung from a pole carried on the shoulder. The sellers call at the public-house bars and tap-rooms; some are admitted into the parlours; and at a well-frequented gin-palace, I was informed by a manager of one, a brace-seller will call from twelve to twenty times a day, especially on a Monday; while on a Saturday evening they will remain two, three, or four hours, accosting fresh customers. At the gin-palaces, the young and strong Irishmen offering these wares—and there are many such—are frequently scoffed at for selling "braces and things a baby can carry."

The following account, which I received from a street brace-seller, shows the class who purchase such articles:—

"I was put to a carriage-lamp maker," the man said, "at Birmingham, but soon ran away. Nobody saw after me, for I had only an uncle, and he left me to to the parish. It was all my own fault. I was always after some idle end, though I can read very well. It seems as if I couldn't help it, being wild, I mean. I ran away to Worcester, *without knowing where I was going, or caring either.* I was half starved in Worcester, for I lived as I could. I found my way to London afterwards. I've been in the streets ever since, at one thing or the other; how many years I can't say. Time goes so quick sometimes, and sometimes so slow, and I'm never long in one place. I've sold braces off and on ever since Amato won the Derby, if you know when that was. I remember it because I went to Epsom races that year to sell race cards. When I came to London after the races I laid out 12*s.* in braces. I hardly remember how many pairs I bought for it, but they wasn't such common things as I'm carrying now. I could sell a few then at from 9*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* a pair, to the 'cads' and people at such places as the 'Elephant,' and the 'Flower Pot' in Bishopsgate-street, which was a great ''bus' place then. I used to sell, too, to the helpers in inn-yards, and a few in the mews. The helpers in the mews mostly buys knitted cotton. I've got 1*s.* and sometimes 1*s.* 6*d.* for an extra article from them, but now I don't carry them; there's no demand there. You see, many of them work in their shirts, and the head coachmen and grooms, which is often great Turks, would blow up if the men had dirty braces hanging to their buttons, so they uses what'll wash. Nearly all my business now is done at public-houses. I go from one tavern to another on my round all day long, and sell in the street when I can. I think I sell as many at 5*d.* and at 10*d.* as at all other prices together, and most at 5*d.*; but when I have what I call a full stock I carry 'em from 4*d.* to 20*d.* The poorer sort of people, such as wears braces—for there's a many as does without 'em—likes the 1*d.* out of 6*d.*, and the others the 2*d.* out of the 1*s.*; it tempts them. It's a tiresome life, and not so good as costermongering, for I once did tidy well in apples. But in the brace trade you ar'n't troubled with hiring barrows, and it's easy carried on in public-houses in wet weather, and there's no stock to spoil. I sell all to working-people, I think. Sometimes an odd pair or two at 1*s.* 6*d.*, or so, to a tradesman, that may happen to be in a bar, and likes the look and the price; or to a gentleman's servant. I make from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day; full 1*s.* 6*d.* if I stick close to it. I may make 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, too, in selling belts and stockings; but I only sometimes carry stockings. Perhaps I clear 9*s.* a week the year round. There's lots in the trade don't clear 1*s.* a day, for they only carry low-priced things. I go for 4*d.* profit on every shilling's worth I sell. I've only myself to keep. I pay 3*d.* a night at a lodging-house, and nothing on Sundays. I had a young woman with me when I was a coster, but we didn't agree, and parted. She was too fond of lifting her hand to her mouth ('tippling') to please me. I mean to live very near this week, and get a few shillings if I can to

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try something at Greenwich next Monday." This was said on the Tuesday in Passion-week.

The braces are bought by the street-sellers at the swag-shops I have described. The prices range from 1*s*. 6*d*. (for common children's) to 12*s*. a dozen; 3*s*., 3*s*. 6*d*., 6*s*. 6*d*., and 7*s*. being the most frequent prices. Higher-priced articles are also sold at the swags and by the street-sellers, but not one in twenty of these compared with the lower priced.

In London and its suburbs, and on "rounds," of which the metropolis forms the central point, and at stands, there are, I am assured, not fewer than 500 persons vending braces. Of these a twentieth portion may be women, and a tenth old and sometimes infirm men. There are few children in the trade. The stall-keepers, selling braces with other articles, are about 100, and of the remainder of this class, those who are not Irishmen are often impoverished mechanics, such as tailors—brace-vending being easily resorted to, and carried on quietly in public-houses, and it does not entail the necessity of bawling aloud, to which a working-man, driven to a street-life, usually feels repugnance. Calculating that 500 brace-sellers clear 5*s*. a week each on those articles alone, and estimating the profit at 33 per cent., it shows a street expenditure of 3900*l*. One brace-seller considered that 500 such sellers was too low a number; but the most intelligent I met with agreed on that estimate.

The Belts sold in the street are nearly all of stout cotton web, "with India-rubber threads," and usually of a drab colour, woollen belts being rarely ever seen now. They are procured in the same way, and sold by the same parties, as are braces. The amount expended on belts is, from the best information I can command, about an eighth of that expended on braces. The belts are sold at 1*s*. each, and cost 8*s*. the dozen, or 9*d*. each, if only one be purchased.

The street-sale of hose used to be far more considerable than it is now, and was, in a great measure, in the hands of a class who had personal claims to notice, independent of the goodness of their wares. These were old women, wearing, generally, large white aprons, and chintz-patterned gowns, and always scrupulously clean. They carried from door to door, in the quieter streets, and in the then suburbs, stockings of their "own knitting." Such they often were; and those which were not were still knitted stockings, although they might be the work of old women in the country, who knitted by the fireside, needing no other light on winter evenings and at the doors of their cottages in the sunshine in summer. Of these street-sellers some were blind. Between thirty and forty years ago, I am told, there were from twelve to twenty blind knitters, but my informant could not speak with certainty, as he might probably observe the same women in different parts. The blind stocking-sellers would knit at a door as they waited. The informant I have quoted thought that the last of these knitters and street-sellers disappeared upwards of twenty years ago, as he then missed her from his door, at which she used to make her regular periodical appearance. The stockings of this trade were most frequently of white lamb's-wool, and were sold at from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*. 6*d*. They were long in the leg, and were suited "for gentle-people's winter wear." The women-sellers made in those days, I am assured, a comfortable livelihood.

The sale of stockings is now principally in the hands of the men who vend braces, &c. The kind sold is most frequently unbleached cotton. The price to a street-buyer is generally from 6*d*. to 9*d*.; but the trade is of small extent. "It's one of the trades," a street-seller said to me, "that we can't compete with shop-keepers in. You shall go to a haberdashery swag-shop, and though they have 'wholesale haberdashers,' and 'hawkers supplied' on the door-post, you'll see a pair of stockings in the window marked with a very big and very black 6, and a very little and not half black ¾; and if I was to go in, they'd very likely ask me 6*s*. 6*d*. a dozen for an inferior thing. They retail themselves, and won't be undersold if they can help it, and so they don't care to accommodate us in things that's always going."

A few pairs of women's stockings are hawked by women, and sold to servant-maids; but the trade in these goods, I am informed, including all classes of sellers—of whom there may be fifty—does not exceed (notwithstanding the universality of the wear), the receipt of 6*s*. weekly per individual, with a profit of from 1*s*. 4*d*. to 2*s*., and an aggregate expenditure of about 800*l*. in the year. The trade is an addition to some other street trade.

The brace-sellers used to carry with their wares another article, of which India-rubber web formed the principal part. These were trowser-straps, "with leather buttonings and ingy-spring bodies." It was only, however, the better class of brace-sellers who carried them; those who, as my informant expressed it, "had a full stock;" and their sale was insignificant. At one time, the number of brace-sellers offering these straps was, I am informed, from 70 to 100. "It was a poor trade, sir," said one of the class. "At first I sold at 4*d*., as they was 6*d*. in middling shops, and 1*s*. in the toppers, if not 1*s*. 6*d*.; but they soon came down to 3*d*., and then to 2*d*. My profit was short of 3*d*. in 1*s*. My best customers for braces didn't want such things; plain working-men don't. And grooms, and stable-keepers generally, wears boots or knee-gaiters, and footmen sports knee-buckles and stockings. All I did sell to was, as far as I can judge, young mechanics as liked to turn out like gents on a Sunday or an evening, and real gents that wanted things cheap. I very seldom cleared more than 1*s*. a week on them. The trade's over now. If you see a few at a stand, it's the remains of an old stock, or some that a swag-shop has pushed out for next to nothing to be rid of them."

The sale of waistcoats is confined to Smithfield, as regards the class I now treat of—the sellers of articles made by others. Twelve or fourteen years back, there was a considerable sale in what was a branch of duffing. Waistcoats were sold to countrymen, generally graziers' servants, under

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the pretence that they were of fine silk plush, which was then rather an object of rustic Sunday finery. A drover told me that a good many years ago he saw a countryman, with whom he was conversing at the time, pay 10*s.* 6*d.* for a "silk plush waistcoat," the vendor having asked 15*s.*, and having walked away—no doubt remarking the eagerness of his victim—when the countryman refused to give more than 10*s.* "He had a customer set for it," he said, "at half-a-guinea." On the first day the waistcoat was worn—the drover was afterwards told by the purchaser—it was utterly spoiled by a shower of rain; and when its possessor asked the village tailor the value of the garment, he was told that it had no value at all; the tailor could not even tell what it was made of, but he never saw anything so badly made in his life; never. Some little may be allowed for the natural glee of a village tailor on finding one of his customers, who no doubt was proud of his London bargain, completely taken in; but these waistcoats, I am assured by a tailor who had seen them, were the veriest rubbish. The trade, however, has been unknown, unless with a few rare exceptions at a very busy time—such as the market for the show and sale of the Christmas stock—since the time specified.

The waistcoats now sold in Smithfield market, or in the public-houses connected with it, are, I am told, and also by a tailor, very paltry things; but the price asked removes the trade from the imputation of duffing. These garments are sold at from 1*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* each; but very rarely 4*s.* 6*d.* The shilling waistcoats are only fit for boys—or "youths," as the slop-tailors prefer styling them—but 1*s.* 6*d.* is a common price enough; and seven-eighths of the trade, I am informed, is for prices under, or not exceeding, 2*s.* The trade is, moreover, very small. There are sometimes no waistcoat-sellers at all; but generally two, and not unfrequently three. The profits of these men are 1*s.* on a bad, and 2*s.* 6*d.* on a good day. As, at intervals, these street-sellers dispose of a sleeve-waistcoat (waiscoat with sleeves) at from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.*, we may estimate the average earnings in the trade at 5*s.* per market day, or 10*s.* in the week. This shows an outlay of 78*l.* in the year, as the profits of these street traders may be taken at 33 per cent.; or, as it is almost invariably worded by such classes, "4*d.* in the 1*s.*" The material is of a kind of cotton made to look as stout as possible, the back, &c., being the commonest stuff. They are supplied by a slop-house at the East End, and are made by women, or rather girls.

The sale of waistcoats in the street, markets, &c., is of second-hand goods, or otherwise in the hands of a distinct class. There are other belts, and other portions of wearing apparel, which, though not of textile fabrics, as they are often sold by the same persons as I have just treated of, may be described here. These are children's "patent leather" belts, trowser-straps, and garters.

The sellers of children's and men's belts and trowser-straps are less numerous than they were, for both these things, I am told, but only on street authority, are going out of fashion. From one elderly man who had "dropped belts, and straps, and all that, for oranges," I heard bitter complaints of the conduct of the swag shop-keepers who supplied these wares. The substance of his garrulous and not very lucid complaint was that when boys' patent leather belts came into fashion, eleven, twelve, or thirteen years back, he could not remember which, the usual price in the shops was 1*s.*, and they were soon to be had in the streets for 6*d.* each. The belt-sellers "did well" for a while. But the "swags" who, according to my informant, at first supplied belts of patent horse-leather, came to substitute patent sheep-leather for them, which were softer, and looked as well. The consequence was, that whenever the sheep-leather belts were wet, or when there was any "pull" upon them, they stretched, and "the polish went to cracks." After having been wet a few times, too, they were easily torn, and so the street trade became distrusted. It was the same with trowser-straps.

The belt trade is now almost extinct in the streets, and the strap trade, which was chiefly in the hands of old and infirm, and young people, is now confined to the sellers of dog-collars, &c. The trowser-straps are not glazed or patent-leather, now, but "plain calf;" sold at 2*d.* a pair generally, and bought at from 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* the dozen pairs. Many readers will remember how often they used to hear the cry, "Three pair for sixpence! Three pair for sixpence!" A cry now, I believe, never heard.

Among the belt and strap-sellers were some blind persons. One man counted to me three blind men whom he knew selling them, and one sells them still, attached to the rails by St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate.

The same persons who sold straps, &c., not including the present sellers, the dog-collar men, &c., had lately no small traffic in the vending of garters. The garter-sellers were, however, far more numerous than ever were the strap-sellers. At one time, I am told, there were 200 garter sellers; all old or infirm, or poor women, or children, and chiefly Irish children. As these children were often stockingless and shoeless, their cry of "Penny a pair! India-rubber garters, penny a pair!" was sometimes pitiful enough, as they were offering a cheap article, unused by themselves. The sudden influx of garters, so to speak, was owing, I am told, to a manufacturer having discovered a cheap way of "working the India-rubber threads," and having "thrown a lot into the market through the swag shops." The price was at first 8*s.* a gross (8*d.* a dozen), but as the demand increased, it was raised to 9*s.* and 9*s.* 6*d.* The trade continued about six weeks, but has now almost entirely ceased. The stock of garters still offered for sale is what stall-keepers have on hand, or what swag shop-keepers tempt street-sellers to buy by reducing the price. The leather garter-trade, 1*d.* a pair being the usual price for sheep-skin garters, is now almost unknown. It was somewhat extensive.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF BOOT AND STAY-LACES, &c.

LIKE many street-callings which can be started on

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the smallest means, and without any previous knowledge of the article sold being necessary to the street-vendor, the boot and stay-lace trade has very many followers. I here speak of those who *sell* boot-laces, and subsist, or endeavour to subsist, by the sale, without mixing it up with begging. The majority, indeed the great majority, of these street traders are women advanced in years, and, perhaps, I may say the whole of them are very poor. An old woman said to me, "I just drag, on, sir, half-starving on a few boot-laces, rather than go into the workhouse, and I know numbers doing the same."

The laces are bought at the haberdashery swag-shops I have spoken of, and amongst these old women I found the term "swag-shop" as common as among men who buy largely at such establishments. The usual price for boot-laces to be sold in the streets is 1*d.* a dozen. Each lace is tagged at both ends, sufficing for a pair of boots. The regular retail price is three a penny, but the lace-sellers are not unfrequently compelled to give four, or lose a customer. A better quality is sold at 1½*d.* and 2*d.* a dozen, but these are seldom meddled with by the street lace-sellers. It is often a matter of strong endeavour for a poor woman to make herself mistress of 11*d.*, the whole of which she can devote to the purchase of boot-laces, as for 11*d.* she can procure a gross, so saving 1*d.* in twelve dozen.

The stay-laces, which are bought at the same places, and usually sold by the same street-traders, are 2*d.* and 2½*d.* the dozen. I am told that there are as many of the higher as of the lower priced stay-laces bought for street sale, "because," one of the street-sellers told me "there's a great many servant girls, and others too, that's very particular about their stay-laces." The stay-laces are retailed at ½*d.* each.

These articles are vended at street-stalls, along with other things for female use; but the most numerous portion of the lace-sellers are itinerant, walking up and down a street market, or going on a round in the suburbs, calling at every house where they are known, or where, as one woman expressed it, "we make bold to venture." Those frequenting the street-markets, or other streets or thoroughfares, usually carry the boot-laces in their hands, and the stay-laces round their necks, and offer them to the females passing. Their principal customers are the working-classes, the wives and daughters of small shop-keepers, and servant-maids. "Ladies, of course," said one lace-seller, "won't buy of us." Another old woman whom I questioned on the subject, and who had sold laces for about fourteen years, gave me a similar account; but she added:—"I've sold to high-up people though. Only two or three weeks back, a fine-dressed servant maid stopped me and said, 'Here, I must have a dozen boot-laces for mistress, and she says, she'll only give 3*d.* for them, as it's a dozen at once. A mean cretur she is. It's grand doings before faces, and pinchings behind backs, at our house.'"

Among the lace-sellers having rounds in the suburbs are some who "have known better days." One old woman had been companion and housekeeper to a lady, who died in her arms, and whose legacy to her companion-servant enabled her to furnish a house handsomely. This she let out in apartments at "high-figures," and anything like a regular payment by her lodgers would have supplied her with a comfortable maintenance. But fine gentlemen, and fine ladies too, went away in her debt; she became involved, her furniture was seized, and step by step she was reduced to boot-lace selling. Her appearance is still that of "the old school;" she wears a very large bonnet of faded black silk, a shawl of good material, but old and faded, and always a black gown. The poor woman told me that she never ventured to call even at the houses where she was best received if she saw any tax-gatherer go to or from the house: "I know very well what it is," she continued, "it's no use my calling; they're sure to be cross, and the servants will be cross too, because their masters or mistresses are cross with them. If the tax-gatherer's not paid, they're cross at being asked; if he is paid, they're cross at having had to part with their money. I've paid taxes myself."

The dress of the boot lace-sellers generally is that of poor elderly women, for the most part perhaps a black chip, or old straw bonnet (often broken) and a dark-coloured cotton gown. Their abodes are in the localities in all parts of the metropolis, which I have frequently specified as the abodes of the poor. They live most frequently in their own rooms, but the younger, and perhaps I may add, coarser, of the number, resort to lodging-houses. It is not very uncommon, I was told by one of the class, for two poor women, boot-lace sellers or in some similar line, "to join" in a room, so saving half the usual rent of 1*s.* 6*d.* for an unfurnished room. This arrangement, however, is often of short duration. There is always arising some question, I was told, about the use or wear of this utensil or the other, or about washing, or about wood and coals, if one street-seller returned an hour or two before her companion. This is not to be wondered at, when we bear in mind that to these people every farthing is of consequence. From all that I can learn, the boot-lace sellers (I speak of the women) are poor and honest, and that, as a body, they are little mixed up with dishonest characters and dishonest ways. The exceptions are, I understand, among some hale persons, such as I have alluded to as sojourning in the lodging-houses. Some of these traders receive a little parochial relief.

One intelligent woman could count up 100 persons depending chiefly upon the sale of boot and stay-laces, in what she called her own neighbourhood. This comprised Leather-lane, Holborn, Tottenham Court-road, the Hampstead-road, and all the adjacent streets. From the best data at my command, I believe there are not fewer than 500 individuals *selling* these wares in London. Several lace-sellers agreed in stating that they sold a dozen boot-laces a-day, and a dozen stay-laces, and 2 dozen extra on Saturday nights; but the drawbacks of bad weather, &c., reduce the average sale to not more than 6 dozen a week, or 384,400

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boot-laces in a year, at an outlay to the public of 3120*l.* yearly; from a half to three-fourths of the receipts being the profit of the street-sellers.

The same quantity of stay-laces sold at 6*d.* a dozen shows an outlay of 4680*l.*, with about an equally proportional profit to the sellers.

Most of these traders sell tapes and other articles as well as laces. The tapes cost 3*d.* and 3½*d.* the dozen, and are sold at ½*d.* a knot. A dozen in 2 days is an average sale, but I have treated more expressly of those who depend principally upon boot-lace selling for their livelihood. Their average profits are about 3*s.* a week, on laces alone. The trade, I am told, was much more remunerative a few years back, and the decline was attributed "to so many getting into the trade, and the button boots becoming as fashionable as the Adelaides."

Of a Blind Female Seller of "Small-Wares."

I now give an account of the street-trade, the feelings, and the life of a poor blind woman, who may be seen nearly every fine day, selling what is technically termed "small-ware," in Leather-lane, Holborn. The street "small-wares" are now understood to be cotton-tapes, pins, and sewing cotton; sometimes with the addition of boot and stay-laces, and shirt-buttons.

I saw the blind small-ware seller enter her own apartment, which was on the first floor of a small house in a court contiguous to her "pitch." The entrance into the court was low and narrow; a tall man would be compelled to stoop as he entered the passage leading into the court. Here were unmistakeable signs of the poverty of the inhabitants. Soapsuds stood in the choked gutter, old clothes were hung out to dry across the court, one side being a dead wall, and the windows were patched with paper, sometimes itself patched with other paper. In front of one window, however, was a rude gate-work, behind which stood a root of lavender, and a campanula, thriving not at all, but yet, with all their dinginess, presenting a relief to the eye.

The room of the blind woman is reached by a very narrow staircase, on which two slim persons could not pass each other, and up old and worn stairs. Her apartment may be about ten feet square. The window had both small and large panes, with abundance of putty plastering. The furniture consisted of a small round deal table (on which lay the poor woman's stock of black and white tapes, of shirt-buttons, &c.), and of four broken or patched chairs. There were a few motley-looking "pot" ornaments on the mantel-shelf, in the middle of which stood a doctor's bottle. The bust of a female was also conspicuous, as was a tobacco-pipe. Above the mantel-piece hung some pictureless frames, while a pair of spectacles were suspended above a little looking-glass. Over a cupboard was a picture of the Ethiopian serenaders, and on the uncoloured walls were engravings of animals apparently from some work on natural history. There were two thin beds, on one of which was stowed a few costermonger's old baskets and old clothes (women's and boys'), as if stowed away there to make room to stir about. All the furniture was dilapidated. An iron rod for a poker, a pair of old tongs, and a sheet-iron shovel, were by the grate, in which glimmered a mere handful of fire. All showed poverty. The rent was 1*s.* a week (it had been 1*s.* 9*d.*), and the blind woman and a lodger (paying 6*d.* of the rent) slept in one bed, while a boy occupied the other. A wiry-haired dog, neither handsome nor fat, received a stranger (for the blind woman, and her guide and lodger, left their street trade at my request for their own room) with a few querulous yelps, which subsided into a sort of whining welcome to me, when the animal saw his mistress was at ease. The pleasure with which this poor woman received and returned the caresses of her dog was expressed in her face. I may add that owing to a change of street names in that neighbourhood, I had some difficulty in finding the small-ware seller, and heard her poor neighbours speak well of her as I inquired her abode; usually a good sign among the poor.

The blind tape-seller is a tall and somewhat strongly-formed woman, with a good-humoured and not a melancholy expression of face, though her manner was exceedingly quiet and subdued and her voice low. Her age is about 50. She wore, what I understand is called a "half-widow's cap;" this was very clean, as indeed was her attire generally, though worn and old.

I have already given an account of a female small-ware seller (which account formerly appeared in one of my letters in the *Morning Chronicle*) strongly illustrating the vicissitudes of a street life. It was the statement, however, of one who is no longer in the streets, and the account given by the blind tape and pin seller is further interesting as furnishing other habitudes or idiosyncracies of the blind (or of an individual blind woman), in addition to those before detailed; more especially in its narrative of the feelings of a perhaps not very sensitive woman who became "dark" (as she always called it) in mature age.

"It's five years, sir," she said, "since I have been quite dark, but for two years before that I had lost the sight of one eye. Oh, yes, I had doctors but they couldn't save my eyesight. I lost it after illnesses and rheumatics, and from want and being miserable. I felt *very* miserable when I first found myself quite dark, as if everything was lost to me. I felt as if I'd no more place in the world; but one gets reconciled to most things, thank God, in time; but I'm often low and sad now. Living poorly and having a sickly boy to care about may be one reason, as well as my blindness and being so bad off.

"I was brought up to service, and was sent before that to St. Andrew's school. I lost my parents and friends (relatives) when I were young. I was in my first place eighteen months, and was eight or nine years in service altogether, mostly as maid of all work. I saved a little money and married. My husband was a costermonger, and we didn't do well. Oh, dear no, sir, because he was addicted to drinking. We often suffered great pinching. I can't say as he was unkind to me.

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He died nine years or more since. After that I supported myself, and two sons we had, by going out to wash and 'chair.' I did that when my husband was living. I had tidy work, as I 'chaired' and washed for one family in Clerkenwell for ten years, and might again if I wasn't dark. My eldest son's now a soldier and is with his regiment at Dover. He's only eighteen, but he could get nothing to do as hard as he tried; I couldn't help him; he knew no trade; and so he 'listed. Poor fellow! perhaps I shall never see him again. Oh, *see* him! That I couldn't if he was sitting as near me as you are, sir; but perhaps I may never hear his voice again. Perhaps he'll have to go abroad and be killed. It's a sad thought that for a blind widow; I think of it both up and in bed. Blind people thinks a great deal, I feel they does. My youngest son—he's now fourteen —is asthmatical; but he's such a good lad, so easily satisfied. He likes to read if he can get hold of a penny book, and has time to read it. He's at a paper-stainer's and works on fancy satin paper, which is very obnicious" (the word she used twice for pernicious or obnoxious) "to such a delicate boy. He has 5*s.* a week, but, oh dear me, it takes all that for his bit of clothes, and soap for washing, and for shoes, and then he must carry his dinner with him every day, which I makes ready, and as he has to work hard, poor thing, he requires a little meat. I often frets about his being so weakly; often, as I stands with my tapes and pins, and thinks, and thinks. But, thank God, I can still wash for him and myself, and does so regularly. No, I can't clean my room myself, but a poor woman who lives by selling boot-laces in the streets has lodged with me for many years, and she helps me."

"Lives!" interrupted the poor boot-lace woman, who was present, "starves, you mean; for all yesterday I only took a farthing. But anything's better than the house. I'll live on 4*d.* a day, and pay rent and all, and starve half my time, rather nor the great house" (the Union).

"Yes, indeed," resumed the blind woman, "for when I first went dark, I was forced to send to my parish, and had 6*d.* twice a week, and a half-quartern loaf, and that was only allowed for three weeks, and then there was the house for me. Oh dear, after that I didn't know what I could do to get a bit of bread. At first I was so frightened and nervous, I was afraid of every noise. That was when I was quite dark; and I am often frightened at nothing still, and tremble as I stand in the lane. I was at first greatly distressed, and in pain, and was very down-hearted. I was so put about that I felt as if I was a burden to myself, and to everybody else. If you lose your sight as I did, sir, when you're not young, it's a long time *before you learns to be blind.* [So she very expressly worded it.] A friend advised me to sell tapes and cottons, and boot-laces, in the street, as better than doing nothing; and so I did. But at first I was sure every minute I should be run on. The poor woman that lodges with me bought some things for me where she buys her own—at Albion-house, in the Borough. O, I does very badly in my trade, very badly. I now clear only 2*d.*, 3*d.*, or 4*d.* a day; no, I think not more than 1*s.* 6*d.* a week; that is all. Why, one day this week I only sold a ha'porth of pins. But what I make more than pays my rent, and it's a sort of employment; something to do, and make one feel one's not quite idle. I hopes to make more now that nights are getting long, for I can then go into the lane (Leather-lane) of an evening, and make 1*d.* or 2*d.* extra. I daren't go out when it's long dark evenings, for the boys teases me, and sometimes comes and snatches my tapes and things out of my hands, and runs away, and leaves me there robbed of my little stock. I'm sure I don't know whether it's young thieves as does it, or for what they calls a lark. I only knows I loses my tapes. Do I complain to the police, do you say, sir? I don't know when a policeman's passing, in such a crowded place. Oh yes, I could get people to complain for me, but perhaps it would be no good; and then I'm afraid of the police; they're so arbitry. [Her word.] It's not very long since one of them—and I was told afterwards he was a sergeant, too—ordered me to move on. 'I can't move on, sir,' said I, 'I wish I could, but I must stand still, for I'm blind.' 'I know that,' says he, 'but you're begging.' 'No, I'm not,' says I, 'I'm only a trying to sell a few little things, to keep me out of the work 'us.' 'Then what's that thing you have tied over your breast?' says he. 'If you give me any more of your nonsense, I'll lock you up;' and then he went away. I'm terrified to think of being taken to the station."

The matter which called forth the officer's wrath, was a large card, tied from the poor woman's shoulders, on which was printed, in large letters, "PLEASE TO BUY OF THE POOR BLIND." "Ay," said the blind woman's companion, with a bitterness not uncommon on the part of street-sellers on such occasions, "and any shopkeeper can put what notice he likes in his window, that he can, if it's ever such a lie, and nothing's said if *he* collects a crowd; oh dear, no. But *we* mus'n't say our lives is our own."

"Yes, sir," said the blind woman, as I questioned her further, "there I stands, and often feels as if I was half asleep, or half dreaming; and I sometimes hardly knows when I dreams, and what I thinks; and I think what it was like when I had my eyesight and was among them, and what it would be like if I had my eyesight again; all those people making all that noise, and trying to earn a penny, seems so queer. And I often thinks if people suffered ever so much, they had something to be thankful for, if they had their eyesight. If I'd been dark from a child, I think I shouldn't have felt it so much. It wouldn't have been like all that lost, and I should be handier, though I'm not bad that way as it is, but I'm afraid to go out by myself. Where I lives there's so many brokers about, I should run against their furniture. I'm sometimes not spoken to for an hour and more. Many a day I've only took 1*d.* Then I thinks and mopes about what will become of me, and thinks

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about my children. I don't know who buys of me, but I'm sure I'm very thankful to all as does. They takes the things out of my hands, and puts the money into them. I think they're working-people as buys of me, but I can't be sure. Some speaks to me very kind and pleasant. I don't think they're ladies that speaks kind. My husband used to say that if ladies went to places like the Lane, it was on the sly, to get something cheap, and they did'nt want to be seen there, or they might be counted low. I'm sure he was right. And it ain't such as them as buys of a poor blind woman out of kindness. No, sir, it's very seldom indeed that I get more than the regular price. A halfpenny a knot for my tapes; and a halfpenny and a farthing for pins; and a halfpenny and a penny a dozen for shirt-buttons; and three a penny when I sells boot-laces; and a halfpenny a piece when I has stay-laces. I sells good things, I know, for the friend as gets them wouldn't deceive me, and I never has no complaints of them.

"I don't know any other blind woman in the trade besides myself. No, I don't associate with blind people. I wasn't brought up, like, to such a thing, but am in it by accident. I can't say how many blind women there may be in my line in the streets. I haven't the least notion. I took little notice of them, God forgive me, when I had my eyesight, and I haven't been thrown among them since. Whether there's many of them or not, they're all to be pitied.

"On a Sunday I never stirs out, except to chapel, with my lodger or my son. No, sir, not a Roman Catholic chapel, but a Protestant. When it's not very fine weather we goes to the nearest, but you hears nothing but what's good in any of them. Oh dear, no.

"I lives on tea and bread and butter all the week—yes, I can make it ready myself—except on Sundays, when my son has his dinner here, and we has a bit of cheap meat; not often fish; it's troublesome. If bread and things wasn't cheap I couldn't live at all, and it's hardly living as it is. What *can* any one do on all that I can earn? There's so many in the streets, I'm told, in my line, and distress drives more and more every week—everybody says so, and wages is so bad, and there's such under-selling, that I don't know whatever things will come to. I've no 'spectation of anything better in the time that has to come, nothing but misery, God help me. But I'm sure I should soon fret to death in a work'us."

The poor woman lodging with the blind street-seller is herself in the same trade, but doing most in boot and stay-laces. She has a sharp and pinched outline of countenance, as if from poverty of diet, and is indeed wretchedly poor, earning only about 6*d*. a day, if so much. She is about the same age as her landlady, or somewhat younger, and has apparently been good-looking, and has still an intelligent expression. She lodged with the blind woman during her husband's lifetime, when he rented two rooms, letting her one, and she had lived with the present widow in this way about fourteen years. She speaks cheerfully and seems an excellent companion for a blind person. On my remarking that they could neither of them be very cross-tempered to have lived so long together, the lodger said, laughingly, "O, we have a little tiff now and then, sir, as women will, you know; but it's not often, and we soon are all right again. Poor people like us has something else to think of than tiffs and gossipping."

THE BLIND STREET-SELLER OF BOOT-LACES.

THE character, thoughts, feelings, regrets, and even the dreams, of a very interesting class of street-folk—the blind—are given in the narratives I now proceed to lay before the reader, from blind street-folk; but a few words of general introduction are necessary.

It may be that among the uneducated—among those whose feelings and whose bodies have been subjected to what may be called the wear and tear of poverty and privation—there is a tendency, even when misfortunes the most pitiable and undeserved have been encountered, to fall from misery into mendicancy. Even the educated, or, as the street people more generally describe them, those "who have seen better days," sometimes, after the ordeal of the streets and the low lodging-houses, become trading mendicants. Among such people there may be, in one capacity or other, the ability and sometimes the opportunity to labour, and yet—whether from irrepressible vagabondism, from utter repugnance to any *settled* mode of subsistence (caused either by the natural disposition of the individual, or by the utter exhaustion of mind and body driving him to beg)—yet, I say, men of this class become beggars and even "lurkers."

As this is the case with men who have the exercise of their limbs, and of the several senses of the body, there must be some mitigating plea, if not a full justification, in the conduct of those who beg directly or indirectly, because they *cannot* and perhaps *never could* labour for their daily bread—I allude to those afflicted with blindness, whether "from their youth up" or from the calamity being inflicted upon them in maturer years.

By the present law, for a blind man to beg is to be amenable to punishment, and to be subjected to perhaps the bitterest punishment which can be put upon him—imprisonment; to a deprivation of what may be his chief solace—the enjoyment of the fresh air; and to a rupture of the feeling, which cannot but be comforting to such a man, that under his infirmity he still has the sympathies of his fellow-creatures.

It appears to me, then, that the blind have a right to ask charity of those whom God has spared so terrible an affliction, and who in the terms best understood by the destitute themselves, are "well to do;" those whom—in the canting language of a former generation of blind and other beggars—"Providence has blessed with affluence." This right to solicit aid from those to whom such aid does not even approach to the sacrifice of any idle indulgence—to say nothing of any necessary want—is based on their helplessness, but lapses if it becomes a mere business, and with all the

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trickiness by which a street business is sometimes characterised.

On this question of moral right, as of political expediency, I quote an authority which must command attention, that of Mr. Stuart Mill:—

Apart from any metaphysical considerations respecting the foundation of morals or of the social union, he says, "It will be admitted to be right, that human beings should help one another; and the more so, in proportion to the urgency of the need; and none needs help so urgently as one who is starving. The claim to help, therefore, created by destitution, is one of the strongest which can exist; and there is *primâ facie* the amplest reason for making the relief of so extreme an exigency as certain, to those who require it, as, by any arrangements of society, it can be made.

"On the other hand, in all cases of helping, there are two sets of consequences to be considered; the consequences of the assistance itself, and the consequences of relying on the assistance. The former are generally beneficial, but the latter for the most part injurious; so much so, in many cases, as greatly to outweigh the value of the benefit. And this is never more likely to happen than in the very cases where the need of help is the most intense. There are few things for which it is more mischievous, that people should rely on the habitual aid of others, than for the means of subsistence, and unhappily there is no lesson which they more easily learn." I may here mention, in corroboration of this statement, that I was told by an experienced parochial officer, that there was truth in the saying, "Once a pauper, and always a pauper;" which seems to show that the lesson of relying on the habitual aid of others may not only be learned with ease, but is forgotten with difficulty. "The problem to be solved," continues Mr. Mill, "is, therefore, one of peculiar nicety, as well as importance; how to give the greatest amount of needful help, with the smallest encouragement to undue reliance on it.

"Energy and self-dependence are, however," Mr. Mill proceeds to argue, and, in this respect, it seems to me, to argue to demonstration, "liable to be impaired by *the absence of help, as well as by its excess. It is even more fatal to exertion to have no hope of succeeding by it, than to be assured of succeeding without it.* When the condition of any one is so disastrous that his energies are paralyzed by discouragement, assistance is a tonic, not a sedative: it braces, instead of relaxing the active faculties: always provided that the assistance is not such as to dispense with self-help, by substituting itself for the person's own labour, skill, and prudence, but is limited to affording him a better hope of attaining success by those legitimate means. This, accordingly, is a test to which all plans of philanthropy and benevolence should be brought, whether intended for the benefit of individuals or of classes, and whether conducted on the voluntary or on the government principle.

"In so far as the subject admits of any general doctrine or maxim, it would appear to be this—*that if assistance is given in such a manner that the condition of the person helped is rendered as desirable as that of another* (in a similar grade of society) *who succeeds in maintaining himself without help, the assistance, if systematic and capable of being previously calculated upon, is* MISCHIEVOUS: *but if, while available to everybody, it leaves to all a strong motive to do without it if they can, it is then for the most part* BENEFICIAL."

That the workhouse should bring less comfort and even greater irksomeness and restraint to any able-bodied inmate, than is felt by the poorest agricultural labourer in the worst-paid parts of the country, or the most wretched slop tailor, or shoemaker, or cabinet maker in London, who supports himself by his own labour, is, I think, a sound principle. However wretched the ploughman may be in his hut, or the tailor in his garret, he is what I have heard underpaid mechanics call, still "his own man." He is supported by his labour; he has escaped the indignity of a reliance on others.

I need not now enter into the question whether or not the workhouse system has done more harm than good. Some harm it is assuredly doing, for its over-discipline drives people to beg rather than apply for parish relief; and so the public are twice mulct, by having to pay compulsorily, in the form of poor's-rate, and by being induced to give voluntarily, because they feel that the applicant for their assistance deserves to be helped.

But although the dogma I have cited, respecting the condition of those in a workhouse, may be sound in principle as regards the able-bodied, how does it apply to those who are not able-bodied? To those who *cannot* work? And above all how does it apply to those to whom nature has denied even the capacity to labour? To the blind, for instance? Yet the blind man, who dreads the injustice of such a creed applied to his misfortune, is subject to the punishment of the mendacious beggar, should he ask a passer-by to pity his afflictions. The law may not often be enforced, but sometimes it is enforced—perhaps more frequently in country than in town—and surely it is so enforced against abstract right and political morality. The blind beggar, "worried by the police," as I have heard it described, becomes the mendacious beggar, no longer asking, in honesty, for a mite to which a calamity that no prudence could have saved him gave him a fair claim, but resorting to trick in order to increase his precarious gains.

That the blind resort to deceitful representations is unquestionable. One blind man, I am informed, said to Mr. Child the oculist, when he offered to couch him, "Why, that would ruin me!" And there are many, I am assured, who live by the streets who might have their eyesight restored, but who will not.

The public, however, must be warned to distinguish between those determined beggars and the really deserving and helpless blind. To allow their sympathies to be blunted against *all*, because some are bad, is a creed most consolatory to worldly successful selfishness, and alien to every principle of pure morals, as well as to that of more than morals—the spirit of Christianity.

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The feelings of the blind, apart from their mere sufferings as poor men, are well described in some of the narratives I give, and the account of a blind man's dreams is full of interest. Man is blessed with the power of seeing dreams, it should be remembered, *visionally;* but the blind man, to whose statement I invite attention, dreams, it will be seen, like the rest of his fraternity, through the sense of hearing, or of feeling, best known as "touching;" that is to say, by audible or tactile representations.

Some of the poor blind, he told me, are polishers' wheel-turners, but there is not employment for one in one hundred at this. My informant only knew two so engaged. People, he says, are glad to do it, and will work at as low wages as the blind. Some of the blind, too, blow blacksmiths' forges at foundries; others are engaged as cutlers' wheel-turners. "There was one talking to me the other day, and he said he'd get me a job that way." Others again turn mangles, but at this there is little employment to be had. Another blind acquaintance of my informant's chops chaff for horses. Many of the blind are basket-makers, learning the business at the blind school, but one-half, I am told, can't make a living at this, after leaving the school; they can't do the work so neatly, and waste more rods than the other workers. Other blind people are chair-bottomers, and others make rope mats with a frame, but all of these can scarcely make a living. Many blind people play church organs. Some blind men are shoemakers, but their work is so inferior, it is almost impossible to live by it.

The blind people are forced to the streets because, they say, they can do nothing else to get a living; at no trade, even if they know one, can they get a living, for they are not qualified to work against those who can see; and what's more, labourers' wages are so low that people can get a man with his eyesight at the same price as they could live upon. "There's many a blind basket-weaver playing music in the streets 'cause he can't get work. At the trade I know one blind basket-maker can make 15*s.* a-week at his trade, but then he has a good connection and works for hisself; the work all comes home. He couldn't make half that working for a shop. At turning wheels there's nothing to be done; there's so many seeing men out of employment that's glad to do the work at the same price as the blind, so that unless the blind will go into the workhouse, they must fly to the streets. The police, I am told, treat the blind very differently: some of the force are very good to them, and some has no feeling at all—they shove them about worse than dogs; but the police is just like other men, good and bad amongst them. They're very kind to me," said my blind informant, "and they have a difficult duty to perform, and some persons, like Colonel Cavendish, makes them harsher to us than they would be." I inquired whether my blind informant had received one of the Census papers to fill up, and he told me that he had heard nothing about them, and that he had certainly made no return to the government about his blindness; but what it was to the government whether he was blind or not, he couldn't tell. His wife was blind as well as himself, and there was another blind man living in his room, and none of his blind friends, that he had heard of, had ever received any of the papers.

"Some blind people in the streets carry laces. There are some five men and one woman at the West-end do this, and three of these have dogs to lead them; one stands always on Langham-place. One carries cabbage-nets, he is an old man of seventy year, with white hair, and is likewise led by a dog. Another carries matches (he has a large family), and he is often led by one of his boys. There is a blind woman who always sits by the Polytechnic, and has indeed done so since it was built. She gets her living by sewing, making caps and things for ladies. Another blind woman obtains a livelihood by knitting garters and covers for bread trays and backs of chairs. She generally walks about in the neighbourhood of Baker-street, and Portman-square. Many recite a lamentation as they go along, but in many parts of London the police will not allow them to do so.

"It's a very jealous place, is London. The police is so busy; but many recites the lamentation for all that. It's a feeling thing — Oh, they're very touching words."

The greater part in the streets are musicians; five to one are, or ten to one. My informant thinks, last Thursday week, there were seven blind musicians all playing through the streets together in one band. There are four living in York-court; two in Grafton-court; two in Clement's-lane; one in Orchard-place; two in Gray's-buildings; two in Half-Moon-street, in the City, and two in a court hard by; one up by Ball's-pond; two in Rose-court, Whitechapel; three in Golden-lane; two at Chelsea; three in Westminster; one up at Paddington; one (woman) in Marylebone; one in Westminster; one in Gray's-inn-lane; one in Whitechapel: in all thirty-one; but my informant was satisfied there must be at least as many more, or sixty blind musicians in all.

In the course of a former inquiry into the character and condition of street performers, I received the following account from a blind musician:—

"The street blind tried, some years back, to maintain a burying and sick club of our own; but we were always too poor. We live in rooms. I don't know one blind musician who lives in a lodging-house. I myself know a dozen blind men now performing in the streets of London. The blind musicians are chiefly married men. I don't know one who lives with a woman unmarried. The loss of sight changes a man, he doesn't think of women, and women don't think of him. We are of a religious turn, too, generally.

"When we agreed to form the blind club there was not more than a dozen members. These consisted of two basket-makers; one mat-maker; four violin players; myself; and my two mates;

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and this was the number when it dropped for want of funds; that's now sixteen years ago. We were to pay 1*s.* a month, and sick members were to have 5*s.* a week when they had paid two years. Our other rules were the same as other clubs. There's a good many blind who play at sailors dances, Wapping and Deptford way. We seldom hire children to lead us in the streets; we have plenty of our own generally. I have five. Our wives are generally women that have their eyesight; but some blind men marry blind women."

My informant was satisfied that there were at least 100 blind men and women getting their living in the streets, and about 500 throughout the country. There are many who stay continually in Brighton, Bristol, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Plymouth, and indeed all large towns. "There are a great many blind people, I am told," he said, "in Cornwall. It's such a humane place for them; the people has great feeling for the blind; they're very religious there, and a many lose their sight in the mines, and that's what makes them have a feeling for others so." This man heard a calculation made some time back, that there were 5000 blind people, including those in schools and asylums, within five miles round St. Paul's. The most of the blind have lost their sight by the small-pox — nine out of every ten of the musicians have done so; since the vaccination has been discovered, I am told the cases of blindness from small-pox have been considerably increased. "Oh, that was a very clever thing—very," said the blind boot-lace seller to me. Those who have not lost their sight by the small-pox, have gone blind from accidents, such as substances thrown or thrust in the eyes, or inflammation induced from cold and other ailments. My informant was not acquainted with one blind person in the streets who had been born blind. One of his acquaintance who had been blind from birth caught the small-pox, and obtained his sight after recovery at eight years old. "The great majority have lost their sight at an early age—when mere children, indeed; they have consequently been trained to no employment; those few who have" (my informant knew two) "been educated in the blind schools as basket-makers, are unable to obtain employment at this like a seeing person. Why, the time that a blind man's feeling for the hole to have a rod through, a seeing man will have it through three or four times. The blind people in the streets mostly know one another; they say they have all a feeling of brotherly love for another, owing to their being similarly afflicted. If I was going along the street, and had a guide with me that could see, they would say, 'Here's a blind man or blind woman coming;' I would say, 'Put me up to them so as I'll speak to them;' then I should say, as I laid my hand upon them, 'Holloa, who's this?' they'd say, 'I'm blind.' I should answer, 'So am I.' 'What's your name?' would be the next question. 'Oh, I have heard tell of you,' most like, I should say. 'Do you know so and so?' I would say, 'Yes, he's coming to see me,' or perhaps, 'I'm going to see him on Sunday:' then we say, 'Do you belong to any of the Institutions?' that's the most particular question of all; and if he's not a traveller, and we never heard tell of one another, the first thing we should ask would be, 'How did you lose your sight?' You see, the way in which the blind people in the streets gets to know one another so well, is by meeting at the houses of gentlemen when we goes for our pensions."

The boot, shoe, and stay laces, are carried by the blind, I am told "seldom for sale;" for it's very few they sell of them. "They have," they say, "to prevent the police or mendicity from interfering with them, though the police do not often show a disposition to obstruct them." "The officers of the Mendicity Society," they tell me, "are their worst enemies." These, however, have desisted from molesting them, because the magistrates object to commit a blind man to prison. The blind never ask anybody for anything, they tell me their cry is simply "Bootlace! Bootlace!" When they do sell, they charge 1½*d.* per pair for the leather boot-laces, 1*d.* per pair the silk boot-laces, and ½*d.* per pair for the cotton boot-laces, and ½*d.* each for the stay-laces. They generally carry black laces only, because the white ones are so difficult to keep clean. For the stay-laces they pay 2*d.* a dozen, and for the boot-laces 5*d.* a dozen, for the leather or for the silk ones; and 1½*d.* for the cotton; each of the boot-laces is double, so that a dozen makes a dozen pair. They buy them very frequently at a swag-shop in Compton-street. My informant carried only the black-cotton laces, and doesn't sell six-penny worth in a week. He did not know of a blind boot lace-seller that sold more than he did.

"Formerly the blind people in the street used to make a great deal of money; up to the beginning of the peace, and during all the war, the blind got money in handfuls. Where there was one blind man travelling then, there's ten now. If they didn't take 2*l.* and 2*l.* 10*s.* a day in a large town, it was reckoned a bad day's work for the musicianers. Almost all the blind people then played music. In war time there was only one traveller (tramp); there are 100 now. There was scarcely a common lodging-house then in one town out of the three; and now there's not a village hardly in the country but what there's one, and perhaps two or three. Why the lodging-houses coin money now. Look at a traveller's house where there's twenty beds (two in each bed), at 3*d.* each, and that's 10*s.* you know. There was very few blind beggars then, and what there was done well. Certainly, done well; they could get hatfuls of money almost, but then money was of no valley scarcely; you could get nothing for it most; but now if you get a little, you can buy a plenty with it. What is worth 6*d.* now fetched 2*s.* then. I wasn't in the streets then, I wish I had been, I should have made a fortin, I think I should. The blind beggars then could get 2*l.* a day if they went to look for it." "I myself," said one, "when I first began, have gone and sat myself down by the side of the road and got my 1*l.*, all in half-pence. When I went to Brain-

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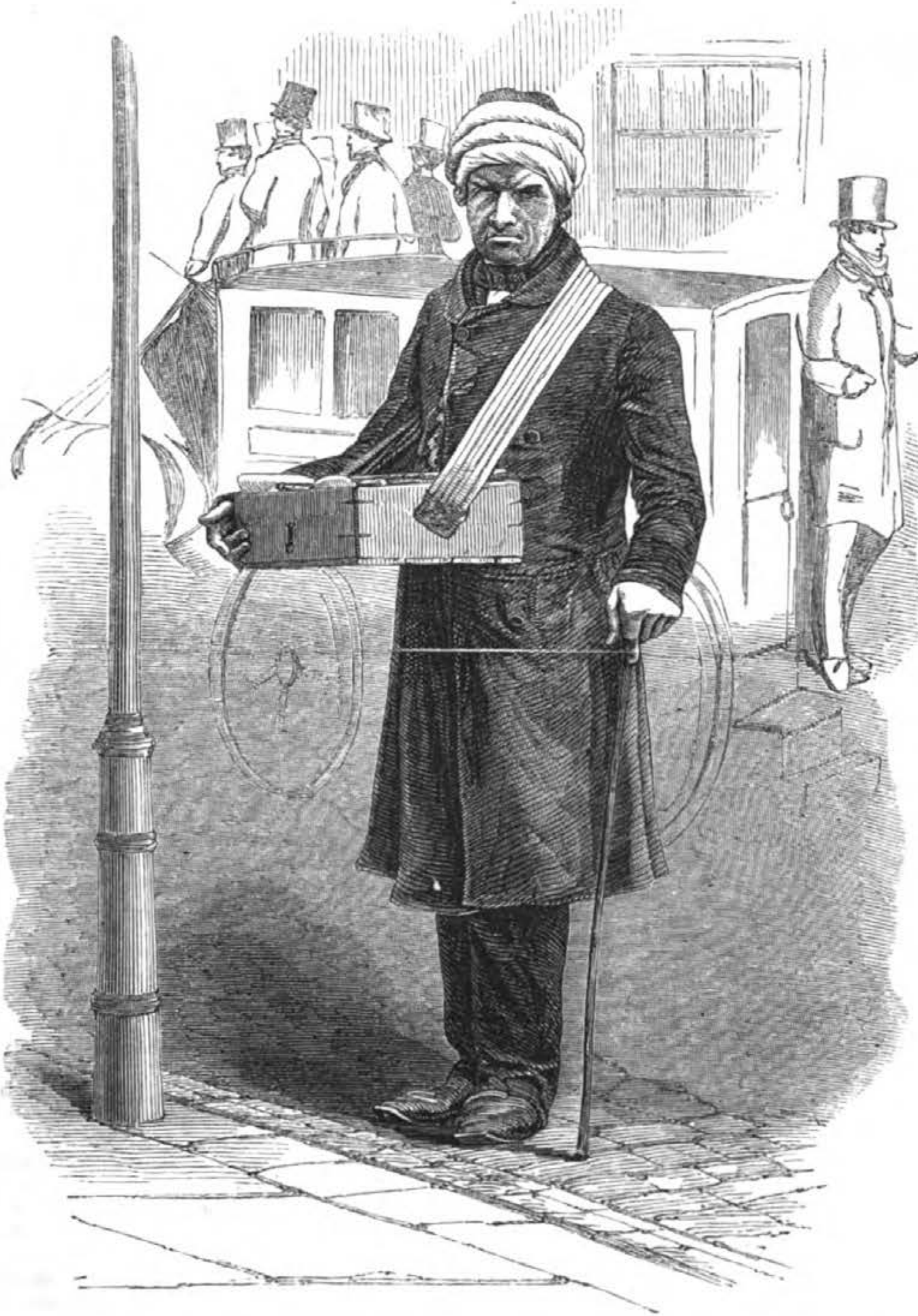

THE STREET RHUBARB AND SPICE SELLER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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tree, I stood beside a public-house, the 'Orange Tree,' just by where the foot-people went on to the fair ground, and I took 15*s.* a day for two days only, standing there a pattering my lamentation from 1 o'clock till the dusk in the evening. This is what I said:—

'You feeling Christians look with pity,
Unto my grief relate—
Pity my misfortune,
For my sufferings are great.

'I'm bound in dismal darkness—
A prisoner I am led;
Poor and blind, just in prime,
Brought to beg my bread.

'When in my pleasant youthful days
In learning took delight,

(and when I was in the country I used to say)

And by the small pox
I lost my precious sight.

(some says by an inflammation)

'I've lost all earthly comforts,
But since it is God's will,
The more I cannot see the day,
He'll be my comfort still.

'In vain I have sought doctors,
Their learned skill did try,
But they could not relieve me,
Nor spare one single eye.

'So now in dismal darkness
For ever more must be,
To spend my days in silent tears,
Till death doth set me free.

'But had I all the treasures
That decks an Indian shore,
Was all in my possession,
I'd part with that wealthy store,

'If I once more could gain my sight,
And when could gladly view
That glorious light to get my bread,
And work once more like you.

'Return you, tender Christians dear,
And pity my distress;
Relieve a helpless prisoner,
That's blind and comfortless.

'I hope that Christ, our great Redeemer,
Your kindness will repay,
And reward you with a blessing
On the judgment day.'

"Some say 'pity the poor blind,' but the lamentation is better. It's a very feeling thing. Many people stands still and hears it right through, and gives a halfpenny. I'd give one myself any day to hear it well said. I'm sure the first time I heard it the very flesh crept on my bones. I larnt it to one blind man myself last summer.

"Now just to show you the difference of things two year afterwards: I went to the very same place where I had took 1*l.* by the road side, as I told, and all I got was 4*s.*, so you can see how things was falling. The day I took the 1*l.*, there was only one blind man in the town beside me; but when I got the 4*s.*, there was three men blind there. But things now is much worse—bless you, a hundred times worse. If I went now to Braintree fair, I don't think as I should take 3*s.* You see there's so many blind men now about that I should'nt wonder if there'd be eight or ten at that very fair; they don't know where to run to now to get a halfpenny; there's so many blind people that persons makes game of them. If they see two near one another, they cries out, there's opposition! See what things is come to. Twelve year ago I should have thought the town was completely done, and people quite tired of me, If I didn't get my shilling going down only one side of a street, and now I may go up and down and not get a penny. If I get 3*d.* I am very well satisfied. But mind, I may perhaps sometimes meet a gentlemen who may give me a shilling, or one who may give me 2*s.* 6*d.*; a person the other day tapped me on the shoulder, near Brook-street, and said, 'Here's half-a-crown for you.' Why, even five year ago one gentleman gave me 1*l.* twice over within three months, and Prince Napoleon gave me a sovereign last 23rd June was two year. I know the date, because that's the day the blind people goes to the Cloth Hall to get their quarter's money, 25*s.*, and I thought I was as good as they." My informant told me he does better than any of them. "Not one does better than me," he said, "because I sticks to it night and day. It's 12 o'clock every night before I leave the streets. You know I leaves home by ten of a morning. I will have it to get a living. Many says they don't know how I stand it to keep so long on my legs. I only has two meals a day—my breakfast, a bit of summat about five or six at a public-house—my dog though has plenty. I feeds him well, poor fellow. Many times I sleep as I go, and knock my stick just the same as if I was awake. I get a comfortable living—always a little in debt. I've got a very good kerackter, thank God—indeed all the blind men has—they can always get credit; and my dog gets me many a shilling that I wouldn't get at all. But then it's dreadful slavery. I've never no amusement—always out excepting on Sunday. Then I've got 5*l.* from Cloth Hall, besides a small pension of 1*s.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 5*s.* a year from different gentlemen, who allows us poor blind a small pension yearly. There are many gentleman do this at the West-end. Some will allow 10*s.* a year, and some only 1*s.* a year, to a stated number; and they all pay on a particular day that they may appoint. The Earl of Mansfield allows twenty-four destitute blind people 10*s.* 6*d.* a year; and his mother gives two blind 1*l.*, and four 10*s.* The Baroness Rothschild gives to between seventy and eighty 5*s.* a piece once a year." ("Bless her," said my informant, most heartily, "she is a good woman.") "The Earl Stanhope gives to between forty and fifty the same sum every year, and he's a fine kind-hearted gentleman. The Earl of Cork's brother gives eight or nine of us a shilling a piece once a year. Lady Otway Cave, she is very good to us; she gives seventy or eighty of us 1*s.* each every fust of May; but the butler, like a many more, I am told, takes advantage of the blind, and puts them off with 6*d.*, and takes a receipt from them for 1*s.* The Earl of Normanton gives 2*s.* 6*d.* to ten of us. Mrs. Managan, of May-fair, gives three 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece. The Hon. Miss Brande 1*s.* a piece to eight. Lady Clements, Grosvenor-square, 2*s.* a piece to fifteen. The Marchioness of Aylesbury, 5*s.* a piece to about thirty. The Earl of Harrowby gives twelve 5*s.* a piece. Lord Dudley Stuart gives to seven or eight 5*s.* a piece.

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Mr. Gurney, 1*s.* a piece to forty. Mr. Ellis, Arlington-street, 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece to fourteen. The Marquis of Bute used to give 5*s.* a piece to sixty or seventy; but the Marchioness, since his death, has discontinued his allowance. The Dean of Westminster gives 1*s.* a piece to thirty on Boxing-day. Mr. Spottiswoode, 1*s.* a piece to about fourteen. Archbishop of Oxford, 5*s.* a piece to twelve. Rev. Sir Samuel Jarvis, 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece to five. Lady Dundas, 1*s.* a piece to about fourteen or fifteen. The Earl of Besborough, 1*s.* each to ten. Lord Stafford, 1*s.* each to about twenty; he used to give 2*s.* 6*d.*, but, owing to his servant, I am told the sum has been reduced to 1*s.* Lady Isabella Thynne, 1*s.* to ten. The Countess of Carlisle, 2*s.* 6*d.* each to sixteen. Earl Fitzwilliam used to give 5*s.* to some, and 2*s.* 6*d.* to others, to about twenty. The Countess of Essex, 2*s.* 6*d.* each to three. Lord Hatherton, 2*s.* 6*d.* each to twelve. John Ashley Warr, Esq., 5*s.* each to twenty-four. Lord Tynemouth, 2*s.* 6*d.* each to forty. Miss Vaughan, 2*s.* 6*d.* each to forty (this is bequeathed for ever). Lord Saltoun, 5*s.* each to three. Mr. Hope, 1*s.* each to fifty. Mr. Warren (Bryanstone-square), 1*s.* each to twenty-five. Miss Howard (York-place), 1*s.* each to every blind person that calls on Boxing-day. Sir John Curtis, 1*s.* each to eighty (this is also a bequest). Lady Beresford, 1*s.* each to forty. Lord Robert Grosvenor gives 1*l.* each to some few. The Countess of Andover, 2*s.* 6*d.* a piece to ten. Lord Stanley used to give 3*s.* to about twelve; but two years ago the allowance was discontinued. The Marquis of Bristol gives 10*s.* to eighteen. The Bishop of London, 5*s.* to every one that can obtain a minister's signature. Mr. Mackenzie (Devonshire-place), 2*s.* 6*d.* to ten. Mr. Deacon, 2*s.* 6*d.* to ten. Miss Sheriff (Manchester-square), 1*s.* to twenty. Miss Morrison (Cadogan-place), 1*s.* each to ten. Mrs. Kittoye (Wilton-crescent), 1*s.* to twenty. Mrs. Ferguson, 2*s.* 6*d.* each to seven. The Earl of Haddington, 10*s.* each to twelve." I am assured that these are only half of the donors to the blind, and that, with the exception of Lady Liddledam, there is not one person living eastward of Tottenham Court-road, who allows the smallest pension to the blind. My informant told me that he knew of no attorneys, barristers, surgeons, physicians, soldiers or sailors, who distributed any money to the blind, nor one tradesman. I think I get 10*s.* a week regular," he said. "While the quality's in town I 'm safe. For other times I can't count above 5*s.* a week at the outside—if it 's the least damp in the world, the quality will not come out. The musicians, you see, have got the chance of a damp day, for then all the best people 's at home; but such as me does well only when they 're out. If it wasn't for the pensions that the quality gives to the blind during the winter, they couldn't do at all. The blind people who have guides pay them no wages, they find them their victuals and clothes; but the guides are mostly children, and the blind are very good to them; many that I know spoils them."

The blind people are mostly all of a religious turn of mind. They all make a point of attending divine service; and the majority of them are Catholics. My informant knew only five among his blind neighbours who were Protestants—and two of these were Presbyterians, one a Methodist, and two Churchmen; and on the other hand he numbered up fourteen Catholics, all going to the same chapel, and living within a short distance of himself. They are peculiarly distinguished by a love of music. "It 's a sure bit of bread to the most; besides, it makes them independent, you see, and that 's a great thing to people like us." There is not one teetotaller, I am told, among the street blind, but they are not distinguished by a love of drink. The blind musicians often, when playing at public-houses, are treated to drink, and, indeed, when performing in the streets, are taken by drunken men to play at taverns, and there supplied with liquor; but they do not any of them make a habit of drinking. There is, however, one now in prison who is repeatedly intoxicated; and this, the blind say, is a great injury to them; for people who see one of them drunk in the streets, believe that they are all alike; and there is one peculiarity among them all—being continually mistaken for one another. However different they may be in features, still, from the circumstance of their being blind, and being mostly accompanied by a dog, or a guide, few persons can distinguish one from another. They are mostly very jealous, they tell me, because they say every one takes advantage of their affliction, even their own children, and their own wives. "Some of the wives dress themselves very gaily, because they know their husbands can't see their fine clothes, particularly those that have got no children—then there's none to tell. But, pray mind I only speaking of some of them—don't blame the whole. People never took no money out of my dog's basket—two gals of the town once did try to steal a shilling out of it, that some gentleman had dropped in, but the dog barked, and they gave a scream, and run away. Many of the blind men have married blind women—they say that they don't like seeing women. If seeing men find it a hard job to take care of seeing women, how are blind men to do it?" My informant knows six blind men who have married blind wives—the blind wives, I am told, stick closer to home—and do not want to go to plays, or dances, or shows, and have no love of dress—and they are generally more sober than those who can see. "A blind person," says one, "has no reason to be as wicked as those that can see—there 's not half the temptation, you know. The women do all their household duties as well as if they had their eyesight. They make puddings and pies, and boil them, or send them to the oven, as well, as quick, and as handy as a woman that can see. They sweep the floor without leaving a speck; and tidy the room, and black-lead the grate, and whiten the hearth, and dress the chimney-piece off quite handsome, I can tell you. They take great pride in their chimney-piece—they like other people to see it—and they take great pride in having their house quite clean and neat. Where I live it 's the remark of all, that they who can't see have their

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houses the cleanest. I don't know of any blind person that has a looking-glass over the mantel-piece, though. I'm sure that many would, if they had the money, just to please their friends. And, what's more strange, the blind wives will wash their husbands' shirts quite clean." "The blind are very fond of their children, you see, sir," said one; "we owe so much to them, they're such helps to us, even from their very infancy. You'll see a little thing that can hardly walk, leading her blind father about, and then, may be, our affliction makes them loves us the more. The blind people are more comfortable at home—they are more together, and more dependent on one another, and don't like going out into company as others do. With women a love of company is mostly of a love of seeing others, and being seen themselves, so the blind wives is happy and contented at home. No man that could see, unless he was a profligate, would think of marrying a blind woman; and the blind women knows this, and that's why they love their blind husbands the more—they pity one another, and so can't help liking each other." Now, it's strange, that with so many blind couples living together, no one ever heard of any accident from fire with blind people—the fact is, their blindness makes them so careful, that there's no chance of it; besides, when there's two blind people together, they never hardly light a candle at all, except when a stranger comes in, and then they always ask him, before he leaves, to put the light out.

The blind people generally are persons of great feeling; they are very kind and charitable to persons who are in any way afflicted, or even to poor persons. Many of those who live on charity themselves are, I am assured, very generous to those that want. One told me that "a beggar had come to his house, and he had made him cry with his story; my heart" he said, "was that full I was ashamed." They're not particularly proud, though they like to be well-dressed, and they say that no one can get a wife so soon as a blind man. One assured me that he'd go into any lodging-house in the country and get two or three if he wanted—only they'd fight, he said. "You see in the lodging-houses there are many woman whose husbands (but they're not married, you know) have told them to go on and said they would follow them, which of course they don't; or there's many in such places as wants a companion. When a blind man goes into one of these houses, a woman is sure to say to him, 'Can I fetch you anything, master?' Half an ounce of tea may be, and when they've got it, of course, they're invited to have a cup, and that does the business. She becomes the blind man's guide after that. The next morning, after telling one another where to meet—'I'm going such a road,' they whisper to each other,—away they starts. I've known many a blind man run away with a seeing man's wife. The women, I think, does it for a living, and that's all.

"I can't see the least light in the world—not the brightest sun that ever shone. I have pressed my eye-balls—they are quite decayed, you see; but I have pushed them in, and they have merely hurt me, and the water has run from them faster than ever. I have never seen any colours when I did so." (This question was asked to discover whether the illusion called "peacock's feathers" could still be produced by pressure on the nerve). "I have been struck on the eye since I have been blind, and then I have seen a flash of fire like lightning. I know it's been like that, because I've seen the lightning sometimes, when it's been very vivid, even since I was stone blind. It was terrible pain when I was struck on the eye. A man one day was carrying some chairs along the street, and struck me right in the eye-ball with the end of the leg of one of the chairs; and I fell to the ground with the pain. I thought my heart was coming out of my mouth; then I saw the brightest flash that ever I saw, either before or since I was blind." (I irritated the ball of the eye with the object of discovering whether the nerve was decayed, but found it impossible to produce any luminous impression—though I suspect this arose principally from the difficulty of getting him to direct his eye in the proper direction). "I know the difference of colours, because I remember them; but I can't distinguish them by my touch, nor do I think that any blind man in the world ever could. I have heard of blind people playing at cards, but it's impossible they can do so any other way than by having them marked. I know many that plays cards that way." He was given two similar substances, but of different colours, to feel, but could not distinguish between them—both were the same to him, he said, "with the exception that one felt stiffer than the other. I know hundreds of people myself—and they know hundreds more—and none of us has ever heard of one that could tell colours by the feel. There's blind people in the school can tell the colours of their rods; but they do so by putting their tongue to them, and so they can distinguish them that's been dipped in copperas from them that hasn't. I know blind people can take a clock to pieces, and put it together again, as well as any person that can see. Blind people gets angry when they hear people talk of persons seeing with their fingers. A man has told me that a blind person in St. James's workhouse could read the newspaper with his fingers, but that, the blind know, is quite impossible."

Many blind men can, I am told, distinguish between the several kinds of wood by touch alone. Mahogany, oak, ash, elm, deal, they say, have all a different feel. They declare it is quite ridiculous, the common report, that blind people can discern colours by the touch. One of my informants, who assured me that he was considered to be one of the cleverest of blind people, told me that he had made several experiments on this subject, and never could distinguish the least difference between black or red, or white, or yellow, or blue, or, indeed, any of the mixed colours. "My wife," said one, "went blind so young, that she doesn't never remember having seen the light; and I am often sorry for her that she has no idea of what a beautiful thing light or colours is. We often talk about

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it together, and then she goes a little bit melancholy, because I can't make her understand what the daylight is like, or the great delight that there is in seeing it. I 've often asked whether she knows that the daylight and the candlelight is of different colours, and she has told me she thinks they are the same; but then she has no notion of colours at all. Now, it 's such people as these I pities." I told the blind man of Sanderson's wonderful effect of imagination in conceiving that the art of seeing was similar to that of a series of threads being drawn from the distant object to the eye; and he was delighted with the explanation, saying, "he could hardly tell how a born blind man could come at such an idea." On talking with this man, he told me he remembered having seen a looking-glass once—his mother was standing putting her cap on before it, and he thought he never saw anything so pretty as the reflection of the half-mourning gown she had on, and the white feathery pattern upon it (he was five years old then). He also remembered having seen his shadow, and following it across the street; these were the only two objects he can call to mind. He told me that he knew many blind men who could not comprehend how things could be seen, round or square, *all at once;* they are obliged, they say, to pass their fingers all over them; and how it is that the shape of a thing can be known in an instant, they cannot possibly imagine. I found out that this blind man fancied the looking-glass reflected only one object at once—only the object that was immediately in front of it; and when I told him that, looking in the glass, I could see everything in the room, and even himself, with my back turned towards him, he smiled with agreeable astonishment. He said, "You see how little I have thought about the matter." There was a blind woman of his acquaintance, he informed me, who could thread the smallest needle with the finest hair in a minute, and never miss once. "She 'll do it in a second. Many blind women thread their needles with their tongues; the woman who stitches by the Polytechnic always does so." My informant was very fond of music. One of the blind makes his own teeth, he told me; his front ones have all been replaced by one long bit of bone which he has fastened to the stumps of his two eye teeth: he makes them out of any old bit of bone he can pick up. He files them and drills a hole through them to fasten them into his head, and eats his food with them. He is obliged to have teeth because he plays the clarionet in the street. "Music," he said, "is our only enjoyment, we all like to listen to it and learn it." It affects them greatly, they tell me, and if a lively tune is played, they can hardly help dancing. "Many a tune I 've danced to so that I could hardly walk the next day," said one. Almost all of the blind men are clever at reckoning. It seems to come natural to them after the loss of their sight. By counting they say they spend many a dull hour—it appears to be all mental arithmetic with them, for they never aid their calculations by their fingers or any signs whatever. My informant knew a blind man who could reckon on what day it was new moon for a hundred years back, or when it will be new moon a century to come—he had never had a book read to him on the subject in his life—he was one of the blind wandering musicians. My informant told me he often sits for hours and calculates how many quarters of ounces there are in a ship-load of tea, and such like things. Many of the blind are very partial to the smell of flowers. My informant knew one blind man about the streets who always would have some kind of smelling flowers in his room.

"The blind are very ingenious; oh, very!" said one to me, "they can do anything that they can feel. One blind man who kept a lodging-house at Manchester and had a wife fond of drink, made a little chest of drawers (about two feet high), in which he used to put his money, and so cleverly did he arrange it that neither his wife nor any one else could get at the money without breaking the drawers all to pieces. Once while her blind husband was on his travels, she opened every drawer by means of false keys, and though she took each one out, she could find no means to get at the money, which she could hear jingling inside when she shook it. At last she got so excited over it that she sent for a carpenter, and even he was obliged to confess that he could not get to it without taking the drawers to pieces. The same blind man had a great fancy for white mice, and made a little house for them out of pieces of wood cut into the shape of bricks: there were doors, windows, and all," said my informant. The blind are remarkable for the quickness of their hearing—one man assured me he could hear the lamp-posts in the streets, and, indeed, any *substance* (any solid thing he said) that he passed in the street, provided it be as high as his ear; if it were below that he could not *hear* it so well.

"Do you know, I can hear any substance in the street as I pass it by, even the lamp-post or a dead wall—anything that's the height of my head, let it be ever so small, just as well, and tell what it is as well as you as can see. One night I was coming home—you 'll be surprised to hear this—along Burlington-gardens, between twelve and one o'clock, and a gentleman was following me. I knew he was not a poor man by his walk, but I didn't consider he was watching me. I just heerd when I got between Sackville-street and Burlington-street. Oh, I knows every inch of the street, and I can go as quick as you can, and walk four mile an hour; know where I am all the while. I can tell the difference of the streets by the sound of my ear—a wide street and a narrow street—I can't tell a long street till I get to the bottom of it. I can tell when I come to an opening or a turning just by the click on the ear, without either my touching with hand or stick. Well, as I was saying, this gentleman was noticing me, and just as I come to turn up Cork-street, which, you know, is my road to go into Bond-street, on my way home; just as I come into Cork-street, and was going to turn round the corner, the sergeant of police was coming from Bond-street, at the opposite corner of Cork-street, I heerd him, and he just stopped to notice me, but didn't know the gentleman was noticing me too. I whipped

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round the corner as quick as any man that had his sight, and said, 'Good night, policeman.' I can tell a policeman's foot anywhere, when he comes straight along in his regular way while on his beat, and they all know it too. I can't tell it where there's a noise, but in the stillness of the night nothing would beat me. I can't hear the lamp-posts when there's a noise. When I said, 'Good night, policeman,' the gentleman whipped across to him, and says, 'Is that man really blind?' and by this time I was half way up Cork-street, when the gentleman hallooed to me to stop; and he comes up, and says, says he, 'Are you really blind?' The sergeant of police was with him, and he says, 'Yes, he is really blind, sir;' and then he says, 'How is it that you go so cleverly along the street if you're blind?' Well, I didn't want to stop bothering with him, so I merely says, 'I do far cleverer things than that. I can hear the lamp-post as well as you that can see it.' He says, 'Yes, because you know the distance from one to another.' The sergeant stood there all the time, and he says, 'No, that can't be, for they're not a regular distance one from another.' Then the gentleman says, 'Now, could you tell if I was standing in the street when you passed me by?' I said, 'Yes; but you mustn't stand behind the lamp-post to deceive me with the sound of the substance.' Then he went away to try me, and a fine try we had. He will laugh when he sees that they're all put down. When he went away I recollected that if he didn't stand as near to the pavement as the lamp-post is, and remain still, he'd deceive me. Oh, certainly, I couldn't hear him if he was far off, and I shouldn't hear him in the same way as I can hear the lamp-posts if he didn't stand still. The policeman hallooed after him, and told him that he mustn't deceive me; but he wouldn't make no answer, for fear I should catch the sound of his voice and know where he was. I had agreed to touch every substance as I went along and round the street to look for him; we always call it looking though we are blind. Well, when he had stood still the sergeant told me to go; he's the sergeant of St. James' station-house, and has been often speaking to me since about it; and on I went at the rate of about three mile an hour, and touched every lamp-post without feeling for them, but just struck them with my stick as I went by, without stopping, and cried out, 'There's a substance.' At last I come to him. There's a mews, you know, just by the hotel in Cork-street, and the gentleman stood between the mews and Clifford-street, in Cork-street; and when I come up to him, I stopped quite suddenly, and cried out 'There's a substance.' As I was offering to touch him with my stick, he drew back very softly, just to deceive me. Then he would have another try, but I picked him out again, but that wouldn't satisfy him, and he would try me a third time; and then, when I come up to him, he kept drawing back, right into the middle of the road. I could hear the stones scrunch under his feet; so I says, 'Oh, that's not fair;' and he says, 'Well, I'm bet.' Then he made me a present, and said that he would like to spend an hour some night with me again. I don't think he was a doctor, 'cause he never took no notice of my eyes, but he was a real gentleman—the sergeant said so.

"When I dream, it's just the same as I am now, I dream of hearing and touching. The last dream that I had was about a blind man—that's in prison just now. I went into his wife's house, I knew it was her house by the sound of my foot in it. I can tell whether a place is clean or dirty by the sound. Then I heard her say, 'Well, how do you get on?' and I said 'Very well;' and she said 'Sit down,' and after sitting there a little while, I heard a voice at the door, and I said to her, 'Bless me, wouldn't you think that was John;' she said, 'Yes, I would,' but she took no farther notice, and I heard his voice repeatedly. I thought he was speaking to a child, and I got up and went to the door, and says, 'Halloa! is this you;' I was quite surprised and took him by the arm (laying his hand on his own) and he was in his shirt sleeves. I knew that by the feel. Then I was kind of afeard of him, though I am not afeard of anything. I was rather surprised that he should come out three weeks before his time. Then I dreamt that he tried to frighten and pushed me down on the floor, that way (making the motion sideways), to make me believe he was a ghost. I felt it as plain as I should if you were to do the same to me now. I says to him 'Don't be so foolish, sit down', and I pushed him away and got up. When I got up, his wife says to him, 'Sit down, John, and don't be so foolish; sit down, and behave yourself;' and then we set down the two of us, just on the edge of the bed (here he moved his hand along the edge of the table). I thought it was turned down. He's a very resolute man and a wicked one, this blind man is, so I would like to have been out from him, but I was afeard to go, for he'd got a hold of me; after that I waked and I heerd no more. But it's my real opinion that he's dead now, it is indeed, through having such dreams of him I think so; and the same night his wife dreamt that I was killed and all knocked into about a hundred pieces; and those two dreams convince me something's come to him. Oh, I do firmly believe in dreams, that I do; they're sent for people to foresee things, I'm certain of it, if people will only take notice of 'em. I have been many times in prison myself, while I've been travelling the country. You know in many towns they comes and takes you up without given you never no warning if they catches you begging. I was took up once in Liverpool, once in Hull, once in Exeter, and once in Biddeford, in Devonshire. Most of the times I had a month, and one of them only seven days. I think that's very unjust—never to say you mustn't do it; but to drag you off without never no warning. Every time before I was put in quod I had always dreamt that my father was starving to death for want of victuals, and at last I got to know whenever I dreamt that, I was sure of going to prison. I never dreamt about my mother; she died, you see, when I was very young, and I never remember hearing

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her speak but once or twice. My father never did the thing that was right to me, and I didn't care much about him. When I was at home I was very fond of pigeons, and my mind went so much upon them, that I used to dream of it the night before, always when they had eggs, and when my rabbits had young ones too. I know when I wake in the morning that I am awake by my thoughts. Sometimes I dream I've got a lot of money in my hand, and when I wake and put my hand to feel it, it's gone, there's none there, and so I know it's been only a dream. I'm much surprised at my disappointment though."

Many of the blind are very fond of keeping birds and animals; some of them keep pigeons in one of their rooms, others have cocks and hens, and others white mice and rabbits, and almost all have dogs, though all are not led about by them. Some blind men take delight in having nothing but bull-dogs, not to lead them, but solely for fancy. Nobody likes a dog so much as a blind man, I am told—"they can't—the blind man is so much beholden to his dog, he does him such favours and sarvices." "With my dog I can go to any part of London as independent as any one who has got his sight. Yesterday afternoon when I left your house, sir, I was ashamed of going through the street. People was a saying, 'Look'ee there, that's the man as says he's blind.' I was going so quick, it was so late you know, they couldn't make it out, but without my dog I must have crawled along, and always be in great fear. The name of my present dog is 'KEEPER;' he is a mongrel breed; I have had him nine years, and he is with me night and day, goes to church with me and all. If I go out without him, he misses me, and then he scampers all through the streets where I am in the habit of going, crying and howling after me, just as if he was fairly out of his mind. It's astonishing. Often, before my first blind wife died (for I've been married twice to blind women, and once to a seeing woman), I used to say I'd sooner lose my wife than my dog; but when I did lose her I was sorry that ever I did say so. I didn't know what it was. I'm sorry for it yet, and ever will be sorry for it; she was a very good woman, and had fine principles. I shall never get another that I liked so much as the first. My dog knows every word I say to him. Tell him to turn right or left, or cross over, and whip! round he goes in a moment. Where I go for my tobacco, at the shop in Piccadilly, close to the Arcade—it's down six or seven steps, straight down—and when I tells Keeper to go to the baccy shop, off he is, and drags me down the steps, with the people after me, thinking he's going to break my neck down the place, and the people stands on top the steps making all kinds of remarks, while I'm below. If he was to lose me to-night or to-morrow, he'd come back here and rise the whole neighbourhood. He knows any public-house, no matter whether he was there before or not; just whisper to him, go to the public-house, and away he scampers and drags me right into the first he comes to. Directly I whisper to him, go to the public-house, he begins playing away with the basket he has in his mouth, throwing it up and laying it down—throwing it and laying it down for pleasure; he gets his rest there, and that's why he's so pleased. It's the only place I can go to in my rounds to sit down. Oh, he's a dear clever fellow. Now, only to show you how faithful he is, one night last week I was coming along Burlington-gardens, and I stopped to light my pipe as I was coming home, and I let him loose to play a bit and get a drink; and after I had lit my pipe I walked on, for I knew the street very well without any guide. I didn't take notice of the dog, for I thought he was following me. I was just turning into Clifford-street when I heard the cries of him in Burlington-gardens. I know his cry, let him be ever so far away; the screech that he set up was really quite dreadful; it would grieve anybody to hear him. So I puts my fingers in my mouth and gives a loud whistle; and at last he heard me, and then up he comes tearing along and panting away as if his heart was in his mouth; and when he gets up to me he jumped up to me right upon my back, and screams like—as if really he wanted to speak—you can't call it panting, because it's louder than that, and he does pant when he a'n't tired at all; all I can say is, it's for all the world like his speaking, and I understands it as such. If I say a cross word to him after he's lost—such as, ah, you rascal, you —he'll just stand of one side, and give a cry just like a Christian. I've known him break the windows up two story high when I've left him behind, and down he would have been after me only he durstn't jump out. I've had Keeper nine year. The dog I had before him was Blucher; he was a mongrel too; he had a tail like a wolf, an ear like a fox, and a face black like a monkey. I had him thirteen year. He was as clever as Keeper, but not so much loved as he is. At last he went blind; he was about two year losing his sight. When I found his eyes was getting bad I got Keeper. The way I first noticed him going blind was when I would come to cross a street on my way home; at nightfall the shade of the house on the opposite side, as we was crossing, would frighten him and drive him in the middle of the road; and he wouldn't draw to the pavement till he found he was wrong; and then after that he began to run again the lamp-posts in the dark; when he did this he'd cry out just like a Christian. I was sorry for him, and he knowed that, for I used to fret. I was sorry for him on account of my own affliction. At last I was obligated to take to Keeper. I got him of another blind man, but he had no larning in him when he come to me. I was a long time teaching him, for I didn't do it all at once. I could have teached him in a week, but I used to let the old dog have a run, while I put Keeper into the collar for a bit" (here the blind man was some time before he could proceed for his tears), "and so he larnt all he knows, little by little. Now Keeper and Blucher used to agree pretty well; but I've got another dog now, named Dash, and Keeper's as jealous of him as a woman is of a man. If I say, 'Come Keeper,

come and have the collar on,' I may call twenty times before he'll come; but if I say, 'Dash, come and have the collar on,' Keeper's there the first word, jumping up agin me, and doing anything but speak. At last my old Blucher went stone blind, as bad as his master; it was, poor thing; and then he used to fret so when I went out without him that I couldn't bear it, and so got at length to take him always with me, and then he used to follow the knock of my stick. He done so for about six months, and then I was one night going along Piccadilly and I stops speaking to a policeman, and Blucher misses me; he couldn't hear where I was for the noise of the carriages. He didn't catch the sound of my stick, and couldn't hear my voice for the carriages, so he went seeking me into the middle of the road, and there a buss run over him, poor thing. I heerd him scream out and I whistled to him, and he came howling dreadful on to the pavement again. I didn't think he was so much hurt then, for I puts the collar on him to take him safe back, and he led me home blind as he was. The next morning he couldn't rise up at all, his hind parts was useless to him. I took him in my arms and found he couldn't move. Well, he never eat nor drink nothing for a week, and got to be in such dreadful pain that I was forced to have him killed. I got a man to drown him in a bag. I could'nt have done it myself for all the world. It would have been as bad to me as killing a Christian. I used to grieve terribly after I'd lost him. I couldn't get him off my mind. I had had him so many years, and he had been with me night and day, my constant companion, and the most faithful friend I ever had, except Keeper: there's nothing in the world can beat Keeper for faithfulness—nothing."

Of the Life of a Blind Boot-lace Seller.

The blind boot lace-seller who gave me the following history of his life was the original of the portrait given in No. 17. He was a tall, strongly-built man. In face he was ghastly, his cheek bones were sharp and high, his nose flat to his face, and his eyes were so deeply sunk in that he had more the appearance of a death's head than of a living man. His shirt was scrupulously clean. He wore a bright red cotton neckerchief and a plaid waistcoat of many colours. His dog accompanied him and never left his master's side one moment.

"It's very sorrowful—very sorrowful indeed to hear that," said the boot-lace seller to me, on my reading him the account of the blind needle-seller; "it touches me much to hear that. But you see I don't grieve for the loss of my sight as he do, poor man. I don't remember ever seeing any object. If there was a thing with many colours in it, I could dissarn the highest colour. I couldn't tell one from another, but only the highest.

"I was born in Northumberland," he said, "about five-and-fifty years ago. My father was a grocer and had 1,000*l.* worth of freehold property besides his business, which was very large for a small town; his was the principal shop, and in the general line. He had a cart of his own, in which he attended market. I was very comfortably brought up, never wanted for nothing, and had my mother lived I should have had an independent fortune. At five years old, while mother was still alive, I caught the small pox. I had four sisters and one brother, and we all six had it at once; that was before the vaccination was properly established. I've heerd said that father did not want to have us inoculated, because of the people coming backwards and forwards to the shop. I only wish vaccination had been in vogue then as it is now, and I shouldn't have lost my eyes. God bless the man who brought it up, I say; people doesn't know what they've got to thank him for. Well, all my sisters and brothers had not a mark upon them. It laid hold of only me. They couldn't lay a finger upon me, they was obligated to lift me up in one of my father's shirts, by holding the corners of it like a sheet. As soon as ever the pock began to decay it took away my eyes altogether. I didn't lose both my eyeballs till about twenty years after that, though my sight was gone for all but the shadow of daylight and any high colours. At sixteen years of age my left eye bursted; I suffered terribly then—oh terribly! yes, that I did. The black-and-white like all mixed together, the pock came right through the star of the eye the doctor said; and when I was five-and-twenty my other eye-ball bursted, and then my eyes was quite out of my head. Till that time I could see a little bit; I could tell the daylight, and I could see the moon, but not the shape of it. I never could see a star, and do you know I grieved about the loss of that little bit of sight as much as if I was losing the whole of it. As my eye-ball sloughed day by day, I could see the light going away by little, every day till the week's end. When I looked at the daylight just before it all went, I could see the light look as red as fire—as red as blood; and when it all left me, oh, I was dreadful sorrowful, I thought I was lost altogether. But, I shouldn't have been so bad off, as I said, if mother had lived, but she died when I was about six year old. I didn't care much about her, indeed I took a dreadful dislike to her. I heerd her say one day to a person in the shop, that she would sooner see me dead and buried than be as I was, but now I know that it was her fondness for me. Mother catched a cold, and died after six day's illness. When she was gone, father got to neglect his business. He had no one then to attend to it, and he took and shut up the shop. He lost heart, you see. He took and turned all the tenants out of his property, and furnished all the rooms of a large house suitable for the quality that used to come to the town to bathe. He mortgaged the place for 250*l.* to buy the furniture, and that was the ruin of him. Eighteen years afterwards the lawyers got the better of him, and all the family was turned out of the door without a penny. My father they'd put in jail before. He died a few years afterwards in the workhouse. When the family was turned

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out, there was only my eldest brother away at sea, and my eldest sister in sarvice; so me and my three sisters was sent in the wide world without the means of getting a crust or a place to put our heads in. All my sisters after that got into sarvice, and I went to drive some coal carts at North Shields. The coal carts was father's, and they was all he had left out of his property; so I used to go to Wall's End and fill the carts, then take them down to North Shields and sell them at the people's doors. We never used to sell less than the load. I did all this, blind as I was, without a person to guide, and continued at it night and day for about fifteen year. It was well known to the whole country side. I was the talk for miles round. They couldn't believe I was blind; though they see my eyes was gone, still they couldn't hardly believe. Then, after the fifteen year, me and my father had a complete fall out. He took an advantage of my sister. He had borrowed 20*l.* of her, and when he could he wouldn't pay her. He behaved as bad as father could, and then I broke with him." (He then went over the whole story, and was affected, even to speechlessness, at the remembrance of his family troubles. Into these there is no necessity to enter here; suffice it, the blind man appears to have behaved very nobly.) "I came away and went to my brother, who was well off at Hull; when I got there, I found he had gone to Russia and died there that very spring. While I was on my way to Hull, I used to go to sleep at the lodging-houses for travellers. I had never been in one before, and there I got to think, from what I heerd, that a roving life was a fine pleasant one. The very first lodging-house I went into was one in Durham, and there persons as was coming the same road persuaded me to go and beg with them, but I couldn't cheek it; it was too near hand at home. We came on to Darlington, that was 18 miles further, that day. They still kept company with me, and wanted me to beg, but I wouldn't; I couldn't face it. I thought people would know me. The next day we started on our way to Northallerton, and then my few shillings was all gone; so that night we went to seek relief, and got a pennyworth of milk, and a penny loaf each and our bed. The parish gave us a ticket to a lodging-house. The next morning we started from Northallerton, and then I was very hungry; all I had the day before was the pennyworth of bread I got from the parish. Then as we got about a mile out of the town, there was a row of houses, and the Scotchman who was with me says, 'If ye'll gang up wi' me, I'll speak for ye.' Well, we went up and got 3*d.*, and plenty of bread and butter; almost every house we got something at; then I was highly delighted; thinks I, this is a business—and so I did. We shared with the other man who had come on the road with us, and after that we started once more, and then I was all eager to go on with the same business. You see I'd never had no pleasure, and it seemed to me like a new world — to be able to get victuals without doing anything—instead of slaving as I'd been with a couple of carts and horses at the coal-pits all the time. I didn't think the country was half so big, and you couldn't credit the pleasure I felt in going about it. I felt as if I didn't care for nothing: it was so beautiful to be away there quite free, without any care in the world, for I could see plainly I could always get the best of victuals, and the price of my lodgings. There's no part in all England like Yorkshire for living. We used to go to all the farm-houses, we wouldn't miss one if it was half a mile off the road; if the Scotchman who was with me could only see a road he'd take me up it, and we got nice bits of pie and meat, and bread and cake, indeed as much as would serve four people, when we got to the lodging-house at night and a few shillings beside. I soon got not to care about the loss of my brother. At last we got to make so much money that I thought it was made to chuck about the streets. We got it so easy, you see. It was only 4*s.* or 5*s.*, but then I was only a flatty or I could have made 14*s.* or 15*s.* at least. This was in Boroughbridge, and there at a place called, I think, Bridely-hill, there was a lodging-house without never a bed in it at all; but only straw littered on the ground, and here I found upwards of sixty or seventy, all tramps, and living in different ways, pattering, and thieving, and singing, and all sorts; and that night I got to think it was the finest scene I had ever known. I grew pleaseder, and pleaseder, with the life, and wondered how any one could follow any other. There was no drunkenness, but it was so new and strange, and I'd never known nothing of life before, that I was bewildered, like, with over-joy at it. Then I soon got to think I'd have the summer's pleasure out and wouldn't go near Hull till the back end of the year, for it was the month of May, that what I'm talking about took place; and so things went on. I never thought of home, or sisters, or anything, indeed. I was so over-joyed that I could think of nothing else. Whenever I got to a new county it seemed like getting into a new nation, and when I heard we were close upon a new place I used to long and long to get into it. At last I left the Scotchman and took up with an old sailor, a man-of-warsman, who was coming up to London to get his pension, and he was a regular 'cadger' like the other who had put me 'fly to the dodge,' though none of us wer'nt 'fly' to nothing then. I can't tell you, I wanted to, how I longed to be in town, and, as I came through the streets with him, I didn't know whether I carried the streets or they carried me. You see I had heard people talk about London in North Shields, and I thought there was no poor people there at all—none but ladies and gentlemen and sailors. In London the sailor drew his pension, and he and me got robbed, and then the sailor left me, and then I started off without a penny into the country; and at Stratford-le-Bow I began, for the first time, to say, 'Pity the poor blind.' Up to this time I had never axed no one—never spoke, indeed—the cadgers who had been with me had done this for me, and glad to have the chance of sharing with me. A blind man can get a guide at any place, because they know

he's sure to get something. I took only *5d.* at Stratford-le-Bow, and then started on my way to Romford; and there, in the lodging-house, I met a blind man, who took me in partnership with him, and larnt me my business complete—that he just did, and since then I've been following it, and that's about two or three and twenty year ago. Since I've been in London, and that's fourteen year, I've lived very regular, always had a place, and attended my church. If it hadn't been for the lodging-houses I should never, may be, have been as I am; though, I must confess, I always had a desire to find out travelling, but couldn't get hold of any one to put me in the way of it. I longed for a roving life and to shake a loose leg, still I couldn't have done much else after my quarrel with my father. My sister had offered to lend me money enough to buy a horse and cart for myself, but I didn't like that, and thought I'd get it of my brother at Hull; and that and the padding kens is solely the cause of my being as I am; and since I first travelled there's more now than ever—double and treble as many."

Of the Low Lodging-Houses.

The revelations of the Blind Boot-Lace Seller concerning the low lodging-houses make me anxious to arouse the public to a full sense of the atrocities committed and countenanced in those infamous places. It will have been noticed that the blind man frankly tells us that he was "taught his business" as a mendicant in one of these houses of call for vagabonds of all kinds—beggars, prostitutes, cheats, and thieves. Up to the time of his starting to see his brother at Hull, he appears to have had no notion of living but by his labour, and, more especially, no wish to make a trade of his affliction. Till then he seems to have been susceptible of some of the nobler impulses of humanity, and to have left his home solely because he refused to be party to a fraud on his own sister. Unfortunately, however, on his way to carry out his generous purposes, he put up for the night at the "travellers'" house in the town where he arrived, at the end of his first day's journey; from the very minute that he set foot in the place he was a lost man. Here were assembled scores of the most degraded and vicious members of society, lying in ambush, as it were, like tigers in the jungle, ready to spring upon and make a prey of any one who came within the precincts of their lair. To such as these—sworn to live on the labours of others, and knowing almost to a sixpence the value of each human affliction as a means of operating upon both the heart-strings and the purse strings of the more benevolent of the industrious or the affluent—to such as these, I say, a blind man, unskilled in the art and system of mendicancy, was literally a God-send. A shipwreck or a colliery explosion, as they too well knew, some of the more sceptical of the public *might* call in question, but a real blind man, with his eye-balls gone, was beyond all doubt; and to inspire faith, as they were perfectly aware, was one of the most important and difficult processes of the beggar's craft. Besides, of all misfortunes, blindness is one which, to those who have their sight, appears not only the greatest of human privations, but a privation which wholly precludes the possibility of self-help, and so gives the sufferer the strongest claim on our charity. In such a place, therefore, as a low lodging-house, the common resort of all who are resolved not to work for their living, it was almost impossible for a blind man to pass even an hour without every virtuous principle of his nature being undermined, and overtures of the most tempting character being made to him. To be allowed to go partners in so valuable a misfortune was a privilege that many there would strive for; accordingly, as we have seen, the day after the blind man entered the low lodging-house, he who, up to that time, had been, even in his affliction, earning his living, was taken out by one of the "travellers," and taught how much better a living—how much more of the good things of this world—he could get by mendicancy than by industry; and from the very hour when the blind man learnt this, the most dangerous lesson that any human being can possibly be taught, he became, heart and soul, an ingrained beggar. His description of the delight he felt when he found that he had no longer any need to work—that he could rove about the country as he pleased—without a care, without a purpose—with a perfect sense of freedom, and a full enjoyment of the open air in the day, and the wild licence of the lodging-house society at night, satisfied that he could get as much food and drink, and even money as he needed, solely for the asking for it; his description of this is a frank confession of a few of the charms of vagabondism—charms to which the more sedate are not only strangers, but of which they can form no adequate conception. The pleasure of "shaking a loose leg," as the vagrants themselves call it, is, perhaps, known only in its intensity by those wayward spirits who object to the restraint of work or the irksomeness of any settled pursuit. The perfect *thoughtlessness* that the blind man describes as the first effect produced upon him by his vagabondism is the more remarkable, because it seems to have effaced from his mind all regard, even for the sister for whose sake he had quitted his home—though to those who have made a study of the vagrant character it is one of those curious inconsistencies which form the principal feature in the idiosyncrasy of the class, and which, indeed, are a necessary consequence of the very purposelessness, or want of some permanent principle or feeling, which constitutes, as it were, the mainspring of vagabondism. Indeed, the blind man was a strange compound of cunning and good feeling; at one moment he was weeping over the afflictions of others—he was deeply moved when I read to him the sufferings of the Crippled Nutmeg-Grater Seller; and yet, the next minute he was grinning behind his hand, so that his laughter might be concealed from me, in a manner that appeared almost fiendish. Still, I am convinced that at heart he was far from a bad man; there was, amid the degradation that necessarily comes of habitual

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mendicancy, a fine expression of sympathy, that the better class of poor always exhibit towards the poor; nor could I help wondering when I heard *him*—the professed mendicant—tell me how he had been moved to tears by the recital of the sufferings of another mendicant—sufferings that might have been as profitable a stock in trade to the one as his blindness was to the other; though it is by no means unusual for objects of charity to have *their* objects of charity, and to be imposed upon by fictitious or exaggerated tales of distress, almost as often as they impose upon others by the very same means.

I now invite the reader's attention to the narratives given below as to the character of the low lodging-houses. The individuals furnishing me with those statements, it should be observed, were not "picked" people, but taken promiscuously from a number belonging to the same class. I shall reserve what else I may have to remark on the subject till the conclusion of those statements.

Prisons, tread-mills, penal settlements, gallows, I said, eighteen months ago, in the 'Morning Chronicle,' are all vain and impotent as punishments—and Ragged Schools and City missions are of no avail as preventives of crime—so long as the wretched dens of infamy, brutality, and vice, termed "padding-kens" continue their daily and nightly work of demoralization. If we would check the further spread of our criminals—and within the last four years they have increased from 24,000 to 30,000—we must apply ourselves to the better regulation and conduct of these places. At present they are not only the preparatory schools, but the finishing academies for every kind of profligacy and crime.

"The system of lodging-houses for travellers, otherwise trampers," says the Constabulary Commissioners' Report, "requires to be altogether revised; at present they are in the practice of lodging all the worst characters unquestioned, and are subject to no other control than an occasional visit of inspection from the parish officers, accompanied by the constables, whose power of interference—if they have a legal right of entry—does not extend to some of the most objectionable points connected with those houses, as they can merely take into custody such persons as they find in commission of some offence. The state in which those houses are found on the occasion of such visit, proves how much they require interference. The houses are small, and yet as many as thirty travellers, or even thirty-five, have been found in one house; fifteen have been found sleeping in one room, three or four in a bed—men, women, and children, promiscuously: beds have been found occupied in a cellar. It is not necessary to urge the many opportunities of preparing for crime which such a state of things presents, or the actual evils arising from such a mode of harbouring crowds of low and vicious persons."

According to the report of the Constabulary Commissioners, there were in 1839—

	Mendicants' Lodging-houses.		Lodgers.		Total No. of Inmates.
In London	221	average	11	or	2,431
In Liverpool	176		6		1,056
Bristol	69		7		483
Bath	14		9		126
Kingston-on-Hull	11		3		33
Newcastle-on-Tyne	78		3		234
Chester (see Report, p. 35)	150		3		450
	619				4,813

Moreover, the same Report tells us, at p. 32, that there is a low lodging-house for tramps in every village. By the Post-office Directory there are 3823 postal towns in England and Wales; and assuming that in each of these towns there are two "travellers'" houses, and that each of these, upon an average, harbours every night ten tramps (in a list given at p. 311, there were in 83 towns no less than 678 low lodging-houses, receiving 10,860 lodgers every night; this gives, on an average, 8 such houses to each town, and 16 lodgers to each such house), we have thus 76,460 for the total number of the inmates of such houses.

To show the actual state of these lodging-houses from the testimony of one who had been long resident in them, I give the following statement. It was made to me by a man of superior education and intelligence (as the tone of his narrative fully shows), whom circumstances, which do not affect the object of my present letter, and therefore need not be detailed, had reduced from affluence to beggary, so that he was compelled to be a constant resident in those places. All the other statements that I obtained on the subject—and they were numerous—were corroborative of his account to the very letter:—

"I have been familiar, unfortunately for me, with low lodging-houses, both in town and country, for more than ten years. I consider that, as to the conduct of those places, it is worse in London than in the country—while in the country the character of the keeper is worse than in London, although but a small difference can be noted. The worst I am acquainted with, though I haven't been in it lately, is in the neighbourhood of Drury-lane—this is the worst both for filth and for the character of the lodgers. In the room where I slept, which was like a barn in size, the tiles were off the roof, and as there was no ceiling, I could see the blue sky from where I lay. That may be altered now. Here I slept in what was called the single men's room, and it was confined to men. In another part of the house was a room for married couples, as it was called, but of such apartments I can tell you more concerning other houses. For the bed with the view of the blue sky I paid 3*d*. If it rained there was no shelter. I have slept in a room in Brick-lane, Whitechapel, in which were fourteen beds. In the next bed to me, on the one side, was a man, his wife, and three children, and a man and his wife on the other. They were Irish people, and I believe the women were the men's wives—as the Irish women generally are. Of all the women that resort to these places the Irish are far the best for chastity. All the beds were occupied, single men being mixed with the married couples. The question is never asked, when a man and woman go to a lodging-house, if they are man and wife. All must pay before they go to bed, or be turned into the street. These beds were made—as all the low lodging-house beds are—of the worst cotton flocks stuffed in coarse, strong canvas. There is a pair of sheets, a blanket, and a rug. I have known the bedding to be unchanged for three months; but that is not general. The beds are an

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average size. Dirt is the rule with them, and cleanliness the exception. They are all infested with vermin. I never met with an exception. No one is required to wash before going to bed in any of these places (except at a very few, where a very dirty fellow would not be admitted), unless he has been walking on a wet day without shoes or stockings, and then he must bathe his feet. The people who slept in the room I am describing were chiefly young men, almost all accompanied by young females. I have seen girls of fifteen sleep with 'their chaps'—in some places with youths of from sixteen to twenty. There is no objection to any boy and girl occupying a bed, even though the keeper knows they were previously strangers to each other. The accommodation for purposes of decency is very bad in some places. A pail in the middle of a room, to which both sexes may resort, is a frequent arrangement. No delicacy or decency is ever observed. The women are, I think, worse than the men. If any one, possessing a sense of shame, says a word of rebuke, he is at once assailed, by the women in particular, with the coarsest words in the language. The Irish women are as bad as the others with respect to language, but I have known them keep themselves covered in bed when the other women were outraging modesty or decency. The Irish will sleep anywhere to save a halfpenny a night, if they have ever so much money." [Here he stated certain gross acts common to lodging-houses, which cannot be detailed in print.] "It is not uncommon for a boy or man to take a girl out of the streets to these apartments. Some are the same as common brothels, women being taken in at all hours of the day or night. In most, however, they must stay all night as a married couple. In dressing or undressing there is no regard to decency, while disgusting blackguardism is often carried on in the conversation of the inmates. I have known decent people, those that are driven to such places from destitution, perhaps for the first time, shocked and disgusted at what they saw. I have seen a decent married pair so shocked and disgusted that they have insisted on leaving the place, and have left it. A great number of the lodging-houses are large old buildings, which were constructed for other purposes; these houses are not so ill-ventilated, but even there, where so many sleep in one room, the air is hot and foul. In smaller rooms, say twelve feet by nine, I have seen four beds placed for single men, with no ventilation whatsoever, so that no one could remain inside in warmish weather, without every door and window open; another room in the same house, a little larger, had four double beds, with as many men and women, and perhaps with children. The Board of Health last autumn compelled the keepers of these places to whitewash the walls and ceilings, and use limewash in other places; before that, the walls and ceilings looked as if they had been blackwashed, but still you could see the bugs creeping along those black walls, which were not black enough to hide that. In some houses in the summer you can hardly place your finger on a part of the wall free from bugs. I have scraped them off by handfulls.

"Nothing can be worse to the health than these places, without ventilation, cleanliness, or decency, and with forty people's breaths perhaps mingling together in one foul choking steam of stench. [The man's own words.] They are the ready resort of thieves and all bad characters, and the keepers will hide them if they can from the police, or facilitate any criminal's escape. I never knew the keepers give any offender up, even when rewards were offered. If they did, they might shut up shop. These houses are but receptacles, with a few exceptions, for beggars, thieves, and prostitutes, and those *in training* for thieves and prostitutes—the exceptions are those who *must* lodge at the lowest possible cost. I consider them in every respect of the worst possible character, and think that immediate means should be adopted to improve them. Fights, and fierce fights too, are frequent in them, and I have often been afraid murder would be done. They are money-making places, very. One person will own several —as many as a dozen. In each house he has one or more 'deputies,' chiefly men. Some of these keepers are called respectable men; some live out in the country, leaving all to deputies. They are quite a separate class from the keepers of regular brothels. In one house that I know they can accommodate eighty single men; and when single men only are admitted, what is decent, or rather what is considered decent in such places, is less unfrequent. Each man in such houses pays 4*d.* a night, a bed to each man or boy; that is 26*s.* 8*d.* nightly, or 486*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, provided the beds be full every night—and they are full six nights out of seven. Besides that, some of the beds supply double turns; for many get up at two to go to Covent-garden or some other market, and their beds are then let a second time to other men; so that more than eighty are frequently accommodated, and I suppose 500*l.* is the nearest sum to be taken for an accurate return. The rent is very trifling; the chief expense to be deducted from the profits of the house in question is the payment of three and sometimes four deputies, receiving from 7*s.* to 12*s.* a week each—say an average of from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a week—as three or four are employed. Fire (coke being only used) and gas are the other expenses. The washing is a mere trifle. Then there are the parochial and the water-rates. The rent is always low, as the houses are useable for nothing but such lodgings. The profits of the one house I have described cannot be less than 300*l.* a year, and the others are in proportion. Now, the owner of this house has, I believe, 10 more such houses, which, letting only threepenny beds (some are lower than that), may realise a profit of about 200*l.* a year each. These altogether yield a clear profit of 2300*l.* for the eleven of them; but on how much vice and disease that 2300*l.* has been raised is a question beyond a schoolmaster. The missionaries visit these lodging-houses, but, judging from what I have heard said by the inmates in all of them, when the missionaries have left, scarcely any

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good effect has resulted from the visits. *I never saw a clergyman of any denomination in any one of these places, either in town or country.* In London the master or deputy of the low lodging-house does not generally meddle with the disposal of stolen property, as in the country. This is talked about, alike in the town and country houses, very openly and freely before persons known only to be beggars, and never stealing: it is sufficient that they are known as tramps. In London the keepers must all know that stolen property is nightly brought into the house, and they wink at its disposal, but they won't mix themselves up with disposing of it. If it be provisions that have been stolen, they are readily disposed of to the other inmates, and the owner or deputy of the house may know nothing about it, and certainly would not care to interfere if he did. I never heard robberies planned there, but there are generally strangers present, and this may deter. I believe more robberies are planned in low coffee-shops than in lodging-houses. The influence of the lodging-house society on boys who have run away from their parents, and have got thither, either separately or in company with lads who have joined them in the streets, is this:—Boys there, after paying their lodgings, may exercise the same freedom from every restraint as they see the persons of maturer years enjoy. This is often pleasant to a boy, especially if he has been severely treated by his parents or master; he apes, and often outdoes, all the men's ways, both in swearing and lewd talk, and so he gets a relish for that sort of life. After he has resorted to such places—the sharper boys for three, and the duller for six months—they are adepts at any thieving or vice. Drunkenness, and even moderate drinking, is very rare among them. I seldom or never see the boys drink—indeed, thieves of all ages are generally sober men. Once get to like a lodging-house life, and a boy can hardly be got out of it. I said the other day to a youth, 'I wish I could get out of these haunts and never see a lodging-house again;' and he replied, 'If I had ever so much money I would never live anywhere else.' I have seen the boys in a lodging-house sit together telling stories, but paid no attention to them."

Statement of a Young Pickpocket.

To show the class of characters usually frequenting these lodging-houses, I will now give the statement of a boy—a young pickpocket—without shoes or stockings. He wore a ragged, dirty, and very thin great coat, of some dark jean or linen, under which was another thin coat, so arranged that what appeared rents—and, indeed, were rents, but designedly made—in the outer garment, were slits through which the hand readily reached the pockets of the inner garment, and could there deposit any booty. He was a slim, agile lad, with a sharp but not vulgar expression, and small features. His hands were of singular delicacy and beauty. His fingers were very long, and no lady's could have been more taper. A burglar told me that with such a hand he ought to have made his fortune. He was worth 20*l.* a week, he said, as a "*wire*," that is, a picker of ladies' pockets. When engaged "for a turn," as he told me he once was by an old pickpocket, the man looked minutely at his fingers, and approved of them highly. His hands, the boy said, were hardly serviceable to him when very cold. His feet were formed in the same symmetrical and beautiful mould as his hands. "I am 15," he said. "My father was a potter, and I can't recollect my mother" (many of the thieves are orphans or motherless). "My father has been dead about five years. I was then working at the pottery in High-street, Lambeth, earning about 4*s.* a week; in good weeks, 4*s.* 6*d.* I was in work eight months after my father died; but one day I broke three bottles by accident, and the foreman said 'I shan't want you any more;' and I took that as meant for a discharge; but I found afterwards that he did'nt so mean it. I had 2*s.* and a suit of clothes then, and tried for work at all the potteries; but I couldn't get any. It was about the time Smithfield fair was on. I went, but it was a very poor concern. I fell asleep in a pen in the afternoon, and had my shoes stolen off my feet. When I woke up, I began crying. A fellow named Gyp then came along (I knew his name afterwards), and he said, 'What are you crying for?' and I told him, and he said, 'Pull off your stockings, and come with me, and I'll show you where to sleep.' So I did, and he took me to St. Olave's workhouse, having first sold my stockings. I had never stolen anything until then. There I slept in the casual ward, and Gyp slept there too. In the morning we started together for Smithfield, where he said he had a job to sweep the pens, but he couldn't sweep them without pulling off his coat, and it would look so queer if he hadn't a shirt—and he hadn't one. He promised to teach me how to make a living in the country if I would lend him mine, and I was persuaded—for I was an innocent lad then—and went up a gateway and stripped off my shirt and gave it to him, and soon after he went into a public-house to get half a pint of beer; he went in at one door and out at another, and I didn't see him for six months afterwards. That afternoon I went into Billingsgate market and met some boys, and one said, 'Mate, how long have you been knocking about; where did you doss?' I didn't know what they meant, and when they'd told me they meant where did I sleep? I told them how I'd been served. And they said, 'Oh! you must expect that, until you learn something,' and they laughed. They all know'd Gyp; he was like the head of a Billingsgate gang once. I became a pal with these boys at Billingsgate, and we went about stealing fish and meat. Some boys have made 2*s.* in a morning, when fish is dear—those that had pluck and luck; they sold it at half-price. Billingsgate market is a good place to sell it; plenty of costermongers are there who will buy it, rather than of the salesmen. I soon grew as bad as the rest at this work. At first I sold it to other boys, who would get 3*d.* for what they bought at 1*d.* Now they can't do me. If I can get a thing

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cheap where I lodge, and have the money, and can sell it dear, that's the chance. I carried on this fish rig for about two years, and went begging a little, too. I used to try a little thieving sometimes in Petticoat-lane. They say the 'fliest' is easy to take in sometimes—that 's the artfullest; but I could do no good there. At these two years' end, I was often as happy as could be; that is, when I had made money. Then I met B——, whom I had often heard of as an uncommon clever pickpocket; he could do it about as well as I can now, so as people won't feel it. Three of his mates were transported for stealing silver plate. He and I became pals, and started for the country with 1*d*. We went through Foot's Cray, and passed a farm where a man 's buried at the top of a house; there 's something about money while a man 's above ground; I don't understand it, but it 's something like that. A baker, about thirty miles from London, offended us about some bread; and B—— said 'I'll serve him out.' We watched him out, and B—— tried at his pocket, saying, 'I'll show you how to do a handkerchief;' but the baker looked round, and B—— stopped; and just after that I flared it (whisked the handkerchief out); and that 's the first I did. It brought 1*s*. 3*d*. We travelled across country, and got to Maidstone, and did two handkerchiefs. One I wore round my neck, and the other the lodging-housekeeper pawned for us for 1*s*. 6*d*. In Maidstone, next morning, I was nailed, and had three months of it. I didn't mind it so much then, but Maidstone's far worse now, I've heard. I have been in prison three times in Brixton, three times in the Old Horse (Bridewell), three times in the Compter, once in the Steel, and once in Maidstone—thirteen times in all, including twice I was remanded, and got off; but I don't reckon that prison. Every time I came out harder than I went in. I've had four floggings; it was bad enough—a flogging was—while it lasted; but when I got out I soon forgot it. At a week's end I never thought again about it. If I had been better treated I should have been a better lad. I could leave off thieving now as if I had never thieved, if I could live without." [I am inclined to doubt this part of the statement.] "I have carried on this sort of life until now. I didn't often make a very good thing of it. I saw Manning and his wife hung. Mrs. Manning was dressed beautiful when she came up. She screeched when Jack Ketch pulled the bolt away. She was harder than Manning, they all said; without her there would have been no murder. It was a great deal talked about, and Manning was pitied. It was a punishment to her to come on the scaffold and see Manning with the rope about his neck, if people takes it in the right light. I did 4*s*. 6*d*. at the hanging—two handkerchiefs, and a purse with 2*s*. in it—the best purse I ever had; but I've only done three or four purses. The reason is, because I've never been well dressed. If I went near a lady, she would say, 'Tush, tush, you ragged fellow!' and would shrink away. But I would rather rob the rich than the poor; they miss it less. But 1*s*. honest goes further than 5*s*. stolen. Some call that only a saying, but it's true. All the money I got soon went—most of it a-gambling. Picking pockets, when any one comes to think on it, is the daringest thing that a boy can do. It didn't in the least frighten me to see Manning and Mrs. Manning hanged. I never thought I should come to the gallows, and I never shall—I'm not high-tempered enough for that. The only thing that frightens me when I'm in prison is sleeping in a cell by myself—you do in the Old Horse and the Steel—because I think things may appear. You can't imagine how one dreams when in trouble. I've often started up in a fright from a dream. I don't know what might appear. I've heard people talk about ghosts and that. Once, in the County, a tin had been left under a tap that went drip—drip—drip. And all in the ward were shocking frightened; and weren't we glad when we found out what it was! Boys tell stories about haunted castles, and cats that are devils; and that frightens one. At the fire in Monument-yard I did 5*s*. 7*d*.—3*s*. in silver and 2*s*. 3*d*. in handkerchiefs, and 4*d*. for three pairs of gloves. I sell my handkerchiefs in the Lane (Petticoat-lane). I carry on this trade still. Most times I've got in prison is when I've been desperate from hunger, and have said to B——, 'Now I'll have money, nailed or not nailed.' I can pick a woman's pocket as easy as a man's, though you wouldn't think it. If one's in prison for begging, one's laughed at. The others say, 'Begging! Oh, you cadger!' So a boy is partly forced to steal for his character. I've lived a good deal in lodging-houses, and know the ways of them. They are very bad places for a boy to be in. Where I am now, when the place is full, there's upwards of 100 can be accommodated. I won't be there long. I'll do something to get out of it. There's people there will rob their own brother. There's people there talk backward—for one they say *eno*, for two *owt*, for three *eerht*, for four *ruof*, for five *evif*, for six *exis*. I don't know any higher. I can neither read nor write. In this lodging-house there are no women. They talk there chiefly about what they've done, or are going to do, or have set their minds upon, just as you and any other gentlemen might do. I have been in lodging-houses in Mint-street and Kent-street, where men and women and children all slept in one room. I think the men and women who slept together were generally married, or lived together; but it's not right for a big boy to sleep in the same room. Young men have had beds to themselves, and so have young women there; but there's a deputy comes into the room, every now and then, to see there's nothing wrong. There's little said in these places, the people are generally so tired. Where I am there's horrid language—swearing, and everything that's bad. They are to be pitied, because there's not work for honest people, let alone thieves. In the lodging-houses the air is very bad, enough to stifle one in bed—so many breaths together. Without such places my trade couldn't be carried on; I couldn't live. Some though would find another way out. Three or four would take a room among them. Anybody's money's good — you can always get a room. I would be glad to leave this life, and

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work at a pottery. As to sea, a bad captain would make me run away—sure. He can do what he likes with you when you're out at sea. I don't get more than 2*s.* a week, one week with the other, by thieving; some days you do nothing until hunger makes your spirits rise. I can't thieve on a full belly. I live on 2*s.* a week from thieving, because I understand fiddling — that means, buying a thing for a mere trifle, and selling it for double, or for more, if you're not taken in yourself. I've been put up to a few tricks in lodging-houses, and now I can put others up to it. Everybody must look after themselves, and I can't say I was very sorry when I stole that 2*s.* from a poor woman, but I'd rather have had 1*s.* 6*d.* from a rich one. I never drink—eating's my part. I spend chief part of my money in pudding. I don't like living in lodging-houses, but I must like it as I'm placed now—that sort of living, and those lodging-houses, or starving. They bring tracts to the lodging-houses—pipes are lighted with them; tracts won't fill your belly. Tracts is no good, except to a person that has a home; at the lodging-houses they're laughed at. They seldom are mentioned. I've heard some of them read by missionaries, but can't catch anything from them. If it had been anything bad, I should have caught it readily. If an innocent boy gets into a lodging-house, he'll not be innocent long—he can't. I know three boys who have run away, and are in the lodging-houses still, but I hope their father has caught them. Last night a little boy came to the lodging-house where I was. We all thought he had run away, by the way he spoke. He stayed all night, but was found out in two or three falsehoods. I wanted to get him back home, or he'll be as bad as I am in time, though he's nothing to me; but I couldn t find him this morning; but I'll get him home yet, perhaps. The Jews in Petticoat-lane are terrible rogues. They'll buy anything of you —they'll buy what you've stolen from their next-door neighbours—that they would, if they knew it. But they'll give you very little for it, and they threaten to give you up if you won't take a quarter of the value of it. 'Oh! I shee you do it,' they say, 'and I like to shee him robbed, but you musht take vot I give.' I wouldn't mind what harm came to those Petticoat-laners. Many of them are worth thousands, though you wouldn't think it." After this I asked him what he, as a sharp lad, thought was the cause of so many boys becoming vagrant pickpockets? He answered, "Why, sir, if boys runs away, and has to shelter in low lodging-houses—and many runs away from cruel treatment at home—they meet there with boys such as me, or as bad, and the devil soon lays his hand on them. If there wasn't so many lodging-houses there wouldn't be so many bad boys—there couldn't. Lately a boy came down to Billingsgate, and said he wouldn't stay at home to be knocked about any longer. He said it to some boys like me; and he was asked if he could get anything from his mother, and he said 'yes, he could.' So he went back, and brought a brooch and some other things with him to a place fixed on, and then he and some of the boys set off for the country; and that's the way boys is trapped. I think the fathers of such boys either ill-treat them, or neglect them; and so they run away. My father used to beat me shocking; so I hated home. I stood hard licking well, and was called 'the plucked one.'" This boy first stole flowers, currants, and gooseberries out of the clergyman's garden, more by way of bravado, and to ensure the approbation of his comrades, than for anything else. He answered readily to my inquiry, as to what he thought would become of him?—"Transportation. If a boy has great luck he may carry on for eight years. Three or four years is the common run, but transportation is what he's sure to come to in the end." This lad picked my pocket at my request, and so dexterously did he do his "work," that though I was alive to what he was trying to do, it was impossible for me to detect the least movement of my coat. To see him pick the pockets, as he did, of some of the gentlemen who were present on the occasion, was a curious sight. He crept behind much like a cat with his claws out, and while in the act held his breath with suspense; but immediately the handkerchief was safe in his hand, the change in the expression of his countenance was most marked. He then seemed almost to be convulsed with delight at the success of his perilous adventure, and, turning his back, held up the handkerchief to discover the value of his prize, with intense glee evident in every feature.

Statement of a Prostitute.

The narrative which follows—that of a prostitute, sleeping in the low-lodging houses, where boys and girls are all huddled promiscuously together, discloses a system of depravity, atrocity, and enormity, which certainly cannot be paralleled in any nation, however barbarous, nor in any age, however "dark." The facts detailed, it will be seen, are gross enough to make us all blush for the land in which such scenes can be daily perpetrated. The circumstances, which it is impossible to publish, are of the most loathsome and revolting nature.

A good-looking girl of sixteen gave me the following awful statement:—

"I am an orphan. When I was ten I was sent to service as maid of all-work, in a small tradesman's family. It was a hard place, and my mistress used me very cruelly, beating me often. When I had been in place three weeks, my mother died; my father having died twelve years before. I stood my mistress's ill-treatment for about six months. She beat me with sticks as well as with her hands. I was black and blue, and at last I ran away. I got to Mrs. ——, a low lodging-house. I didn't know before that there was such a place. I heard of it from some girls at the Glasshouse (baths and washhouses), where I went for shelter. I went with them to have a halfpenny worth of coffee, and they took me to the lodging-house. I then had three shillings, and stayed about a month, and did nothing wrong, living on

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the three shillings and what I pawned my clothes for, as I got some pretty good things away with me. In the lodging-house I saw nothing but what was bad, and heard nothing but what was bad. I was laughed at, and was told to swear. They said, 'Look at her for a d—— modest fool'—sometimes worse than that, until by degrees I got to be as bad as they were. During this time I used to see boys and girls from ten and twelve years old sleeping together, but understood nothing wrong. I had never heard of such places before I ran away. I can neither read nor write. My mother was a good woman, and I wish I'd had her to run away to. I saw things between almost children that I can't describe to you—very often I saw them, and that shocked me. At the month's end, when I was beat out, I met with a young man of fifteen—I myself was going on to twelve years old—and he persuaded me to take up with him. I stayed with him three months in the same lodging-house, living with him as his wife, though we were mere children, and being true to him. At the three months' end he was taken up for picking pockets, and got six months. I was sorry, for he was kind to me; though I was made ill through him; so I broke some windows in St. Paul's-churchyard to get into prison to get cured. I had a month in the Compter, and came out well. I was scolded very much in the Compter, on account of the state I was in, being so young. I had 2*s*. 6*d*. given to me when I came out, and was forced to go into the streets for a living. I continued walking the streets for three years, sometimes making a good deal of money, sometimes none, feasting one day and starving the next. The bigger girls could persuade me to do anything they liked with my money. I was never happy all the time, but I could get no character and could not get out of the life. I lodged all this time at a lodging-house in Kent-street. They were all thieves and bad girls. I have known between three and four dozen boys and girls sleep in one room. The beds were horrid filthy and full of vermin. There was very wicked carryings on. The boys, if any difference, was the worst. We lay packed on a full night, a dozen boys and girls squeedged into one bed. That was very often the case—some at the foot and some at the top—boys and girls all mixed. I can't go into all the particulars, but whatever could take place in words or acts between boys and girls did take place, and in the midst of the others. I am sorry to say I took part in these bad ways myself, but I wasn't so bad as some of the others. There was only a candle burning all night, but in summer it was light great part of the night. Some boys and girls slept without any clothes, and would dance about the room that way. I have seen them, and, wicked as I was, felt ashamed. I have seen two dozen capering about the room that way; some mere children, the boys generally the youngest. * * * * There were no men or women present. There were often fights. The deputy never interfered. This is carried on just the same as ever to this day, and is the same every night. I have heard young girls shout out to one another how often they had been obliged to go to the hospital, or the infirmary, or the workhouse. There was a great deal of boasting about what the boys and girls had stolen during the day. I have known boys and girls change their 'partners,' just for a night. At three years' end I stole a piece of beef from a butcher. I did it to get into prison. I was sick of the life I was leading, and didn't know how to get out of it. I had a month for stealing. When I got out I passed two days and a night in the streets doing nothing wrong, and then went and threatened to break Messrs. ——— windows again. I did that to get into prison again; for when I lay quiet of a night in prison I thought things over, and considered what a shocking life I was leading, and how my health might be ruined completely, and I thought I would stick to prison rather than go back to such a life. I got six months for threatening. When I got out I broke a lamp next morning for the same purpose, and had a fortnight. That was the last time I was in prison. I have since been leading the same life as I told you of for the three years, and lodging at the same houses, and seeing the same goings on. I hate such a life now more than ever. I am willing to do any work that I can in washing and cleaning. I can do a little at my needle. I could do hard work, for I have good health. I used to wash and clean in prison, and always behaved myself there. At the house where I am it is 3*d*. a night; but at Mrs. ——'s it is 1*d*. and 2*d*. a night, and just the same goings on. Many a girl—nearly all of them—goes out into the streets from this penny and twopenny house, to get money for their favourite boys by prostitution. If the girl cannot get money she must steal something, or will be beaten by her 'chap' when she comes home. I have seen them beaten, often kicked and beaten until they were blind from bloodshot, and their teeth knocked out with kicks from boots as the girl lays on the ground. The boys, in their turn, are out thieving all day, and the lodging-house keeper will buy any stolen provisions of them, and sell them to the lodgers. I never saw the police in the house. If a boy comes to the house on a night without money or sawney, or something to sell to the lodgers, a handkerchief or something of that kind, he is not admitted, but told very plainly, 'Go thieve it, then.' Girls are treated just the same. Any body may call in the daytime at this house and have a halfpennyworth of coffee and sit any length of time until evening. I have seen three dozen sitting there that way, all thieves and bad girls. There are no chairs, and only one form in front of the fire, on which a dozen can sit. The others sit on the floor all about the room, as near the fire as they can. Bad language goes on during the day, as I have told you it did during the night, and indecencies too, but nothing like so bad as at night. They talk about where there is good places to go and thieve. The missioners call sometimes, but they're laughed at often when they're talking, and always before the door's closed on them. If a decent girl goes there to get a ha'porth of coffee, seeing the board over the door, she is always shocked. Many a poor girl

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has been ruined in this house since I was, and boys have boasted about it. I never knew boy or girl do good, once get used there. Get used there, indeed, and you are life-ruined. I was an only child, and haven't a friend in the world. I have heard several girls say how they would like to get out of the life, and out of the place. From those I know, I think that cruel parents and mistresses cause many to be driven there. One lodging-house keeper, Mrs. ——, goes out dressed respectable, and pawns any stolen property, or sells it at public-houses."

As a corroboration of the girl's statement, a wretched-looking boy, only thirteen years of age, gave me the following additional information. He had a few rags hanging about him, and no shirt—indeed, he was hardly covered enough for purposes of decency, his skin being exposed through the rents in his jacket and trowsers. He had a stepfather, who treated him very cruelly. The stepfather and the child's mother went "across the country," begging and stealing. Before the mother died, an elder brother ran away on account of being beaten:—

"Sometimes (I give his own words) he (the stepfather) wouldn't give us a bit to eat, telling us to go and thieve for it. My brother had been a month gone (he's now a soldier in Gibraltar) when I ran away to join him. I knew where to find him, as we met sometimes. We lived by thieving, and I do still—by pulling flesh (stealing meat). I got to lodge at Mrs. ——, and have been there this eight months. I can read and write a little." [This boy then confirmed what the young girl had told me of the grossest acts night by night among the boys and girls, the language, &c., and continued]—"I always sleep on the floor for 1*d*. and pay a ½*d*. besides for coke. At this lodging-house cats and kittens are melted down, sometimes twenty a day. A quart pot is a cat, and pints and half pints are kittens. A kitten (pint) brings 3*d*. from the rag shops, and a cat 6*d*. There's convenience to melt them down at the lodging-house. We can't sell clothes in the house, except any lodger wants them; and clothes nearly all goes to the Jews in Petticoat-lane. Mrs. —— buys the sawney of us; so much for the lump, 2*d*. a pound about; she sells it again for twice what she gives, and more. Perhaps 30 lb. of meat every day is sold to her. I have been in prison six times, and have had three dozen; each time I came out harder. If I left Mrs. ——'s house I don't know how I could get my living. Lots of boys would get away if they could. I never drink, I don't like it. Very few of us boys drink. I don't like thieving, and often go about singing; but I can't live by singing, and I don't know how I could live honestly. If I had money enough to buy a stock of oranges I think I could be honest."

The above facts require no comment from me.

Statement of a Beggar.

A beggar decently attired, and with a simple and what some would call even a respectable look, gave me the following account:—

"I am now twenty-eight, and have known all connected with the begging trade since I was fourteen. My grandfather (mother's father) was rich, owning three parts of the accommodation houses in St. Giles's; he allowed me 2*s*. a week pocket-money. My grandfather kept the great house, the old Rose and Crown, in Church-lane, opposite Carver-street, best known as the 'Beggar's Opera.' When a child of seven, I have seen the place crowded—crammed with nothing but beggars, first-rates—none else used the house. The money I saw in the hands of the beggars made a great impression upon me. My father took away my mother's money. I wish my mother had run away instead. He was kind, but she was always nagging. My father was a foreman in a foundry. I got a situation in the same foundry after my father cut. Once I was sent to a bank with a cheque for 38*l*. to get cashed, in silver, for wages. In coming away, I met a companion of mine, and he persuaded me to bolt with the money, and go to Ashley's. The money was too much for my head to carry. I fooled all that money away. I wasn't in bed for more than a fortnight. I bought linnets in cages for the fancy of my persuader. In fact, I didn't know what use to put the money to. I was among plenty of girls. When the money was out I was destitute. I couldn't go back to my employers, and I couldn't face my mother's temper—that was worse; but for that nagging of hers I shouldn't have been as I am. She has thrashed me with a hand broom until I was silly; there's the bumps on my head still; and yet that woman would have given me her heart's blood to do me a good. As soon as I found myself quite destitute, I went wandering about the City, picking up the skins of gooseberries and orange peel to eat, to live on—things my stomach would turn at now. At last my mother came to hear that I tried to destroy myself. She paid the 38*l*., and my former employers got me a situation in Paddington. I was there a month, and then I met him as advised me to steal the money before—he's called the ex-king of the costermongers now. Well he was crying hareskins, and advised me again to bolt, and I went with him. My mind was bent upon costermongering and a roving life. I couldn't settle to anything. I wanted to be away when I was at work, and when I was away I wanted to be back again. It was difficult for me to stick to anything for five minutes together; it is so now. What I begin I can't finish at the time—unless it's a pot of beer. Well, in four days my adviser left me; he had no more use for me. I was a flat. He had me for a "go-along," to cry his things for him. Then, for the first time in my life, I went into a low lodging-house. There was forty men and women sleeping in one room. I had to sleep with a black man, and I slept on the floor to get away from the fellow. There were plenty of girls there; some playing cards and dominoes. It was very dirty—old Mother ———, in Lawrence-lane—the Queen of Hell she was called. There was one tub among the lot of us. I felt altogether disgusted. Those who lived there were beggars, thieves, smashers, coiners,

purchasers of begged and stolen goods, and prostitutes. The youngest prostitute was twelve, and so up to fifty. The beastliest language went on. It's done to outrival one another. There I met with a man called Tom Shallow (*shallow* is cant for half-naked), and he took me out ballad-singing, and when we couldn't get on at that (the songs got dead) he left me. I made him 10*s.* or 12*s.* a day in them days, but he only gave me my lodgings and grub (but not half enough), and two pipes of tobacco a day to keep the hunger down, that I mightn't be expensive. I then 'listed. I was starving, and couldn't raise a lodging. I took the shilling, but was rejected by the doctor. I 'listed again at Chatham afterwards, but was rejected again. I stayed jobbing among the soldiers for some weeks, and then they gave me an old regimental suit, and with that I came to London. One gave me a jacket, and another a pair of military trowsers, and another a pair of old ammunition boots, and so on. About that time a batch of invalids came from Spain, where they had been under General Evans. On my way up from Chatham, I met at Gravesend with seven chaps out on '*the Spanish lurk*' as they called it —that is, passing themselves off as wounded men of the Spanish Legion. Two *had been* out in Spain, and managed the business if questions were asked; the others were regular English beggars, who had never been out of the country. I joined them as a serjeant, as I had a sergeant's jacket given me at Chatham. On our way to London—'the school' (as the lot is called) came all together—we picked up among us 4*l.* and 5*l.* a day—no matter where we went. 'The school' all slept in lodging houses, and I at last began to feel comfortable in them. We spent our evenings in eating out-and out suppers. Sometimes we had such things as sucking pigs, hams, mince pies—indeed we lived on the best. No nobleman could live better in them days. So much wine, too! I drank in such excess, my nose was as big as that there letter stamp; so that I got a sickening of it. We gave good victuals away that was given to us—it was a nuisance to carry them. It cost us from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a day to have our shoes cleaned by *poor* tramps, and for clean dickies. The clean dodge is always the best for begging upon. At Woolwich we were all on the fuddle at the Dust Hole, and our two spokesmen were drunk; and I went to beg of Major ——, whose brother was then in Spain—he himself had been out previously. Meeting the major at his own house, I said, 'I was a sergeant in the 3rd Westminster Grenadiers, you know, and served under your brother.' 'Oh! yes, that's my brother's regiment,' says he. 'Where was you, then, on the 16th of October?' 'Why, sir, I was at the taking of the city of Irun,' says I—(in fact, I was at that time with the costermonger in St. Giles's, calling cabbages, 'white heart cabbages, oh!') Then said the major, 'What day was Ernani taken on?' 'Why,' said I (I was a little tipsy, and bothered at the question), 'that was the 16th of October, too.' 'Very well, my man,' says he, tapping his boots with a riding whip he held, 'I'll see what I can do for you;' and the words were no sooner out of his mouth than he stepped up to me and gave me a regular pasting. He horsewhipped me up and down stairs, and all along the passages; my flesh was like sassages. I managed at last, however, to open the door myself, and get away. After that 'the school' came to London. In a day we used to make from 8*l.* to 10*l.* among us, by walking up Regent-street, Bond-street, Piccadilly, Pall-mall, Oxford-street, the parks—those places were the best beats. All the squares were good too. It was only like a walk out for air, and your 25*s.* a man for it. At night we used to go to plays, dressed like gentlemen. At first the beaks protected us, but we got found out, and the beaks grew rusty. The thing got so overdone, every beggar went out as a Spanish lurksman. Well, the beaks got up to the dodge, and all the Spanish lurksmen in their turns got to work the universal staircase, under the care of Lieutenant Tracy (Tothill-fields treadmill). The men that had really been out and got disabled were sent to that staircase at last, and I thought I would try a fresh lurk. So I went under the care and tuition of a sailor. He had been a sailor. I became a *turn-pike sailor*, as it's called, and went out as one of the Shallow Brigade, wearing a Guernsey shirt and drawers, or tattered trowsers. There was a school of four. We only got a tidy living—16*s.* or 1*l.* a day among us. We used to call every one that came along—coalheavers and all—sea-fighting captains. 'Now, my noble sea-fighting captain,' we used to say, 'fire an odd shot from your larboard locker to us, Nelson's bull-dogs;' but mind we never tried that dodge on at Greenwich, for fear of the old geese, the Collegemen. The Shallow got so grannied (known) in London, that the supplies got queer, and I quitted the land navy. Shipwrecks got so common in the streets, you see, that people didn't care for them, and I dropped getting cast away. I then took to *screeving* (writing on the stones). I got my head shaved, and a cloth tied round my jaws, and wrote on the flags—

'Illness and Want,'

though I was never better in my life, and always had a good bellyfull before I started of a morning. I did very well at first: 3*s.* or 4*s.* a day—sometimes more—till I got grannied. There is one man who draws Christ's heads with a crown of thorns, and mackerel, on the pavement, in coloured chalks (there are four or five others at the same business); this one, however, often makes 1*l.* a day now in three hours; indeed, I have known him come home with 21*s.*, besides what he drank on the way. A gentleman who met him in Regent-street once gave him 5*l.* and a suit of clothes to do Christ's heads with a crown of thorns and mackerel on the walls. His son does Napoleon's heads best, but makes nothing like so much as the father. The father draws cats' heads and salmon as well —but the others are far the best spec. He will often give thirteen-pence, and indeed fourteen-pence, for a silver shilling, to get rid of the coppers. This man's pitch is Lloyd-square, not far from Sadler's Wells. I have seen him commence

his pitch there at half-past eleven, to catch the people come from the theatre. He is very clever. In wet weather, and when I couldn't chalk, as I couldn't afford to lose time, I used to dress tidy and very clean for the '*respectable broken-down tradesman or reduced gentleman*' caper. I wore a suit of black, generally, and a clean dickey, and sometimes old black kid gloves, and I used to stand with a paper before my face, as if ashamed—

'*To a Humane Public.*
'*I have seen better days.*'

This is called standing pad with a fakement. It is a wet-weather dodge, and isn't so good as screeving, but I did middling, and can't bear being idle. After this I mixed with the street patterers (men who make speeches in the streets) on *the destitute mechanics' lurk*. We went in a school of six at first, all in clean aprons, and spoke every man in his turn. It won't do unless you're clean. Each man wanted a particular article of dress. One had no shirt—another no shoes—another no hat—and so on. No two wanted the same. We said:—

"'Kind and benevolent Christians!—It is with feelings of deep regret, and sorrow and shame, that us unfortunate tradesmen are compelled to appear before you this day, to ask charity from the hands of strangers. We are brought to it from want—I may say, actual starvation.' (We always had a good breakfast before we started, and some of us, sir, was full up to the brim of liquor.) 'But what will not hunger and the cries of children compel men to do.' (We were all single men.) 'When we left our solitary and humble homes this morning, our children were crying for food, but if a farthing would have saved their lives, we hadn't it to give them. I assure you, kind friends, me, my wife, and three children, would have been houseless wanderers all last night, but I sold the shirt from off my back as you may see (opening my jacket) to pay for a lodging. We are, kind friends, *English* mechanics. It is hard that you wont give your own countrymen a penny, when you give so much to *foreign* hurdy-gurdies and organ-grinders. Owing to the introduction of steam and machinery and foreign manufactures we have been brought to this degraded state. Fellow countrymen, there are at this moment 4000 men like ourselves, able and willing to work, but can't get it, and forced to wander the streets. I hope and trust some humane Christian within the sound of my voice will stretch out a hand with a small trifle for us, be it ever so small, or a bit of dry bread or cold potato, or anything turned from your table, it would be of the greatest benefit to us and our poor children.' (Then we would whisper to one another, 'I hope they won't bring out any scran—only coppers.') 'We have none of us tasted food this blessed day. We have been told to go to our parishes, but that we cannot brook; to be torn from our wives and families is heart-rending to think of—may God save us all from the Bastile!' (We always pattered hard at the overseers).

The next of the school that spoke would change the story somehow, and try to make it more heart-rending still. We did well at first, making about 5*s.* a day each, working four hours, two in the morning and two in the afternoon. We got a good deal of clothing too. The man who went without a shirt never went to a door to ask for one; he had to show himself in the middle of the road. The man that *did* go to the door would say, 'Do bestow a shirt on my poor shopmate, who hasn't had one for some days.' It's been said of me, when I had my shirt tied round my waist all the time out of sight. The man who goes without his shirt has his pick of those given; the rest are sold and shared. Whatever trade we represented we always had one or two really of the trade in the school. These were always to be met at the lodging-houses. They were out of work, and had to go to low lodging-houses to sleep. There they met with beggars who kiddied them on to the lurk. The lodging-houses is good schools for that sort of thing, and when a mechanic once gets out on the lurk he never cares to go to work again. I never knew one return. I have been out oft and oft with weavers with a loom, and have woven a piece of ribbon in a gentleman's parlour—that was when we was Coventry ribbon weavers. I have been a stocking weaver from Leicester, and a lacemaker too from Nottingham. Distressed mechanics on their way to London get initiated into beggar's tricks in the low lodging-houses and the unions. This is the way, you see, sir. A school may be at work from the lodging-house where the mechanic goes to, and some of the school finds out what he is, and says, 'Come and work with us in a school: you'll do better than you can at your business, and you can answer any questions; we'll lurk on your trade.' I have been out with a woman and children. It's been said in the papers that children can be hired for that lurk at 4*d.* or 6*d.* a day—that's all fudge, all stuff, every bit of it—there's no children to be hired. There's many a labouring man out of work, who has a wife and three or more children, who is glad to let them go out with any patterer he knows. The woman is entitled to all the clothes and grub given, and her share of the tin—that's the way it's done; and she's treated to a drink after her day's work, into the bargain. I've been out on the *respectable family man* lurk. I was out with a woman and three kids the other day; her husband was on the pad in the country, as London was too hot to hold him. The kids draws, the younger the better, for if you vex them, and they're oldish, they'll blow you. Liverpool Joe's boy did so at Bury St. Edmund's to a patterer that he was out with, and who spoke cross to him. The lad shouted out so as the people about might hear, 'Don't you jaw me, you're not my father; my father's at home playing cards.' They had to crack the pitch (discontinue) through that. The respectable family dodge did pretty well. I've been on *the clean family* lurk too, with a woman and children. We dressed to give the notion that, however humble, at least we were clean in all our poverty. On this lurk we stand by the side of the pavement in silence, the wife in a perticler clean cap, and a milk-white apron. The kids have long clean pinafores, white as the driven snow; they're only used in clean lurk, and taken off directly they come home. The husband and father is in a white flannel jacket, an apron worn and clean, and polished shoes. To succeed in this caper there must be no rags, but plenty of darns. A pack of pawn-tickets is carried in the waistcoat pocket. (One man that I know stuck them in his hat like a carman's.) That's to show that they've parted with their little all before they came to that. They are real pawn-tickets. I have known a man pay 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE STREET-SELLER OF WALKING-STICKS.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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for the loan of a marriage certificate to go out on the clean lurk. If a question is asked, I say —'We've parted with everything, and can get no employment; to be sure, we have had a loaf from the parish, but what's that among my family?' That takes the start out of the people, because they say, why not go to the parish? Some persons say, 'Oh, poor folks, they're brought to this, and how clean they are—a darn is better than a patch any time.' The clean lurk is a bare living now—it was good—lots of togs came in, and often the whole family were taken into a house and supplied with flannel enough to make under clothing for them all; all this was pledged soon afterwards, and the tickets shown to prove what was parted with, through want. Those are some of the leading lurks. There's others. 'Fits,' are now bad, and 'paralytics' are no better. *The lucifer lurk* seems getting up though. I don't mean the selling, but the dropping them in the street as if by accident. It's a great thing with the children; but no go with the old 'uns. I'll tell you of another lurk: a woman I knows sends out her child with ¼ oz. of tea and half a quarter of sugar, and the child sits on a door step crying, and saying, if questioned, that she was sent out for tea and sugar, and a boy snatched the change from her, and threw the tea and sugar in the gutter. The mother is there, like a stranger, and says to the child :—'And was that your poor mother's last shilling, and daren't you go home, poor thing?' Then there is a gathering—sometimes 18*d*. in a morning; but it's almost getting stale, that is. I've done *the shivering dodge* too —gone out in the cold weather half naked. One man has practised it so much that he can't get off shivering now. Shaking Jemmy went on with his shivering so long that he couldn't help it at last. He shivered like a jelly—like a calf's foot with the ague—on the hottest day in summer. It's a good dodge in tidy inclement seasons. It's not so good a lurk, by two bob a day, as it once was. This is a single-handed job; for if one man shivers less than another he shows that it isn't so cold as the good shiverer makes it out—then it's no go. Of the *maimed beggars*, some are really deserving objects, as without begging they must starve to death; that's a fact, sir. What's a labouring man to do if he's lost any of his limbs? But some of these even are impostors. I know several blind men who have pensions; and I know two who have not only pensions, but keep lodging-houses, and are worth money, and still go out a begging—though not near where they live. There's the man with the very big leg, who sits on the pavement, and tells a long yarn about the tram carriage having gone over him in the mine. He does very well—remarkable well. He goes tatting and billy-hunting in the country (gathering rags and buying old metal), and comes only to London when he has that sort of thing to dispose of. There's Paddy in the truck too; he makes a good thing, and sends money home to Ireland; he has a decrepit old mother, and it's to his credit. He never drinks. There's Jerry, the collier, he has lost both arms, and does a tidy living, and deserves it; it's a bad misfortune. There's Jack Tiptoe, he can't put one heel to the ground—no gammon; but Mr. Horsford and he can't agree, so Jack takes to the provinces now. He did very well indeed here. There used to be a society among us called *the Cadger's Club*; if one got into a prison there was a gathering for him when he came out, and 6*s*. a week for a sick member, and when he got out again two collections for him, the two amounting perhaps to 1*l*. We paid 3*d*. a week each—no women were members—for thirteen weeks, and then shared what was in hand, and began for the next thirteen, receiving new members and transacting the usual business of a club. This has been discontinued these five years; the landlord cut away with the funds. We get up raffles, and help one another in the best way we can now. At one time we had forty-five members, besides the secretary, the conductor, and under-conductor. The rules were read over on meeting nights—every Wednesday evening. They were very strict; no swearing, obscene or profane language was permitted. For the first offence a fine of 1*d*. was inflicted, for the second 2*d*., and for the third the offender was ejected the room. There was very good order, and few fines had to be inflicted. Several respectable tradesmen used to pay a trifle to be admitted, out of curiosity, to see the proceedings, and used to be surprised at their regularity. Among the other rules were these: a fine of 1*d*. for any member refusing to sing when called on; visitors the same. All the fines went to the fund. If a member didn't pay for five meeting nights he was scratched. Very few were scratched. The secretary was a windmill cove (sold children's windmills in the streets), and was excused contributing to the funds. He had 1*d*. from each member every sharing night, once a quarter, for his labour; he was a very good scholar, and had been brought up well. The landlord generally gave a bob on a sharing night. The conductor managed the room, and the under-conductor kept the door, not admitting those who had no right to be there, and putting out those who behaved improperly. It was held in the Coachmakers' Arms, Rose-street, Longrave-street; tip-top swells used to come among us, and no mistake; real noblemen, sir. One was the nephew of the Duke of ——, and was well-known to all of us by the nick-name, Facer.

I used to smoke a very short and very black pipe, and the honourable gent has often snatched it from my mouth, and has given me a dozen cigars for it. My face has been washed in the gin by a noble lord after he'd made me drunk, and I felt as if it was vitriol about my eyes. The beggars are now dispersed and broken up. They live together now only in twos and threes, and, in plain truth, have no money to spend; they can't get it. Upon an average, in former days a cadger could make his two or three guineas per week without working overtime; but now he can hardly get a meal, not even at the present winter, though it's been a slap up inclement season, to be sure. The Mendicity Society has ruined us—them men took me and gave me a month, and I

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can say from my conscience, that I was no more guilty of begging at that time than an unborn baby. The beggars generally live in the low lodging-houses, and there of a night they tell their tales of the day, and inform each other of the good and bad places throughout London, and what 'lurks' do the best. They will also say what beats they intend to take the next day, so that those who are on the same lurk may not go over the same ground as their pals. It is no use telling a lie, but the low lodging-houses throughout London and the country are nests for beggars and thieves. I know some houses that are wholly supported by beggars. In almost every one of the padding kens, or low lodging-houses in the country, there is a list of walks written on a piece of paper, and pasted up over the kitchen mantel-piece. Now at St. Alban's, for instance, at the ———, and at other places, there is a paper stuck up in each of the kitchens. This paper is headed 'WALKS OUT OF THIS TOWN,' and underneath it is set down the names of the villages in the neighbourhood at which a beggar may call when out on his walk, and they are so arranged as to allow the cadger to make a round of about six miles, each day, and return the same night. In many of those papers there are sometimes twenty walks set down. No villages that are in any way 'gammy' are ever mentioned in these papers, and the cadger, if he feels inclined to stop for a few days in the town, will be told by the lodging-house keeper, or the other cadgers that he may meet there, what gentleman's seats or private houses are of any account on the walk that he means to take. The names of the good houses are not set down in the paper, for fear of the police. Most of the lodging-house keepers buy the 'scran' (broken victuals) of the cadgers; the good food they either eat themselves or sell to the other travellers, and the bad they sell to parties to feed their dogs or pigs upon. The cadgers' talk is quite different now to what it was in the days of Billy. You see the flats got awake to it, so in course we had to alter the patter. The new style of cadgers' cant is nothing like the thieves' cant, and is done all on the rhyming principle. This way's the caper. Suppose I want to ask a pal to come and have a *glass* of *rum* and smoke a *pipe* of *tobacco*, and have a game at cards with some *blokes* at *home* with me, I should say, if there were any flats present, 'Splodger, will you have a Jack-surp*ass* of finger-and-*thumb*, and blow your yard of *tripe* of nosey me *knacker*, and have a touch of the *broads* with me and the other heaps of *coke* at my *drum*. [In this it will be observed that every one of the 'cant words rhymes with the words ordinarily used to express the same idea.] I can assure you what little we cadgers do get we earn uncommon hard. Why, from standing shaking—that is, being out nearly naked in the hardest frosts—I lost the use of my left side for nearly three years, and wasn't able to stir outside the door. I got my living by card-playing in the low lodging-houses all that time. I worked the oracle—they were not up to it. I put the first and seconds on and the bridge also. I'd play at cards with any one. You see, sir, I was afeard to come to you at first because I had been 'a starving' on the pavement only a few days ago, not a hundred yards from your very door, and I thought you might know me."

MEETING OF THIEVES.

As a further proof, however, of the demoralizing influences of the low lodging-houses, I will now conclude my investigations into the subject with a report of the meeting of vagrants, which I convened for the express purpose of consulting them generally upon several points which had come under my notice in the course of my inquiries. The Chronicle reporter's account of this meeting was as follows:—

A meeting of an unprecedented character was held at the British Union School-room, Shakspeare-walk, Shadwell, on Monday evening last. The use of the school-room was kindly granted by Mr. Fletcher, the proprietor, to whose liberality we stand indebted for many similar favours. It was convened by our Metropolitan Correspondent, for the purpose of assembling together some of the lowest class of male juvenile thieves and vagabonds who infest the metropolis and the country at large; and although privately called, at only two days' notice, by the distribution of tickets of admission among the class in question at the various haunts and dens of infamy to which they resort, no fewer than 150 of them attended on the occasion. The only condition to entitle the parties to admission was that they should be vagrants, and under twenty years of age. They had all assembled some time before the hour for commencing the proceedings arrived, and never was witnessed a more distressing spectacle of squalor, rags, and wretchedness. Some were young men, and some mere children; one, who styled himself a "cadger," was six years of age, and several who confessed themselves "prigs" were only ten. The countenances of the boys were of various characters. Many were not only good-looking, but had a frank, ingenuous expression that seemed in no way connected with innate roguery. Many, on the other hand, had the deep-sunk and half-averted eye which are so characteristic of natural dishonesty and cunning. Some had the regular features of lads born of parents in easy circumstances. The hair of most of the lads was cut very close to the head, showing their recent liberation from prison; indeed, one might tell by the comparative length of the crop, the time that each boy had been out of gaol. All but a few of the elder boys were remarkable, amidst the rags, filth, and wretchedness of their external appearance, for the mirth and carelessness impressed upon their countenances. At first their behaviour was very noisy and disorderly: coarse and ribald jokes were freely cracked, exciting general bursts of laughter; while howls, cat-calls, and all manner of unearthly and indescribable yells threatened for some time to render the object of the meeting utterly abortive. At one moment a lad would imitate the bray of a jack-ass, and immediately the whole hundred and fifty would fall to braying.

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Then some ragged urchin would crow like a cock, whereupon the place would echo again with a hundred and fifty cock-crows. Then, as a black boy entered the room, one of the young vagabonds would shout out "swe-ee-op." This would be received with peals of laughter, and followed by a general repetition of the same cry. Next, a hundred and fifty cat-calls of the shrillest possible description would almost split the ears. These would be succeeded by cries of "Strike up, you catgut scrapers," "Go on with your barrow," "Flare up, my never-sweats," and a variety of other street sayings. Indeed, the uproar which went on before the meeting began will be best understood if we compare it to the scene presented by a public menagerie at feeding time. The greatest difficulty, as might be expected, was experienced in collecting the subjoined statistics of their character and condition. By a well-contrived and persevering mode of inquiry, however, the following facts were elicited:—

With respect to their *ages*, the youngest boy present was 6 years old. He styled himself a "cadger," and said that his mother, who is a widow, and suffering from ill-health, sends him into the streets to beg. There were seven of 10 years of age, three of 12, three of 13, ten of 14, ten of 15, eleven of 16, twenty of 17, twenty-six of 18, and forty-five of 19.

Nineteen had *fathers and mothers* still living; thirty-nine had only one parent, and eighty were orphans in the fullest sense of the word, having neither father nor mother alive.

Of *professed beggars* there were fifty, and sixty-six who acknowledged themselves to be *habitual thieves*. The announcement that the greater number present were thieves pleased them exceedingly, and was received with three rounds of applause.

Twelve of the youths assembled had been *in prison* once (two of these were but 10 years of age); 5 had been in prison twice; 3, thrice; 4 four times; 7, five times; 8, six times; 5, seven times; 4, eight times; 2, nine times (1 of them 13 years of age); 5, ten times; 5, twelve times; 2, thirteen times; 3, fourteen times; 2, sixteen times; 3, seventeen times; 2, eighteen times; 5, twenty times; 6, twenty-four times; 1, twenty-five times; 1, twenty-six times; and 1, twenty-nine times. The announcements in reply to the questions as to the number of times that any of them had been in prison were received with great applause, which became more and more boisterous as the number of imprisonments increased. When it was announced that one, though only 19 years of age, had been in prison as many as twenty-nine times, the clapping of hands, the cat-calls, and shouts of "brayvo!" lasted for several minutes, and the whole of the boys rose to look at the distinguished individual. Some chalked on their hats the figures which designated the sum of the several times that they had been in gaol.

As to the *causes of their vagabondism*, it was found that 22 had run away from their homes, owing to the ill-treatment of their parents; 18 confessed to having been ruined through their parents allowing them to run wild in the streets, and to be led astray by bad companions; and 15 acknowledged that they had been first taught thieving in a lodging-house.

Concerning the vagrant habits of the youths, the following facts were elicited: 78 regularly roam through the country every year, 65 sleep regularly in the casual wards of the unions, and 52 occasionally slept in tramper's lodging-houses throughout the country.

Respecting their *education*, according to the popular meaning of the term, 63 of the 150 were able to read and write, and they were principally thieves. Fifty of this number said they had read "Jack Sheppard," and the lives of Dick Turpin, Claude du Val, and all the other popular thieves' novels, as well as the "Newgate Calendar" and "Lives of the Robbers and Pirates." Those who could not read themselves, said they'd had "Jack Sheppard" read to them at the lodging-houses. Numbers avowed that they had been induced to resort to an abandoned course of life from reading the lives of notorious thieves, and novels about highway robbers. When asked what they thought of "Jack Sheppard," several bawled out "He's a regular brick"—a sentiment which was almost universally concurred in by the deafening shouts and plaudits which followed. When asked whether they would like to be Jack Sheppards, they answered, "Yes, if the times was the same now as they were then." Thirteen confessed that they had taken to thieving in order to go to the low theatres; and one lad said he had lost a good situation on the Birmingham Railway through his love of the play.

Twenty stated they had *been flogged in prison*—many of them two, three, and four different times. A policeman in plain clothes was present; but their acute eyes were not long before they detected his real character notwithstanding his disguise. Several demanded that he should be turned out. The officer was accordingly given to understand that the meeting was a private one, and requested to withdraw. Having apologised for intruding, he proceeded to leave the room—and, no sooner did the boys see the policeman move towards the door, than they gave vent to several rounds of very hearty applause, accompanied with hisses, groans, and cries of "throw him over."

The process of interrogating them in the mass having been concluded, the next step was to call several of them separately to the platform, to narrate, in their peculiar style and phraseology, the history of their own career, together with the causes which had led them to take up a life of dishonesty. The novelty of their position as speech-makers seemed peculiarly exciting to the speakers themselves, and provoked much merriment and interest amongst the lads. Their antics and buffoonery in commencing their addresses were certainly of the most ludicrous character. The first speaker, a lad 17 years of age, ascended the platform, dressed in a torn "wide-a-awake" hat, and a dirty smock-frock. He began:—Gentlemen [immense applause and laughter], I am a Brummagem lad [laughter]. My father has been

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dead three years, and my mother seven. When my father died I had to go and live along with my aunt. I fell out of employment, and went round about the town, and fell into the company of a lot of chaps, and went picking ladies' pockets. Then I was in prison once or twice, and I came to London, and have been in several prisons here. I have been in London three years; but I have been out of it several times in that time. I can't get anything honest to do; and I wish I could get something at sea, or in any foreign land. I don't care what or where it is [cheers and yells].

Another lad about 16, clad in a ragged coat, with a dirty face and matted hair, next came forward and said—My father was a soldier, and when I growed up to about ten years I joined the regiment as a drummer in the Grenadier Guards. I went on and got myself into trouble, till at last I got turned away, and my father left the regiment. I then went out with some more chaps and went thieving, and have been thieving about two years now. [Several voices—"Very good;" "that 's beautiful;" "I hope you do it well."]

The third boy, who stated that he had been twenty-four times in prison, said he belonged to Hendon, in Middlesex, and that his father left his mother seventeen years ago, and he did not know whether he was dead or alive. He went to Christchurch school for some time, but afterwards picked up with bad companions, and went a thieving. He went to school again, but again left it to go a thieving and cadging with bad companions. He had been doing that for the last five years; and if he could get out of it he would be very glad to leave it [cheers].

The fourth lad (who was received with loud cheering, evidently indicating that he was a well-known character) said, he came from the city of York, and was a farrier. His father died a few years ago, and then he took to work; but "the play" led him on to be a thief, and from that time to the present he had done nothing but beg or thieve. If he could go to Australia he would be very glad; as if he stopped in England he feared he should do nothing but thieve to the end [laughter, with cries of "well done," "very well spoken"].

The next speaker was about 18 years of age, and appeared a very sharp intelligent lad. After making a very grave but irresistibly comical prefatory bow, by placing his hand at the back of his head, and so (as it were) forcing it to give a nod, he proceeded: My father is an engineer's labourer, and the first cause of my thieving was that he kept me without grub, and wallopped me [laughter]. Well, I was at work at the same time that he was, and I kept pilfering, and at last they bowled me out [loud cheers]. I got a showing up, and at last they turned me away; and, not liking to go home to my father, I ran away. I went to Margate, where I had some friends, with a shilling in my pocket. I never stopped till I got to Ramsgate, and I had no lodging except under the trees, and had only the bits of bread I could pick up. When I got there my grandfather took me in and kept me for a twelvemonth. My mother's brother's wife had a spite against me, and tried to get me turned away. I did not know what thieving was then; and I used to pray that her heart might be turned, because I did not know what would become of me if my grandfather turned me away. But she got other people to complain of me, and say I was a nuisance to the town; but I knowed there was no fault in me; but, however, my grandfather said he could put up with me no longer, and turned me away. So after that I came back to London, and goes to the union. The first night I went there I got tore up [cheers and laughter]. Everything was torn off my back, and the bread was taken away from me, and because I said a word I got well wallopped [renewed laughter]. They "small-ganged" me; and afterwards I went seven days to prison because others tore my clothes. When I went in there—this was the first time—a man said to me, "What are you here for?" I said, "For tearing up." The man said to another, "What are you here for?" and the other made answer, "For a handkerchief." The man then said, "Ah, that's something like;" and he said to me, "Why are you not a thief—you will only get to prison for that." I said, "I will." Well, after that I went pilfering small things, worth a penny or twopence at first; but I soon saw better things were as easy to be got as them, so I took them [laughter]. I picked up with one that knowed more than me. He fairly kept me for some time, and I learnt as well as him. I picked him up in a London workhouse. After that I thought I would try my friends again, and I went to my uncle at Dover, but he could do nothing for me, so I got a place at a butcher's, where I fancied myself fairly blessed, for I had 2*s.* a week and my board and washing. I kept a twelvemonth there honest, without thieving. At last my master and I fell out and I left again, so I was forced to come up to London, and there I found my old companions in the Smithfield pens—they were not living anywhere. I used to go to the workhouse and used to tear up and refuse to work, and used to get sent to "quod," and I used to curse the day when it was my turn to go out. The governor of the prison used to say he hoped he wouldn't see my face there again; but I used to answer, "I shall be here again to night, because it's the only place I've got." That's all I 've got to say.

The next lad, who said he had been fourteen times in prison, was a taller, cleaner, and more intelligent-looking youth than any that had preceded him. After making a low affected bow, over the railing, to the company below, and uttering a preliminary a-hem or two with the most ludicrous mock gravity, he began by saying:—"I am a native of London. My father is a poor labouring man, with 15*s.* a week—little enough, I think, to keep a home for four, and find candle-light [laughter]. I was at work looking after a boiler at a paper-stainer's in Old-street-road at 6*s.* a week, when one night they bowled me out. I got the sack, and a bag to take it home in [laughter]. I got my wages, and ran away from

home, but in four days, being hungry, and having no money, I went back again. I got a towelling, but it did not do me much good. My father did not like to turn me out of doors, so he tied me to the leg of the bedstead [laughter]. He tied my hands and feet so that I could hardly move, but I managed somehow to turn my gob (mouth) round and gnawed it away. I run down stairs and got out at the back door and over a neighbour's wall, and never went home for nine months. I never bolted with anything. I never took anything that was too hot for me. The captain of a man-of-war about this time took me into his service, where I remained five weeks till I took a fever, and was obliged to go to the hospital. When I recovered, the captain was gone to Africa; and not liking to go home, I stepped away, and have been from home ever since. I was in Brummagem, and was seven days in the new 'stir' (prison), and nearly broke my neck. When I came out, I fell into bad company, and went cadging, and have been cadging ever since; but if I could leave off, and go to the Isle of Dogs, the Isle of Man, or the Isle of Woman [laughter], or any other foreign place, I would embrace the opportunity as soon as I could. And if so be that any gentleman would take me in hand, and send me out, I would be very thankful to him, indeed. And so good night" [cheers].

A dirty little boy, fourteen years of age, dressed in a big jacket, next stood forward. He said his father was a man-of-war's man, and when he came home from sea once his father, his mother, and all of them got drunk. The lad then stole 4*d.* from his father's pocket. After this, when he was sent for sixpenny rum he used to fetch fourpenny, and for fourpenny gin threepenny; and for fourpenny beer he used to fetch threepenny, and keep the difference to himself. His mother used to sell fruit, and when she left him at the stall he used to eat what he could not sell, and used to sell some to get marbles and buttons. Once he stole a loaf from a baker's shop. The man let him off, but his father beat him for it. The beating did him no good. After that he used to go "smugging" [running away with] other people's things. Then one day his father caught him, and tied his leg to the bedstead, and left him there till he was pretty near dead. He ran away afterwards, and has been thieving ever since.

A lad about twenty was here about to volunteer a statement concerning the lodging-houses, by which he declared he had been brought to his ruin, but he was instantly assailed with cries of "come down!" "hold your tongue!" and these became so general, and were in so menacing a tone, that he said he was afraid to make any disclosures, because he believed if he did so he would have perhaps two or three dozen of the other chaps on to him [great confusion].

Mr. Mayhew: Will it hurt any of you here if he says anything against the lodging-houses [yes, yes]? How will it do so?

A Voice: They will not allow stolen property to come into them if it is told.

Mr. Mayhew: But would you not all gladly quit your present course of life [yes, yes, yes]? Then why not have the lodging-house system, the principal cause of all your misery, exposed?

A Voice: If they shut up the lodging-houses, where are we to go? If a poor boy gets to the workhouse he catches a fever, and is starved into the bargain.

Mr. Mayhew:—Are not you all tired of the lives you now lead? [Vociferous cries of "yes, yes, we wish to better ourselves!" from all parts of the room.] However much you dread the exposure of the lodging-houses, you know, my lads, as well as I do, that it is in them you meet your companions, and ruin, if not begun there, is at least completed in such places. If a boy runs away from home he is encouraged there and kept secreted from his parents. And do not the parties who keep these places grow rich on your degradation and your peril? [Loud cries of "yes, yes!"] Then why don't you all come forward now, and, by exposing them to the public, who know nothing of the iniquities and vice practised in such places, put an end to these dens at once? There is not one of you here—not one, at least, of the elder boys, who has found out the mistake of his present life, who would not, I verily believe, become honest, and earn his living by his industry, if he could. You might have thought a roving life a pleasant thing enough at first, but you now know that a vagabond's life is full of suffering, care, peril, and privation; you are not so happy as you thought you would be, and are tired and disgusted with your present course. This is what I hear from you all. Am I not stating the fact? [Renewed cries of "yes, yes, yes!" and a voice: "The fact of it is, sir, we don't see our folly till it is too late."] Now I and many hundreds and thousands really wish you well, and would gladly do anything we could to get you to earn an honest living. All, or nearly all, your misery, I know, proceeds from the low lodging-houses ["yes, yes, it does, master! it does"]; and I am determined, with your help, to effect their utter destruction. [A voice, "I am glad of it, sir—you are quite right; and I pray God to assist you."]

The elder boys were then asked what they thought would be the best mode of effecting their deliverance from their present degraded position. Some thought emigration the best means, for if they started afresh in a new colony, they said they would leave behind them their bad characters, which closed every avenue to employment against them at home. Others thought there would be difficulties in obtaining work in the colonies in sufficient time to prevent their being driven to support themselves by their old practices. Many again thought the temptations which surrounded them in England rendered their reformation impossible; whilst many more considered that the same temptations would assail them abroad which existed at home.

Mr. Mayhew then addressed them on another point. He said he had seen many notorious thieves in the course of his investigations. Since then he had received them at all hours into his house—men of the most desperate and women of

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the most abandoned characters—but he had never lost a 6*d.* worth of his property by them. One thief he had entrusted with a sovereign to get changed, and the lad returned and gave him back the full amount in silver. He had since gone out to America. Now he would ask all those present whether, if he were to give them a sovereign, they would do the same? [Several voices here called out that they would, and others that they would not. Others, again, said that they would to him, but to no one else.]

Here one of the most desperate characters present, a boy who had been twenty-six times in prison, was singled out from the rest, and a sovereign given to him to get changed, in order to make the experiment whether he would have the honesty to return the change or abscond with it in his possession. He was informed, on receiving it, that if he chose to decamp with it, no proceedings should be taken against him. He left the room amid the cheers of his companions, and when he had been absent a few moments all eyes were turned towards the door each time it opened, anxiously expecting his arrival, to prove his trustworthiness. Never was such interest displayed by any body of individuals. They mounted the forms in their eagerness to obtain the first glimpse of his return. It was clear that their honour was at stake; and several said they would kill the lad in the morning if he made off with the money. Many minutes elapsed in almost painful suspense, and some of his companions began to fear that so large a sum of money had proved too great a temptation for the boy. At last, however, a tremendous burst of cheering announced the lad's return. The delight of his companions broke forth again and again, in long and loud peals of applause, and the youth advanced amidst triumphant shouts to the platform, and gave up the money in full.

The assemblage was then interrogated as to the effect of flogging as a punishment; and the general feeling appeared to be that it hardened the criminal instead of checking his depravity, and excited the deadliest enmity in his bosom at the time towards the person inflicting it. When asked whether they had seen any public executions, they almost all cried out that they had seen Manning and his wife hung; others said that they had seen Rush and Sarah Thomas executed. They stated that they liked to go a "death-hunting," after seeing one or two executed. It hardened them to it, and at last they all got to thieve under the gallows. They felt rather shocked at the sight of an execution at first; but, after a few repetitions, it soon wore off.

Before the meeting broke up several other lads expressed a strong desire to make statements.

A young man, 18 years of age, and of a miserable and ragged appearance, said he first left home from bad usage; and could not say whether it was the same with his sister or not, but she left her home about nine months ago, when he met her while he was getting his living as a costermonger. With the stock-money that he had, rather than she should be driven to prostitution and the streets, he bought as many things as he could to furnish a room. This exhausted his stock-money, and then his furniture had to go a little at a time to support him and his sister in food. After this he was obliged to take a furnished room, which put him to greater expense. To keep her off the streets, he was compelled to thieve. His father, if he ever had the feeling of a Christian, would never have treated him as he had done. Could a father (he asked) have any feeling, who chained his son up by the leg in a shed, as *his* father had done to him, and fed him on bread and water for one entire month: and then, after chaining him up all day, still chain him in bed at night. This it was that drove him into the streets at first. It was after his mother died, and he had a step-mother, that his father treated him thus. His mother-in-law ill-treated him as well as his father. If he had been a transport he could not have been treated worse. He told his father that he was driving him on the road to transportation, but he took no notice of it; and he was obliged to leave his roof. He had been in Newgate since.

A little boy, dressed in the garb of a sailor, came up to Mr. Mayhew crying bitterly, and implored him to allow him to say a word. He stated —I am here starving all my time. Last night I was out in the cold and nearly froze to death. When I got up I was quite stiff and could hardly walk. I slept in Whitechapel under a form where they sell meat. I was an apprentice on board of a fishing smack, and ran away because I was ill-treated. After I ran away I broke into my master's house because I was hungry. He gave me twelve months, and now he is in the union himself; he failed in business and got broken up. I have been out of prison three months, starving; and I would rather do anything than thieve. If I see a little thing I take it, because I can't get anything to eat without it. [Here the child, still weeping piteously, uncovered his breast, and showed his bones starting through his skin. He said he was anxious to get out of the country.]

The following statement respecting the lodging-houses was made, after the others had left, by another lad. He left home when about thirteen, and never thieved before that. His father was dead, and his mother was unable to keep him. He got a situation and held it for three years and nine months, until he picked up with a man from a lodging-house, and through keeping late hours he was obliged to leave his place and sleep in a lodging-house himself. The lodging-house is in Short's-gardens. This he considered to have been the commencement of his downfall. About forty thieves lived in the house, and they brought in stolen property of every description, and the deputies received it and took it to other people to sell it again, and get the price and pay the thieves. They got double as much as the thieves did, or else they would have nothing to do with it. Several housebreakers lived at the house, and he heard them there plan the robbery of Bull and Wilson, the woollen-drapers in St. Martin's-lane. One of the men secreted himself in the house in the daytime, and the other two were admitted by

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him at night. If he had stated this at the meeting the persons present would have killed him. He was sure that more might be done by giving proper encouragement to virtue, and by reforming the criminal, than by rigorous prosecution. He said (with tears in his eyes) that he should be very willing and happy to work for an honest living if he could only get it to do. He showed a letter of recommendation for good conduct to his former master, and a Bible; both of which had been given him by the chaplain of the gaol which he had just left, after undergoing an imprisonment of twelve months. It was useless (he said) for a young man like him to apply to the parish for relief; he might just as well stand in the street and talk to a lamp-post. Then what was a man to do after he left prison? He must go a thieving to live. He was persuaded that if there was an institution to give employment to the homeless, the friendless, and the penniless, after being liberated from prison, it would be the means of rescuing thousands.

The proceedings then terminated. The assemblage, which had become more rational and manageable towards the close, dispersed, quite peaceably it should be added, and the boys were evidently sincerely grateful for the efforts being made to bring their misfortunes before the notice of those in whose power it may be to alleviate them.

Before they were dismissed, as much money was dispensed to each as would defray his night's lodging.

Of the Country Lodging-Houses.

Concerning the lodging-houses, more especially in the country, I give the statement of a middle-aged man, familiar with them for twenty years. He was recommended to me as possessed of much humour and a great master of humourous slang:—

"I can tell you all about it, sir; but one lodging-house is so like another that I can't draw much distinction. In small country towns, especially agricultural towns, they are decent places enough, regular in their hours, and tidy enough. At these places they have what they call 'their own travellers,' persons that they know, and who are always accommodated in preference. As to the characters that frequent these places, let us begin with *the Crocusses*. They carry about a lot of worms in bottles, what they never took out of anybody, though they'll tell you different, or long pieces of tape in bottles, made to look like worms, and on that they'll *patter* in a market place as if on a real cure, and they've got the cheek to tell the people that that very worm was taken from Lady ——, near the town, and referring them to her to prove it. The one I knew best would commence with a piece of sponge in a bottle, which he styled the stomach wolf. That was his leading slum, and pretty well he sponged them too. When he'd pattered on about the wolf, he had another bottle with what he called a worm 200 inches long, he bounced it was, which the day before yesterday he had from Mrs. ——'s girl (some well-known person), and referred them to her. While he's going on, a brother Crocus will step up, a stranger to the people, and say, 'Ah, Doctor ——, you're right. I had the pleasure of dining with Mr. —— when the worm was extracted, and never saw a child so altered in my life.' That's what the Crocus's call giving a jolly; and after that don't the first Crocus's old woman serve out the six-penny-worths? The stuff is to cure every mortal thing a man can ail—ay, or a woman either. They'd actually have the cheek to put a blister on a cork leg. Well, when they're done pattering on the worm racket, then come the wonderful pills. Them are the things. These pills, from eight to a dozen in a box, are charged 4*d.* to 6*d.* according to the flat's appearance—as the Crocus calls his customers. The pills meet with a ready sale, and they're like chip in porridge, neither good nor harm. It's chiefly the bounciful patter, the cheek they have, that gets them Crocusses on. It's amazing. They'll stare a fellow in the face, and make him believe he's ill whether he is or no. The man I speak of is a first-rate cove; he trains it and coaches it from market to market like any gentleman. He wears a stunning fawny (ring) on his finger, an out-and-out watch and guard, and not a duffer neither—no gammon; and a slap-up suit of black togs. I've seen the swell bosmen (farmers) buy the pills to give the people standing about, just to hear the Crocus patter. Why they've got the cheek to pitch their stall with their worms opposite a regular medical man's shop, and say, 'Go over the way and see what he'll do—he'll drive up in a horse and gig to your door, and make you pay for it too; but I don't—I've walked here to do you good, and I *will* do you good before I leave you. One trial is all I ask'—and quite enough too (said my informant). I'll warrant they won't come a second time; if they do, it's with a stick in their hands. If he does much business in the worm-powder way (some have it in cakes for children), the Crocus never gives them a chance to catch him. But if it's only pills, he'll show next market day, or a month after, and won't he crack about it then? He says, 'One trial is all I ask,' and one of them got it and was transported. I knew one of these Crocusses who was once so hard up from lushing and boozing about that he went into a field and collected sheep dung and floured it over, and made his pills of it, and made the people swallow it at Lutterworth market, in Leicestershire; because there they'll swallow anything. If the Crocus I have mentioned see this in the paper—as he will, for he's a reading-man—won't he come out bouncefull? He'll say, 'Why am I thus attacked—why don't the proprietor and the editor of this paper come forward—if he's among you? Who made this report? let him come forward, and I'll refute him face to face.' And no doubt (my informant remarked), he'd give him a tidy dose, too, the Crocus would. For myself, I'd far rather meet him face to face than his medicine, either his blue or his pink water. There's another sort who carry on the crocussing business, but on a small scale; they're on the penny and twopenny racket, and are called hedge crocusses—men who sell corn salve, or 'four pills

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a penny,' to cure anything, and go from house to house in the country. But as the hedge crocus is shickery togged, he makes poorly out. Respectable people won't listen to him, and it's generally the lower order that he gulls. These hedge fellows are slow and dull; they go mouching along as if they were croaking themselves. I've seen the head crocus I've mentioned at four markets in one week, and a town on a Saturday night, clear from 5*l.* to 7*l.*—all clear profit, for his fakement costs him little or nothing. For such a man's pound, the hedge fellow may make 1*s.* The next I'll tell you about is durynacking, or duryking. The gipsies (and they're called Romanies) are the leading mob at this racket, but they're well known, and I needn't say anything about those ladies. But there're plenty of travelling women who go about with a basket and a bit of driss (lace) in it, gammy lace, for a stall-off (a blind), in case they meet the master, who would order them off. Up at a bosken (farm-house) they'll get among the servant girls, being pretty well acquainted with the neighbourhood by inquiries on the road, as to the number of daughters and female servants. The first inquiry is for the missus or a daughter, and if they can't be got at they're on to the slaveys. Suppose they do get hold of one of the daughters, they commence by offering the driss, which, as it is queer stuff, wouldn't be picked up by an agricultural young lady, as the durynacker very well knows. Then she begins, 'Ah! my sweet young lady, my blessed looking angel'—if she's as ugly as sin, and forty; they say that, and that's the time you get them to rights, when they're old and ugly, just by sweetening them, and then they don't mind tipping the loaver (money)—'I know you dont want this stuff (she'll continue), there's something on your mind. I see you're in love; but the dear handsome gentleman—he'll not slight you, but loves you as hard as a hammer.' This is thrown out as a feeler, and the young lady is sure to be confused; then the durrynacker has hold of her mauly (hand) in a minute. It's all up with the girl, once the woman gets a grip. She's asked in directly, and of course the sisters (if she has any) and the slavey are let into the secret, and all have their fortunes told. The fortune-teller may make a week's job of it, according as the loaver comes out. She'll come away with her basket full of eggs, bacon, butter, tea and sugar, and all sorts of things. I *have* seen them bring the scran in! Every one is sure to have handsome husbands, thumping luck, and pretty children. The durrynacker, too, is not particular, if there's a couple of silver spoons—she doesn't like odd ones; and mind you, she alway carries a basket—big enough too. I know a man on this lurk, but he works the article with a small glass globe filled full of water, and in that he shows girls their future husbands, and kids them on to believe they do see them—ay, and the church they're to be married in—and they fancy they do see it as they twist the globe this way and that, while he twists the tin out of them, and no flies. He actually had the cheek, though he knew I was fly to every fake, to try to make me believe that I could see the place where Smith O'Brien had the fight in Ireland! 'Don't you see them cabbages, and a tall man in a green velvet cap among them, holloring out, "I'm the King of Munster?"' I don't know any other male durrynacker worth noticing; the women have all the call. Young women won't ask their fortunes of men. The way the globe man does is to go among the old women and fiddle (humbug) them, and, upon my word, three-parts of them are worse than the young ones. Now I'll tell you about the tat (rag) gatherers; buying rags they call it, but I call it bouncing people. Two men I lodged with once, one morning hadn't a farthing, regularly smashed up, not a feather to fly with, they'd knocked down all their tin lushing. Well, they didn't know what to be up to, till one hit upon a scheme. 'I've got it, Joe,' says he. He borrows two blue plates from the lodging-house keeper, a washing jug and basin. Off they goes, one with the crockery, and the other with a bag. They goes into the by-courts in Windsor, because this bouncing caper wouldn't do in the main drag. Up goes the fellow with a bag, and hollas out, 'Now, women, bring out your copper, brass, white rags, old flannel, bed-sacking, old ropes, empty bottles, umbrellas—any mortal thing—the best price is given;' and the word's hardly out, when up comes his pal, hollaring, 'Sam, holloa! stop that horse,' as if he'd a horse and cart passing the court, and then the women bring out their umbrellas and things, and the're all to be exchanged for crockery such as he shows, and all goes into the bag, and the bagman goes off with the things, leaving the other to do the bounce, and he keeps singing out for the horse and cart with the load of crockery, gammoning there is one, that the ladies may have their choice, and he then hurries down to quicken his cart-driver's movements, and hooks it, leaving the flats completely stunned. Oh! it does give them a ferrycadouzer. Two other men go about on this lurk, one with an old cracked plate under his waistcoat, and the other with a bag. And one sings out, 'Now, women, fourpence a pound for your white rags. None of your truck system, your needles and thread for it. I don't do it that way; ready money, women, is the order of the day with me.' Well, one old mollesher (woman), though she must have known her rags would only bring 2*d.* a lb. at a fair dealer's, if there be one, brought out 8 lbs. of white rags. He weighs them with his steelyards, and in they went to the bag. The man with the bag steps it immediately, and the other whips out his flute quite carelessly, and says—'Which will you have marm, Jem Crow, or the Bunch of Roses?' The old woman says directly, 'What do you mean, 8 times 4 is 32, and 32 pence is 2*s.* 8*d.*; never mind, I won't be hard, give me half-a-crown.' Well, when she finds there's no money, out she hollars, and he plays his distracted flute to drown her voice, and backs himself manfully out of the court. I have known these men get on so that I have seen them with a good horse and cart. There's another class

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of rag bloaks, who have bills printed with the Queen's Arms at the top, if you please, 'By royal authority'—that 's their own authority, and they assume plenty of it. Well, this bill specifies the best prices for rags, left-off clothes, &c. One fellow goes and drops these bills at the kens (houses), the other comes after him, and as the man who drops marks every house where a bill has been taken, the second man knows where to call. Any house where he gets a call commences the caper. Well, anything to be disposed of is brought out, often in the back yard. The party of the house produces the bill, which promises a stunning tip for the old lumber. The man keeps sorting the things out, and running them down as not so good as he expected; but at the same time he kids them on by promising three times more than the things are worth. This is a grand racket—the way he fakes them, and then he says, 'Marm (or sir, as it may be), I shall give you 15s. for the lot,' which stuns the party, for they never expected to get anything like that—and their expectations is not disappointed, for they don't. Then he turns round directly, and commences sorting more particularly than before, putting the best and the easiest to carry altogether. He starts up then, and whips a couple of bob, or half a bull (2s. 6d.) into the woman's hand, saying, 'I always like to bind a bargain, marm—one of the fairest dealing men travelling. Do save all your old lumber for me.' Of a sudden he begins searching his pockets, and exclaims, 'Dear me, I haven't enough change in my pocket, but I 'll soon settle that—my mate has it outside. I 'll just take a load out to the cart, and come back for the others with the money;' and so he hooks it, and I 've no occasion to tell you he never comes back; and that 's what he calls having them on the knock."

The other inmates at the lodging-houses which my informant described are of the class concerning whom full information is or will be given in other portions of this or the following letters. His description of the lodging-houses, too, was a corroboration of the statement I give to-day. All the classes described meet and mix at the lodging-houses.

I shall reserve what I have to say concerning the influence of the low lodging-houses of London and the country till the conclusion of the present volume.

Of the Street-Sellers of Chemical Articles of Manufacture.

The street purveyors of blacking, of the different preparations of black lead, of plating-balls, of corn-salves, of grease-removing compositions, of china and glass cements, of rat poisons, of fly-papers, of beetle-wafers, of gutta-percha heads, of lucifer-matches, and of cigar-lights, may be classed generally under two heads. They are either very old or very young persons, or else they are men who recommend their wares by patter.

Among the first-mentioned class are the vendors of cakes of blacking, papers of black-lead, and lucifer matches. Of blacking and black-lead the street-sellers are more frequently old women; of lucifer matches they are usually women and children, and of all ages. It is not uncommon, in the quieter roads of the suburbs especially, to see a young woman extend her bare red arm from beneath a scanty ragged shawl, and with an imploring look, a low curtsey, and a piteous tone, proffer a box of matches for sale; while a child in her arms, perhaps of two or three years old, extends in its little hand another box. There are also in the street sale of lucifer matches very many girls and boys, parentless or uncared for, and many old or infirm women and men.

The street-sellers of chemically-manufactured articles, who feel it necessary to recommend their wares by a little street oratory, or patter, (the paper-worker, whose humorous remarks I have before quoted, once described it to me as "advertising by word of mouth,") are the vendors of the articles which are to cure, to repair, to renovate, or to kill. Any other itinerant vendors of chemical articles are of the ordinary class of street traders.

Of the Street-Sellers of Blacking, Black Lead, etc.

I specify these two commodities jointly, because they are frequently sold by the same individual. In Whitechapel and Spitalfields are eight establishments, where the street-sellers of blacking are principally supplied with their stock. It is sold in cakes, which are wrapped in a kind of oil paper, generally printed on the back, so as to catch the eye, with the address of some well-known blacking manufacturer. Thus some which a street-seller of blacking showed me were printed, in large type, as a sort of border, "Lewis's India Rubber Blacking," while in the middle was a very black and very predominant 30, and beneath it, in small and hardly distinguishable type, "Princess-st., Portman-market." Any shopkeeper, who "supplies the trade," if he be a regular customer of the manufacturer, can have his name and address printed on the cover of the blacking-cakes. The 30 is meant to catch the eye with the well-known flourish of "30, Strand."

The quality of these cakes of blacking, the street-sellers whom I questioned told me was highly approved by their customers, and, as blacking is purchased by the classes who aim at a smartness and cleanliness above that of the purchasers of many street commodities, there is no reason to doubt the assertion. The sale of this blacking, indeed, is chiefly on a round, and it would be hopeless as to future custom to call a second time at any house where bad blacking had been sold on a previous visit. The article is vended wholesale, in "gross boxes," and "half-gross boxes." The half-gross boxes are 1s. 9d., and capital, even in this trifling trade, has its customary advantages, for the "gross boxes" are but 3s. It should be remembered, however, that to the buyer of two "half-gross" a couple of the plain wooden boxes, in which the blacking is sold, and often hawked, must be supplied; but to the buyer of a "gross box" only one of these cases is furnished. I may mention, to the credit

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of the vendors, that of the wholesale blacking makers, two have themselves been street-sellers, and one still, but only at intervals, goes "on a blacking-round" among his old customers. There are other blacking-makers, but those I have specified, as to number, are more particularly the providers for the street trade. The poor people who sell blacking at a distance from the manufacturer's premises—as in the case of the "30, Princess-st., Portman-market"—are supplied by oilmen, chandlers, and other shopkeepers, who buy largely of the manufacturers, and can consequently supply the purchasers by the dozen, for street sale or hawking, as cheaply as they would be supplied by the manufacturer himself. A dozen is generally charged 3½*d.*, and as the cakes are sold at ½*d.* each (occasionally 1*d.*, both by the street people and more frequently the small shopkeepers) the profit is moderate enough. The cakes, however, which are regularly retailed at 1*d.*, are larger, and cost nearly twice the amount of the others wholesale.

This trade presents the peculiarity of being almost entirely a street "door-to-door" trade, as I heard it described. Blacking is not presented for purposes of begging, as are lucifer-matches, tracts, memorandum-books, boot-laces, &c.; for the half-trading, half-begging, is carried on in the quieter parts of town, and more extensively in the suburbs, ladies being principally accosted, and to them blacking is not offered.

There are now, I learn from good authority, never fewer than 200 persons selling cake blacking, "from door to door." More than half of them are elderly women, and more than three-fourths women of all ages and girls. The other sellers are old men and boys. None of the blacking-sellers make the article they vend. To sell eight dozen cakes a week is a full average, and of these the "pennies" and the "half-pennies" are about equally divided. This gives a weekly outlay of 6*s.* to each individual seller, with an average profit of about 2*s.* 6*d.*, and shows a yearly street-expenditure by the public of 3120*l.* The profit, however, is not in equal apportionment among the traders in blacking, for the "old hands" on a regular round will do double the business of the others.

In liquid blacking the trade is now small. It is occasionally sold in the street markets on Saturday nights, but the principal traffic is in the public-houses. This kind of blacking is retailed at 2*d.* a bottle, and, I was informed by a man who had sold it, was "rather queer stuff." It is labelled "equal to" (in very small letters) DAY AND MARTIN "in very large letters. One of the manufacturers a few years ago told my informant that he had been threatened "with being sued for piracy, but it was no use sueing a mouse." There are sometimes none, and sometimes twenty persons hawking this blacking, and they are principally, I am informed, the servants of showmen, "out of employ," or "down on their luck." Some of these men "raffle" their blacking in public-houses. They are provided with tickets, numbered from one to six, which are thrown, the blank sides upwards on a table, and the drawer of number six wins a two-penny bottle of blacking for ½*d.*; for this the raffler receives 3*d.* Few of these traders sell more than one dozen bottles in a day, the principal trade being in the evening, and "one-and-a-half dozen is a very good day." The goods are carried in a sack, slung from the shoulder, and are a very heavy carriage, as two-and-a-half dozen, which are often carried, weigh about 100 lbs. If ten men, the year through, take each 6*s.* weekly (about half the amount being profit), which, I am assured, is the average extent of the trade, we find 156*l.* yearly expended in this liquid blacking. "Ten years ago," said one blacking seller to me, "it was three times as much as it is now." At the mews blacking is sold by men who are for the most part servants out of place, or who have become known to the denizens of the mews, from having been "helpers" in some capacity, if they have not worn a livery. Here the article vended is what it is announced to be,—"Hoby's" or "Everett's" blacking. The sellers are known to the coachmen and grooms, many of whom have to "find their own blacking," or there would be no business done in the mews, the dwellers there being great sticklers for "a good article." The profit to the vendors is 3*s.* in 12*s.* Shilling bottles are vended as numerously as "sixpennies." An old coachman, who had lived in mews in all parts of town, calculated that, take the year through, there was every day twenty men selling blacking in the mews, with an average profit of 10*d.* a day, or 5*s.* a week, so taking 15*s.* each. This gives a mews expenditure, yearly, of 780*l.*

Black-Lead, for the polishing of grates, is sold in small paper packets, the half ounce being a ½*d.*, and the ounce a 1*d.* The profit is cent. per cent. Nearly all the women who sell blacking, as I have described, sell black-lead also. In addition to these elderly traders, however, there are from twenty to thirty boys and girls who vend black-lead in the street markets, but chiefly on Saturday nights, and on other days offer it through the area rails—their wretched plight, without any actual begging, occasionally procuring them custom.

The black-lead sold in the streets has often a label in imitation of that of established shopkeepers, as "Superfine Pencil Black-Lead, prepared expressly for, and sold by T. H. Jennings, Oil-Colour and Italian Warehouse, 25, Wormwood-street, City." The name and address must of course be different, but the arrangement of the lines, and often the type, is followed closely, as are the adornments of the packet, which in the instance cited are heraldic. In other parts of town, the labels of tradesmen are imitated in a similar way, but not very closely; and in nearly half the qantity sold a *boná fide* label is given, without imitation or sham. "There would be more sold in that way," I was told by a sharp lad, "quite the real ticket, if the dons as wholesales the black-lead, would make it up to sell in ha'porths and penn'orths, with a proper 'lowance to us as sells." This boy and a young sister went on a round; the boy with black-lead, the girl with

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boot-laces, in one direction, the mother going in another, and each making for their room at six in the evening, or as soon as "sold out."

There are, I am informed, 100 to 150 persons selling and hawking black-lead in the streets, and it may be estimated that they take 4*s.* each weekly (the adults selling other small articles with the black-lead); thus we find, averaging the number of sellers at 125, that 1250*l.* is yearly expended in this article, half of which sum forms the profit of the street-folk.

Of the Street-Sellers of French Polish.

The greater part of the French polish vended in the streets is bought at oil and varnish-shops in Bethnal-green and Whitechapel, the wholesale price being 1*s.* a pint. The street-vendors add turpentine to the polish, put it into small bottles, and retail it at 1*d.* a bottle. They thus contrive to clear 5*d.* on each shilling they take.

There are now five and sometimes six men selling French polish in the streets and public-houses. "But the trade 's getting stale," I was told; "there was twice as many in it three or four years back, and there 'll be fewer still next year." When French polish first became famous there were, I was informed, several cabinet-makers who hawked it—some having prepared it themselves—and they would occasionally clear 5*s.* in a day. Of these street-traders there are now none, the present vendors having been in no way connected with the manufacture of furniture. These men generally carry with them pieces of "fancy wood," such as rose, or sandal wood, which they polish up in the streets to show the excellence of the varnish. The chief purchasers are working people and small tradespeople, or their wives, who require trifling quantities of such a composition when they re-polish any small article of furniture.

The French polish-sellers, I am assured by a man familiar with the business, take 2*s.* a day each, or rather in an evening, for the sales are then the most frequent: the 2*s.* leaves a profit of 10*d.* The street expenditure is, therefore (reckoning five regular sellers), 156*l.* yearly. None of the French polish-sellers confine themselves entirely to the sale of it.

Of the Street-Sellers of Grease-removing Compositions.

The persons engaged in this trade carry it on with a regular patter. One man's street announcement is in the following words: "Here you have a composition to remove stains from silks, muslins, bombazeens, cords, or tabarets of any kind or colour. It will never injure nor fade the finest silk or satin, but restore it to its original colour. For grease on silks, &c., only rub the composition on dry, let it remain five minutes, then take a clothes' brush and brush it off, and it will be found to have removed the stains. For grease in woollen cloths spread the composition on the place with a piece of woollen cloth and cold water; when dry rub it off, and it will remove the grease or stain. For pitch or tar use hot water instead of cold, as that prevents the nap coming off the cloth. Here it is. Squares of grease-removing composition, never known to fail, only 1*d.* each."

This street-traffic, I was informed, was far more extensively carried on when silks and woollen cloths, and textile manufactures generally, were more costly and more durable than at present, and when to dye, and scour, and "turn" a garment, was accounted good housewiveship. The sellers then told wonders of their making old silk gowns, or old coats, as good as new, by removing every discolouration, no matter from what cause. Now a silk dress is rarely, if ever, subjected to the experiment of being renovated by the virtues of grease-removing compositions sold in the streets. The trade, at present, is almost confined to the removing of the grease from coat-collars, or of stains from contact with paint, &c., with which boys (principally) have damaged their garments.

The grease-remover generally carries his wares on a tray slung in front of him, and often illustrates the efficacy of his composition, by showing its application to the very greasy collar of a boy's old jacket, which is removed with admirable facility. The man patters as he carries on this work. "You would have thought now that jacket was done for, and only fit for the rag-bag, or to go to make up a lot for a Jew; but with my composition—only 1*d.* a cake—it has acquired a new nap and a new gloss, and you 've escaped a tailor's bill for awhile for 1*d.* You can use your own eyes. You 've seen me do it, and here 's the very same stuff as I have proved to you is so useful and was never known to fail. No mother, or wife, or mistress, or maid, that wishes to be careful and not waste money, should be without it in the house. It removes stains from silks, &c., &c."

Notwithstanding these many recommendations, the street trade in grease-removing cakes is a very poor one. It cannot be carried on in bad weather, for an audience cannot then be collected, and to clear 1*s.* 6*d.* in a day is accounted fair work. No grease-remover confines his trade to that commodity. One of the best known sells also plate balls, and occasionally works conundrums and comic exhibitions. The two brothers, who were formerly Grecians at the Blue Coat School, are also in this line. There are now seven men who sell grease-removing compositions, which they prepare themselves. The usual ingredients are pipe clay, two pennyworth of which is beat up and "worked with two colours," generally red lead and stone blue. This gives the composition a streaky look, and takes away the appearance of pipe clay.

The purchasers of this article are, I am told, women and servants, but the trade is one which is declining. One of the best localities for sale is Ratcliff Highway and the purchasers there are sailors. One man told me that he once made a pound's worth for a sailor, who took it to sea with him. The street-seller did not know for what purpose, but he conjectured that it was as a matter of speculation to a foreign country.

Calculating that the seven grease-removers carry on the sale of the article 3 days each week, and clear 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, we find 78 guineas yearly

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expended in the streets for the removal of grease. Nearly the whole is profit.

Plating Balls are generally sold by the grease-removers, but sometimes they are proffered for sale alone. There are four men whose principal dependance is on the sale of plating balls. One announces his wares as "making plate as good as silver, and all inferior metals equal to the best plated. No tarnish can stand against my plate balls," he goes on, "and if, in this respectable company, there should chance to be any lady or genl'man that has no plate, then let him make an old brass candlestick shine like gold, or his tin candlestick, extinguisher and all, shine like silver. Here are the balls that can do it, and only 4 a penny. You have only to rub the ball on your wash-leather, or dry woollen cloth, and rub it on what has to be restored. Four a penny!"

These balls, which are prepared by the street-sellers, are usually made of a halfpennyworth of whitening, a farthing'sworth of red-lead, and an ounce of quicksilver, costing 7*d.* A gross of balls costs 7¾*d.*, as regards the materials. The receipts of the plating ball sellers are the same as those of the grease-removers, but with a somewhat smaller profit.

Of the Street-Sellers of Corn-Salve.

The street purveyors of corn-salve, or corn-plaster, for I heard both words used, are not more than a dozen in number; but, perhaps, none depend *entirely* upon the sale of corn-salve for a living. As is the wont of the pattering class to which they belong, these men make rounds into the country and into the suburbs, but there are sometimes, on one day, a dozen "working the main drags" (chief thoroughfares) of London: there are no women in the trade. The salve is most frequently carried on a small tray, slung in front of the street professional; but sometimes it is sold at a small stall or stand. Oxford-street, Holborn, Tottenham-court-road, and Whitechapel, are favourite localities for these traders; as are Blackfriars-road and Newington-causeway on the Surrey side of the Thames. On the Saturday evening the corn-salve sellers resort to the street markets.

The patter of these traders is always to the same purport (however differently expressed)—the long-tested efficacy and the unquestionable cheapness of their remedies. The vendors are glib and unhesitating; but some, owing, I imagine, to a repetition of the same words, as they move from one part of a thoroughfare to another, or occupy a pitch, have acquired a monotonous tone, little calculated to impress a street audience—to effect which a man must be, or appear to be, in earnest. The patter of one of these dealers, who sells corn-salve on fine evenings, and works the public-houses, "with anything likely," on wet evenings, is, from his own account, in the following words:—

"Here you have a speedy remedy for every sort of corn! Your hard corn, soft corn, blood corn, black corn, old corn, new corn, wart, or bunion, can be safely cured in three days! Nothing further to do but spread this salve on a piece of glove-leather, or wash-leather, and apply it to the place. Art and nature does the rest. Either corns, warts, or bunions, cured for one penny."

This, however, is but as the announcement of the article on sale, and is followed by a recapitulation of the many virtues of that peculiar recipe; but, as regards the major part of these street-traders, the recapitulation is little more than a change of words, if that. There are, however, one and sometimes two patterers, of acknowledged powers, who every now and then sell corn-salve—for the restlessness of this class of people drives them to incessant changes in their pursuits—and their oratory is of a higher order. One of the men in question speaks to the following purport:—

"Here you are! here you are! all that has to complain of corns. As fast as the shoemaker lames you, I'll cure you. If it wasn't for me he durstn't sing at his work; bless you, but he knows I'll make his pinching easy to you. Hard corn, soft corn, any corn—sold again! Thank you, sir, you'll not have to take a 'bus home when you've used my corn-salve, and you can wear your boots out then; you can't when you've corns. Now, in this little box you see a large corn which was drawn by this very salve from the honourable foot of the late lamented Sir Robert Peel. It's been in my possession three years and four months, and though I'm a poor man—hard corn, soft corn, or any corn—though I'm a poor man, the more's the pity, I wouldn't sell that corn for the newest sovereign coined. I call it the free-trade corn, gen'l'men and leddis. No cutting and paring, and sharpening penknives, and venturing on razors to level your corns; this salve draws them out—only one penny—and without pain. But wonders can't be done in a moment. To draw out such a corn as I've shown you, the foot, the whole foot, must be soaked five minutes in warm soap and water. That makes the salve penetrate, and draw the corn, which then falls out, in three days, like a seed from a flower. Hard corn, soft corn, &c., &c."

The corn from "the honourable foot" of Sir Robert Peel, or from the foot of any one likely to interest the audience, has been scraped and trimmed from a cow's heel, and may safely be submitted to the inspection and handling of the incredulous. "There it is," the corn-seller will reiterate—"it speaks for itself."

One practice—less common than it was, however,—of the corn-salve street-seller, is to get a friend to post a letter—expressive of delighted astonishment at the excellence and rapidity of the corn-cure—at some post-office not very contiguous. If the salve-seller be anxious to remove the corns of the citizens, he displays this letter, with the genuine post-mark of Piccadilly, St. James's-street, Pall-mall, or any such quarter, to show how the fashionable world avails itself of his wares, cheap as they are, and fastidious as are the fashionable! If the street-professional be offering his corn-cures in a fashionable locality, he produces a letter from Cheapside, or Cornhill—"there it is, it speaks for itself"—to show how the shrewd city-people, who were never taken in

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by street-sellers in their lives, and couldn't be, appreciated that particular corn-salve! Occasionally, as the salve-seller is pattering, a man comes impetuously forward, and says loudly, "Here, doctor, let me have a shilling's-worth. I bought a penn'orth, and it cured one corn by bringing it right out—here the d——d thing is, it troubled me seven year—and I've got other corns, and I'm determined I'll root out the whole family of them. Come, now, look sharp, and put up a shilling's-worth." The shilling's-worth is gravely handed to the applicant as if it were not only a *bonâ fide*, but an ordinary occurrence in the way of business.

One corn-salve seller—who was not in town at the time of my inquiry into this curious matter—had, I was assured, "and others might have" full faith in the efficacy of the salve he vended. One of his fellow-traders said to me, "Ay, sir, and he has good reason for trusting to it for a cure; he cured *me* of my corns, that I'm sure of; so there can be no nonsense about it. He has a secret." On my asking this informant if he had tried his own corn-salve, he laughed, and said "No! I'm like the regular doctors that way, never tries my own things." The same man, who had no great faith in what he sold being of any use in the cure of "corn, wart, or bunion," assured me—and I have no doubt with truth—that he had sold his remedy to persons utter strangers to him, who had told him afterwards that it had cured their corns. "False relics," says a Spanish proverb, "have wrought true miracles," and to what cause these corn-cures were attributable, it is not my business to inquire.

I had no difficulty in acquiring a knowledge of the ingredients of a street corn-salve. "Anybody," said one man, "that understands how to set about it, can get the recipe for 2*d.*" Resin, 1 lb., (costing 2*d.*); tallow, ¼ lb. (1½*d.*); emerald green (1*d.*); all boiled together. The emerald green, I was told, was to "give it a colour." The colour is varied, but I have cited the most usual mode of preparation. Attempts have been made to give an aromatic odour to the salve, but all the perfumes within the knowledge, or rather the means, of the street-sellers, were overpowered by the resin and the tallow, "and it has," remarked one dealer, "a physicky sort of smell as it is, which answers." The quantity I have cited would supply a sufficiency of the composition for the taking of "a sovereign in penn'orths." In a week or so the stuff becomes discoloured, often from dust, and has to be re-boiled. Some of the traders illustrate the mode of applying the salve by carrying a lighted candle, and a few pieces of leather, and showing how to soften the composition and spread it on the leather. "After all, sir," said the man, who had faith in the virtues of his fellow street-trader's salve, "the regular thing, such as I sell, may do good; I cannot say; but it is very likely that the resin will draw the corn, just as people apply cobbler's wax, which has resin in it. The chemists will sell you something of the same sort as I do."

The principal purchasers are working men, who buy in the streets, and occasionally in the public-houses. The trade, however, becomes less and less remunerative. To take 15*s.* in a week is a good week, and to take 10*s.* is more usual; the higher receipt is no doubt attributable to a superior patter being used, as men will give 1*d.* to be amused by this street work, without caring about the nostrum. Calculating that eight of these traders take 10*s.* weekly—so allowing for the frequent resort of the patterers to anything more attractive—we find 208*l.* expended in the streets on this salve. The profits of the seller are about the same as his receipts, for 240 pennyworths can be made out of materials costing only 4½*d.* The further outlay necessary to this street profession is a tray worth 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.*, but a large old backgammon board, which may be bought at the second-hand shops for 1*s.* and sometimes for 6*d.*, is more frequently used by the street purveyors of corn-salve.

Of the Street-Sellers of Glass and China Cement, and of Razor Paste.

The sale of glass and china cement is an old trade in the streets, but one which becomes less and less followed. Before the finer articles of crockeryware became cheap as they are now, it was of importance to mend, if possible, a broken dish of better quality, and of more importance to mend a china punch-bowl. Dishes, however, are now much cheaper, and china punch-bowls are no longer an indispensable part of even tavern festivity.

The sellers of this cement proclaim it as one which will "cure any china, stone, or earthenware, and make the broken parts adhere so firmly, that if you let it fall again, it will break, not at the part where it has been cemented, but at some other. Only a halfpenny, or a penny a stick." These traders sometimes illustrate the adhesive strength of the composition by producing a plate or dish which has been cemented in different places, and letting it fall, to break in some hitherto sound part. This they usually succeed in doing. For the cementing of glass the street article is now perhaps never sold, and was but scantily sold, I am informed, at any time, as the junction was always unsightly.

There are now four men who sell this cement in the streets, one usually to be found in Wilderness-row, Goswell-street, being, perhaps, the one who carries on the trade most regularly. They all make their own cement; one of the receipts being—1 lb. shellac (5*d.*), ¼ lb. brimstone (½*d.*), blended together until it forms a thick sort of glue. This quantity makes half-a-crown's-worth of the cement for the purposes of retail. The sellers do not confine themselves to one locality, but are usually to be found in one or other of the street-markets on a Saturday night. If each seller take 5*s.* weekly (of which 4*s.* may be profit), we find 52*l.* expended yearly by street customers in this cement.

I include razor paste under this head, as sometimes, and at one time more frequently than now,

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the same individual sold both articles, though not at the same time.

There are twelve street-sellers of razor-paste, but they seem to prefer "working" the distant suburbs, or going on country rounds, as there are often only three in London. It is still vended, I am told, to clerks, who use it to sharpen their pen-knives, but the paste, owing to the prevalence of the use of steel pens, is now almost a superfluity, compared to what it was. It is bought also, and frequently enough in public-houses, by working men, as a means of "setting" their razors. The vendors make the paste themselves, except two, who purchase of a street-seller. The ingredients are generally fuller's earth (1*d.*), hog's lard (1*d.*), and emery powder (2*d.*). The paste is sold in boxes carried on a tray, which will close and form a sort of case, like a backgammon board. The quantity I have given will make a dozen boxes (each sold at 1*d.*), so that the profit is 7*d.* in the 1*s.*, for to the 4*d.* paid for ingredients must be added 1*d.*, for the cost of a dozen boxes. The paste is announced as "warranted to put an edge to a razor or pen-knife superior to anything ever before offered to the public." The street-sellers offer to prove this by sharpening any gentleman's pen-knife on the paste spread on a piece of soldier's old belt, which sharpening, when required, they accomplish readily enough. One of these paste-sellers, I was told, had been apprenticed to a barber; another had been a cutler, the remainder are of the ordinary class of street-sellers.

Calculating that 6 men "work" the metropolis daily, taking 2*s.* each per day (with 1*s.* 2*d.* profit), we find 187*l.* the amount of the street outlay.

Of the Street-Seller of Crackers and Detonating Balls.

This trade, I am informed by persons familiar with it, would be much more frequently carried on by street-folk, and in much greater numbers, were it not the one which of all street callings finds the least toleration from the police. "You must keep your eyes on both corners of the street," said one man, "when you sell crackers; and what good is it the police stopping us? The boys have only to go to a shop, and then it 's all right."

The trade is only known in the streets at holiday seasons, and is principally carried on for a few days before and after the 5th of November, and again at Christmas-tide. "Last November was good for crackers," said one man; "it was either Guy Faux day, or the day before, I 'm not sure which now, that I took 15*s.*, and nearly all of boys, for waterloo crackers and ball crackers (the common trade names), 'waterloo' being the 'pulling crackers.' At least three parts was ball crackers. I sold them from a barrow, wheeling it about as if it was hearthstone, and just saying quietly when I could, 'Six a penny crackers.' The boys soon tell one another. All sorts bought of me; doctors' boys, school boys, pages, boys as was dressed beautiful, and boys as hadn't neither shoes nor stockings. It 's sport for them all." The same man told me he did well at what he called "last Poram fair," clearing 13*s.* 6*d.* in three days, or rather evenings or nights. "Poram fair, sir," he said, "is a sort of feast among the Jews, always three weeks I 've heard, afore their Passover, and I then work Whitechapel and all that way."

I inquired of a man who had carried on this street trade for a good many years, it might be ten or twelve, if he had noticed the uses to which his boy-customers put his not very innocent wares, and he entered readily into the subject.

"Why, sir," he said, "they 're not all boy-customers, as you call them, but they 're far the most. I 've sold to men, and often to drunken men. What larks there is with the ball-crackers! One man lost his eye at Stepney Fair, but that 's 6 or 7 years ago, from a lark with crackers. The rights of it I never exactly understood, but I know he lost his eye, from the dry gravel in the ball-cracker bouncing into it. But it 's the boys as is fondest of crackers. I sold 'em all last Christmas, and made my 5*s.* and better on Boxing-day. I was sold out before 6 o'clock, as I had a regular run at last—just altogether. After that, I saw one lad go quietly behind a poor lame old woman and pull a Waterloo close behind her ear; he was a biggish boy and tidily dressed; and the old body screamed, 'I 'm shot.' She turned about, and the boy says, says he, 'Does your grand-mother know you 're out? It 's a improper thing, so it is, for you to be walking out by yourself.' You should have seen her passion! But as she was screaming out, 'You saucy wagabone! You boys is all wagabones. People can't pass for you. I 'll give you in charge, I will," the lad was off like a shot.

"But one of the primest larks I ever saw that way was last winter, in a street by Shoreditch. An old snob that had a bulk was making it all right for the night, and a lad goes up. I don't know what he said to the old boy, but I saw him poke something, a last I think it was, against the candle, put it out, and then run off. In a minute, three or four lads that was ready, let fly at the bulk with their ball-crackers, and there was a clatter as if the old snob had tumbled down, and knocked his lasts down; but he soon had his head out—he was Irish, I think—and he first set up a roar like a Smithfield bull, and he shouts, 'I 'm kilt intirely wid the murthering pistols! Po—lice! Po—o—lice!' He seemed taken quite by surprise—for they was capital crackers—I think he couldn 't have been used to bulks, or he would have been used to pelting; but how he did bellow, surely.

"I think it was that same night too, I saw a large old man, buttoned up, but seeming as if he was fine-dressed for a party, in a terrible way in the Commercial-road. I lived near there then. There was three boys afore me—and very well they did it—one of 'em throws a ball-cracker bang at the old gent's feet, just behind him, and makes him jump stunning, and the boy walks on with his hands in his pocket, as if he know'd nothing about it. Just after that another boy does the same, and then the t'other boy; and the old gent—Lord,

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how he swore! It was shocking in such a respectable man, as I told him, when he said, *I'd* crackered him! 'Me cracker you,' says I; 'it 'ud look better if you'd have offered to treat a poor fellow to a pint of beer with ginger in it, and the chill off, than talk such nonsense.' As we was having this jaw, one of the boys comes back and lets fly again; and the old gent saw how it was, and he says, 'Now, if you'll run after that lad, and give him a d——d good hiding, you shall have the beer.' 'Money down, sir,' says I, 'if you mean honour bright;' but he grumbled something, and walked away. I saw him soon after, talking to a Bobby, so I made a short cut home."

At the fairs near London there is a considerable sale of these combustibles; and they are often displayed on large stalls in the fair. They furnish the means of practical jokes to the people on their return. "After last Whitsun Greenwich Fair," said a street-seller to me, I saw a gent in a white choker, like a parson, look in at a pastry-cook's shop, as is jist by the Elephant (and Castle), a-waiting for a 'bus, I s'pose. There was an old 'oman with a red face standing near him; and I saw a lad, very quick, pin something to one's coat and the t'other's gown. They turned jist arter, and bang goes a Waterloo, and they looks savage one at another; and hup comes that indentical boy, and he says to the red faced 'oman, a pointing to the white choker, 'Marm, I seed him a twiddling with your gown. He done it for a lark arter the fair, and ought to stand something.' So the parson, if he were a parson, walked away."

There are eight makers, I am told, who supply the street-sellers and the small shops with these crackers. The wholesale price is 4*d.* to 6*d.* a gross, the "cracker-balls" being the dearest. The retail price in the streets is from six to twelve a penny, according to the appearance and eagerness of the purchaser. Some street traders carry these commodities on trays, and very few are stationary, except at fairs. I am assured, that for a few days last November, from 50 to 60 men and women were selling crackers in the streets, of course "on the sly." In so irregular and surreptitious a trade, it is not possible even to approximate to statistics. The most intelligent man that I met with, acquainted, as he called it, "with all the ins and outs of the trade," calculated that in November and Christmas, 100*l.* at least was expended in the streets in these combustibles, and another 100*l.* in the other parts of the year. About Tower-hill, Ratcliff-highway (or "the Highway," as street-sellers often call it), and in Wapping and Shadwell, the sale of crackers is the best. The sellers are the ordinary street-sellers, and no patter is required.

Of the Street-Sellers of Lucifer-Matches.

Under this head I shall speak only of those who *sell* the matches, apart from those who, in proffering lucifer boxes, mix up trade with mendicancy. The latter class I have spoken of, and shall treat of them more fully under the head of "the London Poor."

Until "lucifers" became cheap and in general use, the matches sold by the street-folks, and there were numbers in the trade, were usually prepared by themselves. The manufactures were simple enough. Wooden splints, twice or thrice the length of the lucifer matches now in use, were prepared, and dipped into brimstone, melted in an iron ladle. The matches were never, as now, self-igniting, or rather ignitable by rapid friction; but it was necessary to "strike a light" by the concussion of a flint and steel, the sparks from which were communicated to tinder kept in a "box."

The brimstone match-sellers were of all ages, but principally, I am told, old people. Many of them during, and for some years after the war, wore tattered regimentals, or some remains of military paraphernalia, and had been, or assumed to have been, soldiers, but not entitled to a pension; the same with seamen. I inquired of some of the present race of match-sellers what became of the "old brimstones," as I heard them called, but from them I could gain little information. An old groundsel-gatherer told me that some went into his trade. Others, I learned, "took to pins," and others to song or tract selling. Indeed the brimstone match-sellers not unfrequently carried a few songs to vend with their matches. It must be borne in mind that, 15 years agô, those street trades, into which any one who is master of a few pence can now embark, were less numerous. Others of the match-sellers, with rounds, or being known men, displaced their "brimstones" for "lucifers," and traded on as usual. I heard of one old man, now dead, who made a living on brimstone-matches by selling a good quantity in Hackney, Stoke Newington, and Islington, and who long refused to sell lucifer-matches; "they was new-fangled rubbish," he said, "and would soon have their day." He found his customers, however, fall off, and in apprehension of losing them all, he was compelled to move with the times.

"I believe, sir," said one man, still a street-seller, but not having sold matches of any kind for years,—"I believe I was the first who hawked 'Congreves,' or 'instantaneous lights;' they weren't called 'lucifers' for a good while after. I bought them at Mr. Jones's light-house in the Strand, and if I remember right, for it must be more than 20 years ago, between 1820 and 1830, Mr. Jones had a patent somehow about them. I bought them at 7*s.* a dozen boxes, and sold them at 1*s.* a box. I'm not sure how many matches was in a box, but I think it was 100. You'll get as much for a farthing now, as you would for a shilling then. The matches were lighted by being drawn quickly through sand-paper. I sold them for a twelvemonth, and had the trade all to myself. As far as I know, I had; for I never met with or heard of anybody else in it all that time. I did decent at it. I suppose I cleared my 15*s.* a week. The price kept the same while I was in the business. I sold them at city offices. I supplied the Phœnix in Lombard-street, I remember, and the better sort of shops.

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People liked them when they wanted to light a candle in a hurry, in places where there was no fire to seal a letter, or such like. There was no envelopes in them days. The penny-postage brought *them* in. I was sometimes told not to carry such things there again, as they didn't want the house set on fire by keeping such dangerous things in it. Now, I suppose, lucifers are in every house, and that there's not a tinder-box used in all London." Such appears to have been the beginning of the extensive street-trade in these chemical preparations now carried on. At the twelvemonth's end, my informant went into another line of business.

The "German Congreves" were soon after introduced, and were at first sold wholesale at the "English and German" swag-shops in Houndsditch, at 2*s.* the dozen boxes, and were retailed at 3*d.*, 4*d.*, and sometimes as high as 6*d.* the box. These matches, I am told, "kept their hold" about five years, when they ceased to be a portion of the street trade. The German Congreves were ignited by being drawn along a slip of sand-paper, at the bottom of the box, as is done at present; with some, however, a double piece of sand-paper was sold for purposes of igniting.

After this time cheaper and cheaper matches were introduced, and were sold in the streets immediately on their introduction. At first, the cheaper matches had an unpleasant smell, and could hardly be kept in a bed-room, but that was obviated, and the trade progressed to its present extent.

The lucifer-match boxes, the most frequent in the street-trade, are bought by the poor persons selling them in the streets, at the manufacturers, or at oil-shops, for a number of oilmen buy largely of the manufacturers, and can "supply the trade" at the same rate as the manufacturer. The price is 2½*d.* the dozen boxes, each box containing 150 matches. Some of the boxes (German made) are round, and many used to be of tin, but these are rarely seen now. The prices are proportionate. The common price of a lucifer box in the streets is ½*d.*, but many buyers, I am told, insist upon and obtain three a penny, which they do generally of some one who supplies them regularly. The trade is chiefly itinerant.

One feeble old man gave me the following account of his customers. He had been in the employ of market-gardeners, carmen, and others, whose business necessitated the use of carts and horses. In his old age he was unable to do any hard work; he was assisted, however, by his family, especially by one son living in the country; he had a room in the house of a daughter, who was a widow, but his children were only working people, with families, he said, and so he sold a few lucifers "as a help," and to have the comfort of a bit of tobacco, and buy an old thing in the way of clothing without troubling any one. Out of his earnings, too, he paid 6*d.* a week for the schooling of one of his daughter's children.

"I *sell* these lucifers, sir," he said, in answer to my inquiries, "I never beg with them: I'd scorn it. My children help me, as I've told you; I did my best for them when I was able, and so I have a just sort of claim on them. Well, indeed, then, sir, as you ask me, if I had only myself to depend upon, why I couldn't live. I must beg or go into the house, and I don't know which I should take to worst at 72. I've been selling lucifers about five years, for I was worn out with hard work and rheumatics when I was 65 or 66. I go regular rounds, about 2 miles in a day, or 2½, or if it's fine 3 miles or more from where I live, and the same distance back, for I can sometimes walk middling if I can do nothing else. I carry my boxes tied up in a handkerchief, and hold 2 or 3 in my hand. I'm ashamed to hold them out on any rail where I aint known; and never do if there isn't a good-humoured looking person to be seen below, or through the kitchen window. But my eyesight aint good, and I make mistakes, and get snapped up very short at times. Yesterday, now, I was lucky in my small way. There's a gentleman, that if I can see him, I can always sell boxes to at 1*d.* a piece. That's his price, he says, and he takes no change if I offer it. I saw him yesterday at his own door, and says he, 'Well, old greybeard, I haven't seen you for a long time. Here's 1*s.*, leave a dozen boxes.' I told him I had only 11 left; but he said, 'O, it's all the same,' and he told a boy that was crossing the hall to take them into the kitchen, and we soon could hear the housekeeper grumbling quite loud—perhaps she didn't know her master could hear—about being bothered with rubbish that people took in master with; and the gentleman shouts out, 'Some of you stop that old —— mouth, will you? She wants a profit out of them in her bills.' All was quiet then, and he says to me quite friendly, 'If she wasn't the best cook in London I'd have quitted her long since, by G—.'" The old man chuckled no little as he related this; he then went on, "He's a swearing man, but a good man, I'm sure, and I don't know why he's so kind to me. Perhaps he is to others. I'm ashamed to hold my boxes to the ary rails, 'cause so many does that to beg. I sell lucifers both to mistresses and maids. Some will have 3 for a 1*d.*, and though it's a poor profit, I do it, for they say, 'O, if you come this way constant, we'll buy of you whenever we want. If you won't give 3 a penny, there's plenty will.' I sell, too, in some small streets, Lisson-grove way, to women that see me from their windows, and come down to the door. They're needle-workers I think. They say sometimes, 'I'm glad I've seen you, for it saves me the trouble of running out.'

"Well, sir, I'm sure I hardly know how many boxes I sell. On a middling good day I sell 2 dozen, on a good day 3 dozen, on a bad day not a dozen, sometimes not half-a-dozen, and sometimes, but not often, not more than a couple. Then in bad weather I don't go out, and time hangs very heavy if it isn't a Monday; for every Monday I buy a threepenny paper of a newsman for 2*d.*, and read it as well as I can with my old eyes and glasses, and get my

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daughter to read a bit to me in the evening, and next day I send the paper to my son in the country, and so save him buying one. As well as I can tell I sell about 9 dozen boxes a week, one week with another, and clear from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* It's employment for me as well as a help."

It is not easy to estimate the precise number of persons who really sell lucifer matches as a means of subsistence, or as a principal means. There are many, especially girls and women, the majority being Irishwomen, who do not directly solicit charity, and do not even say, "Buy a box of lucifers from a poor creature, to get her a ha'porth of bread;" or, "please a bit of broken victuals, if it's only cold potatoes, for a box of the best lucifers." Yet these match-sellers look so imploringly down an area, or through a window, some "shouldering" a young child the while, and remain there so pertinaciously that a box is bought, or a halfpenny given, often merely to get rid of the applicant.

An intelligent man, a street-seller, and familiar with street-trading generally, whom I questioned on the subject, said: "It's really hard to tell, sir, but I should calculate this way. It's the real sellers you ask about; them as tries to live on their selling lucifers, or as their main support. I have worked London and the outside places—yes, I mean the suburbs—in ten rounds, or districts, but six is better, for you can then go the same round the same day next week, and so get known. The real sellers, in my opinion, is old men and women out of employ, or past work, and to beg they are ashamed. I've read the Bible you see, sir, though I've had too much to do with gay persons even to go to church. I should say that in each of those ten rounds, or at any rate, splicing one with another, was twenty persons really selling lucifers. Yes, and depending a good deal upon them, for they're an easy carriage for an infirm body, and as ready a sale as most things. I don't reckon them as begs, or whines, or sticks to a house for an hour, but them as sells; in my opinion, they're 200, and no more. All the others dodges, in one way or other, on pity and charity. There's one lurk that's getting common now. A man well dressed, and very clean, and wearing gloves, knocks at a door, and asks to speak to the master or mistress. If he succeeds, he looks about him as if he was ashamed, and then he pulls out of his coat-pocket a lucifer box or two, and asks, as a favour, to be allowed to sell one, as reduced circumstances drive him to do so. He doesn't beg, but I don't reckon him a seller, for he has always some story or other to tell, that's all a fakement." Most dwellers in a suburb will have met with one of these well-dressed match-sellers.

Adopting my informant's calculation, and supposing that each of these traders take, on lucifers alone, but 4*s.* weekly, selling nine dozen (with a profit to the seller of from 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*), we find 2080*l.* expended in this way. The matches are sold also at stalls, with other articles, in the street markets, and elsewhere; but this traffic, I am told, becomes smaller, and only amounts to one-tenth of the amount I have specified as taken by itinerants. These street-sellers reside in all parts of town which I have before specified as the quarters of the poor.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF CIGAR LIGHTS, OR FUZEES.

THIS is one of the employments to which boys, whom neglect, ill-treatment, destitution, or a vagrant disposition, have driven or lured to a street life, seem to resort to almost as readily as to the offers," "Old your 'os, sir?" "Shall I carry your passel, marm?"

The trifling capital required to enter into the business is one cause of its numbering many followers. The "fuzees," as I most frequently heard them called, are sold at the "Congreve shops," and are chiefly German made. At one time, indeed, they were announced as "German tinder." The wholesale charge is 4½*d.* per 1000 "lights." The 1000 lights are apportioned into fifty rows, each of twenty self-igniting matches; and these "rows" are sold in the streets, one or two for ½*d.*, and two, three, or four 1*d.* It is common enough for a juvenile fuzee-seller to buy only 500; so that 2¼*d.* supplies his stock in trade.

The boys (for the majority of the street-traders who sell *only* fuzees, are boys) frequent the approaches to the steam-boat piers, the omnibus stands, and whatever places are resorted to by persons who love to smoke in the open air. Some of these young traders have neither shoes nor stockings, more especially the Irish lads, who are at least half the number, and their apology for a cap fully displays the large red ears, and flat features, which seem to distinguish a class of the Irish children in the streets of London. Some Irish boys hold out their red-tipped fuzees with an appealing look, meant to be plaintive, and say, in a whining tone, "Spend a halfpenny on a poor boy, your honour." Others offer them, without any appealing look or tone, either in silence, or saying—"Buy a fuzee to light your pipe or cigar, sir; a row of lights for a ½*d.*"

I met with one Irish boy, of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who was offering fuzees to the persons going to Chalk Farm fair on Easter Tuesday, but the rain kept away many visitors, and the lad could hardly find a customer. He was literally drenched, for his skin, shining with the rain, could be seen about his arms and knees through the slits of his thin corduroy jacket and trowsers, and he wore no shirt.

"It's oranges I sell in giniral, your honour," he said, "and it's on oranges I hopes to be next week, plaze God. But mother—it's orange-selling she is too—wanted to make a grand show for Aister wake, and tuk the money to do it, and put me on the fuzees. It's the thruth I'm telling your honour. She thought I might be after making a male's mate" (meal's meat) "out of them, intirely; but the sorra a male I'll make to day if it cost me a fardin, for I haven't tuk one. I niver remimber any fader; mother and me lives together somehow, glory be to God; but it's often knowin' what it is to be hungry we are. I've

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sould fuzees before, when ingans, and nuts, and oranges was dear and not for the poor to buy, but I niver did so bad as to-day. A gintleman once said to me: 'Here, Pat, yer sowl, you look hungry. Here's a thirteener for yez; go and get drunk wid it.' Och, no, your honour, he wasn't an Irish gintleman; it was afther mocking me he was, God save him." On my asking the boy if he felt hurt at this mockery, he answered, slily, with all his air of simplicity, "Sure, thin, wasn't there the shillin'? For it was a shillin' he gave me, glory be to God. No, I niver heard it called a thirteener before, but mother has. Och, thin, sir, indeed, and it's could and wet I am. I have a new shirt, as was giv to mother for me by a lady, but I wouldn't put it on sich a day as this, your honour, sir. I'll go to mass in it ivery Sunday. I've made 6*d.* a day and sometimes more a sellin' fuzees, wid luck, God be praised, but the bad wither's put me out intirely this time."

The fuzee-sellers frequently offer their wares at the bars of public-houses in the daytime, and sometimes dispose of them to those landlords who sell cigars. From the best information I can command there are now upwards of 200 persons selling fuzees in the streets of the metropolis. But the trade is often collateral. The cigar-seller offers fuzees, play-bill sellers (boys) do so sometimes at the doors of the theatres to persons coming out, the pipe-sellers also carry them; they are sometimes sold along with lucifer matches, and at miscellaneous stalls. It will, I believe, be accurate to state that in the streets there are generally 100 persons subsisting, or endeavouring to subsist, on the sale of fuzees alone. It may be estimated also that each of these traders averages a receipt of 10*d.* a day (with a profit exceeding 6*d.*), so that 1300*l.* is yearly laid out in the streets in this way.

Of the fuzee-selling lads, those who are parentless, or runaway, sleep in the lodging-houses, in the better conducted of which the master or deputy takes charge of the stock of fuzees or lucifer-matches during the night to avert the risk of fire; in others these combustibles are stowed anywhere at the discretion, or indiscretion, of the lodgers.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF GUTTA-PERCHA HEADS.

THERE are many articles which, having become cheap in the shops, find their way to the street-traders, and after a brief, or comparatively brief, and prosperous trade has been carried on in them, gradually disappear. These are usually things which are grotesque or amusing, but of no utility, and they are supplanted by some more attractive novelty—a main attraction being that it is a novelty.

Among such matters of street-trade are the elastic toys called "gutta-percha heads;" these, however, have no gutta-percha in their composition, but consist solely of a composition made of glue and treacle—the same as is used for printer's rollers. The heads are small coloured models of the human face, usually with projecting nose and chin, and wide or distorted mouth, which admit of being squeezed into a different form of features, their elasticity causing them to return to the original caste. The trade carried on in the streets in these toys was at one time extensive, but it seems now to be gradually disappearing. On a fine day a little after noon, last week, there was not one "head" exposed for sale in any of the four great street markets of Leather-lane, the Brill, Tottenham-court-road including the Hampstead-road, and High-street, Camden-town.

The trade became established in the streets upwards of two years ago. At first, I am told by a street-seller, himself one of the first, there were six "head-sellers," who "worked" the parks and their vicinity. My informant one day sold a gross of heads in and about Hyde-park, and a more fortunate fellow-trader on the same day sold 1½ gross. The heads were recommended, whenever opportunity offered, by a little patter. "Here," one man used to say, "here's the Duke of Wellington's head for 1*d.* It's modelled from the statty on horseback, but is a improvement. His nose speaks for itself. Sir Robert Peel's only 1*d.* Anybody you please is 1*d.*; a free choice and no favour. The Queen and all the Royal Family 1*d.* apiece." As the street-seller offered to dispose of the model of any eminent man's head and face, he held up some one of the most grotesque of the number. Another man one Saturday evening sold five or six dozen to costermongers and others in the street markets "pattering" them off as the likenesses of any policeman who might be obnoxious to the street-traders! This was when the trade was new. The number of sellers was a dozen in the second week; it was soon twenty-five, all confining themselves to the sale of the heads; besides these the heads were offered to the street-buying public by many of the stationary street-folk, whose stock partook of a miscellaneous character. The men carrying on this traffic were of the class of general street-sellers.

"The trade was spoiled, sir," said an informant, "by so many going into it, but I've heard that it's not bad in parts of the country now. The sale was always best in the parks, I believe, and Sundays was the best days. I don't pretend to be learned about religion, but I know that many a time after I'd earned next to nothing in a wet week, it came a fine Sunday morning, and I took as much as got me and my wife and children a good dinner of meat and potatoes, and sometimes, when we could depend on it, smoking hot from the baker's oven; and I then felt I had something to thank God for. You see, sir, when a man's been out all the week, and often with nothing to call half a dinner, and his wife's earnings only a few pence by sewing at home, with three young children to take care of, you're nourished and comforted, and your strength keeps up, by a meat dinner on a Sunday, quietly in your own room. But them as eats their dinner without having to earn it, can't understand about that, and as the Sunday park trade was stopped, the police drive us about like dogs, not gentlemen's dogs, but stray or mad dogs. And it

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THE STREET COMB SELLER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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seems there's some sort of a new police. I can't understand a bit of it, and I don't want to, for the old police is trouble enough."

The gutta-percha heads are mostly bought at the "English and German" swag-shops. A few are made by the men who sell them in the streets. The "swag" price is 1*s.* the gross; at one time the swag man demurred to sell less than half a gross, but now when the demand is diminished, a dozen is readily supplied for 8*d.* The street price retail, is and always was 1*d.* a head. The principal purchasers in the street are boys and young men, with a few tradesmen or working people, "such as can afford a penny or two," who buy the "gutta percha" heads for their children. There used to be a tolerable trade in public houses, where persons enjoying themselves bought them. "for a lark," but this trade has now dwindled to a mere nothing. One of the "larks," an informant knew to be practised, was to attach the head to a piece of paper or card, write upon it some one's name, make it up into a parcel, and send it to the flattered invividual. The same man had sold heads to young women, not servant-maids he thought, but in some not very ill paid employment, and he believed, from their manner when buying, for some similar purpose of "larking." When the heads were a novelty, he sold a good many to women of the town.

There are now no street-folks who depend upon the sale of these gutta-percha heads, but they sell them occasionally. The usual mode is to display them on a tray, and now, generally with other things. One man showed me his box, which, when the lid was raised, he carried as a tray slung round his neck, and it contained gutta-percha heads, exhibition medals, and rings and other penny articles of jewellery.

There are at present, I am informed, 30 persons selling gutta-percha heads in the streets, some of them confining their business solely to those articles. In this number, however, I do not include those who are both makers and sellers. Their average receipts, I am assured, do not exceed 5*s.* a week each, for, though some may take 15*s.* a week, others, and generally the stationary head-sellers, do not take 1*s.* The profit to the street retailer is one third of his receipts. From this calculation it appears, that if the present rate of sale continue, 390*l.* is spent yearly in these street toys. At one time it was far more than twice the amount.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF FLY-PAPERS AND BEETLE-WAFERS.

FLY-PAPERS came, generally, into street-traffic, I am informed, in the summer of 1848.

The fly-papers are sold wholesale at many of the oil-shops, but the principal shop for the supply of the street-traders is in Whitechapel. The wholesale price is 2¼*d.* a dozen, and the (street) retail charge ½*d.* a paper, or three 1*d.* A young man, to whom I was referred, and whom I found selling, or rather bartering, crockery, gave me the following account of his experience of the fly-paper trade. He was a rosy-cheeked, strong-built young fellow, and said he thought he was "getting on" in his present trade. He spoke merrily of his troubles, as I have found common among his class, when they are over.

"My father had a milk-walk," he said, "and when he died I was without money and had nothing to do, but I soon got a place with a single gentleman. He had a small house, and kept only me and a old housekeeper. I was to make myself generally useful, but when I first went, the most I had to do was to look after a horse that master had. Master never was on horseback in his life, but he took Skipjack—that was the horse's name, he was rising six—for a debt, and kept him two months, till he could sell him to his mind. Master took a largeish garden—for he was fond of growing flowers and vegetables, and made presents of them—just before poor Skipjack went, and I was set to work in it, besides do my house-work. It was a easy place, and I was wery comfable. But master, who was a good master and a friend to a poor man, as I know, got into difficulties; he was something in the City; I never understood what; and one night, when I'd been above a year and a-half with him, he told me I must go, for he couldn't afford to keep me any longer. Next day he was arrested, quite sudden I believe, and sent to prison for debt. I had a good character, but nobody cared for one from a man in prison, and in a month my money was out, and my last 3*s.* 6*d.* went for an advertisement, what was no good to me. I then took to holding horses or anything that way, and used to sleep in the parks or by the road-sides where it was quiet. I did that for a month and more. I've sometimes never tasted food all day, and used to quench myself (so he worded it) with cold water from the pumps. It took off the hunger for a time. I got to know other boys that was living as I was, and when I could afford it I slept at lodging-houses, the boys took me to or told me about. One evening a gentleman gave me 1*s.* for catching his horse that he'd left standing, but it had got frightened, and run off. Next morning I went into the fly-paper trade,—it's nearly two years ago, I think—because a boy I slept with did tidy in it. We bought the papers at the first shop as was open, and then got leave of the deputy of the lodging-house to catch all the flies we could, and we stuck them thick on the paper, and fastened the paper to our hats. I used to think, when I was in service, how a smart livery hat, with a cockade to it, would look, but instead of that I turned out, the first time in my life that ever I sold anything, with my hat stuck round with flies. I felt so ashamed I could have cried. I was miserable, I felt so awkerd. But I spent my last 2*d.* in some gin and milk to give me courage, and that brightened me up a bit, and I set to work. I went Mile-end way, and got out of the main streets, and I suppose I'd gone into streets and places where there hadn't often been fly-papers before, and I soon had a lot of boys following me, and I felt, almost, as if I'd picked a pocket, or done something to be 'shamed of. I could hardly cry 'Catch 'em alive, only a halfpenny!' But I found I could sell my papers to public-houses and

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shopkeepers, such as grocers and confectioners, and that gave me pluck. The boys caught flies, and then came up to me, and threw them against my hat, and if they stuck the lads set up a shout. I stuck to the trade, however, and took 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* every day that week, more than half of it profit, and on Saturday I took 5*s.* 6*d.* The trade is all to housekeepers. I called at open shops and looked up at the windows, or held up my hat at private houses, and was sometimes beckoned to go in and sell my papers. Women bought most, I think. 'Nasty things,' they used to say, 'there 's no keeping nothing clean for them.' I stuck to the trade for near two months, and then I was worth 13*s.* 6*d.*, and had got a pair of good shoes, and a good second-hand shirt, with one to change it; and next I did a little in tins and hardware, at the places where I used to go my fly rounds, and in the winter I got into the crock-trade, with another young fellow for a mate, and I 'm in it yet, and getting a tidy connection, I think."

Some of the fly-paper sellers make their stock-in-trade, but three-fourths of the number buy them ready-made. The street-sellers make them of old newspapers or other waste-paper, no matter how dirty. To the paper they apply turpentine and common coach varnish, some using resin instead of varnish, and occasionally they dash a few grains of sugar over the composition when spread upon the paper.

Last summer, I was informed, there were fifty or sixty persons selling fly-papers and beetle wafers in the streets; some of them boys, and all of them of the general class of street-sellers, who "take" to any trade for which 1*s.* suffices as capital. Their average earnings may be estimated at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, about one-half being profit. This gives a street outlay, say for a "season" of ten weeks, of 375*l.*, calculating fifty sellers.

A few of these street traders carried a side of a newspaper, black with flies, attached to a stick, waving it like a flag. The cries were "Catch 'em alive! Catch 'em alive for ½*d*!" "New method of destroying thousands!"

Of the Street-Sellers of Miscellaneous Manufactured Articles.

In addition to the more staple wares which form the street trade in manufactured articles of a miscellaneous character, are many, as I said before, which have been popular for a while and are now entirely disused. In the course of my inquiry it was remarkable how oblivious I found many of the street-sellers as to what they had sold at various periods. "O dear, yes sir, I 've sold all sorts of things in the streets besides what I'm on now; first one and then another as promised a few pence," was the substance of a remark I frequently heard; but *what* was meant by the one and the other thing thus sold they had a difficulty to call to mind, but on a hint being thrown out they could usually give the necessary details. From the information I acquired I select the following curious matter.

Six or seven years ago *Galvanic Rings* were sold extensively by the street-folk. These were clumsy lead-coloured things, which were described by the puffing shop-keepers, and in due course by the street-sellers, as a perfect amulet; a thing which by its mere contact with the finger would not only cure but prevent "fits, rheumatics, and cramps." On my asking a man who had sold them if these were all the ailments of which he and the others proclaimed the galvanic rings an infallible cure, he answered: "Like the quack medicines you read about, sir, in 'vertisements, we said they was good for anything anybody complained of or was afraid was coming on them, but we went mostly for rheumatics. A sight of tin some of the shopkeepers must have made, for what we sold at 1*d.* they got 6*d.* a piece for. Then for gold galvanics—and I 've been told they was gilt—they had 10*s.* 6*d.* each. The streets is nothing to the shops on a dodge. I 've been told by people as I 'd sold galvanics to, that they 'd had benefit from them. I suppose that was just superstitious. I think Hyams did the most of any house in galvanics."

The men selling these rings—for the business was carried on almost entirely by men—were the regular street-traders, who sell "first one thing and then another." They were carried in boxes, as I have shown medals are now, and they generally formed a portion of the street-jeweller's stock, whether he were itinerant or stationary. The purchasers were labourers in the open air, such as those employed about buildings, whose exposure to the alternations of heat and cold render them desirous of a cure for, or preventive against rheumatism. The costermongers were also purchasers, and in the course of my inquiries among that numerous body, I occasionally saw a galvanic ring still worn by a few, and those chiefly, I think, fish-sellers.

Nor was the street or shop trade in these galvanic rings confined to amulets for the finger. I heard of one elderly woman, then a prosperous street-seller in the New Cut, who slept with a galvanic ring on every toe, she suffered so much from cramp and rheumatism! There were also galvanic shields, which were to be tied round the waist, and warranted "to cure all over." They were retailed at 6*d.* each. Galvanic earrings were likewise a portion of this manufacture. They were not "drops" from the ear, but filled behind and around it as regards the back of the skull, and were to avert rheumatic attacks, and even aching from the head. The street price was 1*s.* the pair. Galvanic bracelets, handsomely gilt, were 2*s.* 6*d.* the pair. But the sale of all these highter-priced charms was a mere nonentity compared to that of the penny rings.

Another trade—if it may be classed under this head—carried on by great numbers and with great success for a while, was that of *cards with the Lord's Prayer in the compass of a sixpence.* This was an engraving—now and then offered in the streets still—strictly fulfilling the announcement as to the compass in which the Prayer was contained, with the addition of a drawing of the Bible, as part of the engraving, "within the six-

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pence." This trade was at first, I am told, chiefly in the hands of the patterers: "Grand novelty!" they said; "splendid engraving! The Lord's Prayer, with a beautiful picture of the Bible, all legible to the naked eye, in the compass of a sixpence. Five hundred letters, all clear, on a sixpence." One man said to me: "I knew very well there wasn't 500, but it was a neat number to cry. A schoolmaster said to me once—'Why, there isn't above half that number of letters.' He was wrong though; for I believe there's 280." This card was published six or seven years ago, and the success attending the sale of the Lord's Prayer, led to the publication of the Belief in the same form. "When the trade was new," said one man, "I could sell a gross in a day without any very great trouble; but in a little time there was hundreds in the trade, and one might patter hard to sell four dozen."

The wholesale price was 8*s.* the gross, and as thirteen cards went to the dozen, the day's profit when a gross was sold was 5*s.* When the sale did not extend to beyond four dozen the profit was 1*s.* 8*d.* A few cards "in letters of gold" were vended in the streets at 6*d.* each. They had large margins and presented a handsome appearance. The wholesale price was 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen.

When this trade was at its height, there were, I am told, from 500 to 700 men, women and children engaged in it; selling the cards both with and without other articles. The cards had also a very extensive sale in the country.

Pen-holders with glass or china handles are another commodity which appeared suddenly, about six months ago, in street commerce, and at once became the staple of a considerable traffic. These pens are eight or nine inches long, the "body," so to speak, being of solid round glass, of almost all colours, green, blue, and black predominating, with a seal (lacquered white or yellow) at the top, and a holder of the usual kind, with a steel pen at the bottom. Some are made of white pot and called "China pens," and of these some are ornamented with small paintings of flowers and leaves. These wares are German, and were first charged 9*s.* 6*d.* the gross, without pens, which were an additional 3*d.* at the swag-shops. The price is now 5*s.* the gross, the pens being the same. The street-sellers who were fortunate enough to "get a good start" with these articles did exceedingly well. The pen-holders, when new, are handsome-looking, and at 1*d.* each were cheap; some few were at first retailed at 2*d.* One man, I am told, sold two-and-a-half gross in one day in the neigbourhood of the Bank, purchasers not seldom taking a dozen or more. As the demand continued, some men connected with the supply of goods for street sale, purchased all the stock in the swag-shops, expending about 170*l.*, and at once raised the price to 10*s.* 6d. the gross. This amount the poorer street-sellers demurred to give, as they could rarely obtain a higher price than 1*d.* each, and 2*d.* for the ornamented holders, but the street-stationers (who bought, however, very sparingly) and the small shopkeepers gave the advance "as they found the glass-holders asked for." On the whole, I am told, this forestalling was not very profitable to the speculators, as when fresh supplies were received at the "swags," the price fell.

At first this street business was carried on by men, but it was soon resorted to by numbers of poor women and children. One gentleman informed me that in consequence of reading "London Labour and the London Poor," he usually had a little talk with the street-sellers of whom he purchased any trifle; he bought these pen-holders of ten or twelve different women and girls; all of them could answer correctly his inquiry as to the uses of the pens; but only one girl, of fifteen or sixteen, and she hesitatingly, ventured to assert that she could write her own name with the pen she offered for sale. The street-trade still continues, but instead of being in the hands of 400 individuals—as it was, at the very least, I am assured, at one period—there are now only about fifty carrying it on itinerantly, while with the "pitched" sales-people, the glass-holders are merely a portion of the stock, and with the itinerants ten dozen a week (a receipt of 10*s.*, and a profit of 4*s.* 9*d.*) is now an average sale. The former glass-holder sellers of the poorer sort are now vending oranges.

Shirt Buttons form another of the articles—(generally either "useful things" or with such recommendation to street-buyers as the galvanic amulets possessed)—which every now and then are disposed of in great quantities in the streets. If an attempt be made by a manufacturer to establish a cheaper shirt button, for instance, of horn, or pot, or glass, and if it prove unsuccessful, or if an improvement be effected and the old stock becomes a sort of dead stock, the superseded goods have to be disposed of, and I am informed by a person familiar with those establishments, that the swag-shopkeepers can always find customers, "for anything likely," with the indispensable proviso that it be cheap. In this way shirt buttons have lately been sold in the streets, not only by the vendors of small wares in their regular trade, but by men, lads, and girls, some of the males shirtless themselves, who sell them solely, with a continuous and monotonous cry of "Halfpenny a dozen; halfpenny a dozen." The wholesale price of the last "street lot," was 3*d.* the gross, or $\frac{1}{4}$*d.* the dozen. To clear 6*d.* a day in shirt buttons is "good work;" it is more frequently 4*d.*

Of the Street-Sellers of Walking-Sticks.

The walking-sticks sold in the streets of London are principally purchased at wholesale houses in Mint-street and Union-street, Borough, and their neighbourhoods. "There's no street-trade," said an intelligent man, "and I've tried most that's been, or promised to be, a living in the streets, that is so tiresome as the walking-stick trade. There is nothing in which people are so particular. The stick's sure to be either too short or too long, or too thick or too thin, or too limp or too stiff. You would think it was a simple thing for a man to choose a stick out of a lot, but if you were with

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me a selling on a fine Sunday at Battersea Fields, you 'd see it wasn't. O, it 's a tiresome job."

The trade is a summer and a Sunday trade. The best localities are the several parks, and the approaches to them, Greenwich-park included; Hampstead Heath, Kennington Common, and, indeed, wherever persons congregate for pedestrian purposes, Battersea Fields being, perhaps, the place where the greatest Sunday trade is carried on. Some of the greater thoroughfares too, such as Oxford-street and the City-road, are a good deal frequented by the stick-sellers.

This trade—like others where the article sold is not of general consumption or primary usefulness—affords, what I once heard a street-seller call, "a good range." There is no generally recognised price or value, so that a smart trader in sticks can apportion his offers, or his charges, to what he may think to be the extent of endurance in a customer. What might be 2*d.* to a man who "looked knowing," might be 6*d.* to a man who "looked green." The common sticks, which are the "cripples," I was told, of all the sorts of sticks (the spoiled or inferior sticks) mixed with "common pines," are 15*d.* the dozen. From this price there is a gradual scale up to 8*s.* the dozen for "good polished;" beyond that price the street-seller rarely ventures, and seldom buys even at that (for street-trade) high rate, as fourpenny and sixpenny sticks go off the best; these saleable sticks are generally polished hazel or pine. "I 've sold to all sorts of people, sir," said a stick-seller. "I once had some very pretty sticks, very cheap, only 2*d.* a piece, and I sold a good many to boys. They bought them, I suppose, to look like men, and daren't carry them home; for I once saw a boy I 'd sold a stick to, break it and throw it away just before he knocked at the door of a respectable house one Sunday evening. I 've sold shilling sticks to gentlemen, sometimes, that had lost or broken or forgot their own. Canes there's nothing done in now in the streets; nor in 'vines,' which is the little switchy things that used to be a sort of a plaything. There's only one stick-man in the streets, as far as I know—and if there was, I should be sure to know, I think—that has what you may call a capital in sticks. Only the other day I saw him sell a registered stick near Charing-cross. It was a beauty. A Bath cane, with a splendid ivory head, and a compass let into the ivory. The head screwed off, and beneath was a map of London and a Guide to the Great Exhibition. O, but he has a beautiful stock, and aint he aristocratic! 'Ash twigs,' with the light-coloured bark on them, not polished, but just trimmed, was a very good sale, but they 're not now. Why, as to what I take, it 's such a uncertain trade that it 's hard to say. Some days I haven't taken 6*d.*, and the most money I ever took was one Derby day at Epsom—I wish there was more Derby days, for poor people's sakes—and then I took 30*s.* The most money as ever I took in London was 14*s.* —one Sunday, in Battersea Fields, when I had a prime cheap stock of bamboos. When I keep entirely to the stick trade, and during the summer, I may take 35*s.* in a week, with a profit of 15*s.*

The street stick-sellers are, I am assured, sometimes about 200 in number, on a fine Sunday in the summer. Of these, some are dock-labourers, who thus add to their daily earnings by a seventh day's labour; others, and a smarter class, are the "supers" (supernumeraries) of theatres, who also eke out their pittance by Sunday toil; porters, irregularly employed, and consequently "hard pushed to live," also sell walking-sticks on the Sundays; as do others who "cannot afford"—as a well-educated man, a patterer on paper, once said to me—"to lose a day if they were d——d for it." The usual mode of this street-trade is to carry the bundle of sticks strapped together, under the arm, and deposit the ends on the ground when a sale is to be effected. A few, however, and principally Jews, have "stands," with the walking-sticks inclosed in a sort of frame. On the Mondays there are not above a third of the number of stick-sellers there are on the Sundays; and on the other days of the week not above a seventh, or an eighth. Calculating that for 12 weeks of the year there are every day 35 stick-sellers, each taking, on an average, 30*s.* a week (with a profit, individually, of about 12*s.*), we find 630*l.* expended in walking-sticks in the streets.

On clear winter days a stick-seller occasionally plies his trade, but on frosty days they are occupied in letting out skates in the parks, or wherever ponds are frozen.

Of the Street-Sellers of Whips, etc.

These traders are a distinct class from the stick-sellers, and have a distinct class of customers. The sale is considerable; for to many the possession of a whip is a matter of importance. If one be lost or stolen, for instance, from a butcher's cart at Newgate-market, the need of a whip to proceed with the cart and horse to its destination, prompts the purchase in the quickest manner, and this is usually effected of the street-seller who offers his wares to the carters at every established resort.

The commonest of the whips sold to cart-drivers is sometimes represented as whalebone covered with gut; but the whalebone is a stick, and the flexible part is a piece of leather, while the gut is a sort of canvas, made to resemble the worked gut of the better sort of whips, and is pasted to the stock; the thong—which in the common sort is called "four-strands," or plaits—being attached to the flexible part. Some of these whips are old stocks recovered, and many are sad rubbish; but for any deceit the street-seller can hardly be considered responsible, as he always purchases at the shop of a wholesale whipmaker, who is in some cases a retailer at the same price and under the same representations as the street-seller. The retail price is 1*s.* each; the wholesale, 8*s.* and 9*s.* a dozen. Some of the street whip-sellers represent themselves as the makers, but the whips are almost all made in Birmingham and Walsall.

Of these traders very few are the ordinary street-sellers. Most of them have been in some

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way or other connected with the care of horses, and some were described to me as "beaten-out countrymen," who had come up to town in the hope of obtaining employment, and had failed. One man, of the last-mentioned class, told me that he had come to London from a village in Cambridgeshire, bringing with him testimonials of good character, and some letters from parties whose recommendation he expected would be serviceable to him; but he had in vain endeavoured for some months to obtain work with a carrier, omnibus proprietor, or job-master, either as driver or in charge of horses. His prospects thus failing him, he was now selling whips to earn his livelihood. A friend advised him to do this, as better than starving, and as being a trade that he understood:—

"I often thought I'd be forced to go back home, sir," he said, "and I'd have been ashamed to do't, for I *would* come to try my luck in London, and would leave a place I had. All my friends—and they're not badly off—tried to 'suade me to stop at home another year or two, but come I would, as if I must and couldn't help it. I brought good clothes with me, and they're a'most all gone; and I'd be ashamed to go back so shabby, like the prodigal's son; you know, sir. I'll have another try yet, for I get on to a cab next Monday, with a very respectable cab-master. As I've only myself, I know I can do. I was on one, but not with the same master, after I'd been six weeks here; but in two days I was forced to give it up, for I didn't know my way enough, and I didn't know the distances, and couldn't make the money I paid for my cab. If I asked another cabman, he was as likely to tell me wrong as right. Then the fares used to be shouting out, 'I say, cabby, where the h—— are you going? I told you Mark-lane, and here we are at the Minories. Drive back, sir.' I know my way now well enough, sir. I've walked the streets too long not to know it. I notice them on purpose now, and know the distances. I've written home for a few things for my new trade, and I'm sure to get them. They don't know I'm selling whips. There would be such a laugh against me among all t' young fellows if they did. Me as was so sure to do well in London!

"It's a poor trade. A carman 'll bid me 6*d.* for such a whip as this, which is 4*s.* 3*d.* the half dozen wholesale. 'I have to find my own whips,' my last customer said, 'though I drives for a stunning grocer, and be d—— d to him.' They're great swearers some of them. I make 7*s.* or 8*s.* in a week, for I can walk all day without tiring. I one week cleared 14*s.* Next week I made 3*s.* I *have* slept in cheap lodging-houses—but only in three: one was very decent, though out of the way; one was middling; and the t'other was a pig-sty. I've seen very poor places in the country, but nothing to it. I now pay 2*s.* a week for a sort of closet, with a bed in it, at the top of a house, but it's clean and sweet; and my landlord's a greengrocer and coal-merchant and firewood-seller;—he's a good man—and I can always earn a little against the rent with him, by cleaning his harness, and grooming his pony—he calls it a pony, but it's over 15 hands—and greasing his cart-wheels, and mucking out his stable, and such like. I shall live there when I'm on my cab."

Other carmen's whips are 1*s.* 6*d.*, and as high as 2*s.* 6*d.*, but the great sale is of those at 1*s.* The principal localities for the trade are at the meat-markets, the "green markets," Smithfield, the streets leading to Billingsgate when crowded in the morning, the neighbourhood of the docks and wharfs, and the thoroughfares generally.

The trade in the other kind of whips is again in the hands of another class, in that of cabmen who have lost their licence, who have been maimed, and the numerous "hands" who job about stables—especially cab-horse stables—when without other employment. The price of the inferior sort of "gig-whips" is 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, the wholesale price being from 9*s.* 6*d.* to 14*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. Some are lower than 9*s.* 6*d.*, but the cabmen, I am told, "will hardly look at them; they know what they're a-buying of, and is wide awake, and that's one reason why the profit's so small." Occasionally, one whip-seller told me, he had sold gig-whips at 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* to gentlemen who had broken their "valuable lance-wood," or "beautiful thorn," and who made a temporary purchase until they could buy at their accustomed shops. "A military gent, with mustachers, once called to me in Piccadilly," the same man stated, "and he said, 'Here, give me the best you can for half-a-crown, I've snapped my own. I never use the whip when I drive, for my horse is skittish and won't stand it, but I can't drive without one.'"

In the height of the season, two, and sometimes three men, sell handsome gig-whips at the fashionable drives or the approaches. "I have taken as much as 30*s.* in a day, for three whips," said one man, "each 10*s.*; but they were silver-mounted thorn, and very cheap indeed; that's 8 or 9 years back; people looks oftener at 10*s.* now. I've sold horse-dealers' whips too, with loaded ends. Oh, all prices. I've bought them, wholesale, at 8*s.* a dozen, and 7*s.* 6*d.* a piece. Hunting whips are never sold in the streets now. I have sold them, but it's a good while ago, as riding whips for park gentlemen. The stocks were of fine strong lancewood—such a close grain! with buck horn handles, and a close-worked thong, fastened to the stock by an 'eye' (loop), which it's slipped through. You could hear its crack half a mile off. 'Threshing machines,' I called them."

All the whip-sellers in a large way visit the races, fairs, and large markets within 50 miles of London. Some go as far as Goodwood at the race-time, which is between 60 and 70 miles distant. On a well-thronged race-ground these men will take 3*l.* or 4*l.* in a day, and from a half to three-fourths as much at a country fair. They sell riding-whips in the country, but seldom in town.

An experienced man knew 40 whip-sellers, as nearly as he could call them to mind, by sight, and 20 by name. He was certain that on no day

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were there fewer than 30 in the streets, and sometimes—though rarely—there were 100. The most prosperous of the body, including their profits at races, &c., make 1*l.* a week the year through; the poorer sort from 5*s.* to 10*s.*, and the latter are three times as numerous as the others. Averaging that only 30 whip-sellers take 25*s.* each weekly (with profits of from 5*s.* to 10*s.*) in London alone, we find 2340*l.* expended in the streets in whips.

Some of the whip-sellers vend whipcord, also, to those cabmen and carters who "cord" their own whips. The whipcord is bought wholesale at 2*s.* the pound (sometimes lower), and sold at ½*d.* the knot, there being generally six dozen knots in a pound.

Another class "mend" cabmen's whips, re-thonging, or "new-springing" them, but these are street-artisans.

Of the Street-Sellers of Pipes, and of Snuff and Tobacco Boxes.

The pipes now sold in the streets and public-houses are the "china bowls" and the "comic heads." The "china-bowl" pipe has a bowl of white stone china, which unscrews, from a flexible tube or "stem," as it is sometimes called, about a foot long, with an imitation-amber mouth-piece. They are retailed at 6*d.* each, and cost 4*s.* a dozen at the swag-shops. The "comic heads" are of the clay ordinarily used in the making of pipes, and cost 16*d.* the dozen, or 15*s.* the gross. They are usually retailed at 2*d.* Some of the "comic heads" may be considered as hardly well described by the name, as among them are death's-heads and faces of grinning devils. "The best sale of the comic heads," said one man, "was when the Duke put the soldiers' pipes out at the barracks; wouldn't allow them to smoke there. It was a Wellington's head with his thumb to his nose, taking a sight, you know, sir. They went off capital. Lots of people that liked their pipe bought 'em, in the public-houses especial, 'cause, as I heerd one man—he was a boot-closer—say, 'it made the old boy a-ridiculing of hisself.' At that time—well, really, then, I can't say how long it's since—I sold little bone 'tobacco-stoppers'—they 're seldom asked for now, stoppers is quite out of fashion—and one of them was a figure of 'old Nosey,' the Duke you know—it was intended as a joke, you see, sir; a tobacco-*stopper.*"

There are now nine men selling pipes, which they frequently raffle at the public-houses; it is not unusual for four persons to raffle at ½*d.* each, for a "comic head." The most costly pipes are not now offered in the streets, but a few are sold on race-courses. I am informed that none of the pipe-sellers depend entirely upon their traffic in those wares, but occasionally sell (and raffle) such things as china ornaments or table-covers, or tobacco or snuff-boxes. If, therefore, we calculate that four persons sell pipes daily the year through, taking each 25*s.* (and clearing 10*s.*), we find 260*l.* yearly expended upon the hawkers' pipes.

The snuff and tobacco-boxes disposed of by street-traders, for they are usually sold by the same individual, are bought at the swag-shops. In a matter of traffic, such as snuff-boxes, in which the "fancy" (or taste) of the purchaser is freely exercised, there are of course many varieties. The exterior of some presents a series of transverse lines, coloured, and looking neat enough. Others have a staring portrait of the Queen, or of "a young lady," or a brigand, or a man inhaling the pungent dust with evident delight; occasionally the adornment is a ruin, a farm-house, or a hunting scene. The retail price is from 4*d.* to 1*s.*, and the wholesale 3*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. The Scotch boxes, called "Holyroods" in the trade, are also sold in the streets and public-houses. These are generally the "self-colour" of the wood; the better sort are lined with horn, and are, or should be, remarkable for the closeness and nice adjustment of the hinges or joints. They are sold—some I was told being German-made—at the swag-shops at 3*s.* the dozen, or 4*d.* each, to 6*s.* the dozen, or 8*d.* each. "Why, I calc'lated," said one box-seller, "that one week when I was short of tin, and had to buy single boxes, or twos, at a time, to keep up a fair show of stock, the swags got 2*s.* more out of me than if I could have gone and bought by the dozen. I once ventured to buy a very fine Holyrood; it 'll take a man three hours to find out the way to open it, if he doesn't know the trick, the joints is so contrived. But I have it yet. I never could get an offer for what it cost me, 5*s.*"

The tobacco-boxes are of brass and iron (though often called "steel"). There are three sizes: the "quarter-ounce," costing 3*s.* the dozen; the "half-ounce," 4*s.* 3*d.*; and "the ounce," 5*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, or 6½*d.* each. These are the prices of the brass. The iron, which are "sized" in the same way, are from 2*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, wholesale. They are retailed at from 3*d.* to 6*d.* each, the brass being retailed at from 4*d.* to 1*s.* All these boxes are opened and shut by pressure on a spring; they are partly flat (but rounded), so as to fit in any pocket. The cigar-cases are of the same quality as the snuff-boxes (not the Holyroods), and cost, at the German swag-shops, 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, or 4½*d.* each. They are usually retailed, or raffled for on Saturday and Monday nights, at 6*d.* each, but the trade is a small one.

One branch of this trade, concerning which I heard many street-sellers very freely express their opinions, is the sale of "indecent snuff-boxes." Most of these traders insisted, with a not unnatural bitterness, that it would be as easy to stop the traffic as it was to stop Sunday selling in the park, but then "gentlemen was accommodated by it," they added. These boxes and cigar-cases are, for the most part, I am told, French, the lowest price being 2*s.* 6*d.* a box. One man, whose information was confirmed to me by others, gave me the following account of what had come within his own knowledge:—

"There's eight and sometimes nine persons carrying on the indecent trade in snuff-boxes and cigar-cases. They make a good bit of money, but they 're drunken characters, and often hard up. They 've neither shame nor decency; they 'll

tempt lads or anybody. They go to public-houses which they know is used by fast gents that has money to spare. And they watch old and very young gents in the streets, or any gents indeed, and when they see them loitering and looking after the girls, they take an opportunity to offer a 'spicy snuff-box, very cheap.' It's a trade only among rich people, for I believe the indecent sellers can't afford to sell at all under 2*s.* 6*d.*, and they ask high prices when they get hold of a green 'un; perhaps one up on a spree from Oxford or Cambridge. Well, I can't say where they get their goods, nor at what price. That 's their secret. They carry them in a box, with proper snuff-boxes to be seen when its opened, and the others in a secret drawer beneath; or in their pockets. You may have seen a stylish shop in Oxford-street, and in the big window is large pipe heads of a fine quality, and on them is painted, quite beautiful, naked figures of women, and there 's snuff-boxes and cigar-cases of much the same sort, but they 're nothing to what these men sell. I must know, for it's not very long since I was forced, through distress, to colour a lot of the figures. I could colour 50 a day. I hadn't a week's work at it. I don't know what they make; perhaps twice as much in a day, as in the regular trade can be made in a week. I was told by one of them that one race day he took 15*l.* It 's not every day they do a good business, for sometimes they may hawk without ever showing their boxes; but gentlemen will have them if they pay ever so much for them. There 's a risk in the trade, certainly. Sometimes the police gets hold of them, but very very seldom, and it's 3 months. Or if the Vice Society takes it up, it may be 12 months. The two as does best in the trade are women; they carry great lots. They 've never been apprehended, and they 've been in the trade for years. No, I should say they was not women of the town. They 're both living with men, but the men 's not in the same trade, and I think is in no trade; just fancy men. So I 've understood."

I may observe that the generality of the hawkers of indecent prints and cards are women.

There are about 35 persons selling snuff and tobacco-boxes—the greatest sale being of tobacco-boxes—and cigar-cases, generally with the other things I have mentioned. Of these 35, however, not one-half sell snuff-boxes constantly, but resort to any traffic of temporary interest in the public or street-public estimation. Some sell only in the evenings. Reckoning that 15 persons on snuff and tobacco and cigar boxes alone take 18*s.* weekly (clearing 7*s.* or 8*s.*), we find 692*l.* thus expended.

Of the Street-Sellers of Cigars.

Cigars, I am informed, have constituted a portion of the street-trade for upwards of 20 years, having been introduced not long after the removal of the prohibition on their importation from Cuba. It was not, however, until five or six years later that they were at all extensively sold in the streets; but the street-trade in cigars is no longer extensive, and in some respects has ceased to exist altogether.

I am told by experienced persons that the cigars first vended in the streets and public-houses were really smuggled. I say "really" smuggled, as many now vended under that pretence never came from the smuggler's hands. "Well, now, sir," said one man, "the last time I sold Pickwicks and Cubers a penny apiece with lights for nothing, was at Greenwich Fair, on the sly rather, and them as I could make believe was buying a smuggled thing, bought far freer. Everybody likes a smuggled thing." [This remark is only in consonance with what I have heard from others of the same class.] "In my time I 've sold what was smuggled, or made to appear as sich, but far more in the country than town, to all sorts—to gentlemen, and ladies, and shopkeepers, and parsons, and doctors, and lawyers. Why no, sir, I can't say as how I ever sold anything in that way to an exciseman. But smuggling 'll always be liked; it's sich a satisfaction to any man to think he 's done the tax-gatherer."

The price of a cigar, in the earlier stages of the street-traffic, was 2*d.* and 3*d.* One of the boxes in which these wares are ordinarily packed was divided by a partition, the one side containing the higher, and the other the lower priced article. The division was often a mere trick of trade—in justification of which any street-seller would be sure to cite the precedent of shopkeepers' practices—for the cigars might be the same price (wholesale) but the bigger and better-looking were selected as "threepennies," the "werry choicest and realest Hawanners, as mild as milk, and as strong as gunpowder," for such, I am told, was the cry of a then well-known street-trader. The great sale was of the "twopennies." As the fuzees, now so common, were unknown, and lucifer matches were higher-priced, and much inferior to what they are at present, the cigar seller in most instances carried tow with him, a portion of which he kept ignited in a sort of tinder-box, and at this the smokers lighted their cigars; or the vender twisted together a little tow and handed it, ignited, to a customer, that if he were walking on he might renew his "light," if the cigar "wouldn't draw."

A cheaper cigar soon found its way into street commerce, "only a penny apiece, prime cigars;" and on its first introduction, a straw was fitted into it, as a mouth-piece. "Cigar tubes" were also sold in the streets; they were generally of bone, and charged from 2*d.* to 1*s.* each. The cigar was fitted into the tube, and they were strongly recommended on the score of economy, as "by means of this tube, any gen'l'man can smoke his cigar to half a quarter of an inch, instead of being forced to throw it away with an inch and a half left." These tubes have not for a long time been vended in the streets. I am told by a person, who himself was then engaged in the sale, that the greatest number of penny cigars ever sold in the streets in one day was on that of her Majesty's coronation (June 28, 1838). Of this he was quite

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positive from what he had experienced, seen, and heard.

"In my opinion," said another street-seller, "the greatest injury the street-trade in such things had was when the publicans took to selling cigars. They didn't at first, at least not generally; I 've sold cigars myself, at the bars of respectable houses, to gentlemen that was having their glass of ale with a friend, and one has said to another, 'Come, we 'll have a smoke,' and has bought a couple. O, no; I never was admitted to offer them in a parlour or tap-room; that would have interfered with the order for 'screws' (penny papers of tobacco), which is a rattling good profit, I can tell you. Indeed, I was looked shy at, from behind the bar; but if customers chose to buy, a landlord could hardly interfere. Now, it's no go at all in such places."

One common practice among the smarter street-seller, when "on cigars," was, until of late years, and still is, occasionally at races and fairs, to possess themselves of a few really choice "weeds," as like as they could procure them to their stock-in-trade, and to smoke one of them, as they urged their traffic.

The aroma was full and delicate, and this was appealed to if necessary, or, as one man worded it, the smell was "left to speak for itself." The street-folk who prefer the sale of what is more or less a luxury, become, by the mere necessities of their calling, physiognomists and quick observers, and I have no reason to doubt the assertion of one cigar-vendor, when he declared that in the earlier stages of this traffic he could always, and most unerringly in the country, pick out the man on whose judgment others seemed to rely, and by selling him one of his choice reserve, procure a really impartial opinion as to its excellence, and so influence other purchasers. When the town trade "grew stale"—the usual term for its falling-off—the cigar-sellers had a remunerative field in many parts of the country.

In London, before railways became the sole means of locomotion to a distance, the cigar-sellers frequented the coaching-yards; and the "outsides" frequently "bought a cigar to warm their noses of a cold night," and sometimes filled their cases, if the cigar-seller chanced to have the good word of the coachman or guard.

The cigar street-trade was started by two Jews, brothers, named Benasses, who were "licensed to deal in tobacco," and vended good articles. When they relinquished the open-air business, they supplied the other street-sellers, whose numbers increased very rapidly. The itinerant cigar-vending was always principally in the hands of the Jews, but the general street-traders resorted to the traffic on all occasions of public resort,—"sich times," observed one, "as fairs and races, and crownations, and Queen's weddings; I wish they came a bit oftener for the sake of trade." The manufacture of the cigars sold at the lowest rates, is now almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, and I am informed by a distinguished member of that ancient faith, that when I treat of the Hebrew children, employed in *making* cigars, there will be much to be detailed of which the public have little cognisance and little suspicion.

The cigars in question are bought (wholesale) in Petticoat-lane, Rosemary-lane, Ailie-street, Tenter-ground, in Goodman's-fields, and similar localities. The kinds in chief demand are Pickwicks, 7*s.* and 8*s.* per lb.; Cubas, 8*s.* 6*d.*; common Havannahs and Bengal Cheroots, the same price; but the Bengal Cheroots are not uncommonly smuggled.

"The best places for cigar-selling," one man stated, "I 've always found to be out of town; about Greenwich and Shooter's Hill, and to the gents going to Kensington Gardens, and such like places. About the Eagle Tavern was good, too, as well as the streets leading to the Surrey Zoological—one could whisper, 'cheap cigar, sir, half what they 'll charge you inside.' I 've known young women treat their young men to cigars as they were going to Cremorne, or other public places; but there 's next to no trade that way now, and hasn't been these five or six years. I don't know what stopped it exactly. I 've heard it was shopkeepers that had licences, complaining of street people as hadn't, and so the police stopped the trade as much as they could."

At all the neighbouring races and fairs, and at any great gathering of people in town, cigars are sold, more with the affectation than the reality of its being done, "quite on the sly." The retail price is 1*d.* each, and three for 2*d.* Some of the cheap cigars are made to run 200, and even as high as 230 to the pound. A fuzee is often given into the bargain.

I am told that, on all favourable opportunities, there are still 100 persons who vend cigars in the streets of London, while a greater number of "London hands" carry on the trade at Epsom and Ascot races. At other periods the business is all but a nonentity. To clear 1*l.* a week is considered "good work." At one period, on every fine Sunday, there were not, I am assured, fewer than 500 persons selling cigars in the open air in London and its suburbs.

Of the Street-Sellers of Sponge.

This is one of the street-trades which has been long in the hands of the Jews, and, unlike the traffic in pencils, sealing-wax, and other articles of which I have treated, it remains so principally still.

In perhaps no article which is a regular branch of the street-trade, is there a greater diversity in the price and quality than in sponge. The street-sellers buy it at 1*s.* (occasionally 6*d.*), and as high as 21*s.* the pound. At one time, I believe about 20 years back, when fine sponge in large pieces was scarce and dear, some street-sellers gave 28*s.* the pound, or, in buying a smaller quantity, 2*s.* an ounce.

"I have sold sponge of all sorts," said an experienced street-seller, "both 'fine toilet,' fit for any lady or gentleman, and coarse stuff not fit to groom a ass with. That very common sponge is mostly 1*s.* the lb. wholesale, but it's no manner of use, it's so sandy and gritty. It weighs heavy,

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or there might be a better profit on it. It has to be trimmed up and damped for showing it, and then it always feels hask (harsh) to the hand. It rubs to bits in no time. There was a old gent what I served with sponges, and he was very perticler, and the best customer I ever had, for his housekeeper bought her leathers of me. Like a deal of old coves that has nothing to do and doesn't often stir out, but hidles away time in reading or pottering about a garden, he was fond of a talk, and he 'd give me a glass of something short, as if to make me listen to him, for I used to get fidgety, and he 'd talk away stunning. He 's dead now. He 's told me, and more nor once, that sponges was more of a animal than a wegetable," continued the incredulous street-seller, "I do believe people reads theirselves silly. Such —— nonsense! Does it look like a animal? Where 's its head and its nose? He 'd better have said it was a fish. And it 's not a wegetable neither. But I 'll tell you what it is, sir, and from them as has seen it where its got with their own eyes. I have some relations as is seafarin'-men, and I went a woyage once myself when a lad—one of my relations has seen it gathered by divers, I forget where, from the rocks at the bottom and shores of the sea, and he says it 's just seamoss—stuff as grows there, as moss does to old walls in England. That 's what it is, sir. As it 's grown in the water, it holds water you see. I 've made 15*s*. on sponge alone, in a good week, when I had a good stock; but oftener I 've made only 10*s*., and sometimes not 5*s*. My best trade is at private houses a little ways out of town. I 've heard gents say, 'A good sponging 's as good as a bath,' and when I could get good things cheap they 'd be sure to sell. No, I never did much at the mews."

Another man told me that he once bought a large quantity of sponge at 6*d*. the lb., trimmed it up as well as he could, and got a man to help him, and the two "worked it off" in barrows; there was six barrows full, and as one was empted it was replenished. It was sold at 1*d*. and 2*d*. a lump; about twenty lumps, or pieces, going to a pound, so that there was 14*d*. profit on what cost 6*d*., even on the penny lumps. He had forgotten the exact amount he cleared, and he and his mate sold it all in one summer's evening, but it was somewhere about 10*s*. This happened some years ago, when the common sponge, which I heard called also "honeycomb" sponge, was not so "blown upon," as my informant expressed it, as it is now. On my asking this man as to the proportion of Jews in this trade, he answered: "Well, many a day I 'm satisfied there 's 100 people selling sponge, and I should say that for every ten or twelve Jews is one Christian, and half of them, or more, has been in some sort of service, I mean the Christians has, most likely stable-helpers, and they supplies the mews and the job and livery stables, such of them as requires men to find their own sponges, but that 's only a few; sponges is mostly bought for such places at the saddlers' and other shops. In my opinion, sir, Jews is better Christians than Christians themselves, for *they* help one another, and we don't. I 've been helped by a Jew myself, without any connection with them. They 're terrible keen hands at a bargain, though."

The sponge in the street-trade is purchased, wholesale, chiefly in Houndsditch. The wholesale trade in sponge, I may add, is also in the hands of the Jews. The great mart is Smyrna, the best qualities being gathered in the islands of the Greek Archipelago. The sponge is carried by the street-traders in baskets, the bearer holding a specimen piece or two in his hand. Smaller pieces are sometimes carried in nets, and nets were more frequently in use for this purpose than at present. It is nearly all sold by itinerants, in the business parts as well as the suburbs, the purchasers being "shopkeepers, innkeepers, gentlemen, and gentlemen's servants." Sometimes low-priced sponge is offered in a street-market on a Saturday or Monday night, but very rarely, as it is a thing little used by the poor. A little is sold to the cabmen at their stands. The sponge-sellers, I may add, when going a regular round, offer their wares to any passer-by. A little is done by the Jews in bartering sponge for old clothes. There are five or six women in the trade.

I have reason to believe that the estimate of my informant, as to the number of sponge-sellers, is correct. But some sell sponge only occasionally, some make it only a portion of their business, and others vend it only when they "have it a bargain." Calculating, then, that only fifty persons (so allowing for the irregularities in the trade) vend sponge daily, and that each takes 15*s*. weekly,—some taking 25*s*., and others but 5*s*.—with about half profit on the whole (the common sponge is often from 200 to 300 per cent. profit), we find the outlay to be 1850*l*.

Of the Street-Sellers of Wash-Leathers.

The wash-leathers, sometimes called "shammys" (chamois), now sold extensively in the streets, are for the most part the half of a sheep-skin, or of a larger lamb-skin. The skin is "split" by machinery, and to a perfect nicety, into two portions. That known as the "grain" (the part to which the fleece of the animal is attached) is very thin, and is dressed into a "skiver," a kind of leather used in the commoner requirements of book-binding, and for such purposes as the lining of hats. The other portion, the "flesh," is dressed as wash-leather. These skins are bought at the leather-sellers and the leather-dressers, at from 2*s*. to 20*s*. the dozen. The higher priced, or those from 12*s*. are often entire, and not "split" skins. The great majority of the street-sellers of wash-leathers are women, and principally Irishwomen. They offer their wash-leathers in all parts of town, calling at shops and inns; and at private houses offering them through the area rails, or knocking at the door when it is accessible. Many of these street-sellers are the wives of Irish labourers, employed by bricklayers and others, who are either childless, or able to leave their younger children under

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the care of an older brother or sister, or when the poverty of the parents, or their culpable neglect, is extreme, allow them to run at large in the court or street, untended. The wives by this street-trade add to the husbands' earnings. In the respects of honesty and chastity, these women bear good characters.

The wash-leathers are sold for the cleaning of windows, and of plate and metal goods. Sixpence is a common price for a leather, the higher priced being sold at the mews and at gentlemen's houses. The "chamois" sold at the mews, however, are not often sold by the Irishwomen, but by the class I have described as selling scissors, &c., there. The leathers are also cut into pennyworths, and these pennyworths are sometimes sold on Saturday evenings in the street-markets.

There are, I am assured, 100 individuals selling little or nothing else but wash-leathers (for these traders are found in all the suburbs) in London, and that they take 10*s.* weekly, with a profit of from 4*s.* to 5*s.* There are, also, 100 other persons selling them occasionally, along with other goods, and as they vend the higher-priced articles, they probably receive nearly an equal amount. Hence it would appear that upwards of 5000*l.* is annually expended in the streets in this purchase.

Of the Street-Sellers of Spectacles and Eye-Glasses.

Twenty-five years ago the street-trade in spectacles was almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, who hawked them in their boxes of jewellery, and sold them in the streets and public-houses, carrying them in their hands, as is done still. The trade was then far more remunerative that it is at the present time to the street-folk carrying it on. "People had more money then," one old spectacle-seller, now vending sponges, said, "and there wasn't so many forced to take to the streets, Irish particularly, and opticians' charges were higher than they are now, and those who wanted glasses thought they were a take-in if they wasn't charged a fair price. O, times was very different then."

The spectacles in the street-trade are bought at swag-shops in Houndsditch. The "common metal frames," with or without slides, are 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* the dozen wholesale, and are retailed from 4*d.* to 1*s.* The "horn frames" are 6*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* the dozen, and are retailed from 9*d.* to 18*d.*, and even 2*s.* The "thin steel" are from 10*s.* 6*d.* to 21*s.* the dozen, and are retailed from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* There are higher and lower prices, but those I have cited are what are usually paid by the street-traders. The inequality of the retail prices is accounted for by there being some difference in the spectacles in a dozen, some being of a better-looking material in horn or metal; others better finished. Then there is the chance of which street-sellers are not slow to avail themselves—("no more nor is shopkeepers," one man said)—I mean, the chance of obtaining an enhanced price for an article, with whose precise value the buyer is unacquainted.

"The patter," said the street-trader I have before quoted, "is nothing now, to what I've known it. You call it patter, but I don't. I think it's more in the way of persuasion, and is mostly said in public-houses, and not in the streets. Why, I've persuaded people, when I was in the trade and doing well at it—for that always gives you spirits—I've persuaded them in spite of their eyes that they wanted glasses. I knew a man who used to brag that he could talk people blind, and then they bought! It wasn't old people I so much sold to as young and middle-aged. I think perhaps I sold as many because people thought they looked better, or more knowing in them, than to help their eyesight. I've known my customers try my glasses, one pair after another, in the chimney glass of a public-house parlour. 'They're real Scotch pebbles,' I used to say sometimes—and I always had a fair article,—'and was intended for a solid silver frame but the frame was made too small for them, and so I got them and put them into this frame myself, for I'm an optician, out of work, by trade. They're worth 15*s.*, but you may have them, framed and all, for 7*s.* 6*d.*' I got 5*s.* for one pair once that way but they were a superior thing; I had them a particular bargain." One man told me that not long ago he asked 10*d.* for a pair of spectacles, and a journeyman slop-tailor said to him, "Why I only gave 1*s.* for this pair I'm wearing a few years back, and they ought to be less than 10*d.* now, for the duty's off glass."

The eye-glasses sold in the streets are "framed" in horn. They are bought at the same places as the spectacles, and cost, wholesale, for "single eyes" 4*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. The retail price is from 6*d.* to 1*s.* The "double eyes," which are jointed in the middle so that the frame can be fitted to the bridge of the nose, are 10*s.* 6*d.* to 15*s.* the dozen, and are retailed by the street-folk from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* each.

The spectacles are sold principally to working men, and are rarely hawked in the suburbs. The chief sale is in public-houses, but they are offered in all the busier thoroughfares and wherever a crowd is assembled. "The eye-glasses," said a man who vended them, "is sold to what I calls counter-hoppers and black-legs. You'll see most of the young swells that's mixed up with gaming concerns at races—for there's gaming still, though the booths is put down in many places—sport their eye-glasses; and so did them as used to be concerned in getting up Derby and St. Leger 'sweeps' at public-houses; least-ways I've sold to them, where sweeps was held, and they was busy about them, and offered me a chance, sometimes, for a handsome eye-glass. But they're going out of fashion, is eye-glasses, I think. The other day I stood and offered them for nearly five hours at the foot of London-bridge, which used to be a tidy pitch for them, and I couldn't sell one. All that day I didn't take a halfpenny."

There are sometimes 100 men, the half of whom are Jews and Irishmen in equal propor-

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tions, now selling spectacles and eye-glasses. Some of these traders are feeble from age, accident, continued sickness, or constitution, and represent that they must carry on a "light trade," being incapable of hard work, even if they could get it. Two women sell spectacles along with Dutch drops. As in other "light trades," the spectacle sellers do not, as a body, confine themselves to those wares, but resort, as one told me, "to anything that's up at the time and promises better," for a love of change is common among those who pursue a street life. It may be estimated, I am assured, that there are thirty-five men (so allowing for the breaks in regular spectacle selling) who vend them daily, taking 15*s.* a week (with a profit of 10*s.*), the yearly expenditure being thus 1365*l.*

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF DOLLS.

THE making of dolls, like that of many a thing required for a mere recreation, a toy, a pastime, is often carried on amidst squalor, wretchedness, or privation, or—to use the word I have frequently heard among the poor—"pinching." Of this matter, however, I shall have to treat when I proceed to consider the manufacture of and trade in dolls generally, not merely as respects street-sale.

Dolls are now so cheap, and so generally sold by open-air traders whose wares are of a miscellaneous character, as among the "swag-barrow" or "penny-a-piece" men of whom I have treated separately, that the sale of what are among the most ancient of all toys, as a "business of itself," is far smaller, numerically, than it was.

The dolls are most usually carried in baskets by street-sellers (who are not makers) and generally by women who are very poor. Here and there in the streets most frequented by the patrons of the open-air trade may be seen a handsome stall of dolls of all sizes and fashions, but these are generally the property of makers, although those makers may buy a portion of their stock. There are also smaller stalls which may present the stock of the mere seller.

The dolls for street traffic may be bought at the swag-shops or of the makers. For the little armless 1*d.* dolls the maker charges the street-seller 8*s.*, and to the swag-shop keeper who may buy largely, 7*s.* 6*d.* the dozen. Some little stalls are composed entirely of penny dolls; on others the prices run from 1*d.* to 6*d.* The chief trade, however, among the class I now describe, is carried on by the display of dolls in baskets. If the vendor can only attract the notice of children—and more especially in a private suburban residence, where children are not used to the sight of dolls on stalls or barrows, or in shops—and can shower a few blessings and compliments, "God be wid your bhutiful faces thin—and yours too, my lady, ma'am (with a curtsey to mistress or maid). Buy one of these dolls of a poor woman: shure they're bhutiful dolls and shuted for them angels o' the worruld;" under such circumstances, I say, a sale is almost certain. I may add that the words I have given I myself heard a poor Irishwoman, whom I had seen before selling large pincushions in the same neighbourhood (that of the Regent's Park), address to a lady who was walking round her garden accompanied by two children.

A vendor of dolls expresses an opinion that as long as ever there are children from two years old to ten, there will always be purchasers of dolls; "but for all that," said he, "somehow or another 't is nothing of a trade to what it used to be. I've seen the time when I could turn out in the morning and earn a pound afore night; but it's different now there's so many bazaars, and so many toy shops that the doll hawker hasn't half the chance he used to have. Sartinly we gets a chance now and then—fine days is the best—and if we can get into the squares or where the children walks with their nurses, we can do tidy; but the police are so very particular there's not much of a livelihood to be got. Spoiled children are our best customers. Whenever we sees a likely customer approaching—we, that is, those who know their business—always throw ourselves in the way, and spread out our dolls to the best advantage. If we hears young miss say *she will* have one, and cries for it, we are almost sure of a customer, and if we see her kick and fight a bit with the nuss-maid we are sure of a good price. If a child *cries well* we never baits our price. Most of the doll-sellers are the manufacturers of the dolls—that is, I mean, they puts 'em together. The heads are made in Hamburgh; the principal places for buying them in London are at Alfred Davis's, in Houndsditch; White's, in Houndsditch; and Joseph's, in Leadenhall-street. They are sold as thus:—The heads that we sell for 3*d.* each, when made up, cost us 7*s.* 6*d.* per gross, or 7½*d.* per dozen; these are called 1—O's. No. 2—O's., are 8*s.* 6*d.* per gross, and No. 3—O's. 10*s.* per gross. One yard and half of calico will make a dozen bodies, small size. These we get sewn for three halfpence, and we stuffs and finishes them ourselves.

"When our 3*d.* dolls are made up, they cost about 1*s.* per dozen—so there is 2*d.* profit on every doll, which I thinks is little enough; but we often sells 'em at 2*d.*; we lays 'em out to the best advantage in a deep basket, all standing up, as it were, or leaning against the sides of the basket. The legs and bodies is carefully wrapped in tissue paper, not exactly to preserve the lower part of the doll, for that isn't so very valuable, but in reality to conceal the legs and body, which is rather the reverse of symmetrical; for, to tell the truth, every doll looks as if it were labouring under an attack of the gout. There are, however, some very neat articles exported from Germany, especially the jointed dolls, but they are too dear for the street-hawker, and would not show to such advantage. There is also the plaster dolls, with the match legs. I wonder how they keep their stand, for they are very old-fashioned; but they sell, for you never see a chandler's shop window without seeing one of these sticking in it, and a falling down as if it was drunk. Then there's the wax dolls. Some of 'em are made of wax, and others of '*pappy mashy*,' and afterwards dipped in wax. The cheapest and best mart for these is in Barbi-

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can; it would astonish many if they knew exactly what was laid out in the course of a year in dolls. It would be impossible, I think, to ascertain exactly; but I think I could guess something near the mark. There are, at least, at this time of year, when the fairs are coming on, fifty doll-hawkers, who sell nothing else. Say each of these sells one dozen dolls per day, and that their average price is 4*d.* each. That is just 10*l.* a day, and 60*l.* per week. In the winter time so many are not sold; but I have no doubt that 50*l.*'s worth of dolls are sold each week throughout the year by London hawkers alone, or just upon 3000*l.* per annum. The shops sell as many as the hawkers, and the stalls attending fairs half the amount; and you may safely say that the sum taken for dolls in and around London in one year amounts to 7500*l.* A doll-merchant can begin business with a trifle," continued my informant; "a shilling will obtain a dozen 3*d.* dolls. If you have no basket, carry them in your arms, although they don't show off to such advantage there as they do when nicely basketed; however, if you 've luck, you may soon raise a basket; for 3*s.* 6*d.* you can get a very nice one; and although the doll trade is not what it used to be, there are," said my informant, "worse games than that yet, I know. One man, who is now in a very respectable way of business —'*a regular gentleman*'—was a very few years ago only a doll-hawker. Another man, who had two hands and only one arm—poor fellow! he was born with one arm, and had two hands, one appended to his arm in the usual way, and the other attached to his shoulder—a freak of nature, I think, they called it. However, my one-armed friend keeps now a very respectable little swag-shop at North Shields, in Northumberland."

I inquired of my informant whether he objected to relate a little of his history? He replied, "not the least," and recounted as follows:—

"They call me *Dick the Dollman*. I was, I believe, the first as ever cried dolls three a shilling in the streets. Afore I began they al'ays stood still with 'em; but I cried 'em out same as they do mackrel; that is twenty years ago. I wasn't originally a doll-seller. My father was a pensioner in Greenwich College. My mother used to hawk, and had a licence. I was put to school in St. Patrick's-school, Lanark's-passage, where I remained six years, but I didn't learn much. At thirteen years of age I was apprenticed to a brush and broom maker's, corner of C——— Street, Spitalfields. My master was not the honestest chap in the world, for he bought hair illegal, was found out, and got transported for seven years. A man who worked for my master took me to finish my apprenticeship; this man and his wife was very old people. I used to work four days in the week, two for them and two for myself; the other two days I went out hawking brooms and brushes, and very often would earn 7*s.* or 8*s.* on a Saturday, but times was better then than they are now. Arter that, for sake of gain, I left the old people, I was offered 20*s.* to make and hawk; and in course I took it. I remained with this master five months; he was afflicted with rheumatic fever—went into the hospital—and I was left to shift for myself. When my master went to the hospital I had 7*s.* 6*d.* in my pocket; I knew I *must* do something, and, to tell you the truth, I didn't like the brush-making; I would rather have hawked something without the trouble of making it. I think *now* I was a little afflicted with laziness. I was passing London-bridge and saw a man selling Marshall's pocket-books; I knowed him afore; I thought I should like to try the pocket-book selling, and communicated my wishes to the man; he told me they cost eight shillings a dozen, if I liked we would purchase a dozen a'twixt us; we did so; I received half a dozen, but I afterwards learned that my friend obtained seven for his share, as they were sold thirteen to the dozen. I went to Chancery-lane with my lot and was very lucky; I sold the six books to one gentleman for six shillings: in course I soon obtained another supply; that day I sold four dozen, and earned 20*s.* I was such a good seller that Marshall let me have 3*l.* or 4*l.*'s worth on credit—*and I never paid him.* I know that was wrong now; but I was such a foolish chap, and used to spend my money as fast as I got it. I would have given Marshall a shilling the other day if I had had one, for I see him selling penny books in the street. I thought it was hard lines, and had been such a gentleman too. Somerset-house corner was a capital stand for selling pocket-books. The way I took to the dolls was this; I met a girl with a doll basket one day as I was standing at Somerset-house corner; she and I got a talking. 'Will you go to the 'Delphy to night?' says I; she consented. They was a playing Tom and Jerry at this time, all the street-sellers went to see it, and other people; and nice and crabbed some on 'em was. Well, we goes to the 'Delphy—and I sees her often arter that, and at last gets married. She used to buy her dolls ready made; I soon finds out where to get the heads—and the profits when we made them ourselves was much greater. We began to serve hawkers and shops; went to Bristol—saved 47*l.*—comes to London and spends it all; walks back to Bristol, and by the time we got there we had cleared more than 20*l.* We were about a month on the journey, and visited Cheltenham and other towns. We used to spend our money very foolishly; we were too fond of what was called getting on the spree. You see we might have done well if we had liked, but we hadn't the sense. My wife got very clever at the dolls and so did I. Then I tried my hand at the wax dolls, and got to make them very well. I paid a guinea to learn.

"I was selling wax-dolls one day in London, and a gentleman asked me if I could mend a wax figure whose face was broken. I replied yes, for I had made a few wax heads, large size, for some showmen. I had made some murderers who was hung; lately I made Rush and Mr. and Mrs. Manning; but the showmen can't afford to get new heads now-a-days, so they generally makes one head do for all; sometimes they changes the dress. Well, as I was telling you, I went with this gentleman, and proposed that he should have

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a new head cast, for the face of the figure was so much broken. It was Androcles pulling the thorn out of the lion's foot, and was to be exhibited. I got 20*s.* for making the new head. The gentleman asked me if I knew the story about Androcles. Now I had never heard on him afore, but I didn't like to confess my ignorance, so I says 'yes;' then he offers me 30*s.* a week to describe it in the Flora Gardens, where it was to be exhibited. I at once accepted the engagement; but I was in a bit of a fix, for I didn't know what to say. I inquired of a good many people, but none on 'em could tell me; at last I was advised to go to Mr. Charles Sloman—you know who I mean—him as makes a song and sings it directly; I was told he writes things for people. I went, and he wrote me out a patter. I asked him how much he charged; he said, 'Nothing my man.' Sartinly he wasn't long a-doing it, but it was very kind of him. I got what Mr. Sloman wrote out for me printed, and this I stuck inside my hat; the people couldn't see it, though I dare say they wondered what I was looking in my hat about. However, in a week or so, I got it by heart, and could speak it well enough. After exhibiting Androcles I got an engagement with another waxwork show—named Biancis—and afterwards at other shows. I was considered a very good doorsman in time, but there's very little to be got by that now; so we keeps to the dolly business, and finds we can get a better living at that than anything else. Me and the old woman can earn 1*l.* a week, bad and all as things are; but we're obliged to hawk."

Of the "Swag-Barrowmen," and "Lot-Sellers."

The "swag" (miscellaneous) barrow is one of the objects in the streets which attracts, perhaps more readily than any other, the regards of the passer-by. There are so many articles and of such various uses; they are often so closely packed, so new and clean looking, and every here and there so tastefully arranged, that this street-trader's barrow really repays an examination. Here are spread on the flat part of the barrow, pepper-cruets or boxes, tea-caddies, nutmeg-graters, vinegar-cruets, pen-cases, glass or china-handled pens, pot ornaments, beads, ear-rings, finger-rings (plain or with "stones"), cases of scent-bottles, dolls, needle-cases, pincushions, Exhibition medals and "frames" (framed pictures), watches, shawl-pins, extinguishers, trumpets and other toys, kaleidoscopes, seals, combs, lockets, thimbles, bone tooth-picks, small playing-cards, teetotums, shuttle-cocks, key-rings, shirt-studs or buttons, hooks and eyes, coat-studs, money-boxes, spoons, boxes of toys, earthenware-mugs, and glass articles, such as salt-cellars and smelling-bottles. On one barrow were 225 articles.

At the back and sides of the swag-barrow are generally articles which are best displayed in an erect position. These are children's wooden swords, whips, climbing monkeys, and tumblers, jointed snakes twisting to the wind from the top of a stick, kites, and such things as tin egg-holders.

Perhaps on very few barrows or stalls are to be seen *all* the articles I have enumerated, but they are all "in the trade," and, if not found in this man's stock, may be found in his neighbour's. Things which attain only a temporary sale, such as galvanic rings, the Lord's Prayer in the compass of a sixpence, gutta-percha heads, &c., are also to be found, during the popular demand, in the miscellaneous trader's stock.

Each of the articles enumerated is retailed at 1*d.* "Only a penny!" is the cry, "pick 'em out anywhere; wherever your taste lies; only a penny, a penny, a penny!" But on a few other barrows are goods, mixed with the "penny" wares, of a higher price; such as knives and forks, mustard pots, sham beer glasses (the glasses which appear to hold beer frothing to the brim), higher-priced articles of jewellery, skipping-ropes, drums, china ornaments, &c. At these barrows the prices run from 1*d.* to 1*s.*

The practice of selling by commission, the same as I have shown to prevail among the costers, exists among the miscellaneous dealers of whom I am treating, who are known among street-folk as "swag-barrowmen," or, in the popular ellipsis, "penny swags;" the word "swag" meaning, as I before showed, a collection—a lot.

The "swag-men" are often confounded with the "lot-sellers"; so that I proceed to show the difference.

The *Lot-Sellers* proper, are those who vend a variety of small articles, or "a lot," all for 1*d.* A "lot" frequently consists of a sheet of songs, a Chinese puzzle, a 5*l.* note (Bank of Elegance), an Exhibition snuff-box (containing 6 spoons), a half jack (half sovereign), a gold ring, a silver ring, and a chased keeper with rose, thistle, and shamrock on it. The lots are diversified with packs of a few cards, little pewter ornaments, boxes of small wooden toys, shirt-buttons, baby thimbles, beads, tiny scent bottles, and such like.

The "penny apiece" or "swag" trade, as contradistinguished from the "penny lots" vended by the lot-sellers, was originated by a man who, some 19 years ago, sold a variety of trifles from a tea-tray in Petticoat-lane. My informant had heard him say—for the original "penny apiece" died four years ago—that he did it to get rid of the odds and ends of his stock. The system, however, at once attracted popularity, and the fortunate street-seller prospered and "died worth money." At that period penny goods (excepting such things as sweet-stuffs, pastry, &c.) were far less numerous in the streets, and yet I have never met with an old street-trader (a statement fully borne out by old and intelligent mechanics) who did not pronounce spare pennies to be far more abundant in those days among the poorer and even middle classes. There were, moreover, far fewer street chapmen, so that this novel mode of business had every chance to thrive.

The origin of "lot-selling," or selling "penny lots" instead of penny articles, was more curious. It was commenced by an ingenious Swiss (?)

(about a year after the "penny apiece" trade), known in the street circles as "Swede." He was a refugee,—a Roman Catholic, and a hot politician. He spoke and understood English well, but had no sympathy with the liberal parties in this country. "He was a republican," he would say, "and the Chartists were only milk and water." When he established his lot-selling he used to place to his mouth an instrument, which was described to me as "like a doubled card," and play upon it very finely. This would attract a crowd, and he would then address them in good English, but with a slight foreign accent: "My frents; come to me, and I will show you my musical instruments, which will play Italian, Swiss, French, Scotch, Irish, or any tunes. And here you see beautiful cheap lots of useful tings, and elegant tings. A penny a lot, a penny a lot!" The arrangement of the "lots" was similar to what it is at present, but the components of the pennyworth were far less numerous. This man carried on a good trade in London for two or three years, and then applied his industry to a country more than a town career. He died about five or six years ago, at his abode in Fashion-street, Spitalfields, "worth money." At the time of his decease he was the proprietor of two lodging-houses; one in Spitalfields, the other in Birmingham, both I am told, well conducted; the charge was 4*d.* a night. He did not reside in either, but employed "deputies." I may observe that he sold his "musical instruments," also, at 1*d.* each, but the sale was insignificant. "Only himself seemed master of 'em," said one man; "with other people they were no better nor a Jew's-harp."

Of the "penny apiece" street-vendors, there are about 300 in London; 250 having barrows, and 50 stalls or pitches on the ground. Some even sell at "a halfpenny apiece," but chiefly to get rid of inferior wares, or when "cracked up," and unable to "spring" a better stock. The barrows are 7 feet by 3; are well built in general, and cost 50*s.* each. These barrows, when fully stocked, are very heavy (about 4 cwt.), so that it requires a strong man to propel one any distance, and though occasionally the man's wife officiates as the saleswoman, there is always a man connected with the business. In my description of a stock of penny goods, I have mentioned that there were 225 articles; these were counted on a barrow in a street near the Brill—but probably on another occasion (when there appeared a better chance of selling) there might be 500 articles, such things as rings and the like admitting of being stowed by the hundred in very small compass. The great display, however, is only on the occasion of holidays, or "when a man starts and wants to stun you with a show." At Maidstone Fair the other day, a London street-seller, rather well to do, sold his entire stock of penny articles to a shopkeeper of the town, and when counted there were exactly fifteen gross, or 2160 "pieces" as they are sometimes called. These, vended at 1*d.* each, would realize just 9*l.*, and would cost, wholesale, about 6*l.*, or for ready money, at the swag-shops, where they may be bought, from 10*s.* to 20*s.* less, according to the bargaining powers of the buyer. The man's reason for selling was that the Fair was "no good;" that is to say, the farmers had no money, and their labourers received only 7*s.* a week, so there was no demand; the swag-seller, therefore, rather than incur the trouble and expense of having to carry his wares back to London, sold at a loss to a shopkeeper in Maidstone, who wanted a stock.

The swag-barrowmen selling on commission have 3*s.* in every 20*s.* worth of goods that they sell. The commission may average from 9*s.* to 12*s.* a week in tolerable weather, but as in bad, and especially in foggy weather, the trade cannot be prosecuted at all, 7*s.* 6*d.* may be the highest average, or 10*s.* the year through.

The character of the penny swag-men belongs more to that of the costermongers than to any other class of street-folk. Many of them drink as freely as their means will permit. I was told of a match between a teetotaller and a beer-drinker, about nine years ago. It was for 5*s.* a side, and the "Championship." Each man started with an equal stock, alike in all respects, but my informant had forgotten the precise number of articles. They pattered, twenty-five yards apart one from another, three hours in James-street, Covent-garden; three hours in the Blackfriars-road; and three hours in Deptford. The teetotaller was "sold out" in seven-and-a-half hours; while his opponent—and the contest seems to have been carried on very good-humouredly—at the nine hours' end, had four dozen articles left, and was rather exhausted, or, as it was described to me, "told out." The result, albeit, was not looked upon, I was assured, as anything very decisive of the relative merits of beer or water, as the source of strength or inspiration of "patter." The teetotaller was the smarter, though he did not appear the stronger, man; he abandoned the championship, and went into another trade four years ago. The patter of the swag-men has nothing of the humour of the paper-workers; it is merely declaratory that the extensive stock offered on such liberal terms to the public would furnish a wholesale shop; that such another opportunity for cheap pennyworths could never by any possibility occur again, and that it was a duty on all who heard the patterer to buy at once.

The men having their own barrows or stalls (but the stall-trade is small) buy their goods as they find their stock needs replenishment at the swag-shops. "It was a good trade at first, sir," said one man, "and for its not being a good trade now, we may partly blame one another. There was a cutting down trade among us. Black earrings were bought at 14*d.* the dozen, and sold at a loss at 1*d.* each. So were children's trap-bats, and monkeys up sticks, but they are now 9*d.* a dozen. Sometimes, sir, as I know, the master of a swag-barrow gets served out. You see, a man may once on a time have a good day, and take as much as 2*l.* Well, next day he'll use part of that money, and go as a penny swag on his own account; or else he'll buy things he is sold out of, and work them on his own account on

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his master's barrow. All right, sir; his master makes him a convenience for his own pocket, and so his master may be made a convenience for the man's. When he takes the barrow back at the week's end, if he 's been doing a little on his own dodge, there's the stock, and there's the money. It's all right between a rich man and a poor man that way; turn and turn about 's fair play."

The lot-sellers are, when the whole body are in London, about 200 in number; but they are three times as itinerant into the country as are the traders in the heavier and little portable swag-barrows. The lot-sellers nearly all vend their goods from trays slung from their shoulders. The best localities for the lot-sellers are Ratcliffe-highway, Commercial-road, Whitechapel, Minories, Tower-hill, Tooley-street, Newington-causeway, Walworth, Blackfriars and Westminster-roads, Long-acre, Holborn, and Oxford-street. To this list may be added the Brill, Tottenham-court-road, and the other street-markets, on Saturday evenings, when some of these places are almost impassable. The best places for the swag-barrow trade are also those I have specified. Their customers, alike for the useful and fancy articles, are the working-classes, and the chief sale is on Saturdays and Mondays. One swag-man told me that he thought he could sell better if he had a less crowded barrow, but his master was so keen of money that he *would* make him try everything. It made selling more tiresome, too, he said, for a poor couple who had a penny or two to lay out would fix on half the things they saw, and change them for others, before they parted with their money.

Of the penny-a-piece sellers trading on their own account, the receipts may be smaller than those of the men who work the huge swag-barrows on commission, but their profits are greater. Calculating that 100 of these traders are, the year round, in London (some are absent all the summer at country fairs, and on any favourable opportunity, while a number of swag-barrowmen leave that employment for costermongering on their own account), and that each takes 2*l.* weekly, we find no less than 10,400*l.* thus expended in the streets of London in a year.

The lot-sellers also resort largely to the country, and frequently try other callings, such as the sale of fruit, medals, &c. Some also sell lots only on Saturday and Monday nights. Taking these deductions into consideration, it may be estimated that only fifty men (there is but one female lot-seller on her own account) carry on the trade, presuming it to be spread over the six days of the week. Each of them may take 13*s.* weekly (with a profit of 7*s.* 6*d.*), so showing the street outlay to be 1190*l.* The "lots" are bought at the German and English swag-shops; the principal supply, however, is procured from Black Tom in Clerkenwell.

Of the Street-Sellers of Roulette Boxes.

In my account of the street-trade in "China ornaments" I had occasion to mention a use to which a roulette box, or portable roulette table, was put. I need only repeat in this place that the box (usually of mahogany) contains a board, with numbered partitions, which is set spinning, by means of a central knob, on a pivot; the lid is then placed on the box, a pea is slipped through a hole in the lid, and on the number of the partition in which the pea is found deposited, when the motion has ceased, depends the result. The table, or board, is thus adapted for the determination of that mode of raising money, popular among costermongers and other street-folk, who in their very charities crave some excitement; I mean a "raffle;" or it may be used for play, by one or more persons, the highest number "spun" determining the winner. These street-sold tables may still be put to another use: In the smaller sort, "going no higher than fourteen," one division is blank. Thus any one may play against another, or several others spinning in turns, the "blank" being a chance in the "banker's" favour. Some of the tables, however, are numbered as high as 36, or as a seller of them described it, "single and double zero, bang; a French game."

This curious street-trade has been carried on for seven years, but with frequent interruptions, by one man, who, until within these few weeks, was the sole trader in the article. There are now but two selling roulette-boxes at all regularly. The long-established salesman wears mustachios, and has a good deal the look of a foreigner. During his seven years' experience he has sold, he calculates, 12,000 roulette-boxes, at a profit of from 175*l.* to 200*l.* The prices (retail) are from 1*s.* to 2*l.*, at which high amount my informant once disposed of "a roulette" in the street. He has sold, however, more at 1*s.* than at all other rates together. The "shilling roulette" is about three inches in diameter; the others proportionately larger. These wares are German made, bought at a swag-shop, and retailed at a profit of from 15 to 33 per cent. They are carried in a basket, one being held for public examination in the vendor's hand.

"My best customers," said the experienced man in the business, "are stock-brokers, travellers, and parsons; people that have spare time on their hands. O, I mean by 'travellers,' gentlemen going on a railway who pass the time away at roulette. Now and then a regular 'leg,' when he's travelling to Chester, York, or Doncaster, to the races, may draw other passengers into play, and make a trifle, or not a trifle, by it; or he will play with other legs; but it's generally for amusement, I've reason to believe. Friends travelling together play for a trifle to pass away time, or who shall pay for breakfasts for two, or such like. I supplied one gaming-house with a large roulette-table made of a substance that if you throw it into water—and there's always a pail of 'tepid' ready—would dissolve very quickly. When it's not used it's hung against the wall and is so made that it looks to be an oil-painting framed. It cost them 10*l.* I suppose I have the 'knock' of almost every gaming-house in London. There's plenty of them still. The police can drive such as me about in the streets or out of the streets to

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starve, but lords, and gentlemen, and some parsons, I know, go to the gaming-houses, and when one's broke into by the officers—it's really funny—John Smith, and Thomas Jones, and William Brown are pulled up, but as no gaming implements are found, there's nothing against them. Some of these houses are never noticed for a long time. The 'Great Nick' hasn't been, nor the 'Little Nick.' I don't know why they're called 'Nicks,' those two; but so they are. Perhaps after Old Nick. At the Great Nick I dare say there's often 1000*l.* depending. But the Little Nick is what we call only 'brown papermen,' low gamblers—playing for pence, and 1*s.* being a great go. I wonder the police allow *that.*"

Of the Street-Sellers of Poison for Rats.

The number of Vermin-Destroyers and Rat-Catchers who ply their avocation in London has of late years become greatly diminished. One cause which I heard assigned for this was that many ruinous old buildings and old streets had been removed, and whole colonies of rats had been thereby extirpated. Another was that the race of rat-catchers had become distrusted, and had either sought some other mode of subsistence, or had resorted to other fields for the exercise of their professional labours.

The rat-catcher's dress is usually a velveteen jacket, strong corduroy trowsers, and laced boots. Round his shoulder he wears an oil-skin belt, on which are painted the figures of huge rats, with fierce-looking eyes and formidable whiskers. His hat is usually glazed and sometimes painted after the manner of his belt. Occasionally—and in the country far more than in town—he carries in his hand an iron cage in which are ferrets, while two or three crop-eared rough terriers dog his footsteps. Sometimes a tamed rat runs about his shoulders and arms, or nestles in his bosom or in the large pockets of his coat. When a rat-catcher is thus accompanied, there is generally a strong aromatic odour about him, far from agreeable; this is owing to his clothes being rubbed with oil of thyme and oil of aniseed, mixed together. This composition is said to be so attractive to the sense of the rats (when used by a man who understands its due apportionment and proper application) that the vermin have left their holes and crawled to the master of the powerful spell. I heard of one man (not a rat-catcher professionally) who had in this way tamed a rat so effectually that the animal would eat out of his mouth, crawl upon his shoulder to be fed, and then "smuggle into his bosom" (the words of my informant) "and sleep there for hours." The rat-catchers have many wonderful stories of the sagacity of the rat, and though in reciting their own feats, these men may not be the most trustworthy of narrators, any work on natural history will avouch that rats *are* sagacious, may be trained to be very docile, and are naturally animals of great resources in all straits and difficulties.

One great source of the rat-catcher's employment and emolument thirty years ago, or even to a later period, is now comparatively a nonentity. At that time the rat-catcher or killer sometimes received a yearly or quarterly stipend to keep a London granary clear of rats. I was told by a man who has for twenty-eight years been employed about London granaries, that he had never known a rat-catcher employed in one except about twenty or twenty-two years ago, and that was in a granary by the river-side. The professional man, he told me, certainly poisoned many rats, "which stunk so," continued my informant—but then all evil odours in old buildings are attributed to dead rats—"that it was enough to infect the corn. He poisoned two fine cats as well. But I believe he was a young hand and a bungler." The rats, after these measures had been taken, seem to have deserted the place for three weeks or a month, when they returned in as great numbers as ever; nor were their ravages and annoyances checked until the drains were altered and rebuilt. It is in the better disposition of the drains of a corn-magazine, I am assured, that the great check upon the inroads of these "varmint" is attained—by strong mason work and by such a series and arrangement of grates, as defy even the perseverance of a rat. Otherwise the hordes which prey upon the garbage in the common sewers, are certain to find their way into the granary along the drains and channels communicating with those sewers, and will increase rapidly despite the measures of the rat-catcher.

The same man told me that he had been five or six times applied to by rat-catchers, and with liberal offers of beer, to allow them to try and capture the black rats in the granary. One of these traders declared that he wanted them "for a gent as vas curous in them there hinteresting warmint;" But from the representations of the other applicants, my informant was convinced that they were wanted for rat-hunts, the Dog Billy being backed for 100*l.* to kill so many rats in so many minutes. "You see, sir," the corn merchant's man continued, "ours is an old concern, and there's black rats in it, great big fellows; some of 'em must be old, for they 're as white about the muzzle as is the Duke of Wellington, and they have the character of being very strong and very fierce. One of the catchers asked me if I knew what a stunning big black rat would weigh, as if I weighed rats! I always told them that I cared nothing about rat-hunts and that I knew our people wouldn't like to be bothered; and they was gentlemen that didn't admire sporting characters."

The black rat, I may observe, or the English rat, is now comparatively scarce, while the brown, or Hanoverian, rat is abundant. This brown rat seems to have become largely domiciled in England about the period of the establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty; whence its name. "A Hanover rat" was a term of reproach applied by the Jacobites to the successful party.

The rat-catchers are also rat-killers. They destroy the animals sometimes by giving them what is called in the trade "an alluring poison." Every professional destroyer, or capturer, of rats will pretend that as to poison he has his own particular method—his secret—his discovery. But

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there is no doubt that arsenic is the basis of all their poisons. Its being inodorous, and easily reducible to a soft fine powder, renders it the best adapted for mixing with anything of which rats are fond—toasted cheese, or bacon, or fried liver, or tallow, or oatmeal. Much as the poisoner may be able to tempt the animal's appetite, he must, and does, proceed cautiously. If the bait be placed in an unwonted spot, it is often untouched. If it be placed where rats have been accustomed to find their food, it is often devoured. But even then it is frequently accounted best to leave the bait unpoisoned for the first night; so that a hungry animal may attack it greedily the second. With oatmeal it is usual to mix for the first and even second nights a portion of pounded white sugar. If this be eaten it accustoms the jealous pest to the degree of sweetness communicated by arsenic. The "oatmeal poison" is, I am told, the most effectual; but even when mixed only with sugar it is often refused; as "rats is often better up to a dodge nor Kirstians" (Christians).

Another mode of killing rats is for the professional destroyer to slip a ferret into the rats' haunts wherever it is practicable. The ferret soon dislodges them, and as they emerge for safety they are seized by terriers, who, after watching the holes often a long time, and very patiently, and almost breathlessly, throttle them silently, excepting the short squeak, or half-squeak, of the rat, who, by a "good dog," is seized unerringly by the part of the back where the terrier's gripe and shake is speedy death; if the rat still move, or shows signs of life, the well-trained rat-killer's dog cracks the vermin's skull between his teeth.

If the rats have to be taken alive, they are either trapped, so as not to injure them for a rat-hunt (or the procedure in the pit would be accounted "foul"), or if driven out of their holes by ferrets, they can only run into some cask, or other contrivance, where they can be secured for the "sportsman's" purposes. Although any visible injury to the body of the rat will prevent its reception into a pit, the creatures' teeth are often drawn, and with all the cruelty of a rough awkwardness, by means of pinchers, so that they may be unable to bite the puppies being trained for the pit on the rats. If the vermin be not truly seized by the dog, the victim will twist round and inflict a tremendous bite on his worrier, generally on the lip. This often causes the terrier to drop his prey with a yell, and if a puppy he may not forget the lesson from the sharp nip of the rat. To prevent this it is that the rat-catchers play the dentist on their unfortunate captives.

I heard many accounts of the "dodges" practised by, or imputed to, the rat-catchers: that it was not a very unusual thing to deposit here and there a dead rat, when those vermin were to be poisoned on any premises; it is then concluded that the good poison has done its good work, and the dead animal supplies an ocular demonstration of professional skill. These men, also, I am informed, let loose live rats in buildings adapted for the purpose, and afterwards apply for employment to destroy them.

I am informed that the principal scene of the rat-catcher's labours in London is at the mews, and in private stables, coach-houses, and out-buildings. It is probable that the gentlemen's servants connected with such places like the excitement of rat-hunting, and so encourage the profession which supplies them with that gratification. In these places such labours are often necessary as well as popular; for I was informed by a coachman, then living with his family in a West End mews, and long acquainted with the mews in different parts of town, that the drainage was often very defective, and sanitary regulations —except, perhaps, as regarded the horses—little cared for. Hence rats abounded, and were with difficulty dislodged from their secure retreats in the ill-constructed drains and kennels.

The great sale of the rat-catchers is to the shops supplying "private parties" with rats for the amusement of seeing them killed by dogs. With some "fast" men, one of these shopkeepers told me, it was a favourite pastime in their own rooms on the Sunday mornings. It is, however, somewhat costly if carried on extensively, as the retail charge from the shops is 6*d.* per rat. The price from the catcher to the dealer is from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* the dozen. Rats, it appears, are sometimes scarce, and then the shopkeeper must buy, "to keep up his connection," at enhanced cost. One large bird-seller, who sold also plain and fancy rats, white mice, and live hedgehogs, told me that he had, last winter, been compelled to give 7*s.* a dozen for his vermin and sell them at 6*d.* each.

The grand consumption of rats, however, is in Bunhill-row, at a public-house kept by a pugilist. A rat-seller told me that from 200 to 500 rats were killed there weekly, the weekly average being, however, only the former number; while at Easter and other holidays, it is not uncommon to see bills posted announcing the destruction of 500 rats on the same day and in a given time, admittance 6*d.* Dogs are matched at these and similar places, as to which kills the greatest number of these animals in the shortest time. I am told that there are forty such places in London, but in some only the holiday times are celebrated in this small imitation of the beast combats of the ancients. There is, too, a frequent abandonment of the trade in consequence of its "not paying," and perhaps it may be fair to estimate that the average consumption of this vermin-game does not exceed, in each of these places, 20 a week, or 1040 in a year; giving an aggregate—over and above those consumed in private sport —of 52,000 rats in a year, or 1000 a week in public amusement alone.

To show the nature of the sport of rat-catching, I print the following bill, of which I procured two copies. The words and type are precisely the same in each, but one bill is printed on good and the other on very indifferent paper, as if for distribution among distinct classes. The concluding announcement, as to the precise moment at which

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killing will commence, reads supremely business-like :—

RATTING FOR THE MILLION!

A SPORTING GENTLEMAN, Who is a Staunch Supporter of the destruction of these VERMIN WILL GIVE A

GOLD REPEATER WATCH,

TO BE KILLED FOR BY

DOGS Under 13¾ *lbs. Wt.*

15 *RATS EACH!*

TO COME OFF AT JEMMY MASSEY'S, KING'S HEAD, COMPTON ST., SOHO,

On Tuesday, May 20, 1851.

☞ To be Killed in a Large Wire Pit. A chalk Circle to be drawn in the centre for the Second.—Any Man touching Dog or Rats, or acting in any way unfair his dog will be disqualified.

TO GO TO SCALE AT Half past 7 KILLING TO COMMENCE At Half past 8 PRECISELY.

A dealer in live animals told me that there were several men who brought a few dozens of rats, or even a single dozen, from the country; men who were not professionally rat-catchers, but worked in gardens, or on farms, and at their leisure caught rats. Even some of the London professional rat-catchers work sometimes as country labourers, and their business is far greater, in merely rat-catching or killing, in the country than in town. From the best information I could command, there are not fewer than 2000 rats killed, for sport, in London weekly, or 104,000 a year, including private and public sport, for private sport in this pursuit goes on uninterruptedly; the public delectation therein is but periodical.

This calculation is of course exclusive of the number of rats *killed* by the profession, "on the premises," when these men are employed to "clear the premises of vermin."

There are, I am told, 100 rat-catchers resorting, at intervals, to London, but only a fourth of that number can be estimated as carrying on their labours regularly in town, and their average earnings, I am assured, do not exceed 15*s.* a week; being 975*l.* a year for London merely.

These men have about them much of the affected mystery of men who are engaged on the turf. They have their "secrets," make or pretend to "make their books" on rat fights and other sporting events; are not averse to drinking, and lead in general irregular lives. They are usually on intimate terms with the street dog-sellers (who are much of the same class). Many of the rat-catchers have been brought up in stables, and there is little education among them. When in London, they are chiefly to be found in Whitechapel, Westminster, and Kent-street, Borough; the more established having their own rooms; the others living in the low lodging-houses. None of them remain in London the entire year.

These men also sell rat-poison (baked flour or oatmeal sometimes) in cakes, arsenic being the ingredient. The charge is from 2*d.* to 1*s.*, "according to the circumstances of the customer." In like manner the charge for "clearing a house of vermin" varies from 2*s.* to 1*l.*: a very frequent charge is 2*s.* 6*d.*

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF RHUBARB AND SPICE.

FROM the street-seller whose portrait has already been given I received the following history. He appeared to be a very truthful and kindly-disposed old man :—

"I am one native of Mogadore in Morocco. I am an Arab. I left my countree when I was sixteen or eighteen year of age. I forget, sir. I don't know which, about eighteen, I tink it was. My fader was like market man, make de people pay de toll—he rent de whole market, you see, from de governemen, and make de people pay so much for deir stands. I can't tell you what dey call dem dere. I couldn't recollect what my fader pay for de market; but I know some of de people pay him a penny, some a ha'penny, for de stands. Dere everyting sheap, not what dey are here in England. Dey may stop all day for de toll or go when de market is over. My fader was not very rish—not very poor—he keep a family. We have bread, meat, shicken, apples, grapes, all de good tings to eat, not like here—tis de sheapest countree in de world. My fader have two wifes, not at once you know, he bury de first and marry anoder. I was by second wife. He have seven shildren by her, four sons and tree daughters. By de first I tink dere was five, two sons and tree daughters. Bless you, by de time I was born dere was great many of 'em married and away in de world. I don't know where dey are now. Only one broder I got live for what I know, wheder de oders are dead or where dey are I can't tell. De one broder I speak of is in Algiers now; he is dealer dere. What led me to come away, you say? Like good many I was young and foolish; like all de rest of young people, I like to see foreign countries, but you see in my countree de governemen don't like de people to come away, not widout you pay so mush, so Gibraltar was de only port I could go to, it was only one twenty miles across de water—close to us. You see you go to Gibraltar like smuggling—you smuggle yourself—you talk wid de Captain and he do it for you.

"My fader been dead years and years before I come away, I suppose I was about ten year old when he die. I had been at school till time I was grown up, and after dat I was shoemaker. I make de slippers. Oh yes! my moder was alive den—she was dead when I was here in England. I get about one penny a pair for de slippers in my countree; penny dere as good as shilling here amost. I could make tree, four, five pair in one day. I could live on my gains den better dan what I could do here wid twelve times as mush—

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THE STREET-SELLER OF GREASE-REMOVING COMPOSITION, ETC.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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dat time I could. I don't know what it is now. Yes, my moder give me leave to go where I like. She never see me since" (sighing). "Oh yes, I love her very mush. I am old man now, but I never forgot her yet;" here the old man burst into tears and buried his face in his handkerchief for several minutes. "No, no! she don't know when I come away dat she never see me again, nor me neider. I tell I go Gibraltar, and den I tell her I go to Lisbon to see my broder, who was spirit merchant dere. I didn't say noting not at all about coming back to her, but I tought I should come back soon. If I had tought I never see no more, not all de gold in de world take me from her. She was good moder to me. I was de youngest but one. My broders kept my moder, you see. Where I came from it is not like here, if only one in de family well off, de oders never want for noting. In my country, you see, de law is you must maintain your fader and moder before you maintain your own family. You must keep dem in de house." Here he repeated the law in Hebrew. "De people were Mahomedans in Mogadore, but we were Jews, just like here, you see. De first ting de Jews teesh de shildren is deir duty to deir faders and deir moders. And dey love one anoder more than de gold; but dey love de gold more dan most people, for you see gold is more to dem. In my countree de governemen treat de Jews very badly, so de money all de Jews have to help dem. Often de government in my country take all deir money from de Jews, and kill dem after, so de Jews all keep deir money in secret places, put de gold in jars and dig dem in de ground, and de men worths hundreds go about wid no better clothes dan mine.

"Well, you see I leave my poor moder, we kissed one anoder, and cry for half an hour, and come away to Gibraltar. When I get dere, my broder come away from Lisbon to Gibraltar; dat time it was war time, and de French was coming to Lisbon, so everybody run. When I come away from Mogadore, I have about one hundred dollars—some my moder give me, and some I had save. When I got to Gibraltar, I begin to have a little stand in de street wid silk handkershiefs, cotton handkershiefs, shop goods you know. I do very well wid dat, so after I get licence to hawk de town, and after dat I keep shop. Altogeder, I stop in Gibraltar about six year. I had den about five or six hundred dollars. I live very well all de time I dere. I was wid my broder all de time. After I am six year in Gibraltar, I begin to tink I do better in England. I tink, like good many people, if I go to anoder part dat is risher—'t is de rishest countree in de world—I do better still. So I start off, and get I here I tink in 1811, when de tree shilling pieces first come out. I have about one hundred and tirty pound at dat time. I stop in London a good bit, and eat my money; it was most done before I start to look for my living. I try to look what I could do, but I was quite stranger you see. I am about fourteen or fifteen month before I begin to do anyting. I go to de play house; I see never such tings as I see here before I come. When I come here, I tink I am in heaven altogether—God a'mighty forgive me—such sops (shops) and such beautiful tings. I live in Mary Axe Parish when I first come; same parish where I live now. Well, you see some of my countreemen den getting good living by selling de rhubarb and spices in de street. I get to know dem all; and dat time you see was de good time, money was plenty, like de dirt here. Dat time dere was about six or seven Arabians in de street selling rhubarb and spices, five of 'em was from Mogadore, and two from not far off; and dere is about five more going troo de country. Dey all sell de same tings, merely rhubarb and spice, dat time; before den was good for tem tings—after dat dey get de silks and tings beside. I can't tell what first make dem sell de rhubarb and de spice; but I tink it is because people like to buy de Turkey rhubarb of de men in de turbans. When I was little shild, I hear talk in Mogadore of de people of my country sell de rhubarb in de streets of London, and make plenty money by it.

"Dere was one very old Arabian in de streets wen I first come; dey call him Sole; he been forty year at de same business. He wear de long beard and Turkish dress. He used to stand by Bow Shursh, Sheapside. Everybody in de street know him. He was de old establish one. He been dead now, let me see—how long he been dead—oh, dis six or seven and twenty year. He die in Gibraltar very poor and very old—most ninety year of age. All de rhubarb-sellers was Jews. Dere was anoder called Ben Aforiat, and two broders; and anoder, his name was Azuli. One of Aforiat's broders use to stand in St. Paul's Shurshyard. He was very well know; all de oders hawk about de town like I do myself. Now dey all gone dead, and dere only four of us now in England; dey all in London, and none in de country. Two of us live in Mary Axe, anoder live in, what dey call dat—Spitalfield, and de oder in Petticoat-lane. De one wat live in Spitalfield is old man, I dare say going for 70. De one in Petticoat-lane not mush above 30. I am little better dan 73, and de oder wat live in Mary Axe about 40. I been de longest of all in de streets, about tirty-eight or tirty-nine year. All dat was here when I first come, die in London, except dat old man Sole wat I was telling you of, dat die in Gibraltar. About tirteen or fourteen die since I come to England; some die in de Hospital of de Jews at Mile End; some die at home—not one of dem die worth no money. Six of dem was very old people, between 60 and 70; dere was some tirty, some forty. Some of dem die by inshes. Dere was one fine fellow, he was six foot two, and strong man, he take to his bed and fall away so; at last you see troo his hand; he was noting but de carcase; oders die of what you call de yellow jaundice; some have de fever, but deir time was come; de death we must be.

"When I first come to dis countree me make plenty of money by selling de rhubarb in de street. Five-and-twenty year ago I make a pound a day

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some time. Take one week wid another, I dare say I clear, after I pay all de cost of my living, tirty shillings; and now, God help me, I don't make not twelve shilling a week, and all my food to pay out of dat. One week wid anoder, when I go out I clear about twelve shilling. Everyting is so sheep now, and dere is so many sops (shops), people has no money to buy tings with. I could do better when everyting was dear. I could live better, get more money, and have more for it. I have better food, better lodging, and better clothes. I don't know wat is de cause, as you say. I only know dat I am worse, and everybody is worse; dat is all I know. Bread is sheeper, but when it was one and ninepence de loaf I could get plenty to buy it wid, but now it is five pence, I can't no five pence to have it. If de cow is de penny in de market what is de use of dat, if you can't get no penny to buy him? After I been selling my rhubarb for two years, when I fust come here, I save about a hundred and fifty pound, and den you see I agree wid tree oder of my countrymen to take a sop (shop) in Exeter. De oder tree was rhubarb-sellers, like myself, and have save good bit of money as well. One have seven hundred pound; but he have brought tree or four hundred pound wid him to dis countree. Anoder of de tree have about two hundred, and de oder about one hundred; dey have all save deir money out of de rhubarb. We keep our sop, you see, about five year, and den we fall in pieces altogeder. We take and trust, and lose all our money. T'oders never keep a sop before, and not one of us was English scholar; we was forced to keep a man, and dat way we lose all our money, so we was force to part, and every one go look for hisself. Den we all go selling rhubarb again about de country, and in London; and I never able to hold up my head since. When I come back to de rhubarb times is getting bad, and I not able to save no more money. All I am worth in de world is all I got in my box, and dat altogether is not more dan ten shilling. Last week I havn't a pound of meat in de house, and I am obliged to pawn my waistcoat and handkerchief to get me some stock. It easy to put dem in, but very hard to get dem out.

"I had two wives. After two or tree year when I come I marry my first. I had two shildren by my first, but both of dem die very young; one was about five year old and de oder about tree. When I travel the countree, my first wife she go wid me everywhere. I been to all parts — to Scotland, to Wales, but not Ireland. I see enough of dem Irish in dis countree, I do no want no more of dem dere. Not one of my countree I tink ever been to Ireland, and only one beside myself been to Scotland; but dat no use, de Scotsh don't know wat de spice is. All de time I am in Scotland I can't get no bread, only barley and pea meal, and dat as sour as de winegar—and I can't get no flour to make none too—so I begin to say, by God I come to wrong countree here. When I go across de countree of England I never live in no lodging-houses—always in de public—because you see I do business dere; de missus perhaps dere buy my spices of me. I lodge once in Taunton, at a house where a woman keep a lodging-house for de Jewish people wat go about wid de gold tings—de jewellery. At oder towns I stop at de public, for dere is de company, and I sell my tings.

"I buy my rhubarb and my spice of de large warehouse for de drugs; sometime I buy it of my countreemen. We all of us know de good spice from de bad. You look! I will show you how to tell de good nutmeg from de bad. Here is some in de shell: you see, I put de strong pin in one and de oil run out; dat is because dey has not been put in de spirit to take away de oil for to make de extract. Now, in de bad nutmeg all de oil been took out by de spirit, and den dere is no flavour, like dose you buy in de sheep sops (cheap shops). I sell de Rhubarb, East Indy and Turkey, de Cloves, Cinnamons, Mace, Cayenne Pepper, White Pepper—a little of all sorts when I get de money to buy it wid. I take my solemn oat I never sheat in scales nor weight; because de law is, 'take weight and give weight,' dat is judge and justice. Dere is no luck in de sort weight—no luck at all. Never in my life I put no tings wid my goods. I tell you de troot, I grind my white pepper wid my own hands, but I buy me ginger ground, and *dat* is mixed I know. I tink it is pea flour dey put wid it, dere is no smell in dat, but it is de same colour—two ounces of ginger will give de smell to one pound of pea flour. De public-houses *will* have de sheap ginger and dat I buy. I tell you de troot. How am I tell what will become of me. Dat is de Almighty's work" (here he pointed to Heaven). "De Jews is very good to deir old people. If it was not for my old woman I be like a gentleman now in de hospital at Mile End; but you see, I marry de Christian woman, and dat is against our people—and I would never leave her—no not for all de good in de world to come to myself. If I am poor, I not de only one. In de holiday times I send a petition, and perhaps dere is five shillings for me from de hospital. In de Jews' Hospital dere is only ten—what you call de Portuguese Jews. We have hospital to our ownselves. Dere de old people — dey are all above sixty—are all like noblemen, wid good clothes, plenty to eat, go where you like, and pipe of tobacco when you want. But I wont go in no hospital away from my old woman. I will get a bit of crust for her as long as I can stand—but I can hardly do that now. Every one got his feeling, and I will feel for her as long as I live. When dere is de weather I have de rheumatis—oh! very bad—sometime I can scarcely stand or walk. I am seventy-tree, and it is a sad time for me now. I am merry sometime tho'. Everyting wid de pocket. When de pocket is merry, den I am merry too. Sometime I go home wid one shilling, and den I tink all gets worse and worse, and what will become of me I say—but dat is de Almighty's work, and I trust in him. Can I trust any better one? Sometime I say I wish I was back in my countree—and I tink of my poor moder wat is dead now, and den I am very sad. Oh yes, bless your heart, very sad indeed!"

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The old man appears to sell excellent articles, and to be a very truthful, fair-dealing man.

OF THE HAWKING OF TEA.

"PERSONS hawking tea without a licence" (*see* Chitty's Edition of "Burn's Justice," vol. ii. p. 1113) "are liable to a penalty, under 50 Geo. III., cap. 41.; and, even though they had a licence, they would be liable to a penalty for selling tea in an unentered place." The penalty under this act is 10*l.*, but the prohibition in question has long been commonly, if not very directly, evaded.

The hawking of tea in London cannot be considered as immediately a street-trade, but it is in some respects blended with street callings and street traffic, so that a brief account is necessary.

I will first give a short history of what is, or was, more intimately a portion of the street-trade.

Until about eight or ten years ago, tea was extensively hawked—from house to house almost—"on tally." The tally system is, that wherein "weekly payments" are taken in liquidation of the cost of the article purchased, and the trade is one embodying much of evil and much of trickery. At the present time the tallymen are very numerous in London, and in the tally trade there are now not less than 1000 hawkers of, or travellers in, tea; but they carry on their business principally in the suburbs. When I come to treat of the class whom I have called "distributors," I shall devote an especial inquiry to the tally trade, including, of course, the tea trade. Mr. M'Culloch mentions that a Scotchman's "tally-walk"—and the majority of the tallymen are Scotchmen—is worth 15 per cent. more than an Englishman's.

The branch of the tea trade closely connected with the street business is that in tea-leaves. The exhausted leaves of the tea-pot are purchased of servants or of poor women, and they are made into "new" tea. One gentleman—to whose information, and to the care he took to test the accuracy of his every statement, I am bound to express my acknowledgments—told me that it would be fair to reckon that in London 1500 lbs. of tea-leaves were weekly converted into new tea, or 78,000 lbs. in the year! One house is known to be very extensively and profitably concerned in this trade, or rather *manufacture*, and on my asking the gentleman who gave me the information if the house in question (he told me the name) was accounted respectable by their fellow-citizens, the answer was at once, "*Highly* respectable."

The *old* tea-leaves, to be converted into *new*, are placed by the manufacturers on hot plates, and are re-dried and *re-dyed*. To give the "green" hue, a preparation of copper is used. For the "black" no dye is necessary in the generality of cases. This tea-manufacture is sold to "cheap" or "slop" shopkeepers, both in town and country, and especially for hawking in the country, and is almost always sold ready mixed.

The admixture of sloe-leaves, &c., which used to be gathered for the adulteration of tea, is now unknown, and has been unknown since tea became cheaper, but the old tea-leaf trade is, I am assured, carried on so quietly and cleverly, that the most vigilant excise-officers are completely in the dark; a smaller "tea-maker" was, however, fined for tea-leaf conversion last year.

Into this curious question, concerning the purposes for which the old tea-leaves are now purchased by parties in the street, I shall enter searchingly when I treat of the *street-buyers*. The information I have already received is of great curiosity and importance, nor shall I suppress the names of those dishonest traders who purchase the old dried tea-leaves, as a means of cheating their customers.

Into the statistics of this strange trade I will not now enter, but I am informed that great quantities of tea-leaves are sent from the country to London. Perhaps of the 1500 lbs. weekly manufactured, three quarters may be collected in the metropolis.

I may here add, that the great bulk of the tea *now* hawked throughout the metropolis is supplied from the handsome cars, or vans, of well-known grocers and tea-dealers. Of these—it was computed for me—there are, on no day, fewer than 100 in the streets of London, and of its contiguous and its more remote suburbs, such as Woolwich, and even Barnet. One tradesman, has six such cars. The tea is put up in bags of 7, 14, and 21 lbs., duly apportioned in quarter, half, and whole pounds; a quarter of a pound being the smallest quantity vended in this manner. The van and its contents are then entrusted to a driver, who has his regular round, and very often his regular customers. The customers purchase the tea from their faith in the respectability of the firm—generally well known through extensive advertising. The teas *are* supplied by the house which is pronounced to supply them; for the tradesman is the capitalist in the matter, his carman is the labourer, and the house is responsible for the quality of the article. When a new connection has to be formed, or an "old connection" to be extended, circulars (*bonâ fide*) are sent round, and the carman afterwards calls: and, "in some genteel streets," I was told, "calls, oft enough, at every house, and, in many districts, at every decent-looking house in every street." So far, then, even this part of the traffic may be considered one of the streets. The remuneration of the street-traveller in, or hawker of, tea, is usually 1*d.* per lb. on the lower-priced kinds, 2*d.* on the higher (but more often 1*d.*) and, very rarely indeed, 3*d.* on the highest. The trade is one peculiar to great cities—and most peculiar, I am assured, to London—for the tradesman does not know so much as the name of his customer; nor, perhaps, does the carman, but merely as "Number such-an-one." The supply is for ready money, or, if credit be given, it is at the risk of the carman, who has a weekly wage in addition to his perquisites. Every evening, when the vehicle is driven back to the premises of its owner, "stock is taken," and the money taken by the carman—

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minus what may be called the "poundage"—is paid over to the proper party.

A man who had driven, or, as he called it, "managed," one of these vans, told me that he made this way, 2s. to 2s 6d. a day; "but," he added, "if you make a good thing of it that way, you have all the less salary." These carmen are men of good character and good address, and were described to me, by a gentleman familiar with the trade, as "of the very best class of porters."

As this vehicular-itinerant business has now become an integral part of the general tea-trade, I need not further dwell upon it, but reserve it until I come to treat of the shopmen of grocers and tea-dealers, and thence of the tea-trade in general. I may add, however, that the tea thus hawked is, as regards, perhaps, three-fourths of the quantity sold, known as "mixed," and sold at 4s. per lb.—costing, at a tea-broker's, from 2s. 11d. to 3s. 3d. It is announced, as to its staple or entire compound, to be "congou," but is in reality a tea known as "pouchong." Some old ladies are still anxious, I was told, for a cup of good strong bohea; and though bohea has been unknown to the tea-trade since the expiration of the East India Company's Charter in 1834, the accommodating street-traveller will undertake to supply the genuine leaf to which the old lady had been so long accustomed. The green teas thus sold (and they are not above a fiftieth part of the other) are common twankays and common young hysons, neither of them—I can state on excellent authority—accounted in the trade to be "true teas," but, as in the case of some other green teas, "Canton made." The "green" is sold from the vans generally at 4s. 6d.; sometimes, but rarely, as high as 5s. 6d. What is sold at 4s. 6d. may cost, on the average, 3s. 5d. I may add, also, that when a *good* article is supplied, such profits in the tea-trade are not accounted at all excessive.

But the more usual mode of tea hawking is by itinerant dealers who have a less direct connection with the shop whereat they purchase their goods. To this mode of obtaining a livelihood, the hawkers are invited by all the persuasive powers of advertising eloquence: "To persons in want of a genteel and lucrative employment"—"To Gentlemen of good address and business habits," &c., &c. The genteel and lucrative employment is to hawk tea under the auspices of this "company" or the other. The nature of this business, and of the street tea-trade generally, is shown in the following statement:—"About twelve years ago I came to London in expectation of a situation as tide-waiter; I did not succeed, however, and not being able to obtain any other employment, and trusting to the promises of gentlemen M.P.s for too long a time, my means were exhausted, and I was at length induced to embark in the tea business. To this I was persuaded by a few friends who advanced me some money, considering that it would suit me well, while my friends would endeavour to get me a connection, that is, procure me customers. I accordingly went to a well-known Tea Company in the City, a firm bearing a great name. Their advertisements put forth extraordinary statements, of so many persons realizing independencies from selling their teas, and in very short spaces of time. I was quite pleased at the prospect presented to me in such glowing terms, and, depending not a little on my own industry and perseverance, I embraced the opportunity and introduced myself forthwith to the Company. They advised me in the first place to take out a licence for selling teas, to secure me against any risk of fines or forfeitures. The cost of a licence, after payment of 2s. 11½d. preliminary expenses, is 11s. per annum, to be paid quarterly, as it becomes due, and it is paid by the Company for their agents. The licence is granted for the place of abode of the 'traveller,' and strictly prohibits him from hawking or exposing his wares for sale at places other than at such place of abode, but he may of course supply his customers where he will, and serve them at their places of abode respectively. Everything thus prepared, I commenced operations, but soon found that this tea dealing was not so advantageous as I had anticipated. I found that the commission allowed by the Company on cheap teas was very low. For those generally used by the working people, '4s. tea,' for instance, or that at 4s. per pound, I had to pay to the Company 3s. 6d. per pound, thus allowing the travelling dealer or agent for commission only 6d. in the pound, or 1½d. per quarter. Now 80 or 100 customers is considered a fair connection for a dealer, and allowing each customer to take a quarter of a pound at an average, 80 good customers at that rate would bring him in 10s., or 100 customers 12s. 6d. clear profit weekly. But many customers do not require so much as a quarter of a pound weekly, while others require more, so that I find it rather awkward to subdivide it in portions to suit each customer, as the smallest quantity made at the warehouse is a quarter of a pound, and every quarter is done up in a labelled wrapper, with the price marked on it. So that to break or disturb the package in any way might cause some customers to suspect that it had been meddled with unfairly.

"Another disadvantage was in dealing with the 'Tea Company.' No sugars are supplied by them, which makes it more inconvenient for the travelling dealer, as his customers find it difficult to get sugars, most retail grocers having an objection to sell sugars to any but those who are purchasers of teas as well. However, I was not confined to deal with this Company, and so I tried other places, and found a City house, whose terms were preferable. Here I could get tea for 3s. 3d., as good as that for which the Company charged 3s. 6d., besides getting it done up to order in plain paper, and in quantities to suit every variety of customer. There were also sugars, which must be had to accommodate the customers, at whatever trouble or inconvenience to the traveller; for it is very lumbersome to carry about, and leaves scarcely any profit at all.

"The trade is anything but agreeable, and the customers are often exacting. They seem to fancy,

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however cheaply and well they may be supplied, that the tea-seller is under obligations to them; that their custom will be the making of him, and, therefore, they expect some compliment in return. The consequence is, that very often, unless he be willing to be accounted a 'shabby man,' the tea-dealer is obliged, of a Saturday night, to treat his customers, to ensure a continuance of their custom. Other customers take care to be absent at the time he calls. Those who are anxious to run up bills, perhaps, keep out of the way purposely for two or more successive nights of the dealer's calling, who, notwithstanding, cannot very well avoid serving such customers. This is another evil, and if the tea-man's capital be not sufficient to enable him to carry on the business in this manner, giving credit (for it is unavoidable), he is very soon insolvent, and compelled to give up the business. I had to give it up at last, after having carried it on for four years, leaving 8*l.* or 9*l.* due to me, in small sums, varying from 1*s.* to 10*s.*, one shilling of which I never expect to be paid. I could not have continued it so long, for my means would not allow me to give credit; but getting partial employment at the last-mentioned house, where I dealt, enabled me to do so. When, however, I got permanently employed, I grew tired of tea-dealing, and gave it up.

"In my opinion the business would best suit persons casually employed, such as dockmen and others, who might have leisure to go about; those also who get other commissions and hawk about other commodities, such as soft wares, might do very well by it; otherwise, in most cases, 't is only resorted to as a make-shift where no other employment can be obtained.

"I do not know how many persons are in the trade. I have, however, heard it asserted, that there were between 4000 and 5000 persons in London engaged in the business, who are, with but few exceptions, Scotchmen; they, of all others, manage to do the best *in this* line.

"A man, to undertake the tea business, requires a double capital, because in the first place, he has to purchase the tea, then he must give credit, and be able to support himself till such time as he can get in his money. Some of the tea-dealers manage to eke out their profits by mixing tea-leaves, which have been used, with the genuine commodity. They spread the old tea-leaves on tins which they have for the purpose, and, by exposing them either to the action of the air or the heat of the fire, the leaves crisp up as they had been before they were used, and are not distinguishable from the rest. I never vended such an article, and that may be one reason why I could not succeed in the business."

I believe the career thus detailed is a common one among the hawkers of tea, or rather the "travellers" in the tea trade. Many sell it on tally.

OF THE WOMEN STREET-SELLERS.

As the volume is now fast drawing to a close, and a specific account has been furnished of almost every description of street-*seller* (with the exception of those who are the *makers* of the articles they vend), I purpose giving a more full and general history and classification than I have yet done of the feminine portion of the traders in the streets.

The women engaged in street-sale are of all ages and of nearly all classes. They are, however, chiefly of two countries, England and Ireland. There are (comparatively) a few Jewesses, and a very few Scotchwomen and Welchwomen who are street-traders; and they are so, as it were, accidentally, from their connection, by marriage or otherwise, with male street-sellers. Of foreigners there are German broom-women, and a few Italians with musical instruments.

The first broad and distinctive view of the female street-sellers, is regarding them *nationally*, that is to say, either English or Irish women—two classes separated by definite characteristics from each other.

The Irishwomen — to avoid burthening the reader with an excess of subdivisions—I shall speak of generally; that is to say, as one homogeneous class, referring those who require a more specific account to the description before given of the street-sellers.

The Englishwomen selling in the streets appear to admit of being arranged into four distinct groups, viz. :—

1. The Wives of Street-Sellers.
2. Mechanics' or Labourers' Wives, who go out Street-Selling (while their husbands are at work) as a means of helping out the family income.
3. Widows of former Street-Sellers.
4. Single Women.

I do not know of any street-trade carried on *exclusively* by women. The sales in which they are principally concerned are in fish (including shrimps and oysters), fruit and vegetables (widows selling on their own account), fire-screens and ornaments, laces, millinery, artificial flowers (but not in any great majority over the male traders), cut flowers, boot and stay-laces and small wares, wash-leathers, towels, burnt linen, combs, bonnets, pin-cushions, tea and coffee, rice-milk, curds and whey, sheeps'-trotters, and dressed and undressed dolls.

What may be called the "heavier" trades, those necessitating the carrying of heavy weights, or the pushing of heavily-laden barrows, are in the hands of men; and so are, even more exclusively, what may be classed as the more skilled trades of the streets, viz. the sale of stationery, of books, of the most popular eatables and

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drinkables (the coffee-stalls excepted), and in every branch dependent upon the use of patter. In such callings as root-selling, crock-bartering, table-cover selling, mats, game, and poultry, the wife is the helpmate of her husband; if she trade separately in these things, it is because there is a full stock to dispose of, which requires the exertions of two persons, perhaps with some hired help just for the occasion.

The difference in the street-traffic, as carried on by Englishwomen and Irishwomen, is marked enough. The Irishwoman's avocations are the least skilled, and the least remunerative, but as regards mere toil, such as the carrying of a heavy burthen, are by far the most laborious. An Irishwoman, though not reared to the streets, will carry heavy baskets of oranges or apples, principally when those fruits are cheap, along the streets while her English co-trader (if not a costermonger) may be vending laces, millinery, artificial flowers, or other commodities of a "light," and in some degree of street estimation a "genteel" trade. Some of the less laborious callings, however, such as that in wash-leathers, are principally in the hands of young and middle-aged Irishwomen, while that in sheeps'-trotters, which does not entail heavy labour, are in the hands mostly of elderly Irishwomen. The sale of such things as lucifer-matches and water-cresses, and any "stock" of general use, and attainable for a few pence, is resorted to by the very poor of every class. The Irishwoman more readily unites begging with selling than the Englishwoman, and is far more fluent and even eloquent; perhaps she pays less regard to truth, but she unquestionably pays a greater regard to chastity. When the uneducated Irishwoman, however, has fallen into licentious ways, she is, as I once heard it expressed, the most "savagely wicked" of any.

After these broad distinctions I proceed to details.

1. From the best information at my command it may be affirmed that about one-half of the women employed in the diverse trades of the streets, are the wives or concubines (permanently or temporarily) of the men who pursue a similar mode of livelihood—the male street-sellers. I may here observe that I was informed by an experienced police-officer—who judged from his personal observation, without any official or even systematic investigation—that the women of the town, who survived their youth or their middle age, did not resort to the sale of any commodity in the streets, but sought the shelter of the workhouse, or died, he could not tell where or under what circumstances. Of the verity of this statement I have no doubt, as a street-sale entails some degree of industry or of exertion, for which the life of those wretched women may have altogether unfitted them.

In the course of the narratives and statements I have given, it is shown that some wives pursue one (itinerant or stationary) calling, while the husband pursues another. The trades in which the husband and wife (and I may here remark that when I speak of "wives," I include all, so regarded in street life, whether legally united or not)—the trades in which the woman is, more than in any others, literally the help-mate of the man, are the costermonger's (including the flower, or root, sellers) and the crockery-ware people. To the costermonger some help is often indispensable, and that of a wife is the cheapest and the most honest (to say nothing of the considerations connected with a home) which can be obtained. Among the more prosperous costermongers too, especially those who deal in fish, the wife attends to the stall while the husband goes "a round," and thus a greater extent of business is transacted. In the root and crockery-trades the woman's assistance is necessary when barter takes place instead of sale, as the husband may be ignorant of the value of the old female attire which even "high-hip ladies," as they were described to me, loved to exchange for a fuchsia or a geranium; for a glass cream-jug or a china ornament. Of the married women engaged in any street-trade, I believe nineteen-twentieths are the wives of men also pursuing some street avocation.

2. There are, however, large classes of female street-sellers who may be looked upon as exceptions, the wife selling in the streets while the husband is engaged in some manual labour, but they are only partially exceptions. In the sale of wash-leathers, for instance, are the wives of many Irish bricklayers' labourers; the woman may be constantly occupied in disposing of her wares in the streets or suburbs, and the man labouring at any building; but in case of the deprivation of work, such a man will at once become a street-seller, and in the winter many burly Irish labourers sell a few nuts or "baked taties," or a few pairs of braces, or some article which seems little suitable for the employment of men of thews and muscle. In the course of my present inquiry I have, in only very rare instances, met with a poor Irishman, who had not a reason always at his tongue's end to justify anything he was doing. Ask a bricklayer's labourer why, in his youth and strength, he is selling nuts, and he will at once reply: "Sure thin, your honnur, isn't it better than doin' nothing? I must thry and make a pinny, 'til I'm in worruk again, and glory be to God, I hope that 'll be soon."

An experienced man, who knows all the street-folk trading in Whitechapel and its neighbourhood, and about Spitalfields, told me that he could count up 100 married women, in different branches of open-air commerce, and of them only two had husbands who worked regularly in-doors. The husband of one woman works for a slop-tailor, the other is a bobbin turner; the tailor's wife sells water-cresses every morning and afternoon; the turner's wife is a "small-ware woman." The tailor, however, told my informant that his eyesight was failing him, that his earnings became less and less, that he was treated like dirt, and would go into some street-trade himself before long. When the man and his wife are both in the street-trade, it is the case in three instances out of four (excluding of course the costermongers, root-sellers, and crock-man's pursuits) that the couple carry on different callings.

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In the full and specific accounts I gave of the largest body of street-sellers, viz., the costermongers, I showed that concubinage among persons of all ages was the rule, and marriage the exception. It was computed that, taking the mass of costermongers, only one couple in twenty, living together, were married, except in Clerkenwell, where the costers are very numerous, and where the respected incumbent at certain seasons marries poor persons gratuitously; there one couple in ten were really man and wife.

Of the other classes of women street-sellers, directly the reverse is the case; of those living as man and wife, one couple in twenty may be *unmarried*. An intelligent informant thought this average too high, and that it was more probably one in sixteen. But I incline to the opinion of one in twenty, considering how many of the street-traders have "seen better days," and were married before they apprehended being driven to a street career. In this enumeration I include only street-*traders*. Among such people as ballad singers, concubinage, though its wrongfulness is far better understood than among ignorant costermongers, is practised even more fully; and there is often among such classes even worse than concubinage—a dependance, more or less, on the wages of a woman's prostitution, and often a savage punishment to the wretched woman, if those wages of sin are scant or wanting.

3. The widows in the street-trades are very generally the widows of street-sellers. I believe that very few of the widows of mechanics, when left unprovided for on their husbands' demise, resort to street traffic. If they have been needlewomen before marriage, they again seek for employment at needle-work; if they have been servants, they become charwomen, or washerwomen, or again endeavour to obtain a livelihood in domestic service.

There are some to whom those resources are but starvation, or a step from starvation, or whom they fail entirely, and then they "*must* try the streets," as they will describe it. If they are young and reckless, they become prostitutes; if in more advanced years, or with good principles, they turn street-sellers; but this is only when destitution presses sharply.

4. The single women in the street-callings are generally the daughters of street-sellers, but their number is not a twentieth of the others, excepting they are the daughters of Irish parents. The costermongers' daughters either help their parents, with whom they reside, or carry on some similar trade; or they soon form connections with the other sex, and easily sever the parental tie, which very probably has been far too lax or far too severe. I made many inquiries, but I did not hear of any unmarried young woman, not connected with street-folk by birth or rearing, such as a servant maid,—endeavouring to support herself when out of work or place by a street avocation. Such a person will starve on slop millinery or slop shirt-making; or will, as much or more from desperation than from viciousness, go upon the town. With the Irish girls the case is different: brought up to a street-life, used to whine and blarney, they grow up to womanhood in street-selling, and as they rarely form impure connections, and as no one may be induced to offer them marriage, their life is often one of street celibacy. A young Irishwoman, to whom I was referred in the course of my inquiry among fruit-sellers, had come to London in the hopes of meeting her brother, with whom she was to emigrate; but she could learn nothing of him, and, concluding that he was dead, became an apple-seller. She sat, when I saw her, on cold wintry days, at the corner of a street in the Commercial-road, seemingly as much dead as alive, and slept with an aunt, also a single woman, who was somewhat similarly circumstanced; and thus these two women lived on about 6*d*. a day each. Their joint bed was 1*s*. a week, and they contrived to subsist on what remained when this shilling was paid. The niece referred me, not without a sense of pride, to her priest, as to her observance of her religious duties, and declared that where she lodged there were none but women lodgers, and those chiefly her own countrywomen. I believe such cases are not uncommon. A few, who have had the education of ladies (as in the case of an envelope-seller whose statement I gave), are driven to street-trading, but it is as a desperate grasp at something to supply less bitter bread, however little of it, than is supplied in the workhouse. I have many a time heard poor women say: "God knows, sir, I should live far better, and be better lodged and better cared for in the house (they seldom call it workhouse), but I'd rather live on 2*d*. a day." Into the question of out and in-door relief I need not now enter, but the prevalent feeling I have indicated is one highly honourable to the English poor. I have heard it stated that the utter repugnance to a workhouse existence was weaker than it used to be among the poor, but I have not met with anything to uphold such an opinion.

Such constitute the several classes of women street-sellers. I shall now proceed to speak of the habits and characters of this peculiar portion of the street-folk.

As regards the religion of the women in street-trades, it is not difficult to describe it. The Irishwomen are Roman Catholics. Perhaps I am justified in stating that they are *all* of that faith. The truth of this assertion is proved, moreover, to as full a demonstration as it very well can be proved without actual enumeration, by the fact that the great majority of the Irishwomen in the streets are from the Catholic provinces of Connaught, Leinster, and Munster; there are very few from Ulster, and not one-twentieth of the whole from any one of the other provinces. Perhaps, again, it is not extravagant to estimate that three-fourths of the women and girls from the sister island, now selling things in the streets, have been, when in their own country, connected through their husbands or parents with the cultivation of the land. It is not so easy to speak of what the remaining fourth were before they became immigrants. Some were the wives of mechanics, who, when their husbands

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failing to obtain work in London became street-traders, had adopted the same pursuits. I met with one intelligent man having a stall of very excellent fruit in Battle-bridge, who had been a brogue-maker. He had been in business on his own account in Tralee, but mended the indifferent profits of brogue-making by a little trade in "dry goods." This, he told me with a cautious glance around him and in a half whisper, though it was twenty-eight years since he left his country, meant smuggled tobacco. He found it advisable, on account of being "wanted" by the revenue officers, to leave Tralee in great haste. He arrived in London, got employment as a bricklayer's labourer, and sent for his wife to join him. This she did, and from her first arrival, sold fruit in the streets. In two or three years the husband's work among the builders grew slack, and he then took to the streets. Another man, a shoemaker, who came from Dublin to obtain work in London, as he was considered "a good hand," could not obtain it, but became a street-seller, and *his* wife, previously to himself, had resorted to a street-trade in fruit. He became a widower and married as "his second," the daughter of an Irish carpenter who had been disappointed in emigrating from London, and whose whole family had become fruit-sellers. A third man, who had worked at his trade of a tailor in Cork, Waterford, Wicklow, and Dublin (he "tramped" from Cork to Dublin) had come to London and been for many years a street-seller in different capacities. His wife and daughter now assist him, or trade independently, in selling "roots." "Raythor," this man said, "than put up wid the wages and the *ter-ratement* (said very emphatically) o' thim slop masters at the Aist Ind, I'd sill myself as a slave. The sthraits doesn't degrade a man like thim thieves o' the worruld." This man knew, personally, ten Irish mechanics who were street-sellers in London, as were their wives and families, including some five-and-twenty females.

I adduce these and the following details somewhat minutely, as they tend to show by what class of Irish immigrants the streets of the imperial metropolis are stocked with so large a body of open-air traders.

There is also another class of women who, I am informed on good authority, sometimes become street-sellers, though I met with no instance myself. The orphan children of poor Irish parents are, on the demise of their father and mother sometimes taken into a workhouse and placed out as domestic servants. So, as regards domestic servants, are the daughters of Irish labourers, by their friends or the charitable. As the wages of these young girls are small and sometimes nominal, the work generally hard, and in no few instances the food scanty and the treatment severe, domestic service becomes distasteful, and a street life "on a few oranges and limmons" is preferred. There is, moreover, with some of this class another cause which almost compels the young Irish girl into the adoption of some street calling. A peevish mistress, whose numerous family renders a servant necessary, but whose means are small or precarious, becomes bitterly dissatisfied with the awkwardness or stupidity of her Irish handmaiden; the girl's going, or "teasing to go," every Sunday morning to mass is annoying, and the girl is often discharged, or discharges herself "in a huff." The mistress, perhaps, with the low tyranny dear to vulgar minds, refuses her servant a character, or, in giving one, suppresses any good qualities, and exaggerates the failings of impudence, laziness, lying, and dirtiness. Thus the girl cannot obtain another situation, and perforce perhaps she becomes a street-seller.

The readiness with which young Irish people thus adapt themselves to all the uncertainties and hardships of a street life is less to be wondered at when we consider that the Irish live together, or at any rate associate with one another, in this country, preserving their native tastes, habits, and modes of speech. Among their tastes and habits, a dislike to a street life does not exist as it does among English girls.

The poor Irish females in London are for the most part regular in their attendance at mass, and this constant association in their chapels is one of the links which keeps the street-Irish women so much distinct from the street-English. In the going to and returning from the Roman Catholic chapels, there is among these people—I was told by one of the most intelligent of them—a talk of family and secular matters,—of the present too high price of oranges to leave full 6*d*. a day at two a penny, and the probable time when cherries would be "in" and cheap, "plaze God to prosper them." In these colloquies there is an absence of any interference by English street-sellers, and an unity of conversation and interest peculiarly Irish. It is thus that the tie of religion, working with the other causes, keeps the Irish in the London streets knitted to their own ways, and is likely to keep them so, and, perhaps, to add to their number.

It was necessary to write somewhat at length of so large a class of women who *are* professors of a religion, but of the others the details may be brief; for, as to the great majority, religion is almost a nonentity. For this absence of religious observances, the women street-sellers make many, and sometimes, I must confess, valiant excuses. They must work on a Sunday morning, they will say, or they can't eat; or else they tell you, they are so tired by knocking about all the week that they must rest on a Sunday; or else they have no clothes to go to church in, and ar'n't a-going there just to be looked down upon and put in any queer place as if they had a fever, and for ladies to hold their grand dresses away from them as they walked in to their grand pews. Then, again, some assert they are not used to sit still for so long a time, and so fall asleep. I have heard all these causes assigned as reasons for not attending church or chapel.

A few women street-sellers, however, *do* attend the Sunday service of the Church of England. One lace-seller told me that she did so because it obliged Mrs. ——, who was the best friend and customer she had, and who always looked from

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her pew in the gallery to see who were on the poor seats. A few others, perhaps about an equal number, attend dissenting places of worship of the various denominations—the Methodist chapels comprising more than a half. If I may venture upon a calculation founded on the result of my inquiries, and on the information of others who felt an interest in the matter, I should say that about five female street-sellers attended Protestant places of worship, in the ratio of a hundred attending the Roman Catholic chapels.

The localities in which the female street-sellers reside are those (generally) which I have often had occasion to specify as the abodes of the poor. They congregate principally, however, in the neighbourhood of some street-market. The many courts in Ray-street, Turnmill-street, Cow-cross, and other parts of Clerkenwell, are full of street-sellers, especially costermongers, some of those costermongers being also drovers. Their places of sale are in Clerkenwell-green, Aylesbury-street, and St. John-street. Others reside in Vine-street (late Mutton-hill), Saffron-hill, Portpool Lane, Baldwin's-gardens, and the many streets or alleys stretching from Leather-lane to Gray's-inn-lane, with a few of the better sort in Cromer-street. Their chief mart is Leather-lane, now one of the most crowded markets in London. The many who use the Brill as their place of street-traffic, reside in Brill-row, in Ossulston-street, Wilstead-street, Chapel-street, and in the many small intersecting lanes and alleys connected with those streets, and in other parts of Somers-town. The saleswomen in the Cripplegate street-markets, such as Whitecross-street, Fore-street, Golden-lane, &c., reside in Play-house-yard, and in the thick congregation of courts and alleys, approximating to Aldersgate-street, Fore-street, Bunhill-row, Chiswell-street, Barbican, &c., &c. Advancing eastward, the female street-sellers in Shoreditch (including the divisions of the Bishopsgate-streets Within and Without, Norton Folgate, and Holywell-street) reside in and about Artillery-lane, Half-moon-street, and the many narrow "clefts" (as they are called in one of Leigh Hunt's essays) stretching on the right hand as you proceed along Bishopsgate-street, from its junction with Cornhill; "clefts" which, on my several visits, have appeared to me as among the foulest places in London. On the left-hand side, proceeding in the same direction, the street-sellers reside in Long-alley, and the many yards connected with that, perhaps narrowest, in proportion to its length, of any merely pedestrian thoroughfare in London. Mixed with the poor street-sellers about Long-alley, I may observe, are a mass of the tailors and shoemakers employed by the east-end slop-masters; they are principally Irish workmen, carrying on their crafts many in one room, to economise the rent, while some of their wives are street-sellers.

The street-sellers in Spitalfields and Bethnal-green are so mixed up as to their abodes with the wretchedly underpaid cabinet-makers who supply the "slaughter-houses;" with slop-employed tailors and shoemakers (in the employ of a class, as respects shoemakers, known as "garret-masters" or middle-men, between the workman and the wholesale warehouse-man), bobbin-turners, needle-women, slop-milliners, &c., that I might tediously enumerate almost every one of the many streets known, emphatically enough, as the "poor streets." These poor streets are very numerous, running eastward from Shoreditch to the Cambridge-road, and southward from the Bethnal-green-road to Whitechapel and the Mile End-road. The female street sellers in Whitechapel live in Wentworth-street, Thrawl-street, Osborne-street, George-yard, and in several of their interminglements with courts and narrow streets. The Petticoat-lane street-dealers are generally Jews, and live in the poorer Jewish quarters, in Petticoat-lane and its courts, and in the streets running on thence to Houndsditch. Rosemary-lane has many street-sellers, but in the lane itself and its many yards and blind alleys they find their domiciles. Westward in the metropolis one of the largest street-markets is in Tottenham-court-road; and in the courts between Fitzroy-market and Tottenham-court-road are the rooms of the women vending their street goods. Those occupying the Hampstead-road with their stalls—which is but a continuation of the Tottenham-court-road market—live in the same quarters. In what is generally called the St. George's-market, meaning the stalls at the western extremity of Oxford-street, the women who own those stalls reside in and about Thomas-street, Tom's-court, and the wretched places—the very existence of which is perhaps unknown to their aristocratic neighbourhood—about Grosvenor-square; some of them lamentably wretched places. It might be wearisome to carry on this enumeration further. It may suffice to observe, that in the populous parts of Southwark, Lambeth, and Newington, wherever there is a street-market, are small or old streets inhabited by the street-sellers, and at no great distance. From the Obelisk at the junction, or approximate junction, of the Westminster, Waterloo, Black-friars, Borough, and London-roads, in pretty well every direction to the banks of the Thames, are a mass of private-looking streets—as far as the absence of shops constitutes the privacy of a street—old and half-ruinous, or modern and trim, in all of which perhaps may be found street-sellers, and in some of which are pickpockets, thieves, and prostitutes.

Of course it must be understood that these specified localities are the residence of the male, as well as the female street-sellers, both adults and children.

The proportion of female street-traders who reside in lodging-houses may be estimated at one-tenth of the entire number. This may appear a small proportion, but it must be remembered that the costermongering women do not reside in lodging-houses—so removing the largest class of street-folk from the calculation of the numbers thus accommodated—and that the Irish who pursue street callings with any regularity generally prefer living, if it be two or three families in a room, in a place of their own. The female

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street-folk sleeping in lodging-houses, and occasionally taking their meals there, are usually those who are itinerant; the women who have a settled trade, especially a "pitch," reside in preference in some "place of their own." Of the number in lodging-houses one half may be regular inmates, some having a portion of a particular room to themselves; the others are casual sojourners, changing their night's shelter as convenience prompts.

Of the female street-sellers residing in houses of ill-fame there are not many; perhaps not many more than 100. I was told by a gentleman whose connection with parochial matters enabled him to form an opinion, that about Whitecross-street, and some similar streets near the Cornwall-road, and stretching away to the Blackfriars and Borough-roads—(the locality which of any in London is perhaps the most rank with prostitution and its attendant evils)—there might be 600 of those wretched women and of all ages, from 15 to upwards of 40; and that among them he believed there were barely a score who occupied themselves with street-sale. Of women, and more especially of girl, street-sellers, such as flower-girls, those pursuing immoral courses are far more numerous than 100, but they do not often reside in houses notoriously of ill-fame, but in their own rooms (and too often with their parents) and in low lodging-houses. For women who are street-sellers, without the practice of prostitution, to reside in a house of ill-fame, would be a reckless waste of money; as I am told that in so wretched a street as White-horse-street, the rent of a front kitchen is 4*s.* 6*d.* a week; of a back kitchen, 3*s.* 6*d.*; of a front parlour, 6*s.*; and of a back parlour, 4*s.* 6*d.*; all being meagrely furnished and very small. This is also accounted one of the cheapest of all such streets. The rent of a street-seller's unfurnished room is generally 1*s.* 6*d.* or even 1*s.* a week; a furnished room is 3*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*

The state of education among the female street-sellers is very defective. Perhaps it may be said that among the English costers not one female in twenty can read, and not one in forty can write. But they are fond of listening to any one who reads the newspaper or any exciting story. Among the street-selling Irish, also, education is very defective. As regards the adults, who have been of woman's estate before they left Ireland, a knowledge of reading and writing may be as rare as among the English costerwomen; but with those who have come to this country sufficiently young, or have been born here, education is far more diffused than among the often more prosperous English street children. This is owing to the establishment of late years of many Roman Catholic schools, at charges suited to the poor, or sometimes free, and of the Irish parents having availed themselves (probably on the recommendation of the priest) of such opportunities for the tuition of their daughters, which the English costers have neglected to do with equal chances. Of the other classes whom I have specified as street-sellers, I believe I may say that the education of the females is about the average of that of "servants of all work" who have been brought up amidst struggles and poverty; they can read, but with little appreciation of what they read, and have therefore little taste for books, and often little leisure even if they have taste. As to writing, a woman told me that at one time, when she was "in place," and kept weekly accounts, she had been complimented by her mistress on her neat hand, but that she and her husband (a man of indifferent character) had been street-sellers for seven or eight years, and during all that time she had only once had a pen in her hand; this was a few weeks back, in signing a petition—something about Sundays, she said—she wrote her name with great pain and difficulty, and feared that she had not even spelled it aright! I may here repeat that I found the uneducated always ready to attribute their want of success in life to their want of education; while the equally poor street-sellers, who were "scholars," are as apt to say, "It 's been of no manner of use to me." In all these matters I can but speak generally. The male street-sellers who have seen better days have of course been better educated, but the most intelligent of the street class are the patterers, and of them the females form no portion.

The diet of the class I am describing is, as regards its poorest members, tea and bread or bread and grease; a meal composed of nothing else is their fare twice or thrice a day. Sometimes there is the addition of a herring—or a plaice, when plaice are two a penny—but the consumption of cheap fish, with a few potatoes, is more common among the poor Irish than the poor English female street-sellers. "Indeed, sir," said an elderly woman, who sold cakes of blacking and small wares, "I could make a meal on fish and potatoes, cheaper than on tea and bread and butter, though I don't take milk with my tea—I 've got to like it better without milk than with it—but if you 're a long time on your legs in the streets and get to your bit of a home for a cup of tea, you want a bit of rest over it, and if you have to cook fish it 's such a trouble. O, no, indeed, this time of year there 's no 'casion to light a fire for your tea—and tea 'livens you far more nor a herring—because there 's always some neighbour to give a poor woman a jug of boiling water." Married women, who may carry on a trade distinct from that of their husbands, live as well as their earnings and the means of the couple will permit: what they consider good living is a dinner daily off "good block ornaments" (small pieces of meat, discoloured and dirty, but not tainted, usually set for sale on the butcher's block), tripe, cow-heel, beef-sausages, or soup from a cheap cook-shop, "at 2*d.* a pint." To this there is the usual accompaniment of beer, which, in all populous neighbourhoods, is "3*d.* a pot (quart) in your own jugs." From what I could learn, it seems to me that an inordinate or extravagant indulgence of the palate, under any circumstances, is far less common among the female than the male street-sellers.

During the summer and the fine months of the spring and autumn, there are, I am assured, one-third of the London street-sellers—male and female—

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"tramping" the country. At Maidstone Fair the other day, I was told by an intelligent itinerant dealer, there were 300 women, all of whose faces he believed he had seen at one time or other in London. The Irish, however, tramp very little into the country for purposes of trade, but they travel in great numbers from one place to another for purposes of mendicancy; or, if they have a desire to emigrate, they will tramp from London to Liverpool, literally begging their way, no matter whether they have or have not any money. The female street-sellers are thus a fluctuating body.

The beggars among the women who profess to be street-traders are chiefly Irishwomen, some of whom, though otherwise well-conducted, sober and chaste, beg shamelessly and with any mendacious representation. It is remarkable enough, too, that of the Irishwomen who will thus beg, many if employed in any agricultural work, or in the rougher household labours, such as scouring or washing, will work exceedingly hard. To any feeling of self-respect or self-dependence, however, they seem dead; their great merit is their chastity, their great shame their lying and mendicancy.

The female street-sellers are again a fluctuating body, as in the summer and autumn months. A large proportion go off to work in market-gardens, in the gathering of peas, beans, and the several fruits; in weeding, in hay-making, in the corn-harvest (when they will endeavour to obtain leave to glean if they are unemployed more profitably), and afterwards in the hopping. The women, however, thus seeking change of employment, are the ruder street-sellers, those who merely buy oranges at 4*d.* to sell at 6*d.*, and who do not meddle with any calling mixed up with the necessity of skill in selection, or address in recommending. Of this half-vagrant class, many are not street-sellers usually, but are half prostitutes and half thieves, not unfrequently drinking all their earnings, while of the habitual female street-sellers, I do not think that drunkenness is now a very prevalent vice. Their earnings are small, and if they become habituated to an indulgence in drink, their means are soon dissipated; in which case they are unable to obtain stock-money, and they cease to be street-sellers.

If I may venture upon an estimation, I should say that the women engaged in street sale—wives, widows, and single persons—number from 25,000 to 30,000, and that their average earnings run from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a week.

I shall now proceed to give the histories of individuals belonging to each of the above class of female street-sellers, with the view of illustrating what has been said respecting them generally.

Of a Single Woman, as a Street-Seller.

I had some difficulty, for the reasons I have stated, in finding a single woman who, by her unaided industry, supported herself on the sale of street merchandise. There were plenty of single young women so engaged, but they lived, or lodged, with their parents or with one parent, or they had some support, however trifling, from some quarter or other. Among the street Irish I could have obtained statements from many single women who depended on their daily sale for their daily bread, but I have already given instances of their street life. One Irishwoman, a spinster of about 50, for I had some conversation with her in the course of a former inquiry, had supported herself alone, by street sale, for many years. She sat, literally packed in a sort of hamper-basket, at the corner of Charles-street, Leather-lane. She seemed to fit herself cross-legged, like a Turk, or a tailor on his shop-board, into her hamper; her fruit stall was close by her, and there she seemed to doze away life day by day—for she usually appeared to be wrapped in slumber. If any one approached her stall, however, she seemed to awake, as it were, mechanically. I have missed this poor woman of late, and I believe she only packed herself up in the way described when the weather was cold.

A woman of about 26 or 27—I may again remark that the regular street-sellers rarely know their age—made the following statement. She was spare and sickly looking, but said that her health was tolerably good.

"I used to mind my mother's stall," she stated, "when I was a girl, when mother wasn't well or had a little work at pea-shelling or such like. She sold sweet-stuff. No, she didn't make it, but bought it. I never cared for it, and when I was quite young I 've sold sweet-stuffs as I never tasted. I never had a father. I can't read or write, but I like to hear people read. I go to Zion Chapel sometimes of a Sunday night, the singing 's so nice. I don't know what religion you may call it of, but it 's a Zion Chapel. Mother 's been dead these—well I don't know how long, but it 's a long time. I 've lived by myself ever since, and kept myself, and I have half a room with another young woman who lives by making little boxes. I don't know what sort of boxes. Pill-boxes? Very likely, sir, but I can't say I ever saw any. She goes out to work on another box-maker's premises. She 's no better off nor me. We pays 1*s.* 6*d.* a-week between us; it 's my bed, and the other sticks is her'n. We 'gree well enough. I haven't sold sweet stuff for a great bit. I 've sold small wares in the streets, and artificials (artificial flowers), and lace, and penny dolls, and penny boxes (of toys). No, I never hear anything improper from young men. Boys has sometimes said, when I 've been selling sweets, 'Don't look so hard at 'em, or they 'll turn sour.' I never minded such nonsense. I has very few amusements. I goes once or twice a month, or so, to the gallery at the Wick (Victoria Theatre), for I live near. It 's beautiful there. O, it 's really grand. I don't know what they call what's played, because I can't read the bills.

"I hear what they 're called, but I forgets. I knows Miss Vincent and John Herbert when they come on. I likes them the best. I 'm a going to leave the streets. I have an aunt a laundress, because she was mother's sister, and I always helped her, and she taught me laundressing. I

work for her three and sometimes four days a-week now, because she 's lost her daughter Ann, and I 'm known as a good ironer. Another laundress will employ me next week, so I 'm dropping the streets, as I can do far better. I 'm not likely to be married and I don't want to."

Of a Mechanic's Wife, as a Street-Seller.

A middle-aged woman, presenting what may be best understood as a decency of appearance, for there was nothing remarkable in her face or dress, gave me the following account of her experience as a street-seller, and of her feelings when she first became one:—

"I went into service very young in the country," she said, "but mistress brought me up to London with her, where master had got a situation: the children was so fond of me. I saved a little money in that and other places as girls often does, and they seems not to save it so much for themselves as for others. Father got the first bit of money I saved, or he would have been seized for rent—he was only a working man (agricultural labourer)—and all the rest I scraped went before I 'd been married a fortnight, for I got married when I was 24. O no, indeed, I don't mean that my money was wasted by my husband. It was every farthing laid out in the house, besides what he had, for we took a small house in a little street near the Commercial-road, and let out furnished rooms. We did very well at first with lodgings, but the lodgers were mates of vessels, or people about the river and the docks, and they were always coming and going, and the rooms was often empty, and some went away in debt. My husband is a smith, and was in middling work for a good while. Then he got a job to go with some horses to France, for he can groom a horse as well as shoe it, and he was a long time away, three or four months, for he was sent into another country when he got to France, but I don't understand the particulars of it. The rooms was empty and the last lodger went away without paying, and I had nothing to meet the quarter's rent, and the landlord, all of a sudden almost, put in the brokers, for he said my husband would never come back, and perhaps I should be selling the furniture and be off to join him, for he told me it was all a planned thing he knew. And so the furniture was sold for next to nothing, and 1*l.* 6*s.* was given to me after the sale; I suppose that was over when all was paid, but I'd been forced to part with some linen and things to live upon and pay the rates, that came very heavy. My husband came back to an empty house three days after, and he 'd been unlucky, for he brought home only 4*l.* instead of 10*l.* at least, as he expected, but he 'd been cheated by the man he went into the other country with. Yes, the man that cheated him was an Englishman, and my poor John was put to great trouble and expense, and was in a strange place without knowing a word of the language. But the foreigners was very kind to him, he said, and didn't laugh at him when he tried to make hisself understood, as I 've seen people do here many a time. The landlord gave us 1*l.* to give up the house, as he had a good offer for it, and so we had to start again in the world like.

"Our money was almost all gone before John got regular work, tho' he had some odd jobs, and then he had for a good many months the care of a horse and cart for a tradesman in the City. Shortly after that he was laid up a week with a crushed leg, but his master wouldn't wait a week for him, so he hired another: 'I have nothing to say against John,' says he, when I told his master of the accident, 'and I 'm sorry, very sorry, but my business can't be hindered by waiting for people getting better of accidents.' John got work at his own business next, but there was always some stopper. He was ill, or I was ill, and if there was 10*s.* in the house, then it went and wasn't enough. And so we went on for a good many years, I don't know how many. John kept working among horses and carts, or at his own business, but what with travelling abroad, I suppose, and such like, he got to like best to be in the streets, and he has his health best that way." (The husband, it is evident, was afflicted with the restlessness of the tribe.) "About seven years ago we were very badly off—no work, and no money, and neither of of us well. Then I used to make a few women's plain night-caps and plain morning caps for servants, and sell them to a shopkeeper, but latterly I couldn't sell them at all, or get no more than the stuff cost me, without any profit for labour. So at last—and it was on a Friday evening of all unlucky times—my gold wedding-ring that cost 8*s.* 6*d.*, and that I 'd stuck to all along, had to be pawned for 4*s.* 6*d.* for rent and bread. That *was* a shocking time, sir. We 've sat in the dark of an evening, for we could get neither coals nor a candle as we was a little in debt, and John said, it was a blessing after all perhaps that we hadn't no family, for he often, both joking and serious, wished for children, but it wasn't God's will you see that we should have any. One morning when I woke very early I found my husband just going out, and when I asked him what sent him out so soon, he says: 'It's for nothing bad, so don't fret yourself, old gal.' That day he walked all over London and called on all the masters as had employed him, or knowed him, and told them how he was situated, and said that if he could borrow 20*s.* up and down, he could do a little, he knew—the thought of it came into his mind all of a sudden—in going about with a horse and cart, that he could hire, and sell coals to poor people. He raised 8*s.* 6*d.*, I think it was, and started with a quarter of a ton of coals, and then another quarter when the first was sold, and he carried it on for three or four weeks. But the hire of the horse and cart took all the profit, and the poor people wanted credit, besides people must cheat to thrive as sells coals in the street. All this time I could do nothing—though I tried for washing and charing, but I 'm slow at washing—but starve at home, and be afraid every knock was the landlord. After that John was employed to carry a very heavy board over his shoulder, and so as to have it read on both sides. It was about an eating-house, and I went

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with him to give little bills about it to all we met, for it was as much as a man could do to carry the board. He had 1*s.* a day, and I had 6*d.* That was my first time in the streets and I felt so 'shamed to come to that. I thought if I met any people I knew in Essex, or any of my old mistresses, what would they think. Then we had all sorts of jokes to stand. We both looked pinched, and young gents used to say, 'Do you dine there yourselves?' and the boys—O, of all the torments!—they've shouted out, 'Excellent Dining-rooms' that was on the board, sir, 'and two jolly speciments of the style of grub!' I could have knocked their saucy heads together. We was resting in the shade one day—and we were anxious to do our best, for 1*s.* 6*d.* a day was a great thing then—and an old gentleman came up and said he was glad to get out of the sun. He looked like a parson, but was a joky man, and he'd been having some wine, I think, he smelled of it so. He began to talk to us and ask us questions, such as you have, sir, and we told him how we was situated. 'God bless you,' says he, 'for I think you're honest folks. People that lie don't talk like you; here's some loose silver I have,' and he gave John 5*s.* 6*d.* and went away. We could hardly think it was real; it seemed such a lot of money just then, to be got clear all at once. I've never seen him since, and never saw him, as I knows of, before, but may God Almighty bless him wherever he is, for I think that 5*s.* 6*d.* put new life into us, and brought a blessing. A relation of John's came to London not long after and gave him a sovereign and sent him some old clothes, and very good ones, when he went back. Then John hired a barrow—it's his own now—and started as a costermonger. A neighbour of ourn told him how to do it, and he's done very well at it since.

"Well, you know, sir, I could'nt like to stay at home by myself doing of a nothing, and I couldn't get any charing; besides John says, 'Why, can't *you* sell something?' So I made some plain women's caps, and as we lived in Ann's-place, Waterloo-road, then, I went into the New Cut with them on a Saturday night. But there was such crowding, and shoving, and shouting, that I was kept under and sold only one cap. I was very much nervoused before I went and thought again—it was very foolish, I know—'if I saw anybody from Essex,' for country people seem to think all their friends in London are making fortunes! Before I went my landlady *would* treat me to a little drop of gin to give me spirits, and 'for luck,' but I think it made me more nervoused. I very seldom taste any. And John's very good that way. He takes his pint or two every now and then, but I know where he uses, and if it gets late I go for him and he comes home. The next time I went to sell in the Cut I got bold, for I knew I was doing nothing but what was honest; I've sold caps, and millinery, and laces, and artificial flowers, and such like ever since. We've saved a little money now, which is in the bank, thank God, but that's not done by costering, or by my trade. But my husband buys a poney every now and then, and grooms and fattens it up well, and makes it quite another thing, and so clears a pound or two; he once cleared 3*l.* 15*s.* on it. We don't go to church or chapel on a Sunday, we're so tired out after the week's work. But John reads a tract that a young lady leaves 'till he falls asleep over it."

Of an Irishwoman, as a Street-Seller.

I have before had occasion to remark the aptitude of the poor Irish in the streets of London not so much to lie, which may be too harsh a word when motives and idiosyncrasy are considered, but to exaggerate, and misrepresent, and colour in such a way that the truth becomes a mere incident in the narrative, instead of being the animating principle throughout. I speak here not as regards any direct question or answer on one specific point, but as regards a connected statement. Presuming that a poor Irishwoman, for instance, had saved up a few shillings, very likely for some laudable purpose, and had them hidden about her person, and was asked if she had a farthing in the world, she would reply with a look of most stolid innocence, "Sorra a fardin, sir." This of course is an unmitigated lie. Then ask her *why* she is so poor and what are her hopes for the future, and a very slender substratum of truth will suffice for the putting together of a very ingenious history, if she think the occasion requires it.

It is the same when these poor persons are questioned as to their former life. They have heard of societies to promote emigration, and if they fancy that any inquiries are made of them with a view to emigration, they will ingeniously shape their replies so as to promote or divert that object, according to their wishes. If they think the inquiries are for some charitable purpose, their tale of woe and starvation is heart-rending. The probability is that they may have suffered much, and long, and bravely, but they will still exaggerate. In one thing, however, I have found them understate the fact, and that I believe principally, or wholly, when they had been previously used to the most wretched of the Irish hovels. I mean as to their rooms. "Where do you live," may be asked. "Will, thin, in Paraker-street (Parker-street) Derwry-lane?" "Have you a decent room?" "Shure, thin, and it is dacint for a poor woman." On a visit, perhaps the room will be found smoky, filthy, half-ruinous, and wretched in every respect. I believe, however, that if these poor people could be made to comprehend the motives which caused their being questioned for the purposes of this work, the elucidation of the truth—motives which they cannot be made to understand—they would speak with a far greater regard to veracity. But they *will* suspect an ulterior object, involving some design on the part of the querist, and they will speak accordingly. To what causes, social or political, national, long-rooted, or otherwise, this spirit may be owing, it is not now my business to inquire.

At the outset of my inquiries amongst the poor

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Irish, whose civility and often native politeness, where there is a better degree of intelligence, makes it almost impossible to be angry with them even when you listen to a story of which you believe not one-sixth—at the outset of my inquiries, I say, I was told by an Irish gentleman that I was sure to hear the truth if I had authority to use the name of their priest. I readily obtained the consent of reverend gentlemen to use their names and for any purpose of inquiry, a courtesy which I thankfully acknowledge. I mention this more especially, that it may not be thought that there has been exaggeration in my foregoing or in the following statement, where the Irish are the narrators. I have little doubt of their truth.

It may be but proper to remark, in order that one class of poor people may not be unduly *depreciated*, while another class is, perhaps, unduly *appreciated*, that the poor Irishman is much more imaginative, is readier of wit and far readier of speech, than an Englishman of a corresponding grade; and were the untaught Englishman equally gifted in those respects, who will avouch that *his* regard for the truth would be much more severe?

Of the causes which induced a good-looking Irish woman to become a street-seller I had the following account, which I give in its curious details:—

"'Deed thin, sir, it's more than 20 long years since I came from Dublin to Liverpool wid my father and mother, and brother William that's dead and gone, rest his soul. He died when he was fourteen. They was masons in Ireland. Was both father and mother masons, sir? Well, then, in any quiet job mother helped father, for she was a strong woman. They came away sudden. They was in some thrubble, but I never knew what, for they wouldn't talk to me about it. We thravelled from Liverpool to London, for there was no worruk at Liverpool; and he got worruk on buildings in London, and had 18*s.* a week; and mother cleaned and worruked for a greengrocer, as they called him—he sold coals more than anything—where we lodged, and it wasn't much, she got, but she airned what is such a thrubble to poor people, the rint. We was well off, and I was sent to school; and we should have been better off, but father took too much to the dhrop, God save him. He fell onste and broke his leg; and though the hospital gintlemen, God bless them for good Christians, got him through it, he got little worruk when he came out again, and died in less than a year. Mother wasn't long afther him; and on her death-bed she said, so low I could hardly hear her, 'Mary, my darlint, if you starruve, be vartuous. Rimimber poor Illen's funeral.' When I was quite a child, sir, I went wid mother to a funeral—she was a relation—and it was of a young woman that died after her child had been borrun a fortnight, and she wasn't married; that was Illen. Her body was brought out of the lying-in hospital—I've often heard spake of it since—and was in the churchyard to be buried; and her brother, that hadn't seen her for a long time, came and wanted to see her in her coffin, and they took the lid off, and then he currused her in her coffin afore him; she'd been so wicked. But he wasn't a good man hisself, and was in dhrink too; still nobody said anything, and he walked away. It made me ill to see Illen in her coffin, and hear him curruse, and I've remimbered it ever since.

"I was thin fifteen, I believe, and hadn't any friends that had any tie to me. I was lone, sir. But the neebours said, 'Poor thing, she's left on the shuckrawn' (homeless); and they helped me, and I got a place. Mistress was very kind at first, that's my first mistress was, and I had the care of a child of three years old; they had only one, because mistress was busy making waistcoats. Master was a hatter, and away all day, and they was well off. But some women called on mistress once, and they had a deal of talkin', and bladherin', and laughin', and I don't know how often I was sent out for quarterns of gin. Then they all went out together; and mistress came home quite tipsy just afore master, and went upstairs, and had just time to get into bed; she told me to tell master she had one of her sick head-aches and was forced to go to bed; she went on that way for three or four days, and master and she used to quarrel of a night, for I could hear them. One night he came home sooner than common, and he'd been drinking, or perhaps it might be thrubble, and he sent me to bed wid the child; and sometime in the night, I don't know what time, but I could only see from a gas-lamp that shined into the room, he came in, for there was no fastenin' inside the door, it was only like a closet, and he began to ask me about mistress. When he larned she'd been drinking wid other women, he used dreadful language, and pulled me out of bed, and struck me with a stick that he snatched up, he could see it in the gas-light, it was little Frank's horse, and swore at me for not telling him afore. He only struck me onste, but I screamed ever so often, I was so frightened. I dressed myself, and lay down in my clothes, and got up as soon as it was light—it was summer time—and thought I would go away and complain to some one. I would ask the neebours who to complain to. When I was going out there was master walking up and down the kitchen. He'd never been to bed, and he says, says he, 'Mary, where are you going?' So I told him, and he begged my pardon, and said he was ashamed of what he'd done, but he was half mad; then he began to cry, and so I cried, and mistress came home just then, and when she saw us both crying together, *she* cried, and said she wasn't wanted, as we was man and wife already. Master just gave her a push and down she fell, and he ran out. She seemed so bad, and the child began to cry, that I couldn't lave thin; and master came home drunk that night, but he wasn't cross, for he'd made out that mistress had been drinking with some neebours, and had got to her mother's, and that she was so tipsy she fell asleep, they let her stay till morning, and then some woman set her home, but she'd been there all night. They made

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it up at last, but I wouldn't stay. They was very kind to me when I left, and paid me all that was owing, and gave me a good pair of shoes, too; for they was well off.

"I had a many places for seven years; after that, and when I was out of a place, I stayed wid a widder, and a very dacint woman, she was wid a daughter working for a bookbinder, and the old woman had a good pitch with fruit. Some of my places was very harrud, but shure, again, I met some as was very kind. I left one because they was always wanting me to go to a Methodist chapel, and was always running down my religion, and did all they could to hinder my ever going to mass. They would hardly pay me when I left, because I wouldn't listen to them, they said —the haythens!—when they would have saved my soul. *They* save my soul, indeed! The likes o' thim! Yes, indeed, thin, I had wicked offers sometimes, and from masters that should have known better. I kept no company wid young men. One mistress refused me a karackter, because I was so unhandy, she said; but she thought better of it. At last, I had a faver (fever), and wasn't expected for long (not expected to live); when I was getting well, everything went to keep me. What wasn't good enough for the pawn went to the dolly (dolly-shop, generally a rag and bottle shop, or a marine store). When I could get about, I was so shabby, and my clothes hung about me so, that the shops I went to said, 'Very sorry, but can't recommend you anywhere;' and mistresses looked strange at me, and I didn't know what to do and was miserable. I'd been miserable sometimes in place, and had many a cry, and thought how 'lone' I was, but I never was so miserable as this. At last, the old woman I stayed along wid —O, yes, she was an Irishwoman—advised me to sill fruit in the streets, and I began on strawberries, and borrowed 2*s.* 6*d.* to do it wid. I had my hilth better than ever thin; and after I'd sold fruit of all kinds for two years, I got married. My husband had a potato can thin. I knew him because he lived near, and I saw him go in and out, and go to mass. After that he got a porter's place and dropped his can, and he porters when he has a chance still, and has a little work in sewing sacks for the corn-merchants. Whin he's at home at his sacks, as he is now, he can mind the children —we have two—and I sells a few oranges to make a thrifle. Whin there's nothing ilse for him to do, he sills fruit in the sthreets, and thin I'm at home. We do middlin, God be praised."

There is no doubt my informant was a modest, and, in her way, a worthy woman. But it may be doubted if any English girl, after seven years of domestic service, would have so readily adapted herself to a street calling. Had an English girl been living among, and used to the society of women who supported themselves by street labour, her repugnance to such a life might have been lessened; but even then, I doubt if she, who had the virtue to resist the offers told of by my Irish informant, could have made the attempt to live by selling fruit. I do not mean that she would rather have fallen into immoral courses than honestly live upon the sale of strawberries, but that she would have struggled on and striven to obtain any domestic labour in preference to a street occupation.

Of a Widow, a Street-Seller.

A woman, apparently about 50, strong-built and red-faced, speaking in a loud tone, and what people of her class account a *hearty* manner, gave me the following account. I can readily condense it, for in her street career there there was nothing very novel. She was the daughter of a costermonger, and she married a costermonger before she was 20. On my hinting that sometimes the marriage ceremony was not considered indispensable, the good woman laughed and said, "married, or as good, it's hall as one—but we was married." The marriage was not one of unalloyed happiness, for the couple often wrangled and occasionally fought. This was told to me with some laughter, and with perfect good humour; for the widow seemed interested to have a listener. She did not, I feel confident, exaggerate the merits of the deceased, nor, perhaps, his failings. He was the best judge of fish in the streets, she said, and was the neatest hand in cutting it up, or showing it off; he was not "a bad sort," and was very fond of his children. When sober and at work he was a quiet fellow, without a cross word for a whole morning, but when drunk, which was far too often (unless *very* drunk, and then he was silly), he went about tearing and swearing "like one o'clock." But if he saw his wife take but a glass or two, to do her good, he went on like a madman, and as if he never touched it himself. He never had nothing to say to other women—if he had she would have clawed their eyes out, and his'n too—he was as good that way as any nobleman could be, and he was a fine man to look at; and on a Sunday, when he dressed hisself, he was beautiful. He was never in a church in his life, and didn't trouble hisself about such things; they was no concern of his'n.

It may be thought that I have treated this matter too lightly, but the foregoing is really the substance, and certainly it is the tone, of the widow's talk, which she poured forth freely, without expressing wonder why any one, a perfect stranger, cared to listen to such a history. She needed but a few hints and leading questions to make her talk on. Nor is this an uncommon quality even among classes who would be shocked to be classed, in any respect, with the Widowed Street-Seller. Their own career, their own sayings and doings, hopes and disappointments, alone interest masses of people, and with the simplicity which not seldom pertains to selfishness, they will readily talk of all that interests themselves, as if it must necessarily interest others. On the whole, though the departed costermonger was greatly deplored by his widow and family, they did very well without him, and carry on the business to this day. He died four or five years back.

I have no doubt this widow is a shrewd sales-

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woman enough. I have heard her cry "mack'rel, live mack'rel, eight a shilling, mack'rel!" and at other times, "Eight a bob, fine mack'rel, mack'rel, eight a bob, eight a bob!" On my inquiring as to the cause of this difference in her cries, the fish-seller laughed and said, "I cries eight a bob when I sees people as I thinks is likely to like slang; to others I cries eight a shilling, which no doubt is the right way of talking."

OF THE CHILDREN STREET-SELLERS OF LONDON.

WHEN we consider the spirit of emulation, of imitation, of bravado, of opposition, of just or idle resentment, among boys, according to their training, companionship, natural disposition, and, above all, home treatment, it seems most important to ascertain how these feelings and inclinations are fostered or stimulated by the examples of the free street-life of other lads to be seen on every side. There is no doubt that to a large class of boys, whose parents are not in poverty, the young street ruffian is a hero.

If this inquiry be important, as it unquestionably is, concerning boys, how much more important is it, when it includes the female children of the streets; when it relates to the sex who, in all relations of life, and in all grades of society, are really the guardians of a people's virtue.

The investigation is, again, rendered more interesting and more important, when it includes those children who have known no guidance from parent, master, or relative, but have been flung into the streets through neglect, through viciousness, or as outcasts from utter destitution. Mixed with the children who really *sell* in the streets, are the class who assume to sell that they may have the better chance to steal, or the greater facility to beg.

Before I classify what I consider to be the causes which have driven children to a street career, with all its hardening consequences, I may point out that culpability cannot be imputed to them at the commencement of their course of life. They have been either untaught, mistaught, maltreated, neglected, regularly trained to vice, or fairly turned into the streets to shift for themselves. The censure, then, is attributable to parents, or those who should fill the place of parents—the State, or society. The exceptions to this culpability as regards parents are to be found in the instances where a costermonger employs his children to aid him in his business occupation, which the parents, in their ignorance or prejudices, may account as good as any other, and the youths thus become unfit, perhaps, for any other than a scrambling street life. A second exception may be where the children in a poor family (as continually happens among the Irish in London) *must* sell in the streets, that they may eat in any place.

In the following details I shall consider all to be children who are under fifteen years of age. It is just beyond that age (or the age of puberty) that, as our prison statistics and other returns show, criminal dispositions are developed, "self-will" becomes more imperious and headstrong, that destructive propensity, or taste, which we term the ruling passion or character of the individual is educed, and the destiny of the human being, especially when apart from the moulding and well-directed care of parents or friends, is influenced perhaps for life.

The Causes, then, which fill our streets with children who either manifest the keen and sometimes roguish propensity of a precocious trader, the daring and adroitness of the thief, or the loutish indifference of the mere dull vagabond, content if he can only eat and sleep, I consider to be these:—

1. The conduct of parents, masters, and mistresses.

2. The companionship and associations formed in tender years.

3. The employment of children by costermongers and others who live by street traffic, and the training of costermongers' children to a street life.

4. Orphanhood, friendlessness, and utter destitution.

5. Vagrant dispositions and tastes on the part of children, which cause them to be runaways.

After this I shall treat of (*a*) the pursuits of the street-trading children; (*b*) their earnings; (*c*) the causes or influences which have induced children to adopt some especial branch of a street life; (*d*) their state of education; (*e*) their morals, religion, opinions, and conduct; (*f*) places and character of dwellings; (*g*) diet; (*h*) amusements; (*i*) clothing; (*j*) propensities.

Concerning cause 1, viz., "The conduct of parents, masters, and mistresses," I should have more to say were I treating of the juvenile criminals, instead of sellers in the streets. The brute tyranny of parents, manifested in the wreaking of any annoyances or disappointments they may have endured, in the passionate beating and cursing of their children, for trifling or for no causes, is among the worst symptoms of a depraved nature. This conduct may be the most common among the poor, for among them are fewer conventional restraints; but it exists among and debases other classes. Some parents only exercise this tyranny in their fits of drunkenness, and make that their plea in mitigation; but their dispositions are then only the more undisguisedly developed, and they would be equally unjust or tyrannical when sober, but for some selfish fear which checks them. A boy perhaps endures this course of tyranny some time, and then finding it increase he feels its further endurance intolerable, and runs away. If he have no friends with whom he can hope to find a shelter, the streets only are open to him. He soon meets with comrades, some of whom perhaps had been circumstanced like himself, and, if not strongly disposed to idleness and vicious indulgencies, goes through a course of horse-holding, errand-running, parcel-carrying, and such like, and so becomes, if honestly or prudently inclined, a street-seller, beginning with fuzees, or nuts, or some unexpensive stock. The where to buy and the how to sell he will find

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plenty to teach him at the lodging-houses, where he *must* sleep when he can pay for a bed.

When I was collecting information concerning brace-selling I met with a youth of sixteen who about two years previously had run away from Birmingham, and made his way to London, with 2*s.* 6*d.* Although he earned something weekly, he was so pinched and beaten by a step-mother (his father was seldom at home except on Sunday) that his life was miserable. This went on for nearly a year, until the boy began to resist, and one Saturday evening, when beaten as usual, he struck in return, drawing blood from his step-mother's face. The father came home before the fray was well ended; listened to his wife's statement, and would not listen to the boy's, and in his turn chastised the lad mercilessly. In five minutes after the boy, with aching bones and a bitter spirit, left his father's house and made his way to London, where he was then vending cheap braces. This youth could neither read nor write, and seemed to possess no quickness or intelligence. The only thing of which he cared to talk was his step-mother's treatment of him; all else was a blank with him, in comparison; this was the one burning recollection.

I may here observe, that I heard of several instances of children having run away and adopted a street life in consequence of the violence of step-mothers far more than of step-fathers.

I cite the foregoing instance, as the boy's career was exactly that I have described; but the reader will remember, that in the many and curious narratives I have collected, how often the adult street-seller has begun such a life by being a runaway from domestic tyranny. Had this Birmingham boy been less honest, or perhaps less dull, it would have been far easier for him to have become a thief than a street-trader. To the gangs of young thieves, a new boy, who is not known to the police is often (as a smart young pickpocket, then known as the Cocksparrow, described it to me) "a God-send."

My readers will remember that in the collected statements of the street-folk, there are several accounts of runaways, but they were generally older than the age I have fixed, and it was necessary to give an account of one who comes within my classification of a child.

I did not hear of any girls who had run away from their homes having become street-sellers merely. They more generally fall into a course of prostitution, or sometimes may be ostensibly street-sellers as a means of accosting men, and, perhaps, for an attractive pretence to the depraved, that they are poor, innocent girls, struggling for an honest penny. If they resort to the low lodging-houses, where the sexes are lodged indiscriminately, their ruin seems inevitable.

2. That the companionship and associations formed in tender years lead many children to a street life is so evident, that I may be brief on the subject. There are few who are in the habit of noting what they may observe of poor children in the streets and quieter localities, who have not seen little boys playing at marbles, or gambling with halfpennies, farthings, or buttons, with other lads, and who have laid down their basket of nuts or oranges to take part in the play. The young street-seller has probably more halfpence at his command, or, at any rate, in his possession, than his non-dealing playmates; he is also in the undoubted possession of what appears a large store of things for which poor boys have generally a craving and a relish. Thus the little itinerant trader is envied and imitated.

This attraction to a street career is very strong, I have ascertained, among the neglected children of the poor, when the parents are absent at their work. On a Saturday morning, some little time since, I was in a flagged court near Drury-lane, a wretched place, which was full of children of all ages. The parents were nearly all, I believe, then at work, or "on the look out for a job," as porters in Covent Garden-market, and the children played in the court until their return. In one corner was a group of four or five little boys gambling and squabbling for nuts, of which one of the number was a vendor. A sharp-looking lad was gazing enviously on, and I asked him to guide me to the room of a man whom I wished to see. He did so, and I gave him a penny. On my leaving the court I found this boy the most eager of the players, gambling with the penny I had given him. I had occasion to return there a few hours after, and the same lad was leaning against the wall, with his hands in his pockets, as if suffering from listlessness. He had had no luck with the nut covey, he told me, but he hoped before long to sell nuts himself. He did not know his age, but he appeared to be about eleven. Only last week I saw this same lad hawking a basket, very indifferently stocked with oranges. He had raised a shilling, he said, and the "Early Bird" (the nickname of a young street-seller) had put him up to the way to lay it out. On my asking if his father (a journeyman butcher) knew what he was doing, he replied that so long as he didn't bother his father he could do what he pleased, and the more he kept out of his (the father's) way the better he would be liked and treated.

The association of poor boys and girls with the children of the costermongers, and of the Irish fruit-sellers, who are employed in itinerant vending, is often productive of a strong degree of envy on the part of unemployed little ones, who look upon having the charge of a basket of fruit, to be carried in any direction, as a species of independence.

3. "The employment of children by costermongers, and others who live by street traffic; and the training of costermongers' children to a street life, is the ordinary means of increase among the street-folk."

The children of the costermongers become necessarily, as I have already intimated, street-dealers, and perhaps more innocently than in any other manner, by being required, as soon as their strength enables them, to assist their parents in their work, or sell trifles, single-handed, for the behoof of their parents. The child does but obey his father, and the father does but rear the child

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to the calling by which his daily bread is won. This is the case particularly with the Irish, who often have large families, and bring them with them to London.

There are, moreover, a great number of boys, "anybody's children," as I heard them called, who are tempted and trained to pursue an open-air traffic, through being engaged by costermongers or small tradesmen to sell upon commission, or, as it is termed, for "bunse." In the curious, and almost in every instance novel, information which I gave to the public concerning the largest body of the street-sellers, the costermongers, this word "bunse" (probably a corruption of *bonus*, *bone* being the slang for good) first appeared in print. The mode is this: a certain quantity of saleable, and sometimes of not very saleable, commodities is given to a boy whom a costermonger knows and perhaps employs, and it is arranged that the young commission-agent is to get a particular sum for them, which must be paid to the costermonger; I will say 3*s*., that being somewhere about the maximum. For these articles the lad may ask and obtain any price he can, and whatever he obtains beyond the stipulated 3*s*. is his own profit or "bunse." The remuneration thus accruing to the boy-vendor of course varies very materially, according to the season of the year, the nature of the article, and the neighbourhood in which it is hawked. Much also depends upon whether the boy has a regular market for his commodities; whether he has certain parties to whom he is known and upon whom he can call to solicit custom; if he has, of course his facilities for disposing of his stock in trade are much greater than in the case of one who has only the chance of attracting attention and obtaining custom by mere crying and bawling "Penny a piece, Col-ly-flowers," "Five bunches a penny, Red-dish-es," and such like. The Irish boys call this "having a back," an old Hibernian phrase formerly applied to a very different subject and purpose.

Another cause of the abundance of street-dealers among the boyish fraternity, whose parents are unable or unwilling to support them, is that some costers keep a lad as a regular assistant, whose duty it is to pull the barrow of his master about the streets, and assist him in "crying" his wares. Sometimes the man and the boy call out together, sometimes separately and alternately, but mostly the boy alone has to do this part of the work, the coster's voice being generally rough and hoarse, while the shrill sound of that of the boy re-echoes throughout the street along which they slowly move, and is far more likely to strike the ear, and consequently to attract attention, than that of the man. This mode of "practising the voice" is, however, perfectly ruinous to it, as in almost every case of this description we find the natural tone completely annihilated at a very early age, and a harsh, hoarse, guttural, disagreeable mode of speaking acquired. In addition to the costers there are others who thus employ boys in the streets: the hawkers of coal do so invariably, and the milkmen—especially those who drive cows or have a cart to carry the milk-pails in. Once in the streets and surrounded with street-associates, the boy soon becomes inured to this kind of life, and when he leaves his first master, will frequently start in some branch of costermongering for himself, without seeking to obtain another constant employment.

This mode of employing lads, and on the whole perhaps they are fairly enough used by the costermongers, and generally treated with great kindness by the costers' wives or concubines, is, I am inclined to think, the chief cause of the abundance and even increase of the street-sellers of fish, fruit, and vegetables.

4. To "orphanhood, friendlessness, and utter destitution," the commerce of the streets owes a considerable portion of its merchants. A child finds himself or herself an orphan; the parents having been miserably poor, he or she lives in a place where street-folk abound; it seems the only road to a meal and a bed, and the orphan "starts" with a few lucifer-matches, boot-laces, nuts, or onions. It is the same when a child, without being an orphan, is abandoned or neglected by the parents, and, perhaps without any injunctions either for or against such a course, is left to his or her own will to sell or steal in the streets.

5. The vagrant dispositions and tastes of lads, and, it may be, now and then somewhat of a reckless spirit of adventure, which in our days has far fewer fields than it once had, is another cause why a street-life is embraced. Lads have been known to run away from even comfortable homes through the mere spirit of restlessness; and sometimes they have done so, but not perhaps under the age of fifteen, for the unrestrained indulgence of licentious passions. As this class of runaways, however, do not ordinarily settle into regular street-sellers, but become pickpockets, or trade only with a view to cloak their designs of theft, I need not further allude to them under this head.

I now come to the second part of my subject, the *Pursuits*, &c., of the children in street avocations.

As I have shown in my account of the women street-sellers, there is no calling which this body of juveniles monopolize, none of which they are the *sole* possessors; but some are principally in their hands, and there are others, again, to which they rarely incline.

Among the wares sold by the boys and girls of the streets are:—money-bags, lucifer-match boxes, leather straps, belts, firewood (common, and also "patent," that is, dipped into an inflammable composition), fly-papers, a variety of fruits, especially nuts, oranges, and apples; onions, radishes, water-cresses, cut flowers and lavender (mostly sold by girls), sweet-briar, India rubber, garters, and other little articles of the same material, including elastic rings to encircle rolls of paper-music, toys of the smaller kinds, cakes, steel pens and penholders with glass handles, exhibition medals and cards, gelatine cards, glass and other cheap seals, brass watch-guards, chains, and rings; small tin ware, nutmeg-graters, and other articles

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DOCTOR BOKANKY, THE STREET HERBALIST.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

"Now then for the Kalibonca Root, that was brought from Madras in the East Indies. It 'll cure the tooth-ache, head-ache, giddiness in the head, dimness of sight, rheumatics in the head, and is highly recommended for the ague; never known to fail; and I've sold it for this six and twenty year. From one penny to sixpence the packet. The best article in England."

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of a similar description, such as are easily portable; iron skewers, fuzees, shirt buttons, boot and stay-laces, pins (and more rarely needles), cotton bobbins, Christmasing (holly and other evergreens at Christmas-tide), May-flowers, coat-studs, toy-pottery, blackberries, groundsel and chickweed, and clothes'-pegs.

There are also other things which children sell temporarily, or rather in the season. This year I saw lads selling wild birds'-nests with their eggs, such as hedge-sparrows, minnows in small glass globes, roots of the wild Early Orchis (Orchis mascula), and such like things found only out of town.

Independently of the vending of these articles, there are many other ways of earning a penny among the street boys: among them are found —tumblers, mud-larks, water-jacks, Ethiopians, ballad-singers, bagpipe boys, the variety of street musicians (especially Italian boys with organs), Billingsgate boys or young "roughs," Covent Garden boys, porters, and shoeblacks (a class recently increased by the Ragged School Brigade). A great many lads are employed also in giving away the cards and placards of advertising and puffing tradesmen, and around the theatres are children of both sexes (along with a few old people) offering play-bills for sale, but this is an occupation less pursued than formerly, as some managers sell their own bills inside the house and do not allow any to pass from the hands of the printer into those of the former vendors. Again: amid the employments of this class may be mentioned—the going on errands and carrying parcels for persons accidentally met with; holding horses; sweeping crossings (but the best crossings are usually in the possession of adults); carrying trunks for any railway traveller to or from the terminus, and carrying them from an omnibus when the passenger is not put down at his exact destination. During the frosty days of the winter and early spring, some of these little fellows used to run along the foot-path—Baker-street was a favourite place for this display—and keep pace with the omnibuses, not merely by using their legs briskly, but by throwing themselves every now and then on their hands and progressing a few steps (so to speak) with their feet in the air. This was done to attract attention and obtain the preference if a job were in prospect; done, too, in hopes of a halfpenny being given the urchin for his agility. I looked at the hands of one of these little fellows and the fleshy parts of the palm were as hard as soling-leather, as hard, indeed, as the soles of the child's feet, for he was bare-footed. At the doors of the theatres, and of public places generally, boys are always in waiting to secure a cab from the stand, their best harvest being when the night has "turned out wet" after a fine day. Boys wait for the same purpose, lounging all night, and until the place closes, about the night-houses, casinos, saloons, &c., and sometimes without receiving a penny. There are, again, the very many ways in which street boys employed to "help" other people, when temporary help is needed, as when a cabman must finish the cleaning of his vehicle in a hurry, or when a porter finds himself over-weighted in his truck. Boys are, moreover, the common custodians of the donkeys on which young ladies take invigorating exercise in such places as Hampstead-heath and Blackheath. At pigeon-shooting matches they are in readiness to pick up the dead birds, and secure the poor fluttering things which are "hard hit" by the adventurous sportsman, without having been killed. They have their share again in the picking of currants and gooseberries, the pottling of strawberries, in weeding, &c., &c., and though the younger children may be little employed in haymaking, or in the more important labours of the corn harvest, they have their shares, both with and without the company of their parents, in the "hopping." In fine there is no business carried on to any extent in the streets, or in the open air, but it will be found that boys have their portion. Thus they are brought into contact with all classes; another proof of what I have advanced touching the importance of this subject.

It will be perceived that, under this head, I have had to speak far more frequently of boys than of girls, for the boy is far more the child of the streets than is the girl. The female child can do little but *sell* (when a livelihood is to be gained without a recourse to immorality); the boy can not only sell, but *work*.

The many ramifications of child-life and of child-work in our teeming streets, which I have just enumerated, render it difficult to arrive at a very nice estimation of the *earnings of the street boys and girls*. The gains of this week are not necessarily the gains of the next; there is the influence of the weather; there may be a larger or a smaller number of hands "taking a turn" at any particular calling this week than in its predecessor; and, above all, there is that concatenation of circumstances, which street-sellers include in one expressive word—"luck." I mean the opportunities to earn a few pence, which on some occasions present themselves freely, and at others do not occur at all. Such "luck," however, is more felt by the holders of horses, and the class of waiters upon opportunity (so to speak), than by those who depend upon trade.

I believe, however, both in consequence of what I have observed, and from the concurrent testimony of persons familiar with the child-life of London streets, that the earnings of the children, when they are healthful and active, are about the same in the several capacities they exercise. The waiter on opportunity, the lad "on the look-out for a job," may wait and look out all day bootlessly, but in the evening some fortunate chance may realize him "a whole tanner all in a lump." In like manner, the water-cress girl may drudge on from early morning until "cresses" are wanted for tea, and, with "a connection," and a tolerably regular demand, earn no more than the boy's 6*d.*, and probably not so much.

One of the most profitable callings of the street-child is in the sale of Christmasing, but that is only for a very brief season; the most regular

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returns in the child's trade, are in the sale of such things as water-cresses, or any low-priced article of daily consumption, wherever the youthful vendor may be known.

I find it necessary to place the earnings of the street-children higher than those of the aged and infirm. The children are more active, more persevering, and perhaps more impudent. They are less deterred by the weather, and can endure more fatigue in walking long distances than old people. This, however, relates to the boys more especially, some of whom are very sturdy fellows.

The oranges which the street-children now vend at two a-penny, leave them a profit of 4*d.* in the shilling. To take 1*s.* 6*d.* with a profit of 6*d.* is a fair day's work; to take 1*s.* with a profit of 4*d.* is a poor day's work. The dozen bunches of cut-flowers which a girl will sell on an average day at 1*d.* a bunch, cost her 6*d.*, that sum being also her profit. These things supply, I think, a fair criterion. The children's profits may be 6*d.* a day, and including Sunday trade, 3*s.* 6*d.* a week; but with the drawbacks of bad weather, they cannot be computed at more than 2*s.* 6*d.* a week the year through. The boys may earn 2*d.* or 3*d.* a week on an average more than the girls, except in such things (which I shall specify under the next head) as seem more particularly suited for female traffic.

Of the causes which influence children to follow this or that course of business when a street career has been their choice or their lot, I have little to say. It seems quite a matter of chance, even where a preference may exist. A runaway lad meets with a comrade who perhaps sells fuzees, and he accordingly begins on fuzees. One youth, of whom I have given an account (but he was not of child's estate), began his street career on fly-papers. When children are sent into the streets to sell on account of their parents, they, of course, vend just what their parents have supplied to them. If "on their own hook," they usually commence their street career on what it is easiest to buy and easiest to sell; a few nuts or oranges bought in Duke's-place, lucifer-boxes, or small wares. As their experience increases they may become general street-sellers. The duller sort will continue to carry on the trades that any one with ordinary lungs and muscles can pursue. "All a fellow wants to know to sell potatoes," said a master street-seller to me, "is to tell how many tanners make a bob, and how many yenaps a tanner." [How many sixpences make a shilling, and how many pence a sixpence.] The smarter and bolder lads ripen into patterers, or street-performers, or fall into theft. For the class of adventurous runaways, the patterer's, or, rather, the paper-working patterer's life, with its alternations of town and country, fairs and hangings, the bustle of race-grounds and the stillness of a village, has great attractions. To a pattering and chaunting career, moreover, there is the stimulus of that love of approbation and of admiration, as strong among the often penniless professionals of the streets as on the boards of the opera house.

Perhaps there is not a child of either sex, now a street-seller, who would not to-morrow, if they thought they could clear a penny or two a day more by it, quit their baskets of oranges and sell candle-ends, or old bones, or anything. In a street career, and most especially when united with a lodging-house existence, there is no daintiness of the senses and no exercise of the tastes: the question is not "What do I like best to sell?" but "What is likely to pay me best?" This cannot be wondered at; for if a child earn but 5*d.* a day on apples, and can make 6*d.* on onions, its income is increased by 20 per cent.

The trades which I have specified as in the hands of street-children are carried on by both sexes. I do not know that even the stock in trade which most taxes the strength is more a boy's than a girl's pursuit. A basket of oranges or of apples is among the heaviest of all the stocks hawked by children; and in those pursuits there are certainly as many, or rather more, girls than boys. Such articles as fly-papers, money-bags, tins, fuzees, and Christmasing, are chiefly the boys' sale; cut-flowers, lavender, water-cresses, and small wares, are more within the trading of the girls.

The callings with which children do not meddle are those which require "patter." Some of the boys very glibly announce their wares, and may be profuse now and then in commendations of their quality, cheapness, and superiority, but it requires a longer experience to patter according to the appreciation of a perhaps critical street audience. No child, for instance, ventures upon the sale of grease-removing compositions, corn-salve, or the "Trial and Execution of Thomas Drory," with an "Affecting Copy of Werses."

A gentleman remarked to me that it was rather curious that boys' playthings, such as marbles and tops, were not hawked by street juveniles, who might be very well able to recommend them. I do not remember to have seen any such things vended by children.

Education is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, more widely extended among street children than it was twelve or fifteen years ago. The difficulty in arriving at any conclusion on such a subject is owing to the inability to find any one who knew, or could even form a tolerably accurate judgment of what was the state of education among these juveniles even twelve years back.

Perhaps it may be sufficiently correct to say that among a given number of street children, where, a dozen years ago, you met twenty who could read, you will now meet upwards of thirty. Of sixteen children, none apparently fifteen years of age, whom I questioned on the subject, nine admitted that they could not read; the other seven declared that they could, but three annexed to the avowal the qualifying words—"a little." Ten were boys and six were girls, and I spoke to them promiscuously as I met them in the street. Two were Irish lads, who were "working" oranges in company, and the bigger answered—"Shure, thin, we

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can rade, your honour, sir." I have little doubt that they could, but in all probability, had either of those urchins thought he would be a penny the better by it, he would have professed, to a perfect stranger, that he had a knowledge of algebra. "Yis, sir, I do, thin," would very likely be his response to any such inquiry; and when told he could not possibly know anything about it, he would answer, "Arrah, thin, but I didn't understand your honour."

To the Ragged Schools is, in all probability, owing this extension of the ability to read. It appears that the attendance of the street children at the Ragged School is most uncertain; as, indeed, must necessarily be the case where the whole time of the lad is devoted to obtaining a subsistence. From the best information I can collect, it appears that the average attendance of these boys at these schools does not exceed two hours per week, so that the amount of education thus acquired, if education it may be called, must necessarily be scanty in the extreme; and is frequently forgotten as soon as learned.

With many of these little traders a natural shrewdness compensates in some measure for the deficiency of education, and enables them to carry on their variety of trades with readiness and dexterity, and sometimes with exactness. One boy with whom I had a conversation, told me that he never made any mistake about the "coppers," although, as I subsequently discovered, he had no notion at all of arithmetic beyond the capability of counting how many pieces of coin he had, and how much copper money was required to make a "tanner" or a "bob." This boy vended coat-studs: he had also some metal collars for dogs, or as he said, "for cats aither." These articles he purchased at the same shop in Houndsditch, where "there was a wonderful lot of other things to be had, on'y some on 'em cost more money."

In speaking of money, the slang phrases are constantly used by the street lads; thus a sixpence is a "tanner;" a shilling a "bob," or a hog;" a crown is "a bull;" a half-crown "a half bull," &c. Little, as a modern writer has remarked, do the persons using these phrases know of their remote and somewhat classical origin, which may, indeed, be traced to the period antecedent to that when monarchs monopolized the surface of coined money with their own images and superscriptions. They are identical with the very name of money among the early Romans, which was *pecunia*, from *pecus*, a flock. The collections of coin dealers amply show, that the figure of a hog was anciently placed on a small silver coin, and that that of a bull decorated larger ones of the same metal: these coins were frequently deeply crossed on the reverse: this was for the convenience of easily breaking them into two or more pieces, should the bargain for which they were employed require it, and the parties making it had no smaller change handy to complete the transaction. Thus we find that the "half-bull" of the itinerant street-seller or "traveller," so far from being a phrase of modern invention, as is generally supposed, is in point of fact referable to an era extremely remote. Numerous other instances might be given of the classical origin of many of the flash or slang words used by these people.

I now give the answers I received from two boys. The first, his mother told me, was the best scholar at his school when he was there, and before he had to help her in street sale. He was a pale, and not at all forward boy, of thirteen or fourteen, and did not appear much to admire being questioned. He had not been to a Ragged School, but to an "academy" kept by an old man. He did not know what the weekly charge was, but when father was living (he died last autumn) the schoolmaster used to take it out in vegetables. Father was a costermonger; mother minded all about his schooling, and master often said she behaved to him like a lady. "God," this child told me, "was our Heavenly Father, and the maker of all things; he knew everything and everybody; he knew people's thoughts and every sin they committed if no one else knew it. His was the kingdom and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever, Amen. Jesus Christ was our Lord and Saviour; he was the son of God, and was crucified for our sins. He was a God himself." [The child understood next to nothing of the doctrine of the Trinity, and I did not press him.] "The Scriptures, which were the Bible and Testament, were the Word of God, and contained nothing but what was good and true. If a boy lied, or stole, or committed sins," he said, "he would be punished in the next world, which endured for ever and ever, Amen. It was only after death, when it was too late to repent, that people went to the next world. He attended chapel, sometimes."

As to mundane matters, the boy told me that Victoria was Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. She was born May 24, 1819, and succeeded his late Majesty, King William IV., July 20, 1837. She was married to his Royal Highness Prince Albert, &c., &c. France was a different country to this: he had heard there was no king or queen there, but didn't understand about it. You couldn't go to France by land, no more than you could to Ireland. Didn't know anything of the old times in history; hadn't been told. Had heard of the battle of Waterloo; the English licked. Had heard of the battle of Trafalgar, and of Lord Nelson; didn't know much about him; but there was his pillar at Charing-cross, just by the candlesticks (fountains). When I spoke of astronomy, the boy at once told me he knew nothing about it. He had heard that the earth went round the sun, but from what he'd noticed, shouldn't have thought it. He didn't think that the sun went round the earth, it seemed to go more sideways. Would like to read more, if he had time, but he had a few books, and there was hundreds not so well off as he was.

I am far from undervaluing, indeed I would not indulge in an approach to a scoff, at the extent of this boy's knowledge. Many a man who piques himself on the plenitude of his breeches' pocket, and who attributes his success in life to the fulness

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of his knowledge, knows no more of Nature, Man, and God, than this poor street child.

Another boy, perhaps a few months older, gave me his notions of men and things. He was a thick-limbed, red-checked fellow; answered very freely, and sometimes, when I could not help laughing at his replies, laughed loudly himself, as if he entered into the joke.

Yes, he had heer'd of God who made the world. Couldn't exactly recollec' when he'd heer'd on him, but he had, most sarten-ly. Didn't know when the world was made, or how anybody could do it. It must have taken a long time. It was afore his time, "or yourn either, sir." Knew there was a book called the Bible; didn't know what it was about; didn't mind to know; knew of such a book to a sartinty, because a young 'oman took one to pop (pawn) for an old 'oman what was on the spree—a bran new 'un—but the cove wouldn't have it, and the old 'oman said he might be d——d. Never heer'd tell on the deluge; of the world having been drownded; it couldn't, for there wasn't water enough to do it. He weren't a going to fret hisself for such things as that. Didn't know what happened to people after death, only that they was buried. Had seen a dead body laid out; was a little afeared at first; poor Dick looked so different, and when you touched his face, he was so cold! oh, so cold! Had heer'd on another world; wouldn't mind if he was there hisself, if he could do better, for things was often queer here. Had heered on it from a tailor—such a clever cove, a stunner—as went to 'Straliar (Australia), and heer'd him say he was going into another world. Had never heer'd of France, but had heer'd of Frenchmen; there wasn't half a quarter so many on 'em as of Italians, with their earrings like flash gals. Didn't dislike foreigners, for he never saw none. What was they? Had heer'd of Ireland. Didn't know where it was, but it couldn't be very far, or such lots wouldn't come from there to London. Should say they walked it, aye, every bit of the way, for he'd seen them come in, all covered with dust. Had heer'd of people going to sea, and had seen the ships in the river, but didn't know nothing about it, for he was very seldom that way. The sun was made of fire, or it wouldn't make you feel so warm. The stars was fire, too, or they wouldn't shine. They didn't make it warm, they was too small. Didn't know any use they was of. Didn't know how far they was off; a jolly lot higher than the gas lights some on 'em was. Was never in a church; had heer'd they worshipped God there; didn't know how it was done; had heer'd singing and playing inside when he'd passed; never was there, for he had'nt no togs to go in, and wouldn't be let in among such swells as he had seen coming out. Was a ignorant chap, for he'd never been to school, but was up to many a move, and didn't do bad. Mother said he would make his fortin yet.

Had heer'd of the Duke of Wellington; he was Old Nosey; didn't think he ever seed him, but had seed his statty. Hadn't heer'd of the battle of Waterloo, nor who it was atween; once lived in Webber-row, Waterloo-road. Thought he had heerd speak of Buonaparte; didn't know what he was; thought he had heer'd of Shakespeare, but didn't know whether he was alive or dead, and didn't care. A man with something like that name kept a dolly and did stunning; but he was sich a hard cove that if *he* was dead it wouldn't matter. Had seen the Queen, but didn't recollec' her name just at the minute; oh! yes, Victoria and Albert. Had no notion what the Queen had to do. Should think she hadn't such power [he had first to ask me what 'power' was] as the Lord Mayor, or as Mr. Norton as was the Lambeth beak, and perhaps is still. Was never once before a beak and didn't want to. Hated the crushers; what business had they to interfere with him if he was only resting his basket in a street? Had been once to the Wick, and once to the Bower: liked tumbling better; he meant to have a little pleasure when the peas came in.

The knowledge and the ignorance of these two striplings represent that of street children generally. Those who may have run away from a good school, or a better sort of home as far as means constitute such betterness, of course form exceptions. So do the utterly stupid.

The Morals, Religion, and Opinions of the street-trading children are the next topic. Their business morals have been indicated in the course of my former statements, and in the general tone of the remarks and conversation of street-sellers.

As traders their morals may be lax enough. They give short weight, and they give short measure; they prick the juice out of oranges; and brush up old figs to declare they're new. Their silk braces are cotton, their buck-leather braces are wash-leather, their sponge is often rotten, and their salves and cures quackeries.

Speak to any one of the quicker-witted street-sellers on the subject, and though he may be unable to deny that his brother traders are guilty of these short-comings, he will justify them all by the example of shopkeepers. One man, especially, with whom I have more than once conversed on the subject, broadly asserts that as a whole the streets are in all matters of business honester than the shops. "It ain't *we*," runs the purport of his remarks, "as makes coffee out of sham chickory; it ain't *we* as makes cigars out of rhubarb leaves; *we* don't make duffers handkerchiefs, nor weave cotton things and call them silk. If we quacks a bit, does *we* make fortins by it as shopkeepers does with their ointments and pills! If we give slang weights, how many rich shopkeepers is fined for that there? And how many's never found out? And when one on 'em's fined, why he calculates how much he's into pocket, between what he's made by slanging, and what he's been fined, and on he goes again. *He* didn't know that there ever was short weight given in his shop: not *he!* No more do *we* at our stalls or barrows! Who 'dulterates the beer? Who makes old tea-leaves into new? Who grinds rice among pepper? And as for smuggling—but nobody thinks there's any harm in buying smuggled things. What *we* does is like that pencil you're

writing with to a great tree, compared to what the rich people does. O, don't tell me, sir, a gentleman like you that sees so much of what 's going on, must know *we 're* better than the shopkeepers are."

To remarks such as these I have nothing to answer. It would be idle to point out to such casuists, that the commission of one wrong can never justify another. The ignorant reverse the doctrine of right, and live, not by rule, but by example. I have unsparingly exposed the rogueries and trickeries of the street people, and it is but fair that one of them should be heard in explanation, if not in justification. The trade ethics of the adult street-folk are also those of the juveniles, so on this subject I need dwell no longer.

What I have said of the religion of the women street-sellers applies with equal truth to the children. Their religious feelings are generally formed for them by their parents, especially their mothers. If the children have no such direction, then they have no religion. I did not question the street-seller before quoted on this subject of the want of the Christian spirit among his fraternity, old or young, or he would at once have asked me, in substance, to tell him in what class of society the real Christian spirit was to be found?

As to the opinions of the street-children I can say little. For the most part they have formed no opinions of anything beyond what affects their daily struggles for bread. Of politics such children can know nothing. If they are anything, they are Chartists in feeling, and are in general honest haters of the police and of most constituted authorities, whom they often confound with the police officer. As to their opinions of the claims of friendship, and of the duty of assisting one another, I believe these children feel and understand nothing about such matters. The hard struggles of their lives, and the little sympathy they meet with, make them selfish. There may be companionship among them, but no friendship, and this applies, I think, alike to boys and girls. The boy's opinion of the girl seems to be that she is made to help *him*, or to supply gratification to his passions.

There is yet a difficult inquiry,—as to the opinions which are formed by the young females reared to a street-life. I fear that those opinions are not, and cannot be powerfully swayed in favour of chastity, especially if the street-girl have the quickness to perceive that marriage is not much honoured among the most numerous body of street-folk. If she have not the quickness to understand this, then her ignorance is in itself most dangerous to her virtue. She may hear, too, expressions of an opinion that "going to church to be wed" is only to put money into the clergyman's, or as these people say the "parson's," pocket. Without the watchful care of the mother, the poor girl may form an illicit connection, with little or no knowledge that she is doing wrong; and perhaps a kind and indulgent mother may be herself but a concubine, feeling little respect for a ceremony she did not scruple to dispense with. To such opinions, however, the Irish furnish the exception.

The Dwelling-places of the street-children are in the same localities as I specified regarding the women. Those who reside with their parents or employers sleep usually in the same room with them, and sometimes in the same bed. Nearly the whole of those, however, who support themselves by street-trade live, or rather sleep, in the lodging-houses. It is the same with those who live by street-vagrancy or begging, or by street-theft; and for this lazy or dishonest class of children the worst description of lodging-houses have the strongest attractions, as they meet continually with "tramps" from the country, and keep up a constant current of scheming and excitement.

It seems somewhat curious that, considering the filth and noisomeness of some of these lodging-houses, the children who are inmates suffer only the average extent of sickness and mortality common to the districts crammed with the poor. Perhaps it may be accounted for by the circumstance of their being early risers, and their being in the open air all day, so that they are fatigued at the close of the day, and their sleep is deep and unbroken. I was assured by a well-educated man, who was compelled to resort to such places, that he has seen children sleep most profoundly in a lodging-house throughout a loud and long-continued disturbance. Many street-children who are either "alone in the world," or afraid to return home after a bad day's sale, sleep in the markets or under the dry arches.

There are many other lads who, being unable to pay the 1*d*., 2*d*., or 3*d*. demanded, in pre-payment, by the lodging-house keepers, pass the night in the streets, wherever shelter may be attainable. The number of outcast boys and girls who sleep in and about the purlieus of Covent Garden-market each night, especially during the summer months, has been computed variously, and no doubt differs according to circumstances; but those with whom I have spoken upon the subject, and who of all others are most likely to know, consider the average to be upwards of 200.

The Diet of the street-children is in some cases an alternation of surfeit and inanition, more especially that of the stripling who is "on his own hook." If money be unexpectedly attained, a boy will gorge himself with such dainties as he loves; if he earn no money, he will fast all day patiently enough, perhaps drinking profusely of water. A cake-seller told me that a little while before I saw him a lad of twelve or so had consumed a shilling's worth of cakes and pastry, as he had got a shilling by "fiddling;" not, be it understood, by the exercise of any musical skill, for "fiddling," among the initiated, means the holding of horses, or the performing of any odd jobs.

Of these cakes and pastry—the cakes being from two to twelve a penny, and the pastry, tarts, and "Coventrys" (three-cornered tarts) two a penny —the street-urchins are very fond. To me they seemed to possess no recommendation either to the nose or the palate. The "strong" flavour of

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these preparations is in all probability as grateful to the palate of an itinerant youth, as is the high *gout* of the grouse or the woodcock to the fashionable epicure. In this respect, as in others which I have pointed out, the "extremes" of society "meet."

These remarks apply far more to the male than to the female children. Some of the street-boys will walk a considerable distance, when they are in funds, to buy pastry of the Jew-boys in the Minories, Houndsditch, and Whitechapel; those keen traders being reputed, and no doubt with truth, to supply the best cakes and pastry of any.

A more staple article of diet, which yet partakes of the character of a dainty, is in great demand by the class I treat of—pudding. A halfpenny or a penny-worth of baked plum, boiled plum (or plum dough), currant or plum batter (batter-pudding studded with raisins), is often a dinner. This pudding is almost always bought in the shops; indeed, in a street apparatus there could hardly be the necessary heat diffused over the surface required; and as I have told of a distance being travelled to buy pastry of the Jew-boys, so is it traversed to buy pudding at the best shops. The proprietor of one of those shops, upon whom I called to make inquiries, told me that he sold about 300 pennyworths of pudding in a day. Two-thirds of this quantity he sold to juveniles under fifteen years of age; but he hadn't noticed particularly, and so could only guess. This man, when he understood the object of my inquiry, insisted upon my tasting his "batter," which really was very good, and tasted—I do not know how otherwise to describe it—honest. His profits were not large, he said, and judging from the size and quality of his oblong halfpenny and pennyworth's of batter pudding, I have no doubt he stated the fact. "There 's many a poor man and woman," he said, "aye, sir, and some that you would think from their appearance might go to an eating-house to dine, make a meal off my pudding, as well as the street little ones. The boys are often tiresome: 'Master,' they 'll say, 'can't you give us a plummier bit than this?' or, 'Is it just up? I likes it 'ot, all 'ot.'"

The "baked tatur," from the street-dealer's can more frequently than from the shops, is another enjoyable portion of the street child's diet. Of the sale to the juvenile population of pickled whelks, stewed eels, oysters, boiled meat puddings, and other articles of street traffic, I have spoken under their respective heads.

The Irish children who live with their parents fare as the parents fare. If very poor, or if bent upon saving for some purpose, their diet is tea and bread and butter, or bread without butter. If not so *very* poor, still tea, &c., but sometimes with a little fish, and sometimes with a piece of meat on Sundays; but the Sunday's meat is more common among the poor English than the poor Irish street-traders; indeed the English street-sellers generally "live better" than the Irish. The coster-boys often fare well and abundantly.

The children living in the lodging-houses, I am informed, generally, partake only of such meals as they can procure abroad. Sometimes of a night they may partake of the cheap beef or mutton, purveyed by some inmate who has been "lifting flesh" (stealing meat) or "sawney" (bacon). Vegetables, excepting the baked potato, they rarely taste. Of animal food, perhaps, they partake more of bacon, and relish it the most.

Drinking is not, from what I can learn, common among the street boys. The thieves are generally sober fellows, and of the others, when they are "in luck," a half-pint of beer, to relish the bread and saveloy of the dinner, and a pennyworth of gin "to keep the cold out," are often the extent of the potations. The exceptions are among the ignorant coster-lads, who when they have been prosperous in their "bunse," drink, and ape the vices of men. The girls, I am told, are generally fonder of gin than the boys. Elderwine and gingerbeer are less popular among children than they used to be. Many of the lads smoke.

The Amusements of the street-children are such as I have described in my account of the costermongers, but in a moderate degree, as those who partake with the greatest zest of such amusements as the Penny Gaff (penny theatre) and the Twopenny Hop (dance) are more advanced in years. Many of the Penny Gaffs, however, since I last wrote on the subject, have been suppressed, and the Twopenny Hops are not half so frequent as they were five or six years back. The Jew-boys of the streets play at draughts or dominoes in coffee-shops which they frequent; in one in the London-road at which I had occasion to call were eight of these urchins thus occupied; and they play for money or its equivalent, but these sedentary games obtain little among the other and more restless street-lads. I believe that not one-half of them "know the cards," but they are fond of gambling at pitch and toss, for halfpennies or farthings.

The Clothing of the street-children, however it may vary in texture, fashion, and colour, has one pervading characteristic—it is never made for the wearers. The exceptions to this rule seem to be those, when a child has run away and retains, through good fortune or natural acuteness, the superior attire he wore before he made the choice—if choice he had—of a street life; and where the pride of a mother whose costermonger husband is "getting on," clothes little Jack or Bill in a new Sunday suit. Even then the suit is more likely to be bought ready-made than "made to measure," nor is it worn in business hours until the gloss of novelty has departed.

The boys and girls wear every variety of clothing; it is often begged, but if bought is bought from the fusty stocks of old clothes in Petticoat and Rosemary-lanes. These rags are worn by the children as long as they will hold, or can be tied or pinned together, and when they drop off from continued wear, from dirt, and from the ravages of vermin, the child sets his wits to work to procure more. One mode of obtaining a fresh supply is far less available than it was three or four years back. This was for the lads to denude

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themselves of their rags, and tearing them up in the casual-ward of a workhouse, as it were compel the parish-officers to provide them with fresh apparel.

This mode may be successful in parts of the country still, but it is not so, or to a very limited extent, in town. The largest, and what was accounted by the vagrants the most liberal, of all the casual wards of the metropolitan workhouses, that of Marylebone, has been closed above two years. So numerous were the applicants for admission, and so popular among the vagrants was Marylebone workhouse, that a fever resulted, and attacked that large establishment. It was not uncommon for the Irish who trudged up from Liverpool, to be advised by some London vagrant whom they met, to go at once, when they reached the capital, to Marylebone workhouse, and that the Irishman might not forget a name that was new to him, his friendly adviser would write it down for him, and a troop of poor wretched Irish children, with parents as wretched, would go to Marylebone workhouse, and in their ignorance or simplicity, present the address which had been given to them, as if it were a regular order for admission! Boys have sometimes committed offences that they might get into prison, and as they contrived that their apparel should be unfit for purposes of decency, or perhaps their rags had become unfit to wear, they could not be sent naked into the streets again, and so had clothing given to them. A shirt will be worn by one of those wretched urchins, without washing, until it falls asunder, and many have no shirts. The girls are on the whole less ragged than the boys, the most disgusting parts of their persons or apparel—I speak here more of the vagrant or the mixed vagrant trading and selling girl (often a child prostitute) than of the regular street-seller—the worst particular of these girls' appearance, I repeat, is in their foul and matted hair, which looks as if it would defy sponge, comb, and brush to purify it, and in the broken and filthy boots and stockings, which they seem never to button or to garter.

The Propensities of the street-children are the last division of my inquiry, and an ample field is presented, alike for wonder, disgust, pity, hope, and regret.

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of these wretched children is their extraordinary licentiousness. Nothing can well exceed the extreme animal fondness for the opposite sex which prevails amongst them; some rather singular circumstances connected with this subject have come to my knowledge, and from these facts it would appear that the age of puberty, or something closely resembling it, may be attained at a much less numerical amount of years than that at which most writers upon the human species have hitherto fixed it. Probably such circumstances as the promiscuous sleeping together of both sexes, the example of the older persons indulging in the grossest immorality in the presence of the young, and the use of obscene expressions, may tend to produce or force an unnatural precocity, a precocity sure to undermine health and shorten life. Jealousy is another characteristic of these children, and perhaps less among the girls than the boys. Upon the most trivial offence in this respect, or on the suspicion of an offence, the "gals" are sure to be beaten cruelly and savagely by their "chaps." This appears to be a very common case.

The details of filthiness and of all uncleanness which I gave in a recent number as things of course in certain lodging-houses, render it unnecessary to dwell longer upon the subject, and it is one from which I willingly turn to other matters.

In addition to the licentious, the vagabond propensities of this class are very striking. As soon as the warm weather commences, boys and girls, but more especially boys, leave the town in shoals, traversing the country in every direction; some furnished with trifling articles (such as I have already enumerated) to sell, and others to begging, lurking, or thieving. It is not the street-sellers who so much resort to the tramp, as those who are devoid of the commonest notions of honesty; a quality these young vagrants sometimes respect when in fear of a gaol, and the hard work with which such a place is identified in their minds—and to which, with the peculiar idiosyncrasy of a roving race, they have an insuperable objection.

I have met with boys and girls, however, to whom a gaol had no terrors, and to whom, when in prison, there was only one dread, and that a common one among the ignorant, whether with or without any sense of religion—superstition. "I lay in prison of a night, sir," said a boy who was generally among the briskest of his class, "and think I shall see things." The "things" represent the vague fears which many, not naturally stupid, but untaught or ill-taught persons, entertain in the dark. A girl, a perfect termagant in the breaking of windows and such like offences, told me something of the same kind. She spoke well of the treatment she experienced in prison, and seemed to have a liking for the matron and officials; her conduct there was quiet and respectful. I believe she was not addicted to drink.

Many of the girls, as well as the boys, of course trade as they "tramp." They often sell, both in the country and in town, little necklaces, composed of red berries strung together upon thick thread, for dolls and children: but although I have asked several of them, I have never yet found one who collected the berries and made the necklaces themselves; neither have I met with a single instance in which the girl vendors knew the name of the berries thus used, nor indeed even that they *were* berries. The invariable reply to my questions upon this point has been that they "are called necklaces;" that "they are just as they sells 'em to us;" that they "don't know whether they are made or whether they grow;" and in most cases, that they "gets them in London, by Shoreditch;" although in one case a little brown-complexioned girl, with bright sparkling eyes, said that "she got them from the gipsies."

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At first I fancied, from this child's appearance, that she was rather superior in intellect to most of her class; but I soon found that she was not a whit above the others, unless, indeed, it were in the possession of the quality of cunning.

Some of the boys, on their country excursions, trade in dominoes. They carry a variety of boxes, each differing in size and varying accordingly in price: the lowest-priced boxes are mostly 6*d.* each (sometimes 4*d.*, or even 3*d.*), the highest 1*s.* An informant told me that these boxes are charged to him at the rate of 20 to 25 per cent. less; but if, as is commonly the case, he could take a number at a time, he would have them at a smaller price still. They are very rudely made, and soon fall to pieces, unless handled with extreme care. Most of the boys who vend this article play at the game themselves, and some with skill; but in every case, I believe, there is a willingness to cheat, or take advantage, which is hardly disguised; one boy told me candidly that those who make the most money are considered to be the cleverest, whether by selling or cheating, or both, at the game; nor can it be said that this estimation of cleverness is peculiar to these children.

At this season of the year great numbers of the street-children attend the races in different parts of the country, more especially at those in the vicinity of a large town. The race-course of Wolverhampton, for instance, is usually thronged with them during the period of the sport. While taking these perigrinations they sometimes sleep in the low lodging-houses with which most of our provincial towns abound: frequently "skipper it" in the open air, when the weather is fine and warm, and occasionally in barns or outhouses attached to farms and cottages. Sometimes they travel in couples—a boy and a girl, or two boys or two girls; but the latter is not so common a case as either of the former. It is rare that more than two may be met in company with each other, except, indeed, of a night, and then they usually herd together in numbers. The boys who carry dominoes sometimes, also, have a sheet of paper for sale, on which is rudely printed a representation of a draught-board and men—the latter of which are of two colours (black and white) and may be cut out with a pair of scissors; thus forming a ready means of playing a game so popular in rustic places. These sheets of paper are sold (if no more can be got for them) at a penny each. The boy who showed them to me said he gave a halfpenny a piece for them, or 6*d.* for fifteen. He said he always bought them in London, and that he did not know any other place to get them at, nor had "ever heard any talk of their being bought nowhere else."

The extraordinary lasciviousness of this class which I have already mentioned, appears to continue to mark their character during their vagabondizing career in the country as fully as in town; indeed, an informant, upon whom I think I may rely, says, that the nightly scenes of youthful or even childish profligacy in the low lodging-houses of the small provincial towns quite equal—even if they do not exceed—those which may be witnessed in the metropolis itself. Towards the approach of winter these children (like the vagrants of an older growth) advance towards London; some remain in the larger towns, such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c., but the greater proportion appear to return to the metropolis, where they resume the life they had previously led, anything but improved in education, morals, manners, or social position generally, by their summer's excursion.

The language spoken by this rambling class is peculiar in its construction: it consists of an odd medley of cockneyfied English, rude provincialisms, and a large proportion of the slang commonly used by gipsies and other "travellers," in conveying their ideas to those whom they wish to purchase their commodities.

Among the propensities of the street-boys I do not think that pugnacity, or a fondness, or even a great readiness, for fighting, is a predominant element. Gambling and thieving may be rife among a class of these poor wretches; and it may not unfrequently happen that force is resorted to by one boy bigger than another to obtain the halfpence of which the smaller child is known to be possessed. Thus quarrels among them are very frequent, but they rarely lead to fighting. Even in the full swing and fury of their jealousy, it does not appear that these boys attack the object of their suspicions, but prefer the less hazardous course of chastising the delinquent or unjustly suspected girl. The girls in the low lodging-houses, I was told a little time since, by a woman who used to frequent them, sometimes, not often, scratched one another until the two had bloody faces; and they tried to bite one another now and then, but they seldom fought. What was this poor woman's notion of a fight between two girls, it may not be very easy to comprehend.

The number of children out daily in the streets of London, employed in the various occupations I have named, together with others which may possibly have been overlooked—including those who beg without offering any article for sale—those who will work as light porters, as errand boys and the like, for chance passengers, has been variously calculated; probably nothing like exactitude can be hoped for, much less expected, in such a speculation, for when a government census has been so frequently found to fail in correctness of detail, it appears highly improbable that the number of those so uncertain in their places of resort and so migratory in their habits, can be ascertained with anything like a definite amount of certainty by a private individual. Taking the returns of accommodation afforded to these children in the casual wards of workhouses, refuges for the destitute and homeless poor; of the mendicity and other societies of a similar description, and those of our hospitals and gaols,—and these sources of information upon this subject can alone be confidently relied upon,—and then taking into the calculation the additional numbers, who pass the night in the variety of ways I have already enumerated, I think it will be found that the

number of boys and girls selling in the streets of this city, and often dependent upon their own exertions for the commonest necessaries of life, may be estimated at some thousands, but nearer 10,000 than 20,000.

The consideration which I have devoted to this branch of my subject has been considerable, but still not, in my own opinion, commensurate to the importance of its nature. Steps ought most unquestionably to be taken to palliate the evils and miseries I have pointed out, even if a positive remedy be indeed impossible.

Each year sees an increase of the numbers of street-children to a very considerable extent, and the exact nature of their position may be thus briefly depicted: what little *information* they receive is obtained from the worst class—from cheats, vagabonds, and rogues; what little *amusement* they indulge in, springs from sources the most poisonous—the most fatal to happiness and welfare; what little they know of a *home* is necessarily associated with much that is vile and base; their very means of existence, uncertain and precarious as it is, is to a great extent identified with petty chicanery, which is quickly communicated by one to the other; while their physical sufferings from cold, hunger, exposure to the weather, and other causes of a similar nature, are constant, and at times extremely severe. Thus every means by which a proper intelligence may be conveyed to their minds is either closed or at the least tainted, while every duct by which a bad description of knowledge may be infused is sedulously cultivated and enlarged. Parental instruction; the comforts of a home, however humble—the great moral truths upon which society itself rests;—the influence of proper example; the power of education; the effect of useful amusement; are all denied to them, or come to them so greatly vitiated, that they rather tend to increase, than to repress, the very evils they were intended to remedy.

The costers invariably say that no persons under the age of fifteen should be allowed by law to vend articles in the streets; the reason they give for this is—that the children under that period of life having fewer wants and requiring less money to live than those who are older, will sell at a less profit than it is fair to expect the articles sold should yield, and thus they tersely conclude, "they pervents others living, and ruins theirselves."

There probably is truth in this remark, and I must confess that, for the sake of the children themselves, I should have no objection to see the suggestion acted upon; and yet there immediately rises the plain yet startling question—in such a case, what is to become of the children?

I now cite the histories of street-lads belonging to the several classes above specified, as illustrations of the truth of the statements advanced concerning the children street-sellers generally.

Of Children sent out as Street-Sellers by their Parents.

Of the boys and girls who are sent out to sell in the streets by parents who are themselves street-traders, I need say but little under this head. I have spoken of them, and given some of their statements in other divisions of this work (see the accounts of the coster boys and girls). When, as is the case with many of the costermongers, and with the Irish fruit-sellers, the parents and children follow the same calling, they form one household, and work, as it were, "into one another's hands." The father can buy a larger, and consequently a cheaper quantity, when he can avail himself of a subdivision of labour as inexpensive as that of his own family—whom he must maintain whether employed or unemployed—in order to vend such extra quantity. I have already noticed that in some families (as is common with rude tribes) costermongering seems an hereditary pursuit, and the frequent and constant employment of children in street traffic is one reason why this hereditary pursuit is perpetuated, for street commerce is thus at a very early age made part and parcel of the young coster's existence, and he very probably acquires a distaste for any other occupation, which may entail more of *restraint* and *irksomeness*. It is very rarely that a costermonger apprentices his son to any handicraft business, although a daughter may sometimes be placed in domestic service. The child is usually "sent out to sell."

There is another class of children who are "sent out" as are the children of the costers, and sometimes with the same cheap and readily attained articles—oranges and lemons, nuts, chestnuts, onions, salt (or fresh) herrings, winks, or shrimps, and, more rarely, with water-cresses or cut-flowers. Sometimes the young vendors offer small wares—leather boot-laces, coat-studs, steel pens, or such like. These are often the children, not of street sales-people, but of persons in a measure connected with a street life, or some open-air pursuit; the children of cabmen deprived of their licences, or of the hangers-on of cabmen; of the "supers" (supernumeraries) of the theatres who have irregular or no employment, or, as they would call it, "engagement," with the unhappy consequence of irregular or no "salary:" the children, again, of street performers, or Ethiopians, or street-musicians, are "sent out to sell," as well as those of the poorer class of labourers connected with the river—ballast-heavers, lumpers, &c.; of (Irish) bricklayers' labourers and paviours' assistants; of market-porters and dock-labourers; of coal-heavers out of work, and of the helpers at coal-wharfs, and at the other wharfs; of the Billingsgate "roughs;" and of the many classes of the labouring, rather than the artisan poor, whose earnings are uncertain, or insufficient, or have failed them altogether.

With such classes as these (and more especially with the Irish), as soon as Pat or Biddy is big enough to carry a basket, and is of sufficiently ripened intellect to understand the relative value of coins, from a farthing to a shilling, he or she *must* do something "to help," and that something is generally to sell in the streets. One poor woman who made a scanty living in working on corn sacks and bags—her infirmities sometimes preventing her working at all—sent out three children, together

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or separately, to sell lucifer-matches or small wares. "*They like it,*" she said, "*and always want to be off into the streets;* and when my husband (a labourer) was ill in the hospital, the few pence they brought in was very useful; but now he's well and at work again and we want to send the eldest—she's nine—to school; *but they all* will *go out to sell if they can get hold of any stock.* I would never have sent them at all if I could have helped it, but if they made 6*d.* a day among the three of them, perhaps it saved their lives when things were at the worst." If a poor woman, as in this instance, has not been used to street-selling herself, there is always some neighbour to advise her what to purchase for her children's hawking, and instruct her where.

From one little girl I had the following account. She was then selling boot-laces and offered them most perseveringly. She was turned nine, she said, and had sold things in the streets for two years past, but not regularly. The father got his living in the streets by "playing;" she seemed reluctant to talk about his avocation, but I found that he was sometimes a street-musician, or street-performer, and sometimes sung or recited in public houses, and having "seen better days," had it appears communicated some feeling of dislike for his present pursuits to his daughter, so that I discontinued any allusion to the subject. The mother earned 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* weekly, in shoe-binding, when she had employment, which was three weeks out of four, and a son of thirteen earned what was sufficient to maintain him as an (occasional) assistant in a wholesale pottery, or rather pot-shop.

"It's in the winter, sir, when things are far worst with us. Father can make very little then —but I don't know what he earns exactly at any time—and though mother has more work then, there's fire and candle to pay for. We were very badly off last winter, and worse, I think, the winter before. Father sometimes came home and had made nothing, and if mother had no work in hand we went to bed to save fire and candle, if it was ever so soon. Father would die afore he would let mother take as much as a loaf from the parish. I was sent out to sell nuts first: 'If it's only 1*d.* you make,' mother said, 'it's a good piece of bread.' I didn't mind being sent out. I knew children that sold things in the streets. Perhaps I liked it better than staying at home without a fire and with nothing to do, and if I went out I saw other children busy. No, I wasn't a bit frightened when I first started, not a bit. Some children—but they was such little things—said: 'O, Liz, I wish I was you.'. I had twelve ha'porths and sold them all. I don't know what it made; 2*d.* most likely. I didn't crack a single nut myself. I was fond of them then, but I don't care for them now. I could do better if I went into public-houses, but I'm only let go to Mr. Smith's, because he knows father, and Mrs. Smith and him recommends me and wouldn't let anybody mislest me. Nobody ever offered to. I hear people swear there sometimes, but it's not at me. I sell nuts to children in the streets, and laces to young women. I have sold nuts and oranges to soldiers. They never say anything rude to me, never. I was once in a great crowd, and was getting crushed, and there was a very tall soldier close by me, and he lifted me, basket and all, right up to his shoulder, and carried me clean out of the crowd. He had stripes on his arm. 'I shouldn't like you to be in such a trade,' says he, 'if you was my child.' He didn't say why he wouldn't like it. Perhaps because it was beginning to rain. Yes, we are far better off now. Father makes money. I don't go out in bad weather in the summer; in the winter, though, I must. I don't know what I make. I don't know what I shall be when I grow up. I can read a little. I've been to church five or six times in my life. I should go oftener and so would mother, if we had clothes."

I have no reason to suppose that in this case the father was an intemperate man, though some of the parents who thus send their children out *are* intemperate, and, loving to indulge in the idleness to which intemperance inclines them, are forced to live on the labour of their wives and children.

Of a "Neglected" Child, a Street-Seller.

Of this class perhaps there is less to be said than of others. Drunken parents allow their children to run about the streets, and often to shift for themselves. If such parents have any sense of shame, unextinguished by their continued besottedness, they may feel relieved by not having their children before their eyes, for the very sight of them is a reproach, and every rag about such helpless beings must carry its accusation to a mind not utterly callous.

Among such children there is not, perhaps, that extreme pressure of wretchedness or of privation that there is among the orphans, or the utterly deserted. If a "neglected child" have to shift, wholly or partly, for itself, it is perhaps with the advantage of a shelter; for even the bare room of the drunkard is in some degree a shelter or roof. There is not the nightly need of 2*d.* for a bed, or the alternative of the Adelphi arches for nothing.

I met with one little girl ten or eleven years of age, whom some of the street-sellers described to me as looking out for a job every now and then. She was small-featured and dark-eyed, and seemed intelligent. Her face and hands were brown as if from exposure to the weather, and a lack of soap; but her dress was not dirty. Her father she described as a builder, probably a bricklayer's labourer, but he could work, she said, at drains or such like. "Mother's been dead a long time," the child continued, "and father brought another woman home and told me to call her mother, but she soon went away. I works about the streets, but only when there's nothing to eat at home. Father gets drunk sometimes, but I think not so oft as he did, and then he lies in bed. No, sir. not all day, but he gets up and goes out and gets more drink, and comes back and goes to bed again. He never uses me badly. When he's drinking and has money, he gives me some now and then to get bread and butter with, or a halfpenny pudding; he never eats anything

in the house when he's drinking, and he's a very quiet man. Sometimes he's laid in bed two or three days and nights at a time. I goes to school when father has money. We lives very well then. I've kept myself for a whole week. I mind people's stalls, if they're away a bit, and run for them if they're wanted; and I go errands. I've carried home flower-pots for a lady. I've got a halfpenny on a day, and a penny, and some bread perhaps, and I've lived on that. I should like very well to have a pitch of my own. *I think I should like that better than place.* But I have a sister who has a place in the country; she's far older than I am, and perhaps I shall get one. But father's at work now, and he says he'll take the pledge. Five or six times I've sold oranges, and ingans as well, and carried the money to Mrs. ——, who gave me all I took above 4*d.* for myself."

It could surprise no one if a child so neglected became so habituated to a street life, that she could not adapt herself to any other. I heard of other children thus or similarly neglected, but boys far more frequently than girls, who traded regularly in apples, oranges, &c., on their own account. Some have become regular street-sellers, and even in childhood have abandoned their homes and supported themselves.

Of a Hired Coster Boy.

One shell-fish seller, who has known street-commerce and street-folk for many years, thought, although he only hazarded an opinion, that there was less drinking among the young costers, and less swearing, than he had known in a preceding generation.

A young coster boy living with his parents, who had a good business, told me that he would never be nothing but a "general dealer," (which among some of these people is the "genteel" designation for a costermonger,) as long as he lived, unless, indeed, he rose to a coal shed and a horse and cart; a consummation, perhaps with the addition of a green-grocery, a fried fish, and a gingerbeer trade, not unfrequently arrived at by the more prudent costermongers. This boy could neither read nor write; he had been sent to school, and flogged to school (he grinned as he told me) by his mother, who said his father wouldn't have been "done" so often by fine folks, when he sold "grass" (asparagus) and such things as cost money, if he could have kept 'count. But his father only laughed, and said nothing, when the boy "cut away" from school, which he did so continuously, that the schoolmaster at length declined the charge of the young coster's further education. This stripling, who was about fourteen, seemed very proud of a pair of good half-boots which his mother had bought him, and which he admired continually as he glanced at his feet. His parents, from his account, were indulgent, and when they got farthings in change or in any manner, kept them for him; and so he got treats, and smart things to wear now and then. "We expects to do well," he said, for he used the "we" when he spoke of his parents' business, "when it's peas and new potatoes, cheap enough to cry. It's my dodge to cry. I know a man as says, 'May month ought to be ashamed on itself, or things 'ud a been herlier.' Last week I sung out, it was the same man's dodge, he put me up to it—'Here's your Great Exhibition mackarel.' People laughed, but it weren't no great good. I've been to Penny Gaffs, but not this goodish bit. I likes the singing best as has a stunnin chorus. There's been a deal of hard up lately among people as is general dealers. Things is getting better, I think, and they must. It wouldn't do at all if they didn't. It's no use your a-asking me about what I thinks of the Queen or them sort of people, for I knows nothing about them, and never goes among them."

The Hired boys, for the service of the costermongers, whether hired for the day, or more permanently, are very generally of the classes I have spoken of. When the New Cut, Lambeth, was a great street-market, every morning, during the height of the vegetable and fruit seasons, lads used to assemble in Hooper-street, Short-street, York-street, and, indeed, in all the smaller streets or courts, which run right and left from the "two Cuts." When the costermonger started thence, perhaps "by the first light," to market, these boys used to run up to his barrow, "D' you want me, Jack?" or, "Want a boy, Bill?" being their constant request. It is now the same, in the localities where the costermongers live, or where they keep their ponies, donkeys, and barrows, and whence they emerge to market. It is the same at Billingsgate and the other markets at which these traders make their wholesale purchases. Boys wait about these marts "to be hired," or, as they may style it, to "see if they're wanted." When hired, there is seldom any "wage" specified, the lads seeming always willing to depend upon the liberality of the costermonger, and often no doubt with an eye to the chances of "bunse." A sharp lad thus engaged, who may acquit himself to a costermonger's liking, perhaps continues some time in the same man's employ. I may observe, that in this gathering, and for such a purpose, there is a resemblance to the simple proceedings of the old times, when around the market cross of the nearest town assembled the population who sought employment, whether in agricultural or household labour. In some parts of the north of England these gatherings are still held at the two half-yearly terms of May-day and Martinmas.

A lad of thirteen or fourteen, who did not look very strong, gave me the following account: "I helps, you see, sir, where I can, for mother (who sells sheep's-trotters) depends a deal on her trotters, but they're not great bread for an old 'oman, and there's me and Neddy to keep. Father's abroad and a soger. Do I know he is? Mother says so, sir. I looks out every morning when the costermongers starts for the markets, and wants boys for their barrows. I cried roots last: 'Here's your musks, ha'penny each. Here's yer all agro'in' and all a blo'in'.' I got my grub and 3*d.* I takes the tin home. If there's a cabbage or two left,

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I've had it guv to me. *I likes that work better nor school. I should think so. One sees life.* Well, I don't know wot one sees perticler; but it's wot people calls life. I was a week at school once. I has a toss up sometimes when I has a odd copper for it. I'aven't 'ad any rig'lar work as yet. I shall p'raps when it's real summer." [Said, May 24th.] "This is the Queen's birthday, is it, sir? Werry likely, but she's nothing to me. I can't read, in coorse not, after a week's schooling. Yes, I likes a show. Punch is stunnin', but they might make more on the dog. I would if I was a Punch. O, I has tea, and bread and butter with mother, and gets grub as I jobs besides. I makes no bargain. If a cove's scaly, we gets to know him. I hopes to have a barrer of my own some day, and p'raps a hass. Can I manage a hass? *In* coorse, and he don't want no groomin'. I'd go to Hepsom then; I've never been yet, but I've been to Grinnage fairs. I don't know how I can get a barrer and a hass, but I may have luck."

Of an Orphan Boy, a Street-Seller.

From one of this class I had the following account. It may be observed that the lad's statement contains little of incident, or of novelty, but this is characteristic of many of his class. With many of them, it may indeed be said, "one day certifieth another." It is often the same tale of labour and of poverty, day after day, so that the mere uniformity makes a youth half oblivious of the past; the months, or perhaps years, seem all alike.

This boy seemed healthy, wore a suit of corduroy, evidently not made for him, and but little patched, although old; he was in good spirits.

"I believe I'm between fifteen and sixteen," he said, "and mother died more than two year ago, nearer three, perhaps. Father had gone dead a long time afore; I don't remember him." [I am inclined to think that this story of the death of the father is often told by the mother of an illegitimate child to her offspring, through a natural repugnance to reveal her shame to her child. I do not know, however, that it was the case in this instance.] "I don't remember about mother's funeral, for I was ill myself at the time. She worked with her needle; sometimes for a dress-maker, on "skirts," and sometimes for a tailor, on flannels. She sometimes worked all night, but we was wery badly off—we was so. She had only me. When mother died there was nothing left for me, but there was a good woman—she was a laundress and kept a mangle—and she said, 'well, here's a old basket and a few odd things; give the kid the basket and turn the bits of old traps into money, and let him start on muffins, and then he must shift for hisself.' So she tuk me to a shop and I was started in the muffin line. I didn't do so bad, but it's on'y a winter trade, isn't muffins. I sold creases next—no, not creases, cherries; yes, it was creases, and then cherries, for I remembers as 'ow 'Ungerford was the first market I ever was at; it was so. Since then, I've sold apples, and oranges, and nuts, and chestnuts—but *they* was dear the last time as I had 'em—and spring garters a penny a pair, and glass pens; yes, and other things. I goes to market, mostly to Common Gard'n, and there's a man goes there what buys bushels and bushels, and he'll let me have any little lot reas'nable; he will so. There's another will, but he ain't so good to a poor kid. Well, I doesn't know as 'ow one trade's better nor another; I think I've done as much in one as in another. But I've done better lately; I've sold more oranges, and I had a few sticks of rhubarb. I think times is mending, but others says that's on'y my luck. I sleeps with a boy as is younger nor I am, and pays 9*d.* a week. Tom's father and mother—he's a coal-heaver, but he's sometimes out of work—sleeps in the same room, but we has a good bed to ourselves. Tom's father knew my mother. There's on'y us four. Tom's father says sometimes if his rheumatics continues, he and all on 'em must go into the house. Most likely I should then go to a lodging-house. I don't know that some on 'em's bad places. I've heer'd they was jolly. I has no amusements. Last year I helped a man one day, and he did so well on fruit, he did so, for he got such a early start, and so cheap, that he gave me 3*d.* hextra to go to the play with. I didn't go. I'd rather go to bed at seven every night than anywhere else. I'm fond of sleep. I never wakes all night. I dreams now and then, but I never remembers a dream. I can't read or write; I wish I could, if it would help me on. I'm making 3*s.* 6*d.* a week now, I think. Some weeks in winter I didn't make 2*s.*"

This boy, although an orphan at a tender age, was yet assisted to the commencement of a business by a friend. I met with another lad who was left under somewhat similar circumstances. The persons in the house where his mother had died were about to take him to the parish officers, and there seemed to be no other course to be pursued to save the child, then nearly twelve, from starvation. The lad knew this and ran away. It was summer time, about three years ago, and the little runaway slept in the open air whenever he could find a quiet place. Want drove him to beg, and several days he subsisted on one penny which he begged. One day he did not find any one to give him even a halfpenny, and towards the evening of the second he became bold, or even desperate, from hunger. As if by a sudden impulse he went up to an old gentleman, walking slowly in Hyde-park, and said to him, "Sir, I've lived three weeks by begging, and I'm hungering now; give me sixpence, or I'll go and steal." The gentleman stopped and looked at the boy, in whose tones there must have been truthfulness, and in whose face was no doubt starvation, for without uttering a word he gave the young applicant a shilling. The boy began a street-seller's life on lucifer-matches. I had to see him for another purpose a little while ago, and in the course of some conversation he told me of his start in the streets. I have no doubt he told the truth, and I should have given a more detailed account of him, but when I inquired for him, I found that he had

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gone to Epsom races to sell cards, and had not returned, having probably left London on a country tour. But for the old gentleman's bounty he would have stolen something, he declared, had it been only for the shelter of a prison.

Of the Life of an Orphan Girl, a Street-Seller.

"Father was a whitesmith," she said, "and mother used to go out a-washing and a-cleaning, and me and my sister (but she is dead now) did nothing; we was sent to a day school, both of us. We lived very comfortable; we had two rooms and our own furniture; we didn't want for nothing when father was alive; he was very fond on us both, and was a kind man to everybody. He was took bad first when I was very young—it was consumption he had, and he was ill many years, about five years, I think it was, afore he died. When he was gone mother kept us both; she had plenty of work; she couldn't a-bear the thought of our going into the streets for a living, and we was both too young to get a place anywhere, so we stayed at home and went to school just as when father was alive. My sister died about two year and a half ago; she had the scarlet-fever dreadful, she lay ill seven weeks. We was both very fond of her, me and mother. I often wish she had been spared, I should not be alone in the world as I am now. We might have gone on together, but it is dreadful to be quite alone, and I often think now how well we could have done if she was alive.

"Mother has been dead just a year this month; she took cold at the washing and it went to her chest; she was only bad a fortnight; she suffered great pain, and, poor thing, she used to fret dreadful, as she lay ill, about me, for she knew she was going to leave me. She used to plan how I was to do when she was gone. She made me promise to try to get a place and keep from the streets if I could, for she seemed to dread them so much. When she was gone I was left in the world without a friend. I am quite alone, I have no relation at all, not a soul belonging to me. For three months I went about looking for a place, as long as my money lasted, for mother told me to sell our furniture to keep me and get me clothes. I could have got a place, but nobody would have me without a character, and I knew nobody to give me one. I tried very hard to get one, indeed I did; for I thought of all mother had said to me about going into the streets. At last, when my money was just gone, I met a young woman in the street, and I asked her to tell me where I could get a lodging. She told me to come with her, she would show me a respectable lodging-house for women and girls. I went, and I have been there ever since. The women in the house advised me to take to flower-selling, as I could get nothing else to do. One of the young women took me to market with her, and showed me how to bargain with the salesman for my flowers. At first, when I went out to sell, I felt so ashamed I could not ask anybody to buy of me; and many times went back at night with all my stock, without selling one bunch. The woman at the lodging-house is very good to me; and when I have a bad day she will let my lodging go until I can pay her. She always gives me my dinner, and a good dinner it is, of a Sunday; and she will often give me a breakfast, when she knows I have no money to buy any. She is very kind, indeed, for she knows I am alone. I feel very thankful to her, I am sure, for all her goodness to me. During the summer months I take 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, which is 6*d.* profit. But I can only sell my flowers five days in the week—Mondays there is no flowers in the market: and of the 6*d.* a day I pay 3*d.* for lodging. I get a halfpenny-worth of tea; a halfpenny-worth of sugar; one pound of bread, 1½*d.*; butter, ½*d.* I never tastes meat but on Sunday. What I shall do in the winter I don't know. In the cold weather last year, when I could get no flowers, I was forced to live on my clothes, I have none left now but what I have on. What I shall do I don't know—I can't bear to think on it."

Of Two Runaway Street-Boys.

I endeavoured to find a boy or girl who belonged to the *well*-educated classes, had run away, and was now a street-seller. I heard of boys of this class—one man thought he knew five, and was sure of four—who now lived by street-selling, my informant believed without having any recourse to theft, but all these boys were absent; they had not returned from Epsom, or had not returned to their usual haunts, or else they had started for their summer's excursion into the country. Many a street-seller becomes as weary of town after the winter as a member of parliament who sits out a very long session; and the moment the weather is warm, and "seems settled," they are off into the country. In this change of scene there is the feeling of independence, of freedom; *they* are not "tied to their work;" and this feeling has perhaps even greater charms for the child than the adult.

The number of lads of a *well-educated class*, who support themselves by street-selling, is not large. I speak of those whom I have classed as children under fifteen years of age. If a boy run away, scared and terrified by the violence of a parent, or maddened by continuous and sometimes excessive severity, the parent often feels compunction, and I heard of persons being sent to every lodging-house in London, and told to search every dry arch, to bring back a runaway. On these occasions the street-sellers willingly give their aid; I have even heard of women, whose degradation was of the lowest, exerting themselves in the recovery of a runaway child, and that often unsolicited and as often unrecompensed.

The children who are truants through their own vicious or reckless propensities, or through the inducements of their seniors, become far more frequently, thieves or lurkers, rather than street-sellers. As to runaway girls of a well-educated class, and under fifteen, I heard of none who were street-sellers.

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I now give instances of two runaway lads, who have been dishonest, and honest.

The one, when he told me his history, was a slim and rather tall young man of 23 or 24, with a look, speech, and air, anything but vulgar. He was the son of a wealthy jeweller, in a town in the West of England, and ran away from home with an adult member of his father's establishment, who first suggested such a course, taking with them money and valuables. They came to London, and the elder thief, retaining all the stolen property, at once abandoned the child, then only ten, and little and young-looking for his age. He fell into the hands of some members of the swell-mob, and became extremely serviceable to them. He was dressed like a gentleman's son, and was innocent-looking and handsome. His appearance, when I saw him, showed that this must have been the case as regards his looks. He lived with some of the swell-mobsmen—then a more prosperous people than they are now—in a good house in the Southwark-Bridge-road. The women who resided with the mobsmen were especially kind to him. He was well fed, well lodged, well clad, and petted in everything. He was called "the kid," a common slang name for a child, but he was *the* kid. He "went to work" in Regent-street, or wherever there were most ladies, and his appearance disarmed suspicion. He was, moreover, highly successful in church and chapel practice. At length he became "spotted." The police got to know him, and he was apprehended, tried, and convicted. He was, however—he believed through the interest of his friends, of whose inquiries concerning him he had heard, but of that I know nothing—sent to the Philanthropic Asylum, then in St. George's-road. Here he remained the usual time, then left the place well clothed, and with a sum of money, and endeavoured to obtain some permanent employment. In this endeavour he failed. Whether he exerted himself strenuously or not I cannot say, but he told me that the very circumstance of his having been "in the Philanthropic" was fatal to his success. His "character" and "recommendations" necessarily showed where he had come from, and the young man, as he then was, became a beggar. His chief practice was in "screeving," or writing on the pavement. Perhaps some of my readers may remember having noticed a wretched-looking youth who hung over the words "I AM STARVING," chalked on the footway on the Surrey side of Waterloo Bridge. He lay huddled in a heap, and appeared half dead with cold and want, his shirtless neck and shoulders being visible through the rents in his thin jean jacket; shoe or stocking he did not wear. This was the rich jeweller's son. Until he himself told me of it—and he seemed to do so with some sense of shame—I could not have believed that the well-spoken and well-looking youth before me was the piteous object I had observed by the bridge. What he is doing now I am unable to state.

Another boy, who thought he was not yet fifteen, though he looked older, gave me the following account. He was short but seemed strong, and his career, so far, is chiefly remarkable for his perseverance, exercised as much, perhaps, from insensibility as from any other quality. He was sufficiently stupid. If he had parents living, he said, he didn't know nothing about them; he had lived and slept with an old woman who said she was his grandmother, and he'd been told that she weren't no relation; he didn't trouble himself about it. She sold lucifer-boxes or any trifle in the streets, and had an allowance of 2*s.* weekly, but from what quarter he did not know. About four years ago he was run over by a cab, and was carried to the workhouse or the hospital; he believed it was Clerkenwell Workhouse, but he weren't sure. When he recovered and was discharged he found the old woman was dead, and a neighbour went with him to the parish officers, by whom—as well as I could understand him—he was sent to the workhouse, after some inquiry. He was soon removed to Nor'ud. On my asking if he meant Norwood, he replied, "no, Nor'ud," and there he was with a number of other children with a Mr. Horbyn. He did not know how long he was there, and he didn't know as he had anything much to complain of, but he ran away. He ran away because he thought he would; and he believed he could get work at paper-staining. He made his way to Smithfield, near where there was a great paper-stainer's, but he could not get any work, and he was threatened to be sent back, as they knew from his dress that he had run away. He slept in Smithfield courts and alleys, fitting himself into any covered corner he could find. The poor women about were kind to him, and gave him pieces of bread; some knew that he had run away from a workhouse and was all the kinder. "The fust browns as ivver I yarned," he said, "was from a drover. He was a going into the country to meet some beasts, and had to carry some passels for somebody down there. They wasn't 'evvy, but they was orkerd to grip. His old 'oman luk out for a young cove to 'elp her old man, and saw me fust, so she calls me, and I gets the job. I gived the greatest of satisfaction, and had sixpence giv me, for Jim (the drover) was well paid, as they was vallyble passels, and he said he'd taken the greatest of care on 'em, and had engaged a poor lad to 'elp him." On his return the child slept in a bed, in a house near Gray's-inn-lane, for the first time since he had run away, he believed about a fortnight. He persevered in looking out for odd jobs, without ever stealing, though he met some boys who told him he was a fool not to prig. "I used to carry his tea from his old 'oman," he went on, "to a old cove as had a stunnin' pitch of fruit in the City-road. But my best friend was Stumpy; he had a beautiful crossin' (as a sweeper) then, but he's dead now and berried as well. I used to talk to him and whistle—I *can* just whistle" [here he whistled loud and shrill, to convince me of his perfection in that street accomplishment] "—and to dance him the double-shuffle" [he favoured me with a specimen of that dance], "and he said I hinterested him. Well, he meant he liked it, I s'pose. When he went to rest hisself, for he soon got tired, over

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his drop of beer to his grub, I had his crossin' and his broom for nuff'n. One boy used to say to Stumpy, 'I'll give you 1*d.* for your crossin' while you's grubbin.' But I had it for nuff'n, and had all I yarned; sometimes 1*d.*, sometimes 2*d.*, but only once 3½*d.* I've been 'elping Old Bill with his summer cabbages and flowers (cauliflowers), and now he's on live heels. I can sing 'em out prime, but you 'eared me. I has my bit o' grub with him, and a few browns, and Old Bill and Young Bill, too, says I shall have better to do, but I can't until peas. I sleeps in a loft with 'ampers, which is Old Bill's; a stunnin' good bed. I've cried for and 'elped other costers. Stumpy sent me to 'em. I think he'd been one hisself, but I was always on the look-out. I'll go for some bunse soon. I don't know what I shall do time to come, I nivver thinks on it. I could read middlin', and can a little now, but I'm out of practice."

I have given this little fellow's statement somewhat fully, for I believe he is a type of the most numerous class of runaway urchins who ripen, so to speak, into costermongers, after "helping" that large body of street-traders.

I heard of one boy who had been discharged from Brixton, and had received 6*d.* to begin the world with, as it was his first offence, on his way back to London, being called upon suddenly as soon as he had reached the New Cut (then the greatest of all the street-markets) to help a costermonger. This gave the boy a start, and he had since lived honestly.

OF THE CAPITAL AND INCOME OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.

Before giving a Summary of the Capital and Income of the above-mentioned class, I shall endeavour to arrive at some notion as to the number of persons belonging to this division of the London Street-sellers.

As far as I am able to ascertain, the following estimate may be taken as an approximation to the truth. There are in the metropolis 100 hard ware-sellers, 6 cheap Johns, 30 sellers of cutlery, 6 sellers of tailors' needles, 20 sellers of metal spoons, 500 sellers of jewellery, 2 sellers of card counters, 15 sellers of medals, 6 sellers of rings and sovereigns for a wager, 25 sellers of children's gilt watches, 100 sellers of tin-ware, 100 swag-barrowmen, 12 sellers of dog-collars, &c., 40 sellers of tools, 380 sellers of crockery and glass-wares, 12 sellers of spar-ornaments, 30 sellers of China-ornaments, 6 sellers of stone-fruit, 120 packmen and duffers or hawkers of soft wares, 500 sellers of tapes, cottons, &c.. 100 sellers of lace, 15 sellers of japanned table covers, 500 brace and belt-sellers, 50 sellers of hose, 3 sellers of waistcoats, 230 sellers of blacking, 125 sellers of black-lead, 5 sellers of French polish, 7 sellers of grease-removing composition, 4 sellers of plating-balls, 8 sellers of corn-salve, 4 sellers of China and glass cement, 6 sellers of razor paste, 55 sellers of crackers and detonating-balls, 200 sellers of Lucifer matches, 100 sellers of cigar-lights, 30 sellers of gutta-percha heads, 50 sellers of fly-papers and beetle-wafers, 25 sellers of poison for rats, 35 sellers of walking-sticks, 30 sellers of whips, 4 sellers of clay and Meerschaum pipes, 15 sellers of tobacco-boxes, snuff-boxes, and cigar-cases, 100 sellers of cigars, 50 sellers of sponge, 200 sellers of wash-leathers, 35 sellers of spectacles, and eye glasses, 50 sellers of dolls, 50 lot-sellers, 2 sellers of Roulette tables, 4 sellers of rhubarb, 100 rat-catchers, 50 sellers of combs, 50 sellers of money-bags, 70 sellers of coat-studs; making altogether a total of 4272.

Some few of the above trades are, however, of only a temporary character; as, for instance, such as are engaged in the street-sale of crackers and detonating-balls—the month of November and the Christmas week being the only regular periods, with the exception of fairs and races, for the vending of those articles. The fly-papers and beetle-wafers are other instances of the same kind—summer being the only season in which there is a demand for such things. Making due allowance therefore for the temporary character of some of the callings, as well as for the itinerancy and unsettledness of other trades or traders, we may, I think, safely assume that the street-sellers connected with this class are about 4000 in number.

Concerning the amount of capital invested in this branch of the street-traffic as well as the income derived therefrom, the following tables are given as being somewhat near the truth.

Metal.

	£	s.	d.
Street-Sellers of Hardware.			
Stock-money for 100 vendors at 10*s.* each	50	0	0
Cheap Johns.			
6 carts 30*l.* each, and stock-money for the same, 50*l.* each	480	0	0
Street-Sellers of Cutlery.			
Stock-money for 30 vendors at 1*s.* 6*d.* each	2	5	0
Blind Street-Sellers of Tailors' Needles.			
6 boxes at 1*s.* 6*d.* each; stock-money for 6 vendors at 2*s.* each	1	1	0
Street-Sellers of Metal Spoons, &c., at Public-Houses.			
Stock-money for 20 vendors at 2*s.* 6*d.* each	2	10	0
Street-Sellers of Jewellery.			
500 boxes at 3*s.* 6*d.* each; stock-money for 500 vendors at 15*s.* each	462	10	0
Street-Sellers of Card-Counters, Medals, &c.			
17 boxes at 3*s.* each; stock-money for 17 vendors at 2*s.* 6*d.* each	4	13	6
Street-Sellers of Rings and Sovereigns for Wagers.			
Stock-money for 6 vendors at 2*s.* 6*d.* each	0	15	0
Street-Sellers of Children's Gilt Watches.			
Stock-money for 25 vendors at 5*s.* each	6	5	0

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Street-Sellers of Tin-Ware. £ s. d.

50 stalls, at 3s. each; stock-money for 100 vendors, averaging 6s. each 37 10 0

Street Swag-barrowmen.

100 barrows, at 1l. each; stock-money for 150 swag-barrowmen, at 10s. each 175 0 0

Street-Sellers of Dog-collars, Key-rings, &c.

6 stalls, at 3s. each; stock-money for 12 vendors, at 5s. each . . . 3 18 0

Street-Sellers of Tools.

6 stalls, at 3s. each; stock-money for 40 vendors, at 10s. each . . . 20 18 0

CROCKERY AND GLASS.

Street-Sellers of Crockery and Glass-Wares.

100 barrows, at 1l. each; 280 baskets, at 2s. 6d. each; 280 linen bags, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 380 vendors, at 10s. each 346 0 0

Street-Sellers of Spar and China-Ornaments, and Stone-Fruit.

16 barrows, at 1l. each; stock-money for 12 vendors of spar-ornaments, at 15s. each; 16 baskets, at 2s. 6d. each; 16 stalls, at 3s. each; stock-money for 6 vendors of stone-fruit, at 10s. each; and 20 roulette tables, at 2s. 6d. each; stock-money for 30 sellers of China-ornaments, at 5s. each 42 8 0

TEXTILE.

Packmen and Duffers, or Hawkers of Soft Wares.

120 wrappers, at 2s. each; stock-money for 120 hawkers, at 5l. each 612 0 0

Street-Sellers of Small Ware, or Tapes, Cottons, &c.

500 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 500 vendors, at 1s. each 62 10 0

Street-Sellers of Lace.

20 baskets, at 2s. 6d. each; 20 boxes, at 3s. each; 60 stalls, at 3s. each; stock-money for 100 vendors, averaging 2s. 6d. each 27 0 0

Street-Sellers of Japan Table-Covers.

Stock-money for 15 sellers, at 10s. each 7 10 0

Street-Sellers of Braces and Belts, Hose, Trowser-straps, and Waistcoats.

100 stalls, at 4s. each; 300 rods, with hooks to hang the braces upon, at 3d. each; stock-money for 500 brace-sellers, at 5s. each 148 15 0

Street-Sellers of Hose.

Stock-money for 50 vendors, at 10s. each 25 0 0

Street-Sellers of Waistcoats.

Stock-money for 3 vendors, at 15s. each 2 5 0

CHEMICALS.

Street-Sellers of Blacking.

200 boxes, at 6d. each; 30 bags, at 1s. each; stock-money for 230 vendors, averaging 2s. each . . . 29 10 0

Street-Sellers of Black-Lead.

Stock-money for 125 vendors, at 1s. each 6 5 0

Street-Sellers of French Polish.

5 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 5 vendors, at 2s. 6d. each 1 0 0

Street-Sellers of Grease-removing Composition.

7 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 7 vendors, at 1s. 6d. each 1 1 0

Street-Sellers of Plating-Balls.

4 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 4 vendors, at 1s. each . 0 10 0

Street-Sellers of Corn-Salve.

8 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 8 vendors, at 6d. each . 0 16 0

Street-Sellers of Glass and China-Cement.

4 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 4 vendors, at 6d. each . 0 8 0

Street-Sellers of Razor-Paste.

6 trays, at 2s. each; stock-money for 6 vendors, at 1s. each 0 18 0

Street-Sellers of Crackers and Detonating-Balls.

55 trays, at 2s. each; stock-money for 55 vendors, at 1s. 6d. each . . 9 12 6

Street-Sellers of Lucifer Matches.

200 boxes, at 6d. each; stock-money for 200 vendors, at 6d. each . 10 0 0

Street-Sellers of Cigar-Lights.

Stock-money for 100 vendors, at 6d. each 2 10 0

Street-Sellers of Gutta-Percha Heads.

30 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 30 vendors, at 1s. each . 3 15 0

Street-Sellers of Fly-Papers and Beetle-Wafers.

Stock-money for 50 vendors, at 1s. each 2 10 0

Street-Sellers of Poison for Rats.

Stock-money for 25 vendors, at 2s. 6d. each 3 2 6

MISCELLANEOUS.

Street-Sellers of Walking-sticks.

Stock-money for 35 vendors, at 5s. each 8 15 0

Street-Sellers of Whips.

Stock-money for 30 vendors, at 15s. each 22 10 0

Street-Sellers of Pipes (Tobacco).

Stock-money for 4 vendors, at 5s. each 1 0 0

Street-Sellers of Snuff-Boxes, Tobacco-Boxes, &c.

15 stalls, at 4s. each; stock-money for 15 vendors, at 10s. each . . . 10 10 0

Street-Sellers of Cigars.

Stock-money for 100 vendors, at 10s. each 50 0 0

Street-Sellers of Sponge.

50 baskets, at 1s. each; stock-money for 50 vendors, at 5s. each . 15 0 0

Street-Sellers of Wash-Leathers.

Stock-money for 200 vendors, at 2s. 6d. each 25 0 0

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Street-Sellers of Spectacles and Eye-Glasses.	£	s.	d.
Stock-money for 35 vendors, at 5s. each	8	15	0
Street-Sellers of Dolls.			
20 stalls, at 4s. each; 30 baskets, at 3s. 6d. each; stock-money for 50 vendors, at 10s. each	34	5	0
Street Lot-Sellers.			
50 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 50 sellers, at 2s. 6d. each	10	0	0
Street-Sellers of Roulette Boxes.			
2 baskets, at 3s. 6d.; stock-money for 2 vendors, at 1l. each	2	7	0
Street-Sellers of Rhubarb and Spice.			
4 boxes, at 6s. each; stock-money for 4 vendors, at 10s. each	3	4	0
Rat-Catchers.			
20 belts, at 3s. 6d. each; 25 cages, at 1s. each; 25 pair of ferrets, at 2s. 6d. per pair; keep for 25 pair of ferrets, at 4d. per pair weekly	8	5	10
Street-Sellers of Combs.			
50 stalls, at 3s. each; 50 boxes, at 3s. 6d. each; stock-money for 50 vendors, at 2s. 6d. each	22	10	0
Street-Sellers of Money-Bags.			
Stock-money for 50 vendors, at 2s. each	5	0	0
Street-Sellers of Coat-Studs.			
70 boxes, at 1s. 6d. each, stock-money for 70 vendors, at 2s. 6d. each	14	0	0
Total amount of capital	2,833	13	4

INCOME OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.

METAL.

Street-Sellers of Hardware.

There are at present 100 hardware sellers, trading in London, &c.; half of them, I am assured, may be said to take on an average from 20s. to 25s., weekly the year through; a quarter take 15s., and the remaining quarter from 7s. 6d. to 10s. Calculating an average receipt of 15s. each per week, throughout the entire class, men, women, and children, we find there is annually expended in street-sold hardwares 3,900 0 0

Cheap Johns.

If we calculate that there are 6 "Cheap Johns" in London throughout the year, and that they each take 4l. per day for nine months in the year, or 24l. per week; this amounts to about 5,000l. in nine months. Say that during the winter or the remaining 13 weeks of the year, their receipts are 15l. each per week, this amounts to upwards of 1000l. additional, thus making a gross annual outlay with these dealers of 6,000 0 0

Street-Sellers of Cutlery.

Reckoning there are 30 men who are engaged regularly in the sale of cutlery, and that the average takings of each are about 15s. weekly, this gives a yearly expenditure in the street-trade of cutlery 1,170 0 0

Blind Street-Sellers of Tailors' Needles.

There are now 6 men engaged in selling needles at the several tailors' shops, and calculating their average daily receipts to be 2s. 6d. or 15s. a week each, we find that the annual takings of the whole are 234 0 0

Street-Sellers of Metal-Spoons in Publichouses.

From the best information I can arrive at, the number of metal-spoon hawkers is 20, each of whom take upon an average 16s. weekly, thus showing a yearly expenditure in the street-sale of spoons of 832 0 0

Street-Sellers of Jewellery.

I am informed that there are at present 500 persons engaged in the street sale of jewellery, and calculating a weekly profit of 10s. 6d., and a receipt of 18s. per individual, we find expended in the street-trade . . 23,400

Street-Sellers of Card-Counters.

If there be, on the year's average, only two street-sellers disposing of "Jacks" and earning 9s. a week,—to earn which the receipts will be about 20s.,—we find expended in the streets on these trifles annually 104 0 0

Street-Sellers of Medals.

An intelligent man, familiar with the trade, and who was in the habit of clubbing his stock-money with two others, so that they might buy a gross of medals at a time, calculated that 15 medal-sellers were engaged in the traffic the year through, and earned, upon medals alone, 6d. a day each, to clear which they must take 6s. 6d. weekly, giving a yearly outlay of 253 10 0

Street-Sellers of Rings and Sovereigns for a Wager.

One of this class, who is "up to all the dodges of the trade," informed me that there were only 6 men working the rings and sovereigns now in the streets, and that the average takings of each might be about 12s. weekly, thus showing a yearly expenditure of 187 4 0

Street-Sellers of Children's Gilt Watches.

Calculating that 25 persons now vend watches for twelve weeks in the year and that each clears 8s. weekly, taking 24s., we find yearly expended in London streets on these toy watches 360 0 0

Street-Sellers of Tin-Ware.

If we calculate an average receipt, per individual, of 10s. weekly: we find, reckoning 100 sellers, a yearly expenditure on tins, bought in the street, of 2,600 0 0

	£	s.	d.
Swag-Barrowmen.			
Calculating that 100 of these traders are, the year round, in London (some are absent all the summer at country fairs, and on any favourable opportunity), and that each takes 2*l.* weekly, we find thus expended in the streets of London, in a year, no less than	10,400	0	0
Sellers of Dog-Collars, Key-Rings, &c.			
Reckoning 12*s.* weekly taken by 12 men, there is expended yearly in the streets upon dog-collars . . .	374	0	0
Street-Sellers of Tools.			
There are at present 40 men engaged in selling tools throughout the metropolis and they each average about 15*s.* weekly. This gives a yearly outlay of	1,560	0	0
Street-Sellers of Crockery and Glass-Wares.			
According to the best calculation there are 380 vendors of crockery and glass-wares, and the average takings of each may be said to amount to 10*s.* weekly, so giving an annual expenditure in the streets of	9,880	0	0
Street-Sellers of Spar-Ornaments.			
In this trade I am informed that there are now 12 men, 9 of whom are assisted by their wives, and that in the summer months there are 18. Their profits are about 15*s.* per week on an average of the whole year. What amount of money may be expended by the public in the street-purchase of "spars" I am unable definitely to state, so much being done in the way of barter; but assuming that there are 14 sellers throughout the year, and that their profits are cent. per cent., there would appear to be laid out in the streets every year on these articles, about	1,000	0	0
Street-Sellers of China-Ornaments.			
There are, I am informed, about 30 persons in this trade. If we calculate the receipts at 10*s.* weekly (a low average considering the success of some of the raffles), we find yearly expended in the streets in these ornamental productions	780	0	0
Street-Sellers of Stone-Fruit.			
Supposing that there are 6 persons selling stone-fruit in the streets through the year, and that each earns 9*s.* weekly (one man said 7*s.* 6*d.* was the limit of his weekly profits), we find 140*l.* received as profit on these articles, and calculating the gains at 33 per cent., an outlay of	420	0	0
TEXTILE.			
Packmen and Duffers, or Hawkers of Soft Wares.			
I am told by a London hawker of soft goods that the number of his craft, hawking London and its vicinity, as far as he can judge, is about 120. In this number are included the Irish linen hawkers. I am also informed that the fair trader's profits amount to about 20 per cent., while those of the not over-particular trader range from 80 to 200 per cent. In a fair way of business it is said the hawker's takings will amount, upon an average, to 7*l.* or 8*l.* per week; whereas the receipts of the "duffer," or unfair hawker, will sometimes reach to 50*l.* per week; at 7*l.* per week each, the gross takings will amount to	43,680	0	0
Street-Sellers of Small Ware, or Tapes, Cottons, Laces, &c.			
From the best data at my command, I believe there are not fewer than 500 individuals selling these wares in London. Their weekly receipts do not appear to average more than 6*s.* each, hence the expenditure on these articles will amount to	7800	0	0
Street-Sellers of Lace.			
100 persons in this trade may be said each to take 10*s.* 6*d.* weekly, the profit being about cent. per cent.; hence the annual sum expended in the streets in lace and similar commodities is.	2730	0	0
Street-Sellers of Japanned Table-Covers.			
Calculating that 15 street-sellers each take 25*s.* weekly the year round — one-half being the profit, including their advantages in bartering and raffling—we find there is expended yearly upon japanned table-covers, bought in the streets	975	0	0
Street-Sellers of Braces and Belts.			
500 brace-sellers are said to clear 5*s.* a week each on those articles alone, and estimating the profit at 33 per cent., it shows a street expenditure of 26,196*l.*, and calculating one-eighth less for belts, we find that the annual outlay in the streets on braces and belts is	29,470	0	0
Street-Sellers of Hose.			
A few pairs of women's stockings are hawked by women, and sold to servant-maids; but the trade in these goods, I am informed, including all classes of sellers—of whom there may be fifty—does not exceed (notwithstanding the universality of the wear) the receipt of 6*s.* weekly per individual, with a profit of from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.*; thus there is an aggregate expenditure yearly of	800	0	0
Street-Sellers of Waistcoats.			
There are sometimes no waistcoat-sellers at all; but generally two, and not unfrequently three. The profits of these men are 1*s.* on a bad, and 2*s.* 6*d.* on a good day. As, at intervals, the street-sellers dispose of a sleeve-waistcoat (waistcoat with			

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sleeves) at from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.*, we may estimate the average earnings in the trade at 5*s.* per market day, or 10*s.* in the week; assuming their profits to be 33 per cent., this shows an annual outlay of . . . . £312 0*s.* 0*d.*

CHEMICAL.

Street-Sellers of Blacking.

There are at present 230 vendors of blacking in the London streets. 210 of these sell cake and liquid blacking, each taking 6*s.* weekly, while the 20 others "work" the Mews with a superior kind of blacking, taking 15*s.* each; thus there is a yearly expenditure in the sale of blacking in the streets of . . . 4,056 0 0

Street-Sellers of Black-Lead.

There are, I am informed, 100 to 150 persons selling and hawking black-lead in the streets; it may be estimated that they take 4*s.* each weekly (the adults selling other small articles with the black-lead); thus we find—averaging the number of sellers at 125—that there is expended yearly in the street-sale of this article 1,300 0 0

Street-Sellers of French Polish.

The French-polish-Sellers, I am assured by a man familiar with the business, take 2*s.* a day each; the 2*s.* leaves a profit of 10*d.* The street expenditure is, therefore (reckoning five regular sellers) annually . . 156 0 0

Street-Sellers of Grease-removing Composition.

Calculating that 7 grease-removers carry on the sale of the article 3 days each week, and clear 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, we find a yearly expenditure on this commodity equal to 81 18 0

Street-Sellers of Plating-Balls.

Reckoning that 4 men are engaged in selling plating-balls 3 days in each week, and that each take 2*s.* a day, we find there is an annual outlay on the sale of this article of 62 8 0

Street-Sellers of Corn Salve.

Calculating that 8 of these traders take 10*s.* weekly, we find there is expended in the streets on this salve 208 0 0

Street-Sellers of Glass and China-Cement.

There are at present 4 men vending this article in the streets of London, and if each seller take 5*s.* weekly (of which 4*s.* may be profit), we find there is expended yearly by street customers in this cement . . . 52 0 0

Street-Sellers of Razor Paste.

Calculating that 6 men "work" the metropolis daily, taking 2*s.* each per day (with 1*s.* 2*d.* profit), we find the amount of the street outlay to be upwards of 187 0 0

Street-Sellers of Crackers and Detonating-Balls.

I am assured that for a few days last November, from 50 to 60 men and women were selling crackers in the streets. The most intelligent man that I met with, acquainted, as he called it, "with all the ins and outs of the trade," calculated that during the month of November and at Christmas, 100*l.* at least was expended in the streets in these combustibles, and another 100*l.* at other times of the year, thus giving altogether a yearly outlay of 200 0 0

Street-Sellers of Lucifer-Matches.

Supposing that each of the 200 traders take, on lucifers alone, but 4*s.* weekly, selling nine dozen (with a profit to the seller of from 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*), we find on lucifer-matches bought in the streets an annual outlay of 2,080 0 0

Street-Sellers of Cigar-Lights or Fuzees.

It will, I believe, be accurate to state that in the streets there are generally 100 persons subsisting, or endeavouring to subsist, on the sale of fuzees alone. It may be estimated also that each of these traders averages a receipt of 10*d.* a day (with a profit exceeding 6*d.*), so that the sum yearly laid out in the streets in this way amounts to 1,300 0 0

Street-Sellers of Gutta-Percha Heads, &c.

There are at present, I am informed, 30 persons selling gutta-percha heads in the streets, some of them confining their business solely to those articles. Their average receipts, I am assured, do not exceed 5*s.* a week each, for, though some may take 15*s.* a week, others, and generally the stationary head-sellers, do not take 1*s.* The profit to the street retailer is one-third of his receipts. From this calculation it appears, that if the present rate of sale continue, the sum spent yearly in these street toys is 390 0 0

Street-Sellers of Fly-Papers and Beetle-Wafers.

Last summer, I was informed, there were 50 or 60 persons selling fly-papers and beetle-wafers in the streets; some of them boys, and all of them of the general class of street-sellers, who "take" to any trade for which 1*s.* suffices as capital. Their average earnings may be estimated at 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, about one-half being profit. This gives a street outlay, for a "season" of ten weeks, of . . 375 0 0

Street-Sellers of Poison for Rats.

Calculating 25 sellers of rat-poison, and each taking on an average 1*s.* daily for the sale of their article, we find that the sum annually expended upon this commodity amounts to . 390 0 0

MISCELLANEOUS. £ s. d.

Street-Sellers of Walking-Sticks.

For 12 weeks of the year there are, I am told, every day 35 stick-sellers, each taking, on an average, 30*s.* a week (with a profit, individually, of about 12*s.*); we find thus that the sum expended yearly in walking-sticks in the streets is 630 0 0

Street-Sellers of Whips, &c.

Averaging that 30 whip-sellers take 25*s.* each weekly (with profits of from 5*s.* to 10*s.*) in London alone, we find that the yearly sum expended in the streets in whips amounts to . 1,950 0 0

Street-Sellers of Pipes (Tobacco).

If we calculate that 4 persons sell pipes daily the year through, taking each 25*s.* (and clearing 10*s.*), we find the yearly sum expended upon the hawkers' pipes amounts to . . . 260 0 0

Street-Sellers of Snuff-Boxes, Tobacco-Boxes, &c.

Reckoning that 15 persons trading on snuff and tobacco and cigar-boxes take 18*s.* weekly (clearing 7*s.* or 8*s.*), we find the sum thus expended annually amounts to 702 0 0

Street-Sellers of Cigars.

Reckoning the number of vendors of cigars at 100, and the average takings of each to be 20*s.* weekly, we have a yearly outlay of 5,200 0 0

Street-Sellers of Sponge.

Calculating, then, that only 50 persons (and so allowing for the irregularities in the trade) vend sponge daily, and that each takes 15*s.* weekly, —some taking 25*s.*, and others but 5*s.*—with about half profit on the whole (the common sponge is often from 200 to 300 per cent. profit), we find the outlay to be 1,950 0 0

Street-Sellers of Wash-Leather.

There are, I am assured, 100 individuals selling little or nothing else but wash-leather in London (for these traders are found in all the suburbs), and that they respectively take 10*s.* weekly, with a profit of from 4*s.* to 5*s.* There are, also, 100 other persons selling them occasionally, along with other goods, and as they vend the higher-priced articles, they probably receive nearly an equal amount, Hence it would appear that there is annually expended in the streets in this purchase, upwards of 5,000 0 0

Street-Sellers of Spectacles and Eye-glasses.

It may be estimated, I am assured, that there are 35 men who vend these articles daily, taking 15*s.* a week (with a profit of 10*s.*), the yearly expenditure being thus . . 1,365 0 0

Street-Sellers of Dolls. £ s. d.

There are, at least, at this time of year, when the fairs are coming on, 50 doll-hawkers, who vend nothing else. Say that each of these sell one dozen dolls per day, and that their average price is 4*d.* each; that is just 10*l.* a day, and 60*l.* per week. In the winter time so many are not sold; but I have no doubt that 50*l.*'s worth of dolls are sold each week throughout the year by London hawkers alone, hence the annual outlay on street-dolls would be close upon 3,000 0 0

Street Lot-sellers.

It may be estimated that 50 men carry on this trade. Each of these may take 13*s.* weekly (with a profit of 7*s.* 6*d.*), so showing the annual street outlay to be 1,690 0 0

Street-Sellers of Roulette Tables.

Calculating the 2 sellers of Roulette tables take 30*s.* each weekly, we find the annual outlay amounts to . . . 156 0 0

Street-Sellers of Rhubarb.

Reckoning 4 street-sellers of rhubarb and spice each taking 18*s.* weekly, we find the sum annually spent in the sale of these articles to be upwards of 187 0 0

Rat-Catchers.

There are, I am told, 100 rat-catchers resorting, at intervals, to London, but only a fourth of that number can be estimated as carrying on their labours regularly in town; their average earnings, I am assured, do not exceed 15*s.* a week; thus there is a yearly expenditure of 975 0 0

Street-Sellers of Combs.

From the best information I have gained, there are 50 persons who sell nothing but combs, the average takings of each are 9*s.* a week, showing the yearly outlay in the streets on these articles to be 1,170 0 0

Street-Sellers of Money-Bags.

There are at present 50 persons consisting of men, women, and children vending money-bags in the streets of London, each taking on an average 1*s.* 6*d.* daily, or 9*s.* per week, and so giving a yearly expenditure of . . 1,170 0 0

Street-Sellers of Coat-Studs.

There are, I am informed, no less than 70 persons, consisting of men, women, and children. These, I am told, take upon an average 15*s.* a week each, their usual profits being cent. per cent.; thus we find a yearly outlay on studs bought in the streets of . . 2.730 0 0

Total amount of income. . £188,189 0 0

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ERRATA.

Page 5, line 45, second column, *for* 9,350 *read* 8,850.
6, line 39, first column, *for* 34,209 *read* 28,506.
line 43, *for* between thirty and forty thousand *read* between twenty-five and thirty thousand.
11, number of markets Surrey side, *for* 664 *read* 764.
number of markets Middlesex side, *for* 3,137 *read* 3,147.
first line, second column, *for* 3801 *read* 3,911, and *for* 102 *read* 105.
26, line 50, first column, *for* 75*l.* *read* 67*l.* 10*s.*; line 53, *for* 5,25*l.* *read* 405*l.*; line 57, *for* 6,300*l.* *read* 4,860*l.*
30, line 25, *for* 2*l.* each *read* 2*l.*
56, line 27, *for* 24,135*l.* *read* 23,775*l.*
line 28, *for* upwards *read* very nearly.
line 50, *for* 14,000*l.* *read* 9,750*l.*
line 54, *for* 6,500*l.* *read* 130*l.*
line 58, *for* 22,550*l.* *read* 17,400*l.*
line 36, second column, *for* between 1,250,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* *read* 1,040,000*l.*
63, line 13, *for* 5,040,000 lbs. *read* 4,940,000 lbs.
line 27, *for* 147,000,000 *read* 49,750,000.
line 36, *for* 24,300 *read* 22,067.
line 38, *for* 32,400 *read* 33,696.
69, line 38, *for* 263,281,000 *read* 263,261,000.
80, line 11, *for* 16,450 *read* 37,650.
line 14, *for* 171,000 *read* 175,000.
line 15, *for* 108,000 *read* 112,000.
line 16, *for* 24,000 *read* 26,800.
line 28, *for* 16,817,000 *read* 18,017,000
line 31, *for* 221,100 *read* 221,200.
line 39, *for* 94,000 *read* 104,400.
line 41, *for* 32,900 *read* 37,900.
95, line 37, first column, *for* 6,270 *read* 6,240.
line 43, first column, *for* 1,960 *read* 1,950.
line 48, first column, *for* 15,300 *read* 15,200.
line 16, second column, *for* 333,420 *read* 332,400.
96, line 3, first column, *for* 333,420 *read* 332,400.
line 5, first column, *for* 292,000 *read* 292,240.
line 6, first column, *for* 626,420 *read* 625,640.
line 6, second column, *for* 2,087,270 *read* 2,086,490.
122, table, middle column, line 12, *for* 524,000 *read* 525,000.
table, middle column, line 21, *for* 524,000 *read* 525,000.
table, middle column, line 22, *for* 1,464,000 *read* 1,465,000.
130, line 4, second column, *for* 160 *read* 166.
139, line 12, second column, *for* 123,360 *read* 129,360.
142, line 46, second column, *for* 575 read 525.
144, line 7, first column, *for* 150,000 *read* 150,768.
line 33, first column, *for* 50 *read* 60.
last line, first column, *for* 2,867*l.* *read* 2,877*l.*
line 9, second column, *for* 1,183*l.* *read* 1,883*l.*
line 11, second column, *for* 2,774*l.* *read* 2,474*l.*
line 32, second column, *for* 210 *read* 160.
line 33, second column, *for* 1,667*l.* *read* 1,617*l.*
158, line 17, second column, *for* 13,949*l.* *read* 13,950*l.*
line 20, second column, *for* 520 *read* 572.
line 21, second column, *for* 28,504 *read* 28,557.
163, line 4, second column, *for* 19,448 *read* 21,910.
line 24, second column, *for* 12,102 *read* 14,586.
171, line 13, second column, *for* 3,031*l.* 11*s.* *read* 3,033*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
195, line 39, first column, *for* 1,452*l.* *read* 780*l.*
197, line 13, first column, *for* 3,000*l.* *read* 1,040*l.*

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PAGE 203, line 12, first column, *for* 300 *read* 100.
218, line 61, first column, *for* because *read* although.
line 63, first column, *for* no *read* an utter want of.
line 51, second column, *for* flummut *read* flummuxed.
325, line 48, second column, *for* 780*l.* *read* 3,900*l.*
329, line 43, second column, *for* 3,500 *read* 13,500.
line 45, second column, *for* 700 *read* 2,700.
line 46, second column, *for* 25,000 *read* 20,700.
line 47, second column, *for* 250 *read* 207.
340, line 57, second column, *for* vicapicated *read* incapacitated.
347, line 41, second column, *for* 23,410 *read* 23,400.
370, line 15, second column, *for* store *read* stone.
377, In the table of Hawkers and Pedlars for England, Wales, and Scotland, the Total for Wales is placed below the Islands in the British Seas, but should stand above it.
388, line 43, first column, *for* 2,600 *read* 2,730.
392, last line, second column, *for* 384,400 *read* 1,872,000.
393, line 2, first column, *for* 3,120 *read* 3,900.
line 5, first column, *for* 4,680 *read* 3,900.
427, line 9, first column, *for* 1,250 *read* 1,300.
440, line 9, first column, *for* 2,340 *read* 1,950.
441, line 55, first column, *for* 692 *read* 702.
443, line 39, second column, *for* 1,850 *read* 1,950.
449, line 58, first column, *for* 1,190 *read* 1,690.

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LONDON LABOUR
AND
THE LONDON POOR.

VOL. II.

THE STREET-FOLK.
BOOK THE SECOND.

INTRODUCTION.

In commencing a new volume I would devote a few pages to the consideration of the import of the facts already collected concerning the London Street-Folk, not only as regards the street-people themselves, but also in connection with the general society of which they form so large a proportion.

The precise extent of the proportion which the Street-Traders bear to the rest of the Metropolitan Population is the first point to be evolved; for the want, the ignorance, and the vice of a street-life being in a direct ratio to the numbers, it becomes of capital importance that we should know how many are seeking to pick up a livelihood in the public thoroughfares. This is the more essential because the Government returns never *have* given us, and probably never *will* give us, any correct information respecting it. The Census of 1841 set down the "Hawkers, Hucksters, and Pedlars" of the Metropolis as numbering 2045; and from the inquiries I have made among the street-sellers as to the means taken to obtain a full account of their numbers for the next population return, the Census of 1851 appears likely to be about as correct in its statements concerning the Street Traders and Performers as the one which preceded it.

According to the accounts which have been collected during the progress of this work, the number of the London Street-People, so far as the inquiry has gone, is upwards of 40,000. This sum is made up of 30,000 Costermongers; 2000 Street-Sellers of "Green-Stuff," as Watercresses, Chickweed, and Groundsell, Turf, &c.; 4000 Street-Sellers of Eatables and Drinkables; 1000 selling Stationery, Books, Papers, and Engravings in the streets; and 4000 other street-sellers vending manufactured articles, either of metal, crockery, textile, chemical, or miscellaneous substances, making altogether 41,000, or in round numbers say 40,000 individuals. The 30,000 costermongers may be said to include 12,000 men, 6000 women, and 12,000 children.

The above numbers comprise the main body of people selling in the London streets; hence if we assert that, with the vendors of second-hand articles, as old metal, glass, linen, clothes, &c., and mineral productions, such as coke, salt, and sand, there are about 45,000 street-traders in the Metropolis, we shall not, I am satisfied, be very far from the truth.

The value of the Capital, or Stock in Trade, of these people, though individually trifling, amounts, collectively, to a considerable sum of money—indeed, to very nearly 40,000*l.*, or at the rate of about 1*l.* per head. Under the term Capital are included the donkeys, barrows, baskets, stalls, trays, boards, and goods belonging to the several street-traders; and though the stock of the water-cress, the small-ware, the lucifer, the flower, or the chickweed and groundsell seller may not exceed in value 1*s.*, and the basket or tray upon which it is carried barely half that sum, that of the more prosperous costermonger, possessed of his barrow and donkey; or of the Cheap John, with his cart filled with hardware; or the Packman, with his bale of soft wares at his back, may be worth almost as many pounds as the others are pence.

The gross amount of trade done by the London Street-Sellers in the course of the year is so large that the mind is at first unable to comprehend how, without reckless extravagance, want can be in any way associated with the class. After the most cautious calculation, the results having been checked and re-checked in a variety of ways, so that the conclusion arrived at might be somewhat near and certainly not beyond the truth, it appears that the "*takings*" of the London Street-Sellers cannot be said to be less than 2,500,000*l.* per annum. But vast as this sum may seem, and especially when considered as only a portion of the annual expenditure of the Metropolitan Poor, still, when we come to spread the gross yearly receipts over 40,000 people, we find that the individual takings are but 62*l.* per annum, which (allowing the rate of profit to be in all cases even 50 per cent., though I am convinced it is often much less) gives to each street-trader an annual income of 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, or within a fraction of 8*s.* a week, all the year round. And when we come to deduct from this the loss by perishable articles, the keep of donkeys, the wear and tear, or hire, of barrows—the cost of stalls and baskets, together with the interest on stock-money (generally at the rate of 4*s.* a week—and often 1*s.* a day—for 1*l.*, or 1040*l.* per cent. per annum), we may with safety assert that the average gain or clear income of the Metropolitan Street-Sellers is rather under than over 7*s.* 6*d.* a week. Some of the more expert street-traders may clear 10*s.* or even 15*s.* weekly throughout the year, while the

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weekly profit of the less expert, the old people, and the children, may be said to be 3*s.* 6*d.* These incomes, however, are the average of the gross yearly profits rather than the regular weekly gains; the consequence is, that though they might be sufficient to keep the majority of the street-sellers in comparative comfort, were they constant and capable of being relied upon, from week to week —but being variable and uncertain, and rising sometimes from nothing in the winter to 1*l.* a week in the summer, when street commodities are plentiful and cheap, and the poorer classes have money wherewith to purchase them — and fluctuating moreover, even at the best of times, according as the weather is wet or fine, and the traffic of the streets consequently diminished or augmented— it is but natural that the people subject to such alternations should lack the prudence and temperance of those whose incomes are more regular and uniform.

To place the above facts clearly before the reader the following table has been prepared. The first column states the titles of the several classes of street-sellers; the second, the number of individuals belonging to each of these classes; the third, the value of their respective capitals or stock in trade; the fourth, the gross amount of trade done by them respectively every year; the fifth, the average yearly takings of each class; and the sixth, their average weekly gains. This gives us, as it were, a bird's-eye view of the earnings and pecuniary condition of the various kinds of street-sellers already treated of. It is here cited, as indeed all the statistics in this work are, as an approximation to the truth rather than a definite and accurate result.

DESCRIPTION OF CLASS.	Number of Persons in each Class.	Gross amount of capital, or stock in trade belonging to each class.	Gross amount of trade annually done by each class.	Average yearly receipts per head.	Average weekly gains.
COSTERMONGERS [a].			£		
Street-Sellers of Wet Fish . .			1,177,200		
" " Dry fish . .			127,000		
" " Shell Fish .			156,600		
			1,460,800		
" " Green Fruit .			332,400		
" " Dry Fruit . .	30,000 [b]	£25,000	1,000	£60	8*s.*
" " Vegetables .			292,200		
			625,600		
" " Game, Poultry, Rabbits, &c.			80,000		
" " Flowers, Roots, &c. . . .			14,800		
			2,181,200		
STREET-SELLERS OF GREEN STUFF.					
Watercresses [c]	1,000	87	13,900	13	3*s.* 6*d.*
Chickweed, Groundsell, and Plantain [d]	1,000	42	14,000	14	5*s.*
Turf-Cutters and Sellers. . .	40	20	570	14	5*s.* 6*d.*
STREET-SELLERS OF EATABLES AND DRINKABLES	4,000	9,000	203,100	50	10*s.*
STREET-SELLERS OF STATIONERY, LITERATURE, AND THE FINE ARTS.	1,000	400	33,400	30	8*s.*
STREET-SELLERS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES of Metal, Crockery and Glass, Textile, Chemical, or Miscellaneous Substances	4,000	2,800	188,200	47	10*s.*
	41,040	£37,529	£2,634,370	£60	8*s.*

[a] The definition of a Costermonger strictly includes only such individuals as confine themselves to the sale of the produce of the Green and Fruit Markets: the term is here restricted to that signification.

[b] This number includes Men, Women, and Children.

[c] The Watercress trade is carried on in the streets, principally by old people and children. The chief mart to which the street-sellers of cresses resort is Farringdon-market, a place which but few or none of the regular Costermongers attend.

[d] The Chickweed and Groundsell Sellers and the Turf-Cutters' traffic has but little expense connected with it, and their trade is therefore nearly all profit.

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Now, according to the above estimate, it would appear that the gross annual receipts of the entire body of street-sellers (for there are many besides those above specified—as for instance, the vendors of second-hand articles, &c.) may be estimated in round numbers at 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and their clear income at about 1,000,000*l.* per annum. Hence, we are enabled to perceive the importance of the apparently insignificant traffic of the streets; for were the street-traders to be prohibited from pursuing their calling, and so forced to apply for relief at the several metropolitan unions, the poor-rates would be at the least doubled. The total sum expended in the relief of the London poor, during 1848, was 725,000*l.*, but this we see is hardly three-fourths of the income of the street-traders. Those, therefore, who would put an end to the commerce of our streets, should reflect whether they would like to do so at the cost of doubling the present poor-rates and of reducing one-fortieth part of the entire metropolitan population from a state of comparative independence to absolute pauperism.

However unsatisfactory it may be to the aristocratic pride of the wealthy commercial classes, it cannot be denied that a very important element of the trade of this vast capital—this marvellous centre of the commerce of the world—I cite the stereotype phrases of civic eloquence, for they are at least truths—it is still undeniable, I say, that a large proportion of the commerce of the capital of Great Britain is in the hands of the Street-Folk. This simple enunciation might appear a mere platitude were it not that the street-sellers are a *proscribed class.* They are driven from stations to which long possession might have been thought to give them a quasi legal right; driven from them at the capricious desire of the shopkeepers, some of whom have had bitter reason, by the diminution of their own business, to repent their interference. They are bandied about at the will of a police-officer. They must "move on" and not obstruct a thoroughfare which may be crammed and blocked with the carriages of the wealthy until to cross the road on foot is a danger. They are, in fine, a body numbering thousands, who are allowed to live in the prosecution of the most ancient of all trades, sale or barter in the open air, *by sufferance alone.* They are classed as unauthorized or illegal and intrusive traders, though they "*turn over*" *millions in a year.*

The authorities, it is true, do not sanction any general arbitrary enforcement of the legal proscription of the Street-Folk, but they have no option if a section of shopkeepers choose to say to them, "Drive away from our doors these street-people." It appears to be sufficient for an inferior class of tradesmen—for such the meddlers with the street-folk generally seem to be—merely to desire such a removal in order to accomplish it. It is not necessary for them to say in excuse, "We pay heavy rents, and rates, and taxes, and are forced to let our lodgings accordingly; we pay for licences, and some of us as well pay fines for giving short weight to poor people, and that, too, when it is hardly safe to give short weight to our richer patrons; but what rates, taxes, or licences do these street-traders pay? Their lodgings may be dear enough, but their rates are nominally nothing" (being charged in the rent of their rooms). "From taxes they are blessedly exempt. They are called upon to pay no imposts on their property or income; they defray merely the trifling duties on their tobacco, beer, tea, sugar, coffee" (though these by the way—the chief articles in the excise and customs returns—make up one-half of the revenue of the country). "They ought to be put down. *We* can supply all that is wanting. What may become of *them* is simply their own concern."

The Act 50 Geo. III., c. 41, requires that every person "carrying to sell or exposing to sale any goods, wares, or merchandize," shall pay a yearly duty. But according to s. 23, "nothing in this Act shall extend to prohibit any person or persons from selling (by hawking in the streets) any printed papers licensed by authority; or any fish, fruit, or victuals." Among the privileged articles are also included barm or yeast, and coals. The same Act, moreover, contains nothing to prohibit the maker of any home-manufacture from exposing his goods to sale in any town-market or fair, nor any tinker, cooper, glazier, or other artizan, from going about and carrying the materials of his business. The unlicensed itinerant vendors of such things however as lucifer-matches, boot-laces, braces, fuzees, or any wares indeed, not of their own manufacture, are violators of the law, and subject to a penalty of 10*l.*, or three months' imprisonment for each offence. It is in practice, however, only in the hawking of such articles as those on which the duty is heavy and of considerable value to the revenue (such as tea, tobacco, or cigars), that there is any actual check in the London streets.

Nevertheless, a large proportion of the street-trading without a licence is contrary to law, and the people seeking to obtain a living by such means are strictly liable to fine or imprisonment, while even those street-traders whom the Act specially exempts—as for instance the street-sellers of fish, fruit, and vegetables, and of eatables and drinkables, as well as the street artizans, and who are said to have the right of "exposing their goods to sale in any market or fair in every city, borough, town-corporate, and market-town"—even these, I say, are liable to be punished for obstructing the highway whenever they attempt to do so.

Now these are surely anomalies which it is high time, in these free-trade days, should cease. *The endeavour to obtain an honest and independent livelihood should subject no man to fine or imprisonment;* nor should the poor hawker—the neediest perhaps of all tradesmen—be required to pay 4*l.* a year for the liberty to carry on his business when the wealthy shopkeeper can do so "scot-free." Moreover, it is a glaring iniquity that the rich tradesman should have it in his power, by complaining to the police, to deprive his poorer rival of the right to dispose of his goods in the streets. It is often said, in justification, that as the shopkeepers pay the principal portion of the rates and taxes, *they* must be protected in the exercise of their business. But this, in the

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first place, is far from the truth. As regards the taxes, the poorer classes pay nearly half of the national imposts: they pay the chief portion of the malt duty, and that is in round numbers 5,000,000*l.* a year; the greater part of the spirit duty, which is 4,350,000*l.*; the tobacco duty, 4,250,000*l.*; the sugar duty, 4,500,000*l.*; and the duty on tea, 5,330,000*l.*; making altogether 23,430,000*l.*, out of about 50,000,000*l.* Concerning the rates, however, it is not so easy to estimate what proportion the poor people contribute towards the local burdens of the country; but if they are householders, they have to pay quota of the parish and county expenses directly, and, if lodgers, indirectly in the rent of their apartments. Hence it is evident, that to consider the street-sellers unworthy of being protected in the exercise of their calling because they pay neither rates nor taxes, is to commit a gross injustice, not only to the street-sellers themselves by forcing them to contribute in their tea and sugar, their beer, gin, and tobacco, towards the expenses of a Government which exerts itself rather to injure than benefit them, but likewise to the ratepayers of the parish; for it is a necessary consequence, if the shopkeepers have the power to deprive the street-dealers of their living whenever the out-of door tradesmen are thought to interfere with the business of those indoors (perhaps by underselling them), that the street-dealers, being unable to live by their own labour, must betake themselves to the union and live upon the labour of the parishioners, and thus the shopkeepers may be said to enrich themselves at the expense, not only of the poor street-people, but likewise of their brother ratepayers.

Nor can it be said that the *Street-Sellers* are interlopers upon these occasions, for if ancient custom be referred to, it will be found that the Shopkeepers are the real intruders, they having succeeded the Hawkers, who were, in truth, the original distributors of the produce of the country.

But though no body of Shopkeepers, nor, indeed, any other class of people *individually*, should possess the power to deprive the Hawkers of what is often the last shift of struggling independence—the sale of a few goods in the street—still it is evident that the *general* convenience of the public must be consulted, and that, were the Street-Traders to be allowed the right of pitching in any thoroughfare they pleased, many of our principal streets would be blocked up with costers' barrows, and the kerb of Regent-street possibly crowded like that of the New Cut, with the hawkers and hucksters that would be sure to resort thither; while those thoroughfares which, like Fleet-street and Cheapside, are now almost impassable at certain times of the day, from the increased traffic of the City, would be rendered still more impervious by the throngs of street-sellers that the crowd alone would be sure to attract to the spot.

Under the circumstances, therefore, it becomes necessary that we should provide for the vast body of Street-Sellers some authorized place of resort, where they might be both entitled and permitted to obtain an honest living according to Act of Parliament. To think for a moment of "putting down" street-trading is to be at once ignorant of the numbers and character of the people pursuing it. To pass an Act declaring 50,000 individuals rogues and vagabonds, would be to fill our prisons or our workhouses with men who would willingly earn their own living. Besides, the poor *will* buy of the poor. Subject the petty trader to fine and imprisonment as you please, still the very sympathy and patronage of the petty purchaser will in this country always call into existence a large body of purveyors to the poorer classes. I would suggest, therefore, and I do so after much consideration, and an earnest desire to meet all the difficulties of the case, that a number of "poor men's markets" be established throughout London, by the purchase or rental of plots of ground in the neighbourhood of the present street-markets; that a small toll be paid by each of the Street-Sellers attending such markets, for the right to vend their goods there—that the keeper or beadle of each market be likewise an Inspector of Weights and Measures, and that any hawker found using "slangs" of any kind, or resorting to any imposition whatever, be prohibited entering the market for the future—that the conduct and regulation of the markets be under the direction of a committee consisting of an equal number of shareholders, sellers, and working men—the latter as representatives of the buyers—and that the surplus funds (if any, after paying all expenses, together with a fair interest to the shareholders of the market) should be devoted to the education of the children of the hawkers before and after the hours of sale. There might also be a penny savings'-bank in connection with each of the markets, and a person stationed at the gates on the conclusion of the day's business, to collect all he could from the hawkers as they left.

There are already a sufficient number of poor-markets established at the East end of the town—though of a different character, such as the Old Clothes Exchange—to prove the practicability of the proposed plan among even the pettiest traders. And I am convinced, after long deliberation, that such institutions could not but tend to produce a rapid and marked improvement in the character of the London Hawkers.

This is the only way evident to me of meeting the evil of our present street-life—an evil which is increasing every day, and which threatens, ere long, almost to overwhelm us with its abominations. To revile the street-people is stark folly. Their ignorance is no demerit to them, even as it is no merit to us to know the little that we do. If we really wish the people better, let us, I say again, do for them what others have done for us, and without which (humiliating as it may be to our pride) we should most assuredly have been as they are. It is the continued forgetfulness of this truth—a truth which our wretched self-conceit is constantly driving from our minds—that prevents our stirring to improve the condition of these poor people; though, if we

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knew but the whole of the facts concerning them, and their sufferings and feelings, our very fears alone for the safety of the state would be sufficient to make us do something in their behalf. I am quite satisfied, from all I have seen, that there are thousands in this great metropolis ready to rush forth, on the least evidence of a rising of the people, to commit the most savage and revolting excesses—men who have no knowledge of the government of the country but as an armed despotism, preventing their earning their living, and who hate all law, because it is made to appear to them merely as an organised tyranny—men, too, who have neither religious nor moral principles to restrain the exercise of their grossest passions when once roused, and men who, from our very neglect of them, are necessarily and essentially the dangerous classes, whose existence we either rail at or deplore.

The rate of increase among the street-traders it is almost impossible to arrive at. The population returns afford us no data for the calculation, and the street-people themselves are unable to supply the least information on the subject; all they can tell us is, that about 20 years ago they took a guinea for every shilling that they get now. This heavy reduction of their receipts they attribute to the cheapness of commodities, and the necessity to carry and sell a greater quantity of goods in order to get the same profit, as well as to the increase in the number of street-traders; but when questioned as to the extent of such increase, their answers are of the vaguest possible kind. Arranging the street-people, however, as we have done, into three distinct classes, according to the causes which have led to their induction into a street-life, viz., those who are *born* and *bred* to the streets—those who *take* to the streets—and those who are *driven* to the streets, it is evident that the main elements of any extraordinary increase of the street-folk must be sought for among the two latter classes. Among the first the increase will, at the utmost, be at the same rate as the ordinary increase of the population—viz., 1½ per cent. per annum; for the English costermongers and street-traders in general appear to be remarkable rather for the small than the large number of their children, so that, even supposing all the boys and girls of the street-sellers to be brought up to the same mode of life as their father, we could not thus account for any *enormous* increase among the street-folk. With those, however, who *take* to the streets from the love of a "roving life," or the desire to "shake a free leg"—to quote the phrases of the men themselves—or are *driven* to the streets from an inability to obtain employment at the pursuit to which they have been accustomed, the case is far different.

That there is every day a greater difficulty for working men to live by their labour—either from the paucity of work, or from the scanty remuneration given for it—surely no one will be disposed to question when every one is crying out that the country is over-populated. Such being the case, it is evident that the number of mechanics in the streets must be daily augmenting, for, as I have before said, street-trading is the last shift of an unemployed artizan to keep himself and his family from the "Union." The workman out of work, sooner than starve or go to the parish for relief, takes to making up and vending on his own account the articles of his craft, whilst the underpaid workman, sooner than continue toiling from morning till midnight for a bare subsistence, resorts to the easier trade of buying and selling. Again, even among the less industrious of the working classes, the general decline in wages has tended, and is continually tending, to make their labour more and more irksome to them. There is a cant abroad at the present day, that there is a special pleasure in industry, and hence we are taught to regard all those who object to work as appertaining to the class of natural vagabonds; but where is the man among us that loves labour? for work or labour is merely that which is irksome to perform, and which every man requires a certain amount of remuneration to induce him to perform. If men really loved work they would pay to be allowed to do it rather than require to be paid for doing it. That occupation which is agreeable to us we call amusement, and that and that only which is disagreeable we term labour, or drudgery, according to the intensity of its irksomeness. Hence as the amount of remuneration given by way of inducement to a man to go through a certain amount of work becomes reduced, so does the stimulus to work become weakened, and this, through the decline of wages, is what is daily taking place among us. Our operatives are continually ceasing to be producers, and passing from the creators of wealth into the exchangers or distributors of it; becoming mere tradesmen, subsisting on the labour of other people rather than their own, and so adding to the very non-producers, the great number of whom is the main cause of the poverty of those who make all our riches. To teach a people the difficulty of living by labour is to inculcate the most dangerous of all lessons, and this is what we are daily doing. Our trading classes are increasing at a most enormous rate, and so giving rise to that exceeding competition, and consequently, to that continual reduction of prices—all of which must ultimately fall upon the working man. This appears to me to be the main cause of the increase of the London street people, and one for which I candidly confess I see no remedy.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND ARTICLES.

I HAVE already treated of the street-commerce in such things as are presented to the public in the form in which they are to be cooked, eaten, drank, or used. They have comprised the necessaries, delicacies, or luxuries of the street; they have been either the raw food or preparations ready cooked or mixed for

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immediate consumption, as in the case of the street eatables and drinkables; or else they were the proceeds of taste (or its substitute) in art or literature, or of usefulness or ingenuity in manufacture.

All these many objects of street-commerce may be classified in one well-known word: they are bought and sold *first-hand*. I have next to deal with the *second-hand* sellers of our streets; and in this division perhaps will be found more that is novel, curious, and interesting, than in that just completed.

Mr. Babbage, in his "Economy of Machinery and Manufactures," says, concerning the employment of materials of little value: "The worn-out saucepan and tin-ware of our kitchens, when beyond the reach of the tinker's art, are not utterly worthless. We sometimes meet carts loaded with old tin kettles and worn-out iron coal-skuttles traversing our streets. These have not yet completed their useful course; the less corroded parts are cut into strips, punched with small holes, and varnished with a coarse black varnish for the use of the trunk-maker, who protects the edges and angles of his boxes with them; the remainder are conveyed to the manufacturing chemists in the outskirts, who employ them in combination with pyroligneous acid, in making a black dye for the use of calico-printers."

Mr. Babbage has here indicated one portion of the nature of the street-trade in second-hand articles—the application of worn-out materials to a new purpose. But this second-hand commerce of the streets—for a street-commerce it mainly is, both in selling and buying—has a far greater extent than that above indicated, and many ramifications. Under the present head I shall treat only of street *sellers*, unless when a street *purchase* may be so intimately connected with a street *sale* that for the better understanding of the subject it may be necessary to sketch both. Of the STREET-BUYERS and the STREET-FINDERS, or COLLECTORS, both connected with the second-hand trade, I shall treat separately.

In London, where many, in order to live, struggle to extract a meal from the possession of an article which seems utterly worthless, nothing must be wasted. Many a thing which in a country town is kicked by the penniless out of their path even, or examined and left as meet only for the scavenger's cart, will in London be snatched up as a prize; it is money's worth. A crushed and torn bonnet, for instance, or, better still, an old hat, napless, shapeless, crownless, and brimless, will be picked up in the street, and carefully placed in a bag with similar things by one class of street-folk—the STREET-FINDERS. And to tempt the well-to-do to *sell* their second-hand goods, the street-trader offers the barter of shapely china or shining glass vessels; or blooming fuchsias or fragrant geraniums for "the rubbish," or else, in the spirit of the hero of the fairy tale, he exchanges, "new lamps for old."

Of the street sale of second-hand articles, with all the collateral or incidental matter bearing immediately on the subject, I shall treat under the following heads, or under such heads as really constitute the staple of the business, dismissing such as may be trifling or exceptional. Of these traffickers, then, there are five classes, the mere enumeration of the objects of their traffic being curious enough:—

1. *The Street-Sellers of Old Metal Articles*, such as knives, forks, and butchers' steels; saws, hammers, pincers, files, screw-drivers, planes, chisels, and other tools (more frequently those of the workers in wood than of other artisans); old scissors and shears; locks, keys, and hinges; shovels, fire-irons, trivets, chimney-cranes, fenders, and fire-guards; warming-pans (but rarely now); flat and Italian irons, curling-tongs; rings, horse-shoes, and nails; coffee and tea-pots, urns, trays, and canisters; pewter measures; scales and weights; bed-screws and keys; candlesticks and snuffers; niggards, generally called niggers (*i. e.*, false bottoms for grates); tobacco and snuff-boxes and spittoons; door-plates, numbers, knockers, and escutcheons; dog-collars and dog-chains (and other chains); gridirons; razors; coffee-mills; lamps; swords and daggers; gun and pistol-barrels and locks (and occasionally the entire weapon); bronze and cast metal figures; table, chair, and sofa castors; bell-pulls and bells; the larger buckles and other metal (most frequently brass) articles of harness furniture; compositors' sticks (the depositories of the type in the first instance); the multifarious kinds of tin-wares; stamps; cork-screws; barrel-taps; ink-stands; a multiplicity of culinary vessels and of old metal lids; footmen, broken machinery, and parts of machinery, as odd wheels, and screws of all sizes, &c., &c.

2. *The Street-Sellers of Old Linen, Cotton, and Woollen Articles*, such as old sheeting for towels; old curtains of dimity, muslin, cotton, or moreen; carpeting; blanketing for house-scouring cloths; ticking for beds and pillows; sacking for different purposes, according to its substance and quality; fringes; and stocking-legs for the supply of "jobbing worsted," and for re-footing.

I may here observe that in the street-trade, second-hand linen or cotton is often made to pay a double debt. The shirt-collars sold, sometimes to a considerable extent and very cheap, in the street-markets, are made out of linen which has previously been used in some other form; so is it with white waistcoats and other habiliments. Of the street-folk who vend such wares I shall speak chiefly in the fourth division of this subject, viz. the second-hand street-sellers of miscellaneous articles.

3. *The Street-Sellers of Old Glass and Crockery*, including the variety of bottles, odd, or in sets, or in broken sets; pans, pitchers, wash-hand basins, and other crockery utensils; china ornaments; pier, convex, and toilet glasses (often without the frames); pocket ink-bottles; wine, beer, and liqueur glasses; decanters; glass fish-bowls (occasionally); salt-cellars; sugar-basins; and lamp and gas glasses.

4. *The Street-Sellers of Miscellaneous Articles.* These are such as cannot properly be classed under any of the three preceding heads, and include a mass of miscellaneous commodities: Accordions and other musical instruments; brushes of all

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descriptions; shaving-boxes and razor-strops; baskets of many kinds; stuffed birds, with and without frames; pictures, with and without frames; desks, work-boxes, tea-caddies, and many articles of old furniture; boot-jacks and hooks; shoe-horns; cartouche-boxes; pocket and opera glasses; rules, and measures in frames; backgammon, and chess or draught boards and men, and dice; boxes of dominoes; cribbage-boards and boxes, sometimes with old packs of cards; pope-boards (boards used in playing the game of "Pope," or "Pope Joan," though rarely seen now); "fish," or card counters of bone, ivory, or mother of pearl (an equal rarity); microscopes (occasionally); an extensive variety of broken or faded things, new or long kept, such as magic-lanterns, dissected maps or histories, &c., from the toy warehouses and shops; Dutch clocks; barometers; wooden trays; shells; music and books (the latter being often odd volumes of old novels); tee-totums, and similar playthings; ladies' head-combs; umbrellas and parasols; fishing-rods and nets; reins, and other parts of cart, gig, and "two-horse" harness; boxes full of "odds and ends" of old leather, such as water-pipes; and a mass of imperfect metal things, which had "better be described," said an old dealer, "as from a needle to an anchor."

5. *The Street-Sellers of Old Apparel*, including the body habiliments, constituting alike men's, women's, boys', girls', and infants' attire: as well as hats, caps, gloves, belts, and stockings; shirts and shirt-fronts ("dickeys"); handkerchiefs, stocks, and neck-ties; furs, such as victorines, boas, tippets, and edgings; beavers and bonnets; and the other several, and sometimes not easily describable, articles which constitute female fashionable or ordinary wear.

I may here observe, that of the wares which once formed a portion of the stock of the street-sellers of the fourth and fifth divisions, but which are now no longer objects of street sale, were, till within the last few years, fans; back and shoulder boards (to make girls grow straight!); several things at one time thought indispensable to every well-nurtured child, such as a coral and bells; belts, sashes, scabbards, epaulettes, feathers or plumes, hard leather stocks, and other indications of the volunteer, militia, and general military spirit of the early part of the present century.

Before proceeding immediately with my subject, I may say a few words concerning what is, in the estimation of some, a *second-hand* matter. I allude to the many uses to which that which is regarded, and indeed termed, "offal," or "refuse," or "waste," is put in a populous city. This may be evidenced in the multiform uses to which the "offal" of the animals which are slaughtered for our use are put. It is still more curiously shown in the uses of the offal of the animals which are killed, not for our use, but for that of our dogs and cats; and to this part of the subject I shall more especially confine the remarks I have to make. My observations on the uses of other waste articles will be found in another place.

What in the butcher's trade is considered the offal of a bullock, was explained by Mr. Deputy Hicks, before the last Select Committee of the House of Commons on Smithfield Market: "The carcass," he said, "as it hangs clear of everything else, is the carcass, and all else constitutes the offal."

The carcass may be briefly termed the four quarters, whereas the offal then comprises the hide, which in the average-sized bullock that is slaughtered in London is worth 12*s.*; but with the hide are sold the horns, which are worth about 10*d.* to the comb-makers, who use them to make their "tortoise-shell" articles, and for similar purposes. The hoofs are worth 2*d.* to the glue-makers, or prussiate of potash manufacturers. What "comes out of a bullock," to use the trade term, is the liver, the lights (or lungs), the stomach, the intestinal canal (sometimes 36 yards when extended), and the gall duct. These portions, with the legs (called "feet" in the trade), form what is styled the tripe-man's portion, and are disposed of to him by the butcher for 5*s.* 6*d.* Separately, the value of the liver is 8*d.*, of the lights, 6*d.* (both for dogs'-meat), and of the legs which are worked into tooth-brush handles, dominoes, &c., 1*s.* The remaining 3*s.* 4*d.* is the worth of the other portion. The heart averages rather more than 1*s.*; the kidneys the same; the head, 1*s.* 9*d.*; the blood (which is "let down the drain" in all but the larger slaughtering houses) 1½*d.* (being 3*d.* for 9 gallons); the tallow (7 stone) 14*s.*; and the tail, I was told, "from nothing to 2*s.*," averaging about 6*d.*; the tongue, 2*s.* 6*d.* Thus the offal sells, altogether, first hand, for 1*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

I will now show the uses to which what is far more decidedly pronounced "offal," and what is much more "second-hand" in popular estimation, viz., a dead horse, is put, and even a dead horse's offal, and I will then show the difference in this curious trade between the Parisian and London horse offal.

The greatest horse-slaughtering establishments in France are at Montfaucon, a short distance from the capital. When the animal has been killed, it is "cut up," and the choicer portions of the flesh are eaten by the work-people of the establishment, and by the hangers-on and jobbers who haunt the locality of such places, and are often men of a desperate character. The rest of the carcass is sold for the feeding of dogs, cats, pigs, and poultry, a portion being also devoted to purposes of manure. The flesh on a horse of average size and fatness is 350 lbs., which sells for 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* But this is only one of the uses of the dead animal.

The skin is sold to a tanner for 10*s.* 6*d.* The hoofs to a manufacturer of sal ammonia, or similar preparations, or of Prussian blue, or to a comb or toy-maker, for 1*s.* 4*d.* The old shoes and the shoe-nails are worth 2½d. The hair of the mane and tail realizes 1½*d.* The tendons are disposed of, either fresh or dried, to glue-makers for 3*d.*—a pound of dried tendons (separated from the muscles) being about the average per horse. The

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bones are bought by the turners, cutlers, fan-makers, and the makers of ivory black and sal ammoniac, 90 lbs. being an average weight of the animal's bones, and realizing 2*s.* The intestines wrought into the different preparations required of the gut-makers, or for manure, are worth 2*d.*

The blood is used by the sugar-refiners, and by the fatteners of poultry, pigeons, and turkeys (which devour it greedily), or else for manure. When required for manure it is dried—20 lbs. of dried blood, which is the average weight, being worth 1*s.* 9*d.* The fat is removed from the carcass and melted down. It is in demand for the making of gas, of soap, and (when very fine) of—bear's grease; also for the dubbing or grease applied to harness and to shoe-leather. This fat when consumed in lamps communicates a greater portion of heat than does oil, and is therefore preferred by the makers of glass toys, and by enamellers and polishers. A horse at Montfaucon has been known to yield 60 lbs. of fat, but this is an extreme case; a yield of 12 lbs. is the produce of a horse in fair condition, but at these slaughter-houses there are so many lean and sorry jades that 8 lbs. may be taken as an average of fat, and at a value of 6*d.* per lb. Nor does the list end here; the dead and putrid flesh is made to teem with life, and to produce food for other living creatures. A pile of pieces of flesh, six inches in height, layer on layer, is slightly covered with hay or straw; the flies soon deposit their eggs in the attractive matter, and thus maggots are bred, the most of which are used as food for pheasants, and in a smaller degree of domestic fowls, and as baits for fish. These maggots give, or are supposed to give, a "game flavour" to poultry, and a very "high" flavour to pheasants. One horse's flesh thus produces maggots worth 1*s.* 5*d.* The total amount, then, realized on the dead horse, which may cost 10*s.* 6*d.*, is as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The flesh	1	12	6
The skin	0	10	6
The hoofs	0	1	4
The shoes and nails	0	0	2½
The mane and tail	0	0	1½
The tendons	0	0	3
The bones	0	2	0
The intestines	0	0	2
The blood	0	1	9
The fat	0	4	0
The maggots	0	1	5
	£2	14	3

The carcass of a French horse is also made available in another way, and which relates to a subject I have lately treated of—the destruction of rats; but this is not a regularly-accruing emolument. Montfaucon swarms with rats, and to kill them the carcass of a horse is placed in a room, into which the rats gain access through openings in the floor contrived for the purpose. At night the rats are lured by their keenness of scent to the room, and lured in numbers; the openings are then closed, and they are prisoners. In one room 16,000 were killed in four weeks. The Paris furriers gave from three to four francs for 100 skins, so that, taking the average at 3*s.* of our money, 16,000 rat-skins would return 24*l.*

In London the uses of the dead horse's flesh, bones, blood, &c., are different.

Horse-flesh is not—as yet—a portion of human food in this country. In a recent parliamentary inquiry, witnesses were examined as to whether horse-flesh was used by the sausage-makers. There was some presumption that such might be the case, but no direct evidence. I found, however, among butchers who had the best means of knowing, a strong conviction that such *was* the case. One highly-respectable tradesman told me he was as certain of it as that it was the month of June, though, if called upon to produce legal evidence proving either that such was the sausage-makers' practice, or that this *was* the month of June, he might fail in both instances.

I found among street-people who dealt in provisions a strong, or, at any rate, a strongly-expressed, opinion that the tongues, kidneys, and hearts of horses were sold as those of oxen. One man told me, somewhat triumphantly, as a result of his ingenuity in deduction, that he had thoughts at one time of trying to establish himself in a cats'-meat walk, and made inquiries into the nature of the calling: "I 'm satisfied the 'osses' arts," he said, "is sold for beastesses'; 'cause you see, sir, there 's nothing as 'ud be better liked for favourite cats and pet dogs, than a nice piece of 'art, but ven do you see the 'osses' 'arts on a barrow! If they don't go to the cats, vere does they go to! Vy, to the Christians."

I am assured, however, by tradesmen whose interest (to say nothing of other considerations) would probably make them glad to expose such practices, that this substitution of the equine for the bovine heart is not attempted, and is hardly possible. The bullock's heart, kidneys, and tongue, are so different in shape (the heart, more especially), and in the colour of the fat, while the rough tip of the ox's tongue is not found in that of the horse, that this second-hand, or offal kind of animal food could not be palmed off upon any one who had ever purchased the heart, kidneys, or tongue of an ox. "If the horse's tongue be used as a substitute for that of any other," said one butcher to me, "it is for the dried reindeer's—a savoury dish for the breakfast table!" Since writing the above, I have had convincing proof given me that the horses' tongues are cured and sold as "neats." The heart and kidneys are also palmed, I find, for those of oxen ! ! Thus, in one respect, there is a material difference between the usages, in respect of this food, between Paris and London.

One tradesman, in a large way of business—with many injunctions that I should make no allusion that might lead to his being known, as he said it might be his ruin, even though he never slaughtered the meat he sold, but was, in fact, a dead salesman or a vendor of meat consigned to him—one tradesman, I say, told me that he fancied there was an *unreasonable* objection to the eating of horse-flesh among us. The horse was

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quite as dainty in his food as the ox, he was quite as graminivorous, and shrunk more, from a nicer sense of smell, from anything pertaining to a contact with animal food than did the ox. The principal objection lies in the number of diseased horses sold at the knackers. My informant reasoned only from analogy, as he had never tasted horse-flesh; but a great-uncle of his, he told me, had relished it highly in the peninsular war.

The uses to which a horse's carcass are put in London are these:—The skin, for tanning, sells for 6*s*. as a low average; the hoofs, for glue, are worth 2*d*.; the shoes and nails, 1½*d*.; the mane and tail, 1½*d*.; the bones, which in London (as it was described to me) are "cracked up" for manure, bring 1*s*. 6*d*.; the fat is melted down and used for cart-grease and common harness oil; one person acquainted with the trade thought that the average yield of fat was 10 lbs. per horse ("taking it low"), another that it was 12 lbs. ("taking it square"), so that if 11 lbs. be accepted as an average, the fat, at 2*d*. per lb., would realize 1*s*. 10*d*. Of the tendons no use is made; of the blood none; and no maggots are reared upon putrid horse-flesh, but a butcher, who had been twenty years a farmer also, told me that he knew from experience that there was nothing so good as maggots for the fattening of poultry, and he thought, from what I told him of maggot-breeding in Montfaucon, that we were *behind* the French in this respect.

Thus the English dead horse—the vendor receiving on an average 1*l*. from the knacker,—realizes the following amount, without including the knacker's profit in disposing of the flesh to the cats'-meat man; but computing it merely at 2*l*. we have the subjoined receipts:—

	£	*s*	*d*.
The flesh (averaging 2 cwt., sold at 2½*d*. per lb.	2	0	0
The skin	0	6	0
The hoofs	0	0	2
The shoes and nails	0	0	1½
The bones	0	1	6
The fat	0	1	10
The tendons	0	0	0
The tongue, &c.	———		?
The blood	0	0	0
The intestines	0	0	0
	£2	9	7½

The French dead horse, then, is made a source of nearly 5*s*. higher receipt than the English. On my inquiring the reason of this difference, and why the blood, &c., were not made available, I was told that the demand by the Prussian blue manufacturers and the sugar refiners was so fully supplied, and over-supplied, from the great cattle slaughter-houses, that the private butchers, for the trifling sum to be gained, let the blood be wasted. One bullock slaughterer in Fox and Knot-yard, who kills 180 cattle in a week, receives only 1*l*. for the blood of the whole number, which is received in a well in the slaughter-house. The amount paid for blood a few year's back was more than double its present rate. Under these circumstances, I was told, it would be useless trying to turn the wasted offal of a horse to any profitable purpose. There is, I am told, on an average, 1000 horses slaughtered every week in London, and this, at 2*l*. 10*s*. each animal, would make the value of the dead horses of the metropolis amount to 130,000*l*. per annum.

Were it not that I might be dwelling too long on the subject, I might point out how the offal of the skins was made to subserve other purposes from the Bermondsey tan-yards; and how the parings and scrapings went to the makers of glue and size, and the hair to the builders to mix with lime, &c., &c.

I may instance another thing in which the worth of what in many places is valueless refuse is exemplified, in the matter of "waste," as waste paper is always called in the trade. Paper in all its glossiest freshness is but a reproduction of what had become in some measure "waste," viz. the rags of the cotton or linen fabric after serving their original purpose. There is a body of men in London who occupy themselves entirely in collecting waste paper. It is no matter of what kind; a small prayer-book, a once perfumed and welcome love-note, lawyers' or tailors' bills, acts of parliament, and double sheets of the *Times*, form portions of the waste dealer's stock. Tons upon tons are thus consumed yearly. Books of every description are ingredients of this waste, and in every language; modern poems or pamphlets and old romances (perfect or imperfect), Shakespeare, Molière, Bibles, music, histories, stories, magazines, tracts to convert the heathen or to prove how easily and how immensely our national and individual wealth might be enhanced, the prospectuses of a thousand companies, each certain to prove a mine of wealth, schemes to pay off the national debt, or recommendations to wipe it off, auctioneers' catalogues and long-kept letters, children's copy-books and last century ledgers, printed effusions which have progressed no further than the unfolded sheets, uncut works and books mouldy from age—all these things are found in the insatiate bag of the waste collector, who of late has been worried because he could not supply enough! "I don't know how it is, sir," said one waste collector, with whom I had some conversation on the subject of street-sold books, with which business he was also connected, "I can't make it out, but paper gets scarcer or else I'm out of luck. Just at this time my family and me really couldn't live on my waste if we had to depend entirely upon it."

I am assured that in no place in the world is this traffic carried on to anything approaching the extent that it is in London. When I treat of the street-buyers I shall have some curious information to publish on the subject. I do but allude to it here as one strongly illustrative of "second-hand" appliances.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Metal Articles.

I have in the preceding remarks specified the wares sold by the vendors of the second-hand articles of metal manufacture, or (as they are

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called in the streets) the "old metal" men. The several articles I have specified may never be all found at one time upon one stall, but they are all found on the respective stalls. "Aye, sir," said one old man whom I conversed with, "and there's more things every now and then comes to the stalls, and there used to be still more when I were young, but I can't call them all to mind, for times is worse with me, and so my memory fails. But there used to be a good many bayonets, and iron tinder-boxes, and steels for striking lights; I can remember them."

Some of the sellers have strong heavy barrows, which they wheel from street to street. As this requires a considerable exertion of strength, such part of the trade is carried on by strong men, generally of the costermongering class. The weight to be propelled is about 300 lbs. Of this class there are now a few, rarely more than half-a-dozen, who sell on commission in the way I have described concerning the swag-barrowmen.

These are the "old metal swags" of street classification, but their remuneration is less fixed than that of the other swag-barrowmen. It is sometimes a quarter, sometimes a third, and sometimes even a half of the amount taken. The men carrying on this traffic are the servants of the marine-store dealers, or vendors of old metal articles, who keep shops. If one of these people be "lumbered up," that is, if he find his stock increase too rapidly, he furnishes a barrow, and sends a man into the streets with it, to sell what the shopkeeper may find to be excessive. Sometimes if the tradesman can gain only the merest trifle more than he could gain from the people who buy for the melting-pot, he is satisfied.

There is, or perhaps was, an opinion prevalent that the street "old metals" in this way of business got rid of stolen goods in such a manner as the readiest mode of sale, some of which were purposely rusted, and sold at almost any price, so that they brought but a profit to the "fence," whose payment to the thief was little more than the price of old metal at the foundry. I understand, however, that this course is not now pursued, nor is it likely that it ever was pursued to any extent. The street-seller is directly under the eye of the police, and when there is a search for stolen goods, it is not very likely that they would be paraded, however battered or rusted for the purpose, before men who possessed descriptions of all goods stolen. Until the establishment of the present system of police, this might have been an occasional practice. One street-seller had even heard, and he "had it from the man what did it," that a last-maker's shop was some years back broken into in the expectation that money would be met with, but none was found; and as the thieves could not bring away such heavy lumbering things as lasts, they cursed their ill-luck, and brought away such tools as they could stow about their persons, and cover with their loose great coats. These were the large knives, fixed to swivels, and resembling a small scythe, used by the artizan to rough hew the block of beech-wood; and a variety of excellent rasps and files (for they must be of the best), necessary for the completion of the last. These very tools were, in ten days after the robbery, sold from a street-barrow.

The second-hand metal goods are sold from stalls as well as from barrows, and these stalls are often tended by women whose husbands may be in some other branch of street-commerce. One of these stalls I saw in the care of a stout elderly Jewess, who was fast asleep, nodding over her locks and keys. She was awakened by the passing policeman, lest her stock should be pilfered by the boys: "Come, wake up, mother, and shake yourself," he said, "I shall catch a weazel asleep next."

Some of these barrows and stalls are heaped with the goods, and some are very scantily supplied, but the barrows are by far the best stocked. Many of them (especially the swag) look like collections of the different stages of rust, from its incipient spots to its full possession of the entire metal. But amongst these seemingly useless things there is a gleam of brass or plated ware. On one barrow I saw an old brass door-plate, on which was engraven the name of a late learned judge, Baron B—— ; another had formerly announced the residence of a dignitary of the church, the Rev. Mr. ——.

The second-hand metal-sellers are to be seen in all the street-markets, especially on the Saturday nights; also in Poplar, Limehouse, and the Commercial-road, in Golden-lane, and in Old-street and Old-street-road, St. Luke's, in Hoxton and Shoreditch, in the Westminster Broadway, and the Whitechapel-road, in Rosemary-lane, and in the district where perhaps every street calling is pursued, but where some special street-trades seem peculiar to the genius of the place, in Petticoat-lane. A person unacquainted with the last-named locality may have formed an opinion that Petticoat-lane is merely a lane or street. But Petticoat-lane gives its name to a little district. It embraces Sandys-row, Artillery-passage, Artillery-lane, Frying-pan-alley, Catherine Wheel-alley, Tripe-yard, Fisher's-alley, Wentworth-street, Harper's-alley, Marlborough-court, Broad-place, Providence-place, Ellison-street, Swan-court, Little Love-court, Hutchinson-street, Little Middlesex-street, Hebrew-place, Boar's-head-yard, Black-horse-yard, Middlesex-street, Stoney-lane, Meeting-house-yard, Gravel-lane, White-street, Cutler-street, and Borer's-lane, until the wayfarer emerges into what appears the repose and spaciousness of Devonshire-square, Bishopsgate-street, up Borer's-lane, or into what in the contrast really looks like the aristocratic thoroughfare of the Aldgate High-street, down Middlesex-street; or into Houndsditch through the halls of the Old Clothes Exchange.

All these narrow streets, lanes, rows, passages, alleys, yards, courts, and places, are the sites of the street-trade carried on in this quarter. The whole neighbourhood rings with street cries, many uttered in those strange east-end Jewish tones which do not sound like English. Mixed with the incessant invitations to buy Hebrew

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A VIEW IN ROSEMARY-LANE.

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dainties, or the "sheepest pargains," is occasionally heard the guttural utterance of the Erse tongue, for the "native Irish," as they are sometimes called, are in possession of some portion of the street-traffic of Petticoat-lane, the original Rag Fair. The savour of the place is moreover peculiar. There is fresh fish, and dried fish, and fish being fried in a style peculiar to the Jews; there is the fustiness of old clothes; there is the odour from the pans on which (still in the Jewish fashion) frizzle and hiss pieces of meat and onions; puddings are boiling and enveloped in steam; cakes with strange names are hot from the oven; tubs of big pickled cucumbers or of onions give a sort of acidity to the atmosphere; lemons and oranges abound; and altogether the scene is not only such as can only be seen in London, but only such as can be seen in this one part of the metropolis.

When I treat of the street-Jews, I shall have information highly curious to communicate, and when I come to the fifth division of my present subject, I shall more particularly describe Petticoat-lane, as the head-quarters of the second-hand clothes business.

I have here alluded to the character of this quarter as being one much resorted to formerly, and still largely used by the sellers of second-hand metal goods. Here I was informed that a strong-built man, known as Jack, or (appropriately enough) as Iron Jack, had, until his death six or seven years ago, one of the best-stocked barrows in London. This, in spite of remonstrances, and by a powerful exercise of his strength, the man lifted, as it were, on to the narrow foot-path, and every passer-by had his attention directed almost perforce to the contents of the barrow, for he must make a "*détour*" to advance on his way. One of this man's favourite pitches was close to the lofty walls of what, before the change in their charter, was one of the East India Company's vast warehouses. The contrast to any one who indulged a thought on the subject—and there is great food for thought in Petticoat-lane—was striking enough. Here towered the store-house of costly teas, and silks, and spices, and indigo; while at its foot was carried on the most minute, and apparently worthless of all street-trades, rusty screws and nails, such as only few would care to pick up in the street, being objects of earnest bargaining!

An experienced man in the business, who thought he was "turned 50, or somewhere about that," gave me the following account of his trade, his customers, &c.

"I've been in most street-trades," he said, "and was born to it, like, for my mother was a rag-gatherer—not a bad business once—and I helped her. I never saw my father, but he was a soldier, and it's suppsed lost his life in foreign parts. No, I don't remember ever having heard what foreign parts, and it don't matter. Well, perhaps, this is about as tidy a trade for a bit of bread as any that's going now. Perhaps selling fish may be better, but that's to a man what knows fish well. I can't say I ever did. I'm more a dab at cooking it (with a laugh). I like a bloater best on what's an Irish gridiron. Do you know what that is, sir? I know, though I'm not Irish, but I married an Irish wife, and as good a woman as ever was a wife. It's done on the tongs, sir, laid across the fire, and the bloater's laid across the tongs. Some says it's best turned and turned very quick on the coals themselves, but the tongs is best, for you can raise or lower." [My informant seemed interested in his account of this and other modes of cookery, which I need not detail.] "This is really a very trying trade. O, I mean it tries a man's patience so. Why, it was in Easter week a man dressed like a gentleman—but I don't think he was a real gentleman—looked out some bolts, and a hammer head, and other things, odds and ends, and they came to 10½*d.* He said he'd give 6*d.* 'Sixpence!' says I; 'why d'you think I stole 'em?' 'Well,' says he, 'if I didn't think you'd stole 'em, I shouldn't have come to *you*.' I don't think he was joking. Well, sir, we got to high words, and I said, 'Then I'm d—d if you have them for less than 1*s.*' And a bit of a crowd began to gather, they was most boys, but the p'liceman came up, as slow as you please, and so my friend flings down 1*s.*, and puts the things in his pocket and marches off, with a few boys to keep him company. That's the way one's temper's tried. Well, it's hard to say what sells best. A latch-lock and keys goes off quick. I've had them from 2*d.* to 6*d.*; but it's only the lower-priced things as sells now in any trade. Bolts is a fairish stock, and so is all sorts of tools. Well, not saws so much as such things as screwdrivers, or hammers, or choppers, or tools that if they're rusty people can clean up theirselves. Saws ain't so easy to manage; bed-keys is good. No, I don't clean the metal up unless it's very bad; I think things don't sell so well that way. People's jealous that they're just done up on purpose to deceive, though they may cost only 1*d.* or 2*d.* There's that cheese-cutter now, it's getting rustier and there'll be very likely a better chance to sell it. This is how it is, sir, I know. You see if a man's going to buy old metal, and he sees it all rough and rusty, he says to himself, 'Well, there's no gammon about it; I can just see what it is.' Then folks like to clean up a thing theirselves, and it's as if it was something made from their own cleverness. That was just my feeling, sir, when I bought old metals for my own use, before I was in the trade, and I goes by that. O, working people's by far my best customers. Many of 'em's very fond of jobbing about their rooms or their houses, and they come to such as me. Then a many has fancies for pigeons, or rabbits, or poultry, or dogs, and they mostly make up the places for them theirselves, and as money's an object, why them sort of fancy people buys hinges, and locks, and screws, and hammers, and what they want of me. A clever mechanic can turn his hand to most things that he wants for his own use. I know a shoemaker that makes beautiful rabbit-hutches and sells them along with his prize cattle, as I calls his great big long-eared rabbits. Perhaps I take 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* a day, and it's about half profit.

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Yes, this time of the year I make good 10*s.* 6*d.* a week, but in winter not 1*s.* a day. That would be very poor pickings for two people to live on, and I can't do without my drop of beer, but my wife has constant work with a first-rate laundress at Mile End, and so we rub on, for we 've no family living."

This informant told me further of the way in which the old metal stocks sold in the streets were provided; but that branch of the subject relates to street-buying. Some of the street-sellers, however, buy their stocks of the shopkeepers.

I find a difficulty in estimating the number of the second-hand metal-ware street-sellers. Many of the stalls or barrows are the property of the marine-store shopkeepers, or old metal dealers (marine stores being about the only things the marine-store men do not sell), and these are generally placed near the shop, being indeed a portion of its contents out of doors. Some of the marine-store men (a class of traders, by the by, not superior to street-sellers, making no "odious" comparison as to the honesty of the two), when they have purchased largely—the refuse iron for instance after a house has been pulled down—establish two or three pitches in the street, confiding the stalls or barrows to their wives and children. I was told by several in the trade that there were 200 old metal sellers in the streets, but from the best information at my command not more than 50 appear to be strictly *street*-sellers, unconnected with shop-keeping. Estimating a weekly receipt, per individual, of 15*s.* (half being profit), the yearly street outlay among this body alone amounts to 1950*l.*

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Metal Trays, &c.

There are still some few portions of the old metal trade in the streets which require specific mention.

Among these is the sale of second-hand trays, occasionally with such things as bread-baskets. Instead of these wares, however, being matters of daily traffic, they are offered in the streets only at intervals, and generally on the Saturday and Monday evenings, while a few are hawked to public-houses. An Irishman, a rather melancholy looking man, but possessed of some humour, gave me the following account. His dress was a worn suit, such as masons work in; but I have seldom seen so coarse, and never on an Irishman of his class, except on a Sunday, so clean a shirt, and he made as free a display of it as if it were the choicest cambric. He washed it, he told me, with his own hands, as he had neither wife, nor mother, nor sister. "I was a cow-keeper's man, your honour," he said, "and he sent milk to Dublin. I thought I might do betthur, and I got to Liverpool, and walked here. Have I done betthur, is it? Sorry a betthur. Would I like to returren to Dublin? Well, perhaps, plaze God, I 'll do betthur here yit. I 've sould a power of different things in the sthreets, but I 'm off for counthry work now. I have a few therrays left if your honour wants such a thing. I first sould a few for a man I lodged along wid in Kent-street, when he was sick, and so I got to know the therrade. He tould me to say, and it 's the therruth, if anybody said, 'They 're only second-hand,' that they was all the betthur for that, for if they hadn't been real good therrays at first, they would niver have lived to be second-hand ones. I calls the bigghur therrays butlers, and the smhaller, waithers. It 's a poor therrade. One woman 'll say, 'Pooh! ould-fashioned things.' 'Will, thin, ma'am,' I 'll say, 'a good thing like this is niver ould-fashioned, no more than the bhutiful mate and berrid, and the bhutiful new praties a coming in, that you 'll be atin off of it, and thratin' your husband to, God save him. No lady iver goes to supper widout her therray.' Yes, indeed, thin, and it is a poor therrade. It 's the bhutiful therrays I 've sould for 6*d.* I buys them of a shop which dales in sich things. The perrofit! Sorry a perrofit is there in it at all at all; but I thries to make 4*d.* out of 1*s.* If I makes 6*d.* of a night it 's good worruk."

These trays are usually carried under the arm, and are sometimes piled on a stool or small stand, in a street market. The prices are from 2*d.* to 10*d.*, sometimes 1*s.* The stronger descriptions are sold to street-sellers to display their goods upon, as much as to any other class. Women and children occasionally sell them, but it is one of the callings which seems to be disappearing from the streets. From two men, who were familiar with this and other second-hand trades, I heard the following reasons assigned for the decadence. One man thought it was owing to "swag-trays" being got up so common and so cheap, but to look "stunning well," at least as long as the shininess lasted. The other contended that poor working people had enough to do now-a-days to get something to eat, without thinking of a tray to put it on.

If 20 persons, and that I am told is about the number of sellers, take in the one or two nights' sale 4*s.* a week each, on second-hand trays (33 per cent. being the rate of profit), the street expenditure is 208*l.* in a year.

In other second-hand metal articles there is now and then a separate trade. Two or three sets of small *fire-irons* may be offered in a street-market on a Saturday night; or a small stock of *flat and Italian irons* for the laundresses, who work cheap and must buy second-hand; or a *collection of tools* in the same way; but these are accidental sales, and are but ramifications from the general "old metal" trade that I have described. Perhaps, in the sale of these second-hand articles, 20 people may be regularly employed, and 300*l.* yearly may be taken.

In Petticoat-lane, Rosemary-lane, Whitecross-street, Ratcliff-highway, and in the street-markets generally, are to be seen men, women, and children selling *dinner knives and forks, razors, pocket-knives, and scissors.* The pocket-knives and scissors are kept well oiled, so that the weather does not rust them. These goods have been mostly repaired, ground, and polished for street-commerce. The women and children selling these

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articles are the wives and families of the men who repair, grind, and polish them, and who belong, correctly speaking, to the class of street-artizans, under which head they will be more particularly treated of. It is the same also with the street-vendors of second-hand tin saucepans and other vessels (a trade, by the way, which is rapidly decreasing), for these are generally made of the old drums of machines retinned, or are old saucepans and pots mended for use by the vendors, who are mostly working tinmen, and appertain to the artizan class.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Linen, &c.

I now come to the second variety of the several kinds of street-sellers of second-hand articles. The accounts of the street-trade in second-hand linens, however, need be but brief; for none of the callings I have now to notice supply a mode of subsistence to the street-sellers independently of other pursuits. They are resorted to whenever an opportunity or a prospect of remuneration presents itself by the class of general street-sellers, women as well as men—the women being the most numerous. The sale of these articles is on the Saturday and Monday nights, in the street-markets, and daily in Petticoat and Rosemary lanes.

One of the most saleable of all the second-hand textile commodities of the streets, is an article the demand for which is certainly creditable to the poorer and the working-classes of London—*towels*. The principal supply of this street-towelling is obtained from the several barracks in and near London. They are a portion of what were the sheets (of strong linen) of the soldiers' beds, which are periodically renewed, and the old sheeting is then sold to a contractor, of whom the street-folk buy it, and wash and prepare it for market. It is sold to the street-traders at 4*d*. per pound, 1 lb. making eight penny towels; some (inferior) is as low as 2*d*. The principal demand is by the working-classes.

"Why, for one time, sir," said a street-seller to me, "there wasn't much towelling in the streets, and I got a tidy lot, just when I knew it would go off, like a thief round a corner. I pitched in Whitecross-street, and not far from a woman that was making a great noise, and had a good lot of people about her, for cheap mackarel weren't so very plenty then as they are now. 'Here's your cheap mack'rel,' shouts she, 'cheap, cheap, cheap mac-mac-mac-*mack*'rel. Then *I* begins: 'Here's your cheap towelling; cheap, cheap, cheap, tow-tow-tow-*tow*-ellings. Here's towels a penny a piece, and two for twopence, or a double family towel for twopence.' I soon had a greater crowd than she had. O, yes! I gives 'em a good history of what I has to sell; patters, as you call it; a man that can't isn't fit for the streets. 'Here's what every wife should buy for her husband, and every husband for his wife,' I goes on. 'Domestic happiness is then secured. If a husband licks his wife, or a wife licks her husband, a towel is the handiest and most innocent thing it can be done with, and if it's wet it gives you a strong clipper on the cheek, as every respectable married person knows as well as I do. A clipper that way always does me good, and I'm satisfied it does more good to a gentleman than a lady.' Always patter for the women, sir, if you wants to sell. Yes, towels is good sale in London, but I prefer country business. I'm three times as much in the country as in town, and I'm just off to Ascot to sell cards, and do a little singing, and then I'll perhaps take a round to Bath and Bristol, but Bath 's not what it was once."

Another street-seller told me that, as far as his experience went, Monday night was a better time for the sale of second-hand sheetings, &c., than Saturday, as on Monday the wives of the working-classes who sought to buy cheaply what was needed for household use, usually went out to make their purchases. The Saturday-night's mart is more one for immediate necessities, either for the Sunday's dinner or the Sunday's wear. It appears to me that in all these little distinctions—of which street-folk tell you, quite unconscious that they tell anything new—there is something of the history of the character of a people.

"Wrappers," or "bale-stuff," as it is sometimes styled, are also sold in the streets as second-hand goods. These are what have formed the covers of the packages of manufactures, and are bought (most frequently by the Jews) at the wholesale warehouses or the larger retail shops, and re-sold to the street-people, usually at 1½*d*. and 2*d*. per pound. These goods are sometimes sold entire, but are far more often cut into suitable sizes for towels, strong aprons, &c. They soon get "bleached," I was told, by washing and wear.

"*Burnt*" *linen or calico* is also sold in the streets as a second-hand article. On the occasion of a fire at any tradesman's, whose stock of drapery had been injured, the damaged wares are bought by the Jewish or other keepers of the haberdashery swag-shops. Some of these are sold by the second-hand street dealers, but the traffic for such articles is greater among the hawkers. Of this I have already given an account. The street-sale of these burnt (and sometimes *designedly* burnt) wares is in pieces, generally from 6*d*. to 1*s*. 6*d*. each, or in yards, frequently at 6*d*. per yard, but of course the price varies with the quality.

I believe that no *second-hand sheets* are sold in the streets as sheets, for when tolerably good they are received at the pawn-shops, and if indifferent, at the dolly-shops, or illegal pawn-shops. Street folk have told me of sheets being sold in the street-markets, but so rarely as merely to supply an exception. In Petticoat-lane, indeed, they are sold, but it is mostly by the Jew shopkeepers, who also expose their goods in the streets, and they are sold by them very often to street-traders, who convert them into other purposes.

The statistics of this trade present great difficulties. The second-hand linen, &c., is not a regular street traffic. It may be offered to the public 20 days or nights in a month, or not one. If a "job-lot" have been secured, the second-hand street-seller may confine himself to that especial

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stock. If his means compel him to offer only a paucity of second-hand goods, he may sell but one kind. Generally, however, the same man or woman trades in two, three, or more of the second-hand textile productions which I have specified, and it is hardly one street-seller out of 20, who if he have cleared his 10*s.* in a given time, by vending different articles, can tell the relative amount he cleared on each. The trade is, therefore, irregular, and is but a consequence, or—as one street-seller very well expressed it—a "tail" of other trades. For instance, if there has been a great auction of any corn-merchant's effects, there will be more sacking than usual in the street-markets; if there have been sales, beyond the average extent, of old household furniture, there will be a more ample street stock of curtains, carpeting, fringes, &c. Of the articles I have enumerated the sale of second-hand linen, more especially that from the barrack-stores, is the largest of any.

The most intelligent man whom I met with in this trade calculated that there were 80 of these second-hand street-folk plying their trade two nights in the week; that they took 8*s.* each weekly, about half of it being profit; thus the street expenditure would be 1664*l.* per annum.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND CURTAINS.

SECOND-HAND Curtains, but only good ones, I was assured, can now be sold in the streets. "because common new ones can be had so cheap." The "good second-hands," however, sell readily. The most saleable of all second-hand curtains are those of chintz, especially old-fashioned chintz, now a scarce article; the next in demand are what were described to me as "good check," or the blue and white cotton curtains. White dimity curtains, though now rarely seen in a street-market, are not bought to be re-used as curtains —"there's too much washing about them for London"—but for petticoats, the covering of large pincushions, dressing-table covers, &c., and for the last-mentioned purpose they are bought by the householders of a small tenement who let a "well-furnished" bed-room or two.

The uses to which the second-hand chintz or check curtains are put, are often for "Waterloo" or "tent" beds. It is common for a single woman, struggling to "get a decent roof over her head," or for a young couple wishing to improve their comforts in furniture, to do so piece-meal. An old bedstead of a better sort may first be purchased, and so on to the concluding "decency," or, in the estimation of some poor persons, "dignity" of curtains. These persons are customers of the street-sellers — the second hand curtains costing them from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*

Moreen curtains have also a good sale. They are bought by working people (and by some of the dealers in second-hand furniture) for the re-covering of sofas, which had become ragged, the deficiency of stuffing being supplied with hay (which is likewise the "stuffing" of the new sofas sold by the "linen-drapers," or "slaughter-houses." Moreen curtains, too, are sometimes cut into pieces, for the re-covering of old horse-hair chairs, for which purpose they are sold at 3*d.* each piece.

Second-hand curtains are moreover cut into portions and sold for the hanging of the testers of bedsteads, but almost entirely for what the street-sellers call "half-testers." These are required for the Waterloo bedsteads, "and if it's a nice thing, sir," said one woman, "and perticler if it's a chintz, and to be had for 6*d.*, the women 'll fight for it."

The second-hand curtains, when sold entire, are from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* One man had lately sold a pair of "good moreens, only faded, but dyeing 's cheap," for 3*s.* 6*d.*

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND CARPETING, FLANNELS, STOCKING-LEGS, &c., &c.

I CLASS these second-hand wares together, as they are all of woollen materials.

Carpeting has a fair sale, and in the streets is vended not as an entire floor or stair-carpet, but in pieces. The floor-carpet pieces are from 2*d.* to 1*s.* each; the stair-carpet pieces are from 1*d.* to 4*d.* a yard. Hearth-rugs are very rarely offered to street-customers, but when offered are sold from 4*d.* to 1*s.* Drugget is also sold in the same way as the floor-carpeting, and sometimes for house-scouring cloths.

"I 've sold carpet, sir," said a woman street-seller, who called all descriptions — rugs and drugget too—by that title; "and I would like to sell it regular, but my old man—he buys every-thing—says it can't be had regular. I 've sold many things in the streets, but I 'd rather sell good second-hand in carpet or curtains, or fur in winter, than anything else. They 're nicer people as buys them. It would be a good business if it was regular. Ah! indeed, in my time, and before I was married, I have sold different things in a different way; but I 'd rather not talk about that, and I make no complaints, for seeing what I see. I 'm not so badly off. Them as buys carpet are very particular—I 've known them take a tape out of their pockets and measure—but they 're honourable customers. If they 're satisfied they buy, most of them does, at once; without any of your 'is that the lowest?' as ladies asks in shops, and that when they don't think of buying, either. Carpet is bought by working people, and they use it for hearth-rugs, and for bed-sides, and such like. I know it by what I 've heard them say when I 've been selling. One Monday evening, five or six years back, I took 10*s.* 9*d.* in carpet; there had been some great sales at old houses, and a good quantity of carpet and curtains was sold in the streets. Perhaps I cleared 3*s.* 6*d.* on that 10*s.* 9*d.* But to take 4*s.* or 5*s.* is good work now, and often not more than 3*d.* in the 1*s.* profit. Still, it 's a pretty good business, when you can get a stock of second-hands of different kinds to keep you going constantly."

What in the street-trade is known as *"Flannels,"* is for the most part second hand blankets, which having been worn as bed furniture, and then very probably, or at the same time, used for ironing cloths, are found in the street-markets, where

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they are purchased for flannel petticoats for the children of the poor, or when not good enough for such use, for house cloths, at 1*d*. each.

The trade in *stocking legs* is considerable. In these legs the feet have been cut off, further darning being impossible, and the fragment of the stocking which is worth preserving is sold to the careful housewives who attach to it a new foot. Sometimes for winter wear a new cheap sock is attached to the footless hose. These legs sell from ½*d*. to 3*d*. the pair, but very rarely 3*d*., and only when of the best quality, though the legs would not be saleable in the streets at all, had they not been of a good manufacture originally. Men's hose are sold in this way more largely than women's.

The trade in second-hand stockings is very considerable, but they form a part of the second-hand apparel of street-commerce, and I shall notice them under that head.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-hand Bed-ticking, Sacking, Fringe, &c.

For *bed-ticking* there is generally a ready sale, but I was told "not near so ready as it was a dozen year or more back." One reason which I heard assigned for this was, that new ticking was made so cheap (being a thin common cotton, for the lining of common carpet-bags, portmanteaus, &c., that poor persons scrupled to give any equivalent price for good sound second-hand linen bed-ticking, "though," said a dealer, "it 'll still wear out half a dozen of their new slop rigs. I should like a few of them there slop-masters, that's making fortins out of foolish or greedy folks, to have to live a few weeks in the streets by this sort of second-hand trade; they'd hear what was thought of them then by all sensible people, which aren't so many as they should be by a precious long sight."

The ticking sold in the street is bought for the patching of beds and for the making of pillows and bolsters, and for these purposes is sold in pieces at from 2*d*. to 4*d*. as the most frequent price. One woman who used to sell bed-ticking, but not lately, told me that she knew poor women who cared nothing for such convenience themselves, buy ticking to make pillows for their children.

Second-hand Sacking is sold without much difficulty in the street-markets, and usually in pieces at from 2*d*. to 6*d*. This sacking has been part of a corn sack, or of the strong package in which some kinds of goods are dispatched by sea or railway. It is bought for the mending of bedstead sacking, and for the making of porters' knots, &c.

Second-hand Fringe is still in fair demand, but though cheaper than ever, does not, I am assured, "sell so well as when it was dearer." Many of my readers will have remarked, when they have been passing the apartments occupied by the working class, that the valance fixed from the top of the window has its adornment of fringe; a blind is sometimes adorned in a similar manner, and so is the valance from the tester of a bedstead. For such uses the second-hand fringe is bought in the street-markets in pieces, sometimes called "quantities," of from 1*d*. to 1*s*.

Second-hand Table-cloths used to be an article of street-traffic to some extent. If offered at all now—and one man, though he was a regular street-seller, thought he had not seen one offered in a market this year—they are worn things such as will not be taken by the pawnbrokers, while the dolly-shop people would advance no more than the table-cloth might be worth for the rag-bag. *The glazed table-covers*, now in such general use, are not as yet sold second-hand in the streets.

I was told by a street-seller that he had heard an old man (since dead), who was a buyer of second-hand goods, say that in the old times, after a great sale by auction—as at Wanstead-house (Mr. Wellesley Pole's), about 30 years ago—the open-air trade was very brisk, as the street-sellers, like the shop-traders, proclaimed all their second-hand wares as having been bought at "the great sale." For some years no such "*ruse*" has been practised by street-folk.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Glass and Crockery.

These sellers are another class who are fast disappearing from the streets of London. Before glass and crockery, but more especially glass, became so low-priced when new, the second-hand glass-man was one of the most prosperous of the open-air traders; he is now so much the reverse that he must generally mix up some other calling with his original business. One man, whose address was given to me as an experienced glass-man, I found selling mackarel and "pound crabs," and complaining bitterly that mackarel were high, and that he could make nothing out of them that week at 2*d*. each, for poor persons, he told me, would not give more. "Yes, sir," he said, "I've been in most trades, besides having been a pot-boy, both boy and man, and I don't like this fish-trade at all. I could get a pot-boy's place again, but I'm not so strong as I were, and it's slavish work in the place I could get; and a man that's not so young as he was once is chaffed so by the young lads and fellows in the tap-room and the skittle-ground. For this last three year or more I had to do something in addition to my glass for a crust. Before I dropped it as a bad consarn, I sold old shoes as well as old glass, and made both ends meet that way, a leather end and a glass end. I sold off my glass to a rag and bottle shop for 9*s*., far less than it were worth, and I swopped my shoes for my fish-stall, and water-tub, and 3*s*. in money. I'll be out of this trade before long. The glass was good once; I've made my 15*s*. and 20*s*. a week at it: I don't know how long that is ago, but it's a good long time. Latterly I could do no business at all in it, or hardly any. The old shoes was middling, because they're a free-selling thing, but somehow it seems awkward mixing up any other trade with your glass."

The stall or barrow of a "second-hand glass-man" presented, and still, in a smaller degree,

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presents, a variety of articles, and a variety of colours, but over the whole prevails that haziness which seems to be considered proper to this trade. Even in the largest rag and bottle shops, the second-hand bottles always look dingy. "It wouldn't pay to wash them all," said one shop-keeper to me, "so we washes none; indeed, I b'lieve people would rather buy them as they is, and clean them themselves."

The street-assortment of second-hand glass may be described as one of "odds and ends"—odd goblets, odd wine-glasses, odd decanters, odd cruet-bottles, salt-cellars, and mustard-pots; together with a variety of "tops" to fit mustard-pots or butter-glasses, and of "stoppers" to fit any sized bottle, the latter articles being generally the most profitable. Occasionally may still be seen a blue spirit-decanter, one of a set of three, with "brandy," in faded gold letters, upon it, or a brass or plated label, as dingy as the bottle, hung by a fine wire-chain round the neck. Blue finger-glasses sold very well for use as sugar-basins to the wives of the better-off working-people or small tradesmen. One man, apparently about 40, who had been in this trade in his youth, and whom I questioned as to what was the quality of his stock, told me of the demand for "blue sugars," and pointed out to me one which happened to be on a stand by the door of a rag and bottle shop. When I mentioned its original use, he asked further about it, and after my answers seemed sceptical on the subject. "People that 's quality," he said, "that 's my notion on it, that hasn't neither to yarn their dinner, nor to cook it, but just open their mouths and eat it, can't dirty their hands so at dinner as to have glasses to wash 'em in arterards. But there 's queer ways everywhere."

At one time what were called "doctors' bottles" formed a portion of the second-hand stock I am describing. These were phials bought by the poorer people, in which to obtain some physician's gratuitous prescription from the chemist's shop, or the time-honoured nostrum of some wonderful old woman. For a very long period, it must be borne in mind, all kinds of glass wares were dear. Small glass frames, to cover flower-roots, were also sold at these stalls, as were fragments of looking-glass. Beneath his stall or barrow, the "old glass-man" often had a few old wine or beer-bottles for sale.

At the period before cast-glass was so common, and, indeed, subsequently, until glass became cheap, it was not unusual to see at the second-hand stalls, rich cut-glass vessels which had been broken and cemented, for sale at a low figure, the glass-man being often a mender. It was the same with China punch-bowls, and the costlier kind of dishes, but this part of the trade is now unknown.

There is one curious sort of ornament still to be met with at these stalls—wide-mouthed bottles, embellished with coloured patterns of flowers, birds, &c., generally cut from "furniture prints," and kept close against the sides of the interior by the salt with which the bottles are filled. A few second-hand pitchers, tea-pots, &c., are still sold at from 1*d.* to 6*d.*

There are now not above six men (of the ordinary street-selling class) who carry on this trade regularly. Sometimes twelve stalls or barrows may be seen; sometimes one, and sometimes none. Calculating that each of the six dealers takes 12*s.* weekly, with a profit of 6*s.* or 7*s.*, we find 187*l.* 4*s.* expended in this department of street-commerce. The principal place for the trade is in High-street, Whitechapel.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Miscellaneous Articles.

I have in a former page specified some of the goods which make up the sum of the second-hand miscellaneous commerce of the streets of London.

I may premise that the trader of this class is a sort of street broker; and it is no more possible minutely to detail his especial traffic in the several articles of his stock, than it would be to give a specific account of each and several of the "sundries" to be found in the closets or corners of an old-furniture broker's or marine-store seller's premises, in describing his general business.

The members of this trade (as will be shown in the subsequent statements) are also "miscellaneous" in their character. A few have known liberal educations, and have been established in liberal professions; others have been artisans or shopkeepers, but the mass are of the general class of street-sellers.

I will first treat of the *Second-Hand Street-Sellers of Articles for Amusement*, giving a wide interpretation to the word "amusement."

The backgammon, chess, draught, and cribbage-boards of the second-hand trade have originally been of good quality—some indeed of a very superior manufacture; otherwise the "cheap Germans" (as I heard the low-priced foreign goods from the swag-shops called) would by their superior cheapness have rendered the business a nullity. The backgammon-boards are bought of brokers, when they are often in a worn, unhinged, and what may be called ragged condition. The street-seller "trims them up," but in this there is nothing of artisanship, although it requires some little taste and some dexterity of finger. A new hinge or two, or old hinges re-screwed, and a little pasting of leather and sometimes the application of strips of bookbinder's gold, is all that is required. The backgammon-boards are sometimes offered in the streets by an itinerant; sometimes (and more frequently than otherwise in a deplorable state, the points of the table being hardly distinguishable) they are part of the furniture of a second-hand stall. I have seen one at an old book-stall, but most usually they are vended by being hawked to the better sort of public-houses, and there they are more frequently disposed of by raffle than by sale. It is not once in a thousand times, I am informed, that second-hand "men" are sold with the board. Before the board has gone through its series of hands to the street-seller, the men have been lost or scattered. New men are sometimes sold or raffled with the backgammon-boards (as with the draught) at from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the set, the best being of box-wood.

Chess-boards and men—for without the men of

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course a draught, or the top of a backgammon-board suffices for chess — are a commodity now rarely at the disposal of the street-sellers; and, as these means of a leisurely and abstruse amusement are not of a ready sale, the second-hand dealers do not "look out" for them, but merely speculate in them when the article "falls in their way" and seems a palpable bargain. Occasionally, a second-hand chess apparatus is still sold by the street folk. One man—upon whose veracity I have every reason to rely—told me that he once sold a beautiful set of ivory men and a handsome "leather board" (second-hand) to a gentleman who accosted him as he saw him carry them along the street for sale, inviting him to step in doors, when the gentleman's residence was reached. The chess-men were then arranged and examined, and the seller asked 3*l.* 3*s.* for them, at once closing with the offer of 3*l.*; "for I found, sir," he said, "I had a gentleman to do with, for he told me he thought they were really cheap at 3*l.*, and he would give me that." Another dealer in second-hand articles, when I asked him if he had ever sold chess-boards and men, replied, "Only twice, sir, and then at 4*s.* and 5*s.* the set; they was poor. I 've seen chess played, and I should say it's a rum game; but I know nothing about it. I once had a old gent for a customer, and he was as nice and quiet a old gent as could be, and I always called on him when I thought I had a curus old tea-caddy, or knife-box, or any-thing that way. He didn't buy once in twenty calls, but he always gave me something for my trouble. He used to play at chess with another old gent, and if, after his servant had told him I'd come, I waited 'til I could wait no longer, and then knocked at his room door, he swore like a trooper.

Draught-boards are sold at from 3*d.* to 1*s.* second-hand. Cribbage-boards, also second-hand, and sometimes with cards, are only sold, I am informed, when they are very bad, at from 1*d.* to 3*d.*, or very good, at from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* One street-seller told me that he once sold a "Chinee" cribbage-board for 18*s.*, which cost him 10*s.* "It was a most beautiful thing," he stated, "and was very high-worked, and was inlaid with ivory, and with green ivory too."

The Dice required for the playing of backgammon, or for any purpose, are bought of the waiters at the club-houses, generally at 2*l.* the dozen sets. They are retailed at about 25 per cent. profit. Dice in this way are readily disposed of by the street-people, as they are looked upon as "true," and are only about a sixth of the price they could be obtained for new ones in the duly-stamped covers. A few dice are sold at 6*d.* to 1*s.* the set, but they are old and battered.

There are but two men who support themselves wholly by the street-sale and the hawking of the different boards, &c., I have described. There are two, three, or sometimes four occasional participants in the trade. Of these one held a commission in Her Majesty's service, but was ruined by gaming, and when unable to live by any other means, he sells the implements with which he had been but too familiar. "He lost everything in Jermyn-street," a man who was sometimes his comrade in the sale of these articles said to me, "but he is a very gentlemanly and respectable man."

The profits in this trade are very uncertain. A man who was engaged in it told me that one week he had cleared 2*l.*, and the next, with greater pains-taking, did not sell a single thing.

The other articles which are a portion of the second-hand miscellaneous trade of this nature are sold as often, or more often, at stalls than elsewhere. Dominoes, for instance, may be seen in the winter, and they are offered only in the winter, on perhaps 20 stalls. They are sold at from 4*d.* a set, and I heard of one superior set which were described to me as "brass-pinned," being sold in a handsome box for 5*s.*, the shop price having been 15*s.* The great sale of dominoes is at Christmas.

Pope-Joan boards, which, I was told, were fifteen years ago sold readily in the streets, and were examined closely by the purchasers (who were mostly the wives of tradesmen), to see that the print or paint announcing the partitions for "intrigue," "matrimony," "friendship," "Pope," &c., were perfect, are now never, or rarely, seen. Formerly the price was 1*s.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* In the present year I could hear of but one man who had even offered a Pope-board for sale in the street, and he sold it, though almost new, for 3*d.*

"Fish," or the bone, ivory, or mother-o'-pearl card counters in the shape of fish, or sometimes in a circular form, used to be sold second-hand as freely as the Pope-boards, and are now as rarely to be seen.

Until about 20 years ago, as well as I can fix upon a term from the information I received, the apparatus for a game known as the "Devil among the tailors" was a portion of the miscellaneous second-hand trade or hawking of the streets. In it a top was set spinning on a long board, and the result depended upon the number of men, or "tailors," knocked down by the "devil" (top) of each player, these tailors being stationed, numbered, and scored (when knocked down) in the same way as when the balls are propelled into the numbered sockets in a bagatelle-board. I am moreover told that in the same second-hand calling were boards known as "solitaire-boards." These were round boards, with a certain number of holes, in each of which was a peg. One peg was removed at the selection of the player, and the game consisted in taking each remaining peg, by advancing another over its head into any vacant hole, and if at the end of the game only one peg remained in the board, the player won; if winning it could be called when the game could only be played by one person, and was for "solitary" amusement. Chinese puzzles, sometimes on a large scale, were then also a part of the second-hand traffic of the streets. These are a series of thin woods in geometrical shapes, which may be fitted into certain forms or patterns contained in a book, or on a sheet. These puzzles are sold in the streets

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still, but in smaller quantity and diminished size. Different games played with the teetotum were also a part of second-hand street-sale, but none of these bygone pastimes were vended to any extent.

From the best data I have been able to obtain it appears that the amount received by the street-sellers or street-hawkers in the sale of these second-hand articles of amusement is 10*l.* weekly, about half being profit, divided in the proportions I have intimated, as respects the number of street-sellers and the periods of sale; or 520*l.* expended yearly.

I should have stated that the principal customers of this branch of second hand traders are found in the public houses and at the cigar-shops, where the goods are carried by street-sellers, who hawk from place to place.

These dealers also attend the neighbouring, and, frequently in the summer, the more distant races, where for dice and the better quality of their "boards," &c., they generally find a prompt market. The sale at the fairs consists only of the lowest-priced goods, and in a very scant proportion compared to the races.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-hand Musical Instruments.

Of this trade there are two branches; the sale of instruments which are really second hand, and the sale of those which are pretendedly so; in other words, an honest and a dishonest business. As in street estimation the whole is a second-hand calling, I shall so deal with it.

At this season of the year, when fairs are frequent and the river steamers with their bands of music run oft and regularly, and out-door music may be played until late, the calling of the street-musician is "at its best." In the winter he is not unfrequently starving, especially if he be what is called "a chance hand," and have not the privilege of playing in public-houses when the weather renders it impossible to collect a street audience. Such persons are often compelled to part with their instruments, which they offer in the streets or the public-houses, for the pawnbrokers have been so often "stuck" (taken in) with inferior instruments, that it is difficult to pledge even a really good violin. With some of these musical men it goes hard to part with their instruments, as they have their full share of the pride of art. Some, however, sell them recklessly and at almost any price, to obtain the means of prolonging a drunken carouse.

From a man who is now a dealer in second-hand musical instruments, and is also a musician, I had the following account of his start in the second-hand trade, and of his feelings when he first had to part with his fiddle.

"I was a gent'eman's footboy," he said, "when I was young, but I was always very fond of music, and so was my father before me. He was a tailor in a village in Suffolk and used to play the bass-fiddle at church. I hardly know how or when I learned to play, but I seemed to grow up to it. There was two neighbours used to call at my father's and practise, and one or other was always showing me something, and so I learned to play very well. Everybody said so. Before I was twelve, I 've played nearly all night at a dance in a farm-house. I never played on anything but the violin. You must stick to one instrument, or you 're not up to the mark on any if you keep changing. When I got a place as footboy it was in a gentleman's family in the country, and I never was so happy as when master and mistress was out dining, and I could play to the servants in the kitchen or the servants' hall. Sometimes they got up a bit of a dance to my violin. If there was a dance at Christmas at any of the tenants', they often got leave for me to go and play. It was very little money I got given, but too much drink. At last master said, he hired me to be his servant and not for a parish fiddler, so I must drop it. I left him not long after—he got so cross and snappish. In my next place—no, the next but one—I was on board wages, in London, a goodish bit, as the family were travelling, and I had time on my hands, and used to go and play at public-houses of a night, just for the amusement of the company at first, but I soon got to know other musicians and made a little money. Yes, indeed, I could have saved money easily then, but I didn't; I got too fond of a public-house life for that, and was never easy at home."

I need not very closely pursue this man's course to the streets, but merely intimate it. He had several places, remaining in some a year or more, in others two, three, or six months, but always unsettled. On leaving his last place he married a fellow-servant, older than himself, who had saved "a goodish bit of money," and they took a beer-shop in Bermondsey. A "free and easy" (concert), both vocal and instrumental, was held in the house, the man playing regularly, and the business went on, not unprosperously, until the wife died in child-bed, the child surviving. After this everything went wrong, and at last the man was "sold up," and was penniless. For three or four years he lived precariously on what he could earn as a musician, until about six or seven years ago, when one bitter winter's night he was without a farthing, and had laboured all day in the vain endeavour to earn a meal. His son, a boy then of five, had been sent home to him, and an old woman with whom he had placed the lad was incessantly dunning for 12*s.* due for the child's maintenance. The landlord clamoured for 15*s.* arrear of rent for a furnished room, and the hapless musician did not possess one thing which he could convert into money except his fiddle. He must leave his room next day. He had held no intercourse with his friends in the country since he heard of his father's death some years before, and was, indeed, resourceless. After dwelling on the many excellences of his violin, which he had purchased, "a dead bargain," for 3*l.* 15*s.*, he said: "Well, sir, I sat down by the last bit of coal in the place, and sat a long time thinking, and didn't know what to do. There was nothing to hinder me going out in the morning, and working the streets with a mate, as I 'd done before, but then there was little James that

was sleeping there in his bed. He was very delicate then, and to drag him about and let him sleep in lodging-houses would have killed him, I knew. But then I couldn't think of parting with my violin. I felt I should never again have such another. I felt as if to part with it was parting with my last prop, for what was I to do? I sat a long time thinking, with my instrument on my knees, 'til—I 'm sure I don't know how to describe it—I felt as if I was drunk, though I hadn't even tasted beer. So I went out boldly, just as if I *was* drunk, and with a deal of trouble persuaded a landlord I knew to lend me 1*l.* on my instrument, and keep it by him for three months, 'til I could redeem it. I have it now, sir. Next day I satisfied my two creditors by paying each half, and a week's rent in advance, and I walked off to a shop in Soho, where I bought a dirty old instrument, broken in parts, for 2*s.* 3*d.* I was great part of the day in doing it up, and in the evening earned 7*d.* by playing solos by Watchorn's door, and the Crown and Cushion, and the Lord Rodney, which are all in the Westminster-road. I lodged in Stangate-street. There was a young man—he looked like a respectable mechanic—gave me 1*d.*, and said: 'I wonder how you can use your fingers at all such a freezing night. It seems a good fiddle.' I assure you, sir, I was surprised myself to find what I could do with my instrument. 'There 's a beer-shop over the way,' says the young man, 'step in, and I 'll pay for a pint, and try my hand at it.' And so it was done, and I sold him my fiddle for 7*s.* 6d. No, sir, there was no take in; it was worth the money. I 'd have sold it now that I've got a connection for half a guinea. Next day I bought such another instrument at the same shop for 3*s.*, and sold it after a while for 6*s.*, having done it up, in course. This it was that first put it into my head to start selling second-hand instruments, and so I began. Now I 'm known as a man to be depended on, and with my second-hand business, and engagements every now and then as a musician, I do middling."

In this manner is the honest second-hand street-business in musical instruments carried on. It is usually done by hawking. A few, however, are sold at miscellaneous stalls, but they are generally such as require repair, and are often without the bow, &c. The persons carrying on the trade have all, as far as I could ascertain, been musicians.

Of the street-sale of musical instruments by drunken members of the "profession" I need say little, as it is exceptional, though it is certainly a branch of the trade, for so numerous is the body of street-musicians, and of so many classes is it composed, that this description of second-hand business is being constantly transacted, and often to the profit of the more wary dealers in these goods. The statistics I shall show at the close of my remarks on this subject.

Of the Music "Duffers."

Second-Hand Guitars are vended by the street-sellers. The price varies from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 15*s.* *Harps* form no portion of the second-hand business of the streets. A *drum* is occasionally, and only occasionally, sold to a showman, but the chief second-hand traffic is in violins. *Accordions*, both new and old, used to sell readily in the streets, either from stalls or in hawking, "but," said a man who had formerly sold them, "they have been regularly 'duffed' out of the streets, so much cheap rubbish is made to sell. There 's next to nothing done in them now. If one 's offered to a man that 's no judge of it, he 'll be sure you want to cheat him, and perhaps abuse you; if he be a judge, of course it 's no go, unless with a really good article."

Among the purchasers of second-hand musical instruments are those of the working-classes who wish to "practise," and the great number of street-musicians, street-showmen, and the indifferently paid members of the orchestras of minor (and not always of minor) theatres. Few of this class ever buy new instruments. There are sometimes, I am informed, as many as 50 persons, one-fourth being women, engaged in this second-hand sale. Sometimes, as at present, there are not above half the number. A broker who was engaged in the traffic estimated—and an intelligent street-seller agreed in the computation—that, take the year through, at least 25 individuals were regularly, but few of them fully, occupied with this traffic, and that their weekly takings averaged 30*s.* each, or an aggregate yearly amount of 190*l.* The weekly profits run from 10*s.* to 15*s.*, and sometimes the well-known dealers clear 40*s.* or 50*s.* a week, while others do not take 5*s.* Of this amount about two-thirds is expended on violins, and one-tenth of the whole, or nearly a tenth, on "duffing" instruments sold as second-hand, in which department of the business the amount "turned over" used to be twice, and even thrice as much. The sellers have nearly all been musicians in some capacity, the women being the wives or connections of the men.

What I have called the "dishonest trade" is known among the street-folk as "music-duffing." Among the swag-shopkeepers, at one place in Houndsditch more especially, are dealers in "duffing fiddles." These are German-made instruments, and are sold to the street-folk at 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* each, bow and all. When purchased by the music-duffers, they are discoloured so as to be made to look old. A music-duffer, assuming the way of a man half-drunk, will enter a public-house or accost any party in the street, saying: "Here, I must have money, for I won't go home 'til morning, 'til morning, 'til morning, I won't go home 'til morning, 'til daylight does appear. And so I may as well sell my old fiddle myself as take it to a rogue of a broker. Try it anybody, it 's a fine old tone, equal to any Cremonar. It cost me two guineas and another fiddle, and a good 'un too, in exchange, but I may as well be my own broker, for I must have money any how, and I 'll sell it for 10*s.*"

Possibly a bargain is struck for 5*s.*; for the duffing violin is perhaps purposely damaged in some slight way, so as to appear easily reparable,

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and any deficiency in tone may be attributed to that defect, which was of course occasioned by the drunkenness of the possessor. Or possibly the tone of the instrument may not be bad, but it may be made of such unsound materials, and in such a slop-way, though looking well to a little-practised eye, that it will soon fall to pieces. One man told me that he had often done the music-duffing, and had sold trash violins for 10*s*., 15*s*., and even 20*s*., "according," he said, "to the thickness of the buyer's head," but that was ten or twelve years ago.

It appears that when an impetus was given to the musical taste of the country by the establishment of cheap singing schools, or of music classes, (called at one time "singing for the million"), or by the prevalence of cheap concerts, where good music was heard, this duffing trade flourished, but now, I am assured, it is not more than a quarter of what it was. "There 'll always be something done in it," said the informant I have before quoted, "as long as you can find young men that 's conceited about their musical talents, fond of taking their medicine (drinking). If I 've gone into a public-house room where I 've seen a young gent that 's bought a duffing fiddle of me, it don't happen once in twenty times that he complains and blows up about it, and only then, perhaps, if he happens to be drunkish, when people don't much mind what 's said, and so it does me no harm. People 's too proud to confess that they 're ever 'done' at any time or in anything. Why, such gents has pretended, when I 've sold 'em a duffer, and seen them afterwards, that they 've done *me!*"

Nor is it to violins that this duffing or sham second-hand trade is confined. At the swag-shops *duffing cornopeans, French horns*, and *clarionets* are vended to the street-folk. One of these cornopeans may be bought for 14*s*.; a French horn for 10*s*.; and a clarionet for 7*s*. 6*d*.; or as a general rule at one-fourth of the price of a properly-made instrument sold as reasonably as possible. These things are also made to look old, and are disposed of in the same manner as the duffing violins. The sale, however, is and was always limited, for "if there be one working man," I was told, "or a man of any sort not professional in music, that tries his wind and his fingers on a clarionet, there 's a dozen trying their touch and execution on a violin."

Another way in which the duffing music trade at one time was made available as a second-hand business was this:—A band would play before a pawnbroker's door, and the duffing German brass instruments might be well-toned enough, the inferiority consisting chiefly in the materials, but which were so polished up as to appear of the best. Some member of the band would then offer his brass instrument in pledge, and often obtain an advance of more than he had paid for it.

One man who had been himself engaged in what he called this "artful" business, told me that when two pawnbrokers, whom he knew, found that they had been tricked into advancing 15*s*. on cornopeans, which they could buy new in Houndsditch for 14*s*., they got him to drop the tickets of the pledge, which they drew out for the purpose, in the streets. These were picked up by some passer-by—and as there is a very common feeling that there is no harm, or indeed rather a merit, in cheating a pawnbroker or a tax-gatherer—the instruments were soon redeemed by the fortunate finder, or the person to whom he had disposed of his prize. Nor did the roguery end here. The same man told me that he had, in collusion with a pawbroker, dropped tickets of (sham) second-hand musical instruments, which he had bought new at a swag-shop for the very purpose, the amount on the duplicate being double the cost, and as it is known that the pawnbrokers do not advance the value of any article, the finders were gulled into redeeming the pledge, as an advantageous bargain. "But I 've left off all that dodging now, sir," said the man with a sort of a grunt, which seemed half a sigh and half a laugh; "I 've left it off entirely, for I found I was getting into trouble."

The derivation of the term "duffing" I am unable to discover. The Rev. Mr. Dixon says, in his "Dovecote and Aviary," that the term "*Duffer*," applied to pigeons, is a corruption of *Dovehouse*,—but *query?* In the slang dictionaries a "*Duffer*" is explained as "a man who hawks things;" hence it would be equivalent to *Pedlar*, which means strictly beggar—being from the Dutch *Bedelaar*, and the German *Bettler*.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Weapons.

The sale of second-hand pistols, for to that weapon the street-sellers' or hawkers' trade in arms seems confined, is larger than might be cursorily imagined.

There must be something seductive about the possession of a pistol, for I am assured by persons familiar with the trade, that they have sold them to men who were ignorant, when first invited to purchase, how the weapon was loaded or discharged, and seemed half afraid to handle it. Perhaps the possession imparts a sense of security.

The pistols which are sometimes seen on the street-stalls are almost always old, rusted, or battered, and are useless to any one except to those who can repair and clean them for sale.

There are three men now selling new or second-hand pistols, I am told, who have been gunmakers.

This trade is carried on almost entirely by hawking to public-houses. I heard of no one who depended solely upon it, "but this is the way," one intelligent man stated to me, "if I am buying second-hand things at a broker's, or in Petticoat-lane, or anywhere, and there 's a pistol that seems cheap, I 'll buy it as readily as anything I know, and I 'll soon sell it at a public-house, or I 'll get it raffled for. Second-hand pistols sell better than new by such as me. If I was to offer a new one I should be told it was some Brummagem slop rubbish. If there 's a little silver-plate let into the wood of the pistol, and a crest or initials engraved on it—I 've got it done sometimes—there 's a better chance of sale, for

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people think it's been made for somebody of consequence that wouldn't be fobbed off with an inferior thing. I don't think I've often sold pistols to working-men, but I've known them join in raffles for them, and the winner has often wanted to sell it back to me, and has sold it to somebody. It's tradesmen that buy, or gentlefolks, if you can get at them. A pistol's a sort of a plaything with them."

On my talking with a street-dealer concerning the street-trade in second-hand pistols, he produced a handsome pistol from his pocket. I inquired if it was customary for men in his way of life to carry pistols, and he expressed his conviction that it was, but only when travelling in the country, and in possession of money or valuable stock. "I gave only 7*s.* 6*d.* for this pistol," he said, "and have refused 10*s.* 6*d.* for it, for I shall get a better price, as it's an excellent article, on some of my rounds in town. I bought it to take to Ascot races with me, and have it with me now, but it's not loaded, for I'm going to Moulsey Hurst, where Hampton races are held. You're not safe if you travel after a great muster at a race by yourself without a pistol. Many a poor fellow like me has been robbed, and the public hear nothing about it, or say it's all gammon. At Ascot, sir, I trusted my money to a booth-keeper I knew, as a few men slept in his booth, and he put my bit of tin with his own under his head where he slept, for safe keeping. There's a little doing in second-hand pistols to such as me, but we generally sell them again."

Of *second-hand guns*, or other offensive weapons, there is no street sale. A few "*life-preservers*," some of gutta percha, are hawked, but they are generally new. Bullets and powder are not sold by the pistol-hawkers, but a *mould* for the casting of bullets is frequently sold along with the weapon.

Of these second-hand pistol-sellers there are now, I am told, more than there were last year. "I really believe," said one man, laughing, but I heard a similar account from others, "people were afraid the foreigners coming to the Great Exhibition had some mischief in their noddles, and so a pistol was wanted for protection. In my opinion, a pistol's just one of the things that people don't think of buying, 'til it's shown to them, and then they're tempted to have it."

The principal street-sale, independently of the hawking to public-houses, is in such places as Ratcliffe-highway, where the mates and petty officers of ships are accosted and invited to buy a good second-hand pistol. The wares thus vended are generally of a well-made sort.

In this traffic, which is known as a "straggling" trade, pursued by men who are at the same time pursuing other street-callings, it may be estimated, I am assured, that there are 20 men engaged, each taking as an average 1*l.* a week. In some weeks a man may take 5*l.*; in the next month he may sell no weapons at all. From 30 to 50 per cent. is the usual rate of profit, and the yearly street outlay on these second-hand offensive or defensive weapons is 1040*l.*

One man who "did a little in pistols" told me, "that 25 or 30 years ago, when he was a boy, his father sometimes cleared 2*l.* a week in the street-sale and hawking of second-hand *boxing-gloves*, and that he himself had sometimes carried the 'gloves' in his hand, and pistols in his pocket for sale, but that now boxing-gloves were in no demand whatever among street-buyers, and were 'a complete drug.' He used to sell them at 3*s.* the set, which is four gloves."

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND CURIOSITIES.

SEVERAL of the things known in the street-trade as "curiosities" can hardly be styled second-hand with any propriety, but they are so styled in the streets, and are usually vended by street-merchants who trade in second-hand wares.

Curiosities are displayed, I cannot say temptingly (except perhaps to a sanguine antiquarian), for there is a great dinginess in the display, on stalls. One man whom I met wheeling his barrow in High-street, Camden-town, gave me an account of his trade. He was dirtily rather than meanly clad, and had a very self-satisfied expression of face. The principal things on his barrow were *coins, shells*, and *old buckles*, with a pair of the very high and wooden-heeled *shoes*, worn in the earlier part of the last century.

The coins were all of copper, and certainly did not lack variety. Among them were tokens, but none very old. There was the head of "Charles Marquis Cornwallis" looking fierce in a cocked hat, while on the reverse was Fame with her trumpet and a wreath, and banners at her feet, with the superscription: "His fame resounds from east to west." There was a head of Wellington with the date 1811, and the legend of "Vincit amor patriæ." Also "The R. Hon. W. Pitt, Lord Warden Cinque Ports," looking courtly in a bag wig, with his hair brushed from his brow into what the curiosity-seller called a "topping." This was announced as a "Cinque Ports token payable at Dover," and was dated 1794. "Wellingtons," said the man, "is cheap; that one's only a halfpenny, but here's one here, sir, as you seem to understand coins, as I hope to get 2*d.* for, and will take no less. It's 'J. Lackington, 1794,' you see, and on the back there's a Fame, and round her is written—and it's a good speciment of a coin —'Halfpenny of Lackington, Allen & Co., cheapest booksellers in the world.' That's scarcer and more vallyballer than Wellingtons or Nelsons either." Of the current coin of the realm, I saw none older than Charles II., and but one of his reign, and little legible. Indeed the reverse had been ground quite smooth, and some one had engraved upon it "Charles Dryland Tunbridg." A small "e" over the "g" of Tunbridg perfected the orthography. This, the street-seller said, was a "love-token" as well as an old coin, and "them love-tokens was getting scarce." Of foreign and colonial coins there were perhaps 60. The oldest I saw was one of Louis XV. of France and Navarre, 1774. There was one also of the "Republique Francaise" when Napoleon was First Consul. The colonial coins were more numerous

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than the foreign. There was the "One Penny token" of Lower Canada; the "one quarter anna" of the East India Company; the "half stiver of the colonies of Essequibo and Demarara;" the "halfpenny token of the province of Nova Scotia," &c. &c. There were also counterfeit halfcrowns and bank tokens worn from their simulated silver to rank copper. The principle on which this man "priced" his coins, as he called it, was simple enough. What was the size of a halfpenny he asked a penny for; the size of a penny coin was 2*d*. "It's a difficult trade is mine, sir," he said, "to carry on properly, for you may be so easily taken in, if you're not a judge of coins and other curiosities."

The shells of this man's stock in trade he called "conks" and "king conks." He had no "clamps" then, he told me, but they sold pretty well; he described them as "two shells together, one fitting inside the other." He also had sold what he called "African cowries," which were as "big as a pint pot," and the smaller cowries, which were "money in India, for his father was a soldier and had been there and saw it." The shells are sold from 1*d*. to 2*s*. 6*d*.

The old buckles were such as used to be worn on shoes, but the plate was all worn off, and "such like curiosities," the man told me, "got scarcer and scarcer."

Many of the stalls which are seen in the streets are the property of adjacent shop or store-keepers, and there are not now, I am informed, more than six men who carry on this trade apart from other commerce. Their average takings are 15*s*. weekly each man, about two-thirds being profit, or 234*l*. in a year. Some of the stands are in Great Wyld-street, but they are chiefly the property of the second-hand furniture brokers.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-hand Telescopes and Pocket Glasses.

In the sale of second-hand telescopes only one man is now engaged in any extensive way, except on mere chance occasions. Fourteen or fifteen years ago, I was informed, there was a considerable street sale in small telescopes at 1*s*. each. They were made at Birmingham, my informant believed, but were sold as second-hand goods in London. Of this trade there is now no remains.

The principal seller of second-hand telescopes takes a stand on Tower Hill or by the Coal Exchange, and his customers, as he sells excellent "glasses," are mostly sea-faring men. He has sold, and still sells, telescopes from 2*l*. 10*s*. to 5*l*. each, the purchasers generally "trying" them, with strict examination, from Tower Hill, or on the Custom-House Quay. There are, in addition to this street-seller, six and sometimes eight others, who offer telescopes to persons about the docks or wharfs, who may be going some voyage. These are as often new as second-hand, but the second-hand articles are preferred. This, however, is a Jewish trade which will be treated of under another head.

An old opera-glass, or the smaller articles best known as "pocket-glasses," are occasionally hawked to public-houses and offered in the streets, but so little is done in them that I can obtain no statistics. A spectacle seller told me that he had once tried to sell two second-hand opera-glasses at 2*s*. 6*d*. each, in the street, and then in the public-houses, but was laughed at by the people who were usually his customers. "Opera-glasses!" they said, "why, what did they want with opera-glasses? wait until they had opera-boxes." He sold the glasses at last to a shop-keeper.

Of the Street-Sellers of other Miscellaneous Second-hand Articles.

The other second hand articles sold in the streets I will give under one head, specifying the different characteristics of the trade, when any striking peculiarities exist. To give a detail of the whole trade, or rather of the several kinds of articles in the whole trade, is impossible. I shall therefore select only such as are sold the more extensively, or present any novel or curious features of second-hand street-commerce.

Writing-desks, tea-caddies, dressing-cases, and *knife-boxes* used to be a ready sale, I was informed, when "good second-hand;" but they are "got up" now so cheaply by the poor fancy cabinet-makers who work for the "slaughterers," or furniture warehouses, and for some of the general-dealing swag-shops, that the sale of anything second-hand is greatly diminished. In fact I was told that as regards second-hand writing-desks and dressing-cases, it might be said there was "no trade at all now." A few, however, are still to be seen at miscellaneous stalls, and are occasionally, but very rarely, offered at a public-house "used" by artisans who may be considered "judges" of work. The tea-caddies are the things which are in best demand. "Working people buy them," I was informed, and "working people's wives. When women are the customers they look closely at the lock and key, as they keep 'my uncle's cards' there" (pawnbroker's duplicates).

One man had lately sold second-hand tea-caddies at 9*d*., 1*s*., and 1*s*. 3*d*. each, and cleared 2*s*. in a day when he had stock and devoted his time to this sale. He could not persevere in it if he wished, he told me, as he might lose a day in looking out for the caddies; he might go to fifty brokers and not find one caddy cheap enough for his purpose.

Brushes are sold second-hand in considerable quantities in the streets, and are usually vended at stalls. Shoe-brushes are in the best demand, and are generally sold, when in good condition, at 1*s*. the set, the cost to the street-seller being 8*d*. They are bought, I was told, by the people who clean their own shoes, or have to clean other people's. Clothes' brushes are not sold to any extent, as the "hard brush" of the shoe set is used by working people for a clothes' brush. Of late, I am told, second-hand brushes have sold more freely than ever. They were hardly to be had just when wanted, in a sufficient quantity, for the demand by persons going to Epsom and Ascot races, who carry a brush of little value with them,

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to brush the dust gathered on the road from their coats. The coster-girls buy very hard brushes, indeed mere stumps, with which they brush radishes; these brushes are vended at the street-stalls at 1*d.* each.

In *Stuffed Birds* for the embellishment of the walls of a room, there is still a small second-hand street sale, but none now in images or chimney-piece ornaments. "Why," said one dealer, "I can now buy new figures for 9*d.*, such as not many years ago cost 7*s.*, so what chance of a second-hand sale is there?" The stuffed birds which sell the best are starlings. They are all sold as second-hand, but are often "made up" for street-traffic; an old bird or two, I was told, in a new case, or a new bird in an old case. Last Saturday evening one man told me he had sold two "long cases" of starlings and small birds for 2*s.* 6*d.* each. There are no stuffed parrots or foreign birds in this sale, and no pheasants or other game, except sometimes wretched old things which are sold because they happen to be in a case.

The street-trade in second-hand *Lasts* is confined principally to Petticoat and Rosemary lanes, where they are bought by the "garret-masters" in the shoemaking trade who supply the large whole-sale warehouses; that is to say, by small masters who find their own materials and sell the boots and shoes by the dozen pairs. The lasts are bought also by mechanics, street-sellers, and other poor persons who cobble their own shoes. A shoemaker told me that he occasionally bought a last at a street stall, or rather from street hampers in Petticoat and Rosemary lanes, and it seemed to him that second-hand stores of street lasts got neither bigger nor smaller: "I suppose it's this way," he reasoned; "the garret-master buys lasts to do the slop-snobbing cheap, mostly women's lasts, and he dies or is done up and goes to the "great house," and his lasts find their way back to the streets. You notice, sir, the first time you're in Rosemary-lane, how little a great many of the lasts have been used, and that shows what a terrible necessity there was to part with them. In some there's hardly any peg-marks at all." The lasts are sold from 1*d.* to 3*d.* each, or twice that amount in pairs, "rights and lefts," according to the size and the condition. There are about 20 street last-sellers in the second-hand trade of London—"at least 20," one man said, after he seemed to have been making a mental calculation on the subject.

Second-hand harness is sold largely, and when good is sold very readily. There is, I am told, far less slop-work in harness-making than in shoe-making or in the other trades, such as tailoring, and "many a lady's pony harness," it was said to me by a second-hand dealer, "goes next to a tradesman, and next to a costermonger's donkey, and if it's been good leather to begin with—as it will if it was made for a lady—why the traces 'll stand clouting, and patching, and piecing, and mending for a long time, and they 'll do to cobble old boots last of all, for old leather 'll wear just in treading, when it might snap at a pull. Give me a good quality to begin with, sir, and it's serviceable to the end." In my inquiries among the costermongers I ascertained that if one of that body started his donkey, or rose from that to his pony, he never bought new harness, unless it were a new collar if he had a regard for the comfort of his beast, but bought old harness, and "did it up" himself, often using iron rivets, or clenched nails, to reunite the broken parts, where, of course, a harness-maker would apply a patch. Nor is it the costermongers alone who buy all their harness second-hand. The sweep, whose stock of soot is large enough to require the help of an ass and a cart in its transport; the collector of bones and offal from the butchers' slaughter-houses or shops; and the many who may be considered as co-traders with the coster-monger class—the greengrocer, the street coal-seller by retail, the salt-sellers, the gravel and sand dealer (a few have small carts)—all, indeed, of that class of traders, buy their harness second-hand, and generally in the streets. The chief sale of second-hand harness is on the Friday afternoons, in Smithfield. The more especial street-sale is in Petticoat and Rosemary lanes, and in the many off-streets and alleys which may be called the tributaries to those great second-hand marts. There is no sale of these wares in the Saturday night markets, for in the crush and bustle generally prevailing there at such times, no room could be found for things requiring so much space as sets of second-hand harness, and no time sufficiently to examine them. "There's so much to look at, you understand, sir," said one second-hand street-trader, who did a little in harness as well as in barrows, "if you wants a decent set, and don't grudge a shilling or two—and I never grudges them myself when I has 'em—so that it takes a little time. You must see that the buckles has good tongues—and it's a sort of joke in the trade that a bad tongue's a d——d bad thing—and that the pannel of the pad ain't as hard as a board (flocks is the best stuffing, sir), and that the bit, if it's rusty, can be polished up, for a animal no more likes a rusty bit in his mouth than we likes a musty bit of bread in our'n. O, a man as treats his ass as a ass ought to be treated—and it's just the same if he has a pony—can't be too perticler. If I had my way I'd 'act a law making people perticler about 'osses' and asses' shoes. If your boot pinches you, sir, you can sing out to your bootmaker, but a ass can't blow up a farrier." It seems to me that in these homely remarks of my informant, there is, so to speak, a sound practical kindliness. There can be little doubt that a fellow who maltreats his ass or his dog, maltreats his wife and children when he dares.

Clocks are sold second-hand, but only by three or four foreigners, Dutchmen or Germans, who hawk them and sell them at 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* each, Dutch clocks only been disposed of in this way. These traders, therefore, come under the head of STREET-FOREIGNERS. "Ay," one street-seller remarked to me, "it's only Dutch now as is second-handed in the streets, but it'll soon be Americans. The swags is some of them hung up

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with Slick's;" [so he called the American clocks, meaning the "Sam *Slicks*," in reference to Mr. Justice Hallyburton's work of that title;] "they 're hung up with 'em, sir, and no relation whatsomever (pawnbroker) 'll give a printed character of 'em (a duplicate), and so they must come to the streets, and jolly cheap they 'll be." The foreigners who sell the second-hand Dutch clocks sell also new clocks of the same manufacture, and often on tally, 1*s*. a week being the usual payment.

Cartouche-boxes are sold at the miscellaneous stalls, but only after there has been what I heard called a "Tower sale" (sale of military stores). When bought of the street-sellers, the use of these boxes is far more peaceful than that for which they were manufactured. Instead of the receptacles of cartridges, the divisions are converted into nail boxes, each with its different assortment, or contain the smaller kinds of tools, such as awl-blades. These boxes are sold in the streets at ½*d*. or 1*d*. each, and are bought by jobbing shoemakers more than by any other class.

Of the other second-hand commodities of the streets, I may observe that in *Trinkets* the trade is altogether Jewish; in *Maps*, with frames, it is now a nonentity, and so it is with *Fishing-rods, Cricket-bats, &c.*

In *Umbrellas* and *Parasols* the second-hand traffic is large, but those vended in the streets are nearly all "done up" for street-sale by the class known as "Mush," or more properly "Mushroom Fakers," that is to say, the makers or *fakers* (*facere*—the slang *fakement* being simply a corruption of the Latin *facimentum*) of those articles which are similar in shape to *mushrooms*. I shall treat of this class and the goods they sell under the head of Street-Artisans. The collectors of Old Umbrellas and Parasols are the same persons as collect the second-hand habiliments of male and female attire.

The men and women engaged in the street-commerce carried on in second-hand articles are, in all respects, a more mixed class than the generality of street-sellers. Some hawk in the streets goods which they also display in their shops, or in the windowless apartments known as their shops. Some are not in possession of shops, but often buy their wares of those who are. Some collect or purchase the articles they vend; others collect them by barter. The itinerant crock-man, the root-seller, the glazed table-cover seller, the hawker of spars and worked stone, and even the costermonger of the morning, is the dealer in second-hand articles of the afternoon and evening. The costermonger is, moreover, often the buyer and seller of second-hand harness in Smithfield. I may point out again, also, what a multifariousness of wares passes in the course of a month through the hands of a general street-seller; at one time new goods, at another second-hand; sometimes he is stationary at a pitch vending "lots," or "swag toys;" at others itinerant, selling braces, belts, and hose.

I found no miscellaneous dealer who could tell me of the proportionate receipts from the various articles he dealt in even for the last month. He "did well" in this, and badly in the other trade, but beyond such vague statements there is no precise information to be had. It should be recollected that the street sellers do not keep accounts, or those documents would supply references. "It 's all headwork with us," a street-seller said, somewhat boastingly, to me, as if the ignorance of book-keeping was rather commendable.

Of Second hand Store Shops.

Perhaps it may add to the completeness of the information here given concerning the trading in old refuse articles, and especially those of a miscellaneous character, the manner in which, and the parties by whom the business is carried on, if I conclude this branch of the subject by an account of the shops of the second-hand dealers. The distance between the class of these shop-keepers and of the stall and barrow-keepers I have described is not great. It may be said to be merely from the street to within doors. Marine-store dealers have often in their start in life been street-sellers, not unfrequently coster-mongers, and street-sellers they again become if their ventures be unsuccessful. Some of them, however, make a good deal of money in what may be best understood as a "hugger-mugger way."

On this subject I cannot do better than quote Mr. Dickens, one of the most minute and truthful of observers:—

"The reader must often have perceived in some by-street, in a poor neighbourhood, a small dirty shop, exposing for sale the most extraordinary and confused jumble of old, worn-out, wretched articles, that can well be imagined. Our wonder at their ever having been bought, is only to be equalled by our astonishment at the idea of their ever being sold again. On a board, at the side of the door, are placed about twenty books—all odd volumes; and as many wine-glasses—all different patterns; several locks, an old earthenware pan, full of rusty keys; two or three gaudy chimney ornaments—cracked, of course; the remains of a lustre, without any drops; a round frame like a capital O, which has once held a mirror; a flute, complete with the exception of the middle joint; a pair of curling-irons; and a tinder-box. In front of the shop-window, are ranged some half-dozen high-backed chairs, with spinal complaints and wasted legs; a corner cupboard; two or three very dark mahogany tables with flaps like mathematical problems; some pickle-bottles, some surgeons' ditto, with gilt labels and without stoppers; an unframed portrait of some lady who flourished about the beginning of the thirteenth century, by an artist who never flourished at all; an incalculable host of miscellanies of every description, including armour and cabinets, rags and bones, fenders and street-door knockers, fire-irons, wearing-apparel and bedding, a hall-lamp, and a room-door. Imagine, in addition to this incongruous mass, a black doll in a white frock, with two faces—one looking up the street, and the other looking down, swinging over the door; a

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board with the squeezed-up inscription 'Dealer in marine stores,' in lanky white letters, whose height is strangely out of proportion to their width; and you have before you precisely the kind of shop to which we wish to direct your attention.

"Although the same heterogeneous mixture of things will be found at all these places, it is curious to observe how truly and accurately some of the minor articles which are exposed for sale—articles of wearing-apparel, for instance—mark the character of the neighbourhood. Take Drury-lane and Covent-garden for example.

"This is essentially a theatrical neighbourhood. There is not a potboy in the vicinity who is not, to a greater or less extent, a dramatic character. The errand-boys and chandlers'-shop-keepers' sons, are all stage-struck: they 'get up' plays in back kitchens hired for the purpose, and will stand before a shop-window for hours, contemplating a great staring portrait of Mr. somebody or other, of the Royal Coburg Theatre, 'as he appeared in the character of Tongo the Denounced.' The consequence is, that there is not a marine-store shop in the neighbourhood, which does not exhibit for sale some faded articles of dramatic finery, such as three or four pairs of soiled buff boots with turn-over red tops, heretofore worn by a 'fourth robber,' or 'fifth mob;' a pair of rusty broad-swords, a few gauntlets, and certain resplendent ornaments, which, if they were yellow instead of white, might be taken for insurance plates of the Sun Fire-office. There are several of these shops in the narrow streets and dirty courts, of which there are so many near the national theatres, and they all have tempting goods of this description, with the addition, perhaps, of a lady's pink dress covered with spangles; white wreaths, stage shoes, and a tiara like a tin lamp reflector. They have been purchased of some wretched supernumeraries, or sixth-rate actors, and are now offered for the benefit of the rising generation, who, on condition of making certain weekly payments, amounting in the whole to about ten times their value, may avail themselves of such desirable bargains.

"Let us take a very different quarter, and apply it to the same test. Look at a marine-store dealer's, in that reservoir of dirt, drunkenness, and drabs: thieves, oysters, baked potatoes, and pickled salmon — Ratcliff-highway. Here, the wearing-apparel is all nautical. Rough blue jackets, with mother-of-pearl buttons, oil-skin hats, coarse checked shirts, and large canvass trousers that look as if they were made for a pair of bodies instead of a pair of legs, are the staple commodities. Then, there are large bunches of cotton pocket-handkerchiefs, in colour and pattern unlike any one ever saw before, with the exception of those on the backs of the three young ladies without bonnets who passed just now. The furniture is much the same as elsewhere, with the addition of one or two models of ships, and some old prints of naval engagements in still older frames. In the window are a few compasses, a small tray containing silver watches in clumsy thick cases; and tobacco-boxes, the lid of each ornamented with a ship, or an anchor, or some such trophy. A sailor generally pawns or sells all he has before he has been long ashore, and if he does not, some favoured companion kindly saves him the trouble. In either case, it is an even chance that he afterwards unconsciously repurchases the same things at a higher price than he gave for them at first.

"Again: pay a visit, with a similar object, to a part of London, as unlike both of these as they are to each other. Cross over to the Surry side, and look at such shops of this description as are to be found near the King's Bench prison, and in 'the Rules.' How different, and how strikingly illustrative of the decay of some of the unfortunate residents in this part of the metropolis! Imprisonment and neglect have done their work. There is contamination in the profligate denizens of a debtors' prison; old friends have fallen off; the recollection of former prosperity has passed away; and with it all thoughts for the past, all care for the future. First, watches and rings, then cloaks, coats, and all the more expensive articles of dress, have found their way to the pawnbroker's. That miserable resource has failed at last, and the sale of some trifling article at one of these shops, has been the only mode left of raising a shilling or two, to meet the urgent demands of the moment. Dressing-cases and writing-desks, too old to pawn but too good to keep; guns, fishing-rods, musical instruments, all in the same condition; have first been sold, and the sacrifice has been but slightly felt. But hunger must be allayed, and what has already become a habit, is easily resorted to, when an emergency arises. Light articles of clothing, first of the ruined man, then of his wife, at last of their children, even of the youngest, have been parted with, piecemeal. There they are, thrown carelessly together until a purchaser presents himself, old, and patched and repaired, it is true; but the make and materials tell of better days: and the older they are, the greater the misery and destitution of those whom they once adorned."

Of the Street-sellers of Second-hand Apparel.

The multifariousness of the articles of this trade is limited only by what the uncertainty of the climate, the caprices of fashion, or the established styles of apparel in the kingdom, have caused to be worn, flung aside, and reworn as a revival of an obsolete style. It is to be remarked, however, that of the old-fashioned styles none that are costly have been revived. Laced coats, and embroidered and lappeted waistcoats, have long disappeared from second-hand traffic—the last stage of fashions—and indeed from all places but court or fancy balls and the theatre.

The great mart for second-hand apparel was, in the last century, in Monmouth-street; now, by one of those arbitrary, and almost always inappropriate, changes in the nomenclature of streets, termed Dudley-street, Seven Dials. "Monmouth-street finery" was a common term to express tawdriness and pretence. Now Monmouth-

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street, for its new name is hardly legitimated, has no finery. Its second-hand wares are almost wholly confined to old boots and shoes, which are vamped up with a good deal of trickery; so much so that a shoemaker, himself in the poorer practice of the "gentle craft," told me that blacking and brown paper were the materials of Monmouth-street cobbling. Almost every master in Monmouth-street now is, I am told, an Irishman; and the great majority of the workmen are Irishmen also. There were a few Jews and a few cockneys in this well-known street a year or two back, but now this branch of the second-hand trade is really in the hands of what may be called a clan. A little business is carried on in second-hand apparel, as well as boots and shoes, but it is insignificant.

The head-quarters of this second-hand trade are now in Petticoat and Rosemary lanes, especially in Petticoat-lane, and the traffic there carried on may be called enormous. As in other departments of commerce, both in our own capital, in many of our older cities, and in the cities of the Continent, the locality appropriated to this traffic is one of narrow streets, dark alleys, and most oppressive crowding. The traders seem to judge of a Rag-fair garment, whether a cotton frock or a ducal coachman's great-coat, by the touch, more reliably than by the sight; they inspect, so to speak, with their fingers more than their eyes. But the business in Petticoat and Rosemary lanes is mostly of a retail character. The wholesale mart—for the trade in old clothes has both a wholesale and retail form—is in a place of especial curiosity, and one of which, as being little known, I shall first speak.

Of the Old Clothes Exchange.

The trade in second-hand apparel is one of the most ancient of callings, and is known in almost every country, but anything like the Old Clothes Exchange of the Jewish quarter of London, in the extent and order of its business, is unequalled in the world. There is indeed no other such place, and it is rather remarkable that a business occupying so many persons, and requiring such facilities for examination and arrangement, should not until the year 1843 have had its regulated proceedings. The Old Clothes Exchange is the latest of the central marts, established in the metropolis.

Smithfield, or the Cattle Exchange, is the oldest of all the markets; it is mentioned as a place for the sale of horses in the time of Henry II. Billingsgate, or the Fish Exchange, is of ancient, but uncertain era. Covent Garden—the largest Fruit, Vegetable, and Flower Exchange—first became established as the centre of such commerce in the reign of Charles II.; the establishment of the Borough and Spitalfields markets, as other marts for the sale of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, being nearly as ancient. The Royal Exchange dates from the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the Bank of England and the Stock-Exchange from those of William III., while the present premises for the Corn and Coal Exchanges are modern.

Were it possible to obtain the statistics of the last quarter of a century, it would, perhaps, be found that in none of the important interests I have mentioned has there been a greater increase of business than in the trade in old clothes. Whether this purports a high degree of national prosperity or not, it is not my business at present to inquire, and be it as it may, it is certain that, until the last few years, the trade in old clothes used to be carried on entirely in the open air, and this in the localities which I have pointed out in my account of the trade in old metal (p. 10, vol. ii.) as comprising the Petticoat-lane district. The old clothes trade was also pursued in Rosemary-lane, but then—and so indeed it is now—this was but a branch of the more centralized commerce of Petticoat-lane. The head-quarters of the traffic at that time were confined to a space not more than ten square yards, adjoining Cutler-street. The chief traffic elsewhere was originally in Cutler-street, White-street, Carter-street, and in Harrow-alley—the districts of the celebrated Rag-fair.

The confusion and clamour before the institution of the present arrangements were extreme. Great as was the extent of the business transacted, people wondered how it could be accomplished, for it always appeared to a stranger, that there could be no order whatever in all the disorder. The wrangling was incessant, nor were the trade-contests always confined to wrangling alone. The passions of the Irish often drove them to resort to cuffs, kicks, and blows, which the Jews, although with a better command over their tempers, were not slack in returning. The East India Company, some of whose warehouses adjoined the market, frequently complained to the city authorities of the nuisance. Complaints from other quarters were also frequent, and sometimes as many as 200 constables were necessary to restore or enforce order. The nuisance, however, like many a public nuisance, was left to remedy itself, or rather it was left to be remedied by individual enterprise. Mr. L. Isaac, the present proprietor, purchased the houses which then filled up the back of Phil's-buildings, and formed the present Old Clothes Exchange. This was eight years ago; now there are no more policemen in the locality than in other equally populous parts.

Of Old Clothes Exchanges there are now two, both adjacent, the one first opened by Mr. Isaac being the most important. This is 100 feet by 70, and is the mart to which the collectors of the cast-off apparel of the metropolis bring their goods for sale. The goods are sold wholesale and retail, for an old clothes merchant will buy either a single hat, or an entire wardrobe, or a sackful of shoes,—I need not say *pairs*, for odd shoes are not rejected. In one department of "Isaac's Exchange," however, the goods are not sold to parties who buy for their own wearing, but to the old clothes merchant, who buys to sell again. In this portion of the mart are 90 stalls, averaging about six square feet each.

In another department, which communicates with the first, and is two-thirds of the size, are assembled such traders as buy the old garments to

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dispose of them, either after a process of cleaning, or when they have been repaired and renovated. These buyers are generally shopkeepers, residing in the old clothes districts of Marylebone-lane, Holywell-street, Monmouth-street, Union-street (Borough), Saffron-hill (Field-lane), Drury-lane, Shoreditch, the Waterloo-road, and other places of which I shall have to speak hereafter.

The difference between the first and second class of buyers above mentioned, is really that of the merchant and the retail shopkeeper. The one buys literally anything presented to him which is vendible, and in any quantity, for the supply of the wholesale dealers from distant parts, or for exportation, or for the general trade of London. The other purchases what suits his individual trade, and is likely to suit regular or promiscuous customers.

In another part of the same market is carried on the *retail* old clothes trade to any one—shopkeeper, artisan, clerk, costermonger, or gentlemen. This indeed, is partially the case in the other parts. "Yesh, inteet," said a Hebrew trader, whom I conversed with on the subject, "I shall be clad to shell you one coat, sir. Dish von is shust your shize; it is verra sheep, and vosh made by one tip-top shnip." Indeed, the keenness and anxiety to trade—whenever trade seems possible—causes many of the frequenters of these marts to infringe the arrangements as to the manner of the traffic, though the proprietors endeavour to cause the regulations to be strictly adhered to.

The second Exchange, which is a few yards apart from the other is known as Simmons and Levy's Clothes Exchange, and is unemployed, for its more especial business purposes, except in the mornings. The commerce is then wholesale, for here are sold collections of unredeemed pledges in wearing apparel, consigned there by the pawnbrokers, or the buyers at the auctions of unredeemed goods; as well as draughts from the stocks of the wardrobe dealers; a quantity of military or naval stores, and, such like articles. In the afternoon the stalls are occupied by retail dealers. The ground is about as large as the first-mentioned exchange, but is longer and narrower.

In neither of these places is there even an attempt at architectural elegance, or even neatness. The stalls and partitions are of unpainted wood, the walls are bare, the only care that seems to be manifested is that the places should be dry. In the first instance the plainness was no doubt a necessity from motives of prudence, as the establishments were merely speculations, and now everything but *business* seems to be disregarded. The Old Clothes Exchanges have assuredly one recommendation as they are now seen—their appropriateness. They have a threadbare, patched, and *second-hand* look. The dresses worn by the dealers, and the dresses they deal in, are all in accordance with the genius of the place. But the eagerness, crowding, and energy, are the grand features of the scene; and of all the many curious sights in London there is none so picturesque (from the various costumes of the buyers and sellers), none so novel, and none so animated as that of the Old Clothes Exchange.

Business is carried on in the wholesale department of the Old Clothes Exchanges every day during the week; and in the retail on each day except the Hebrew Sabbath (Saturday). The Jews in the old clothes trade observe strictly the command that on their Sabbath day they shall do no manner of work, for on a visit I paid to the Exchange last Saturday, not a single Jew could I see engaged in any business. But though the Hebrew Sabbath is observed by the Jews and disregarded by the Christians, the Christian Sabbath, on the other hand, is disregarded by Jew and Christian alike, some few of the Irish excepted, who may occasionally go to early mass, and attend at the Exchange afterwards. Sunday, therefore, in "Rag-fair," is like the other days of the week (Saturday excepted); business closes on the Sunday, however, at 2 instead of 6.

On the Saturday the keen Jew-traders in the neighbourhood of the Exchanges may be seen standing at their doors—after the synagogue hours—or looking out of their windows, dressed in their best. The dress of the men is for the most part not distinguishable from that of the English on the Sunday, except that there may be a greater glitter of rings and watch-guards. The dress of the women is of every kind; becoming, handsome, rich, tawdry, but seldom neat.

Of the Wholesale Business at the Old Clothes Exchange.

A considerable quantity of the old clothes disposed of at the Exchange are bought by merchants from Ireland. They are then packed in bales by porters, regularly employed for the purpose, and who literally *build* them up square and compact. These bales are each worth from 50*l*. to 300*l*., though seldom 300*l*., and it is curious to reflect from how many classes the pile of old garments has been collected —how many privations have been endured before some of these habiliments found their way into the possession of the old clothes-man—what besotted debauchery put others in his possession—with what cool calculation others were disposed of—how many were procured for money, and how many by the tempting offers of flowers, glass, crockery, spars, table-covers, lace, or millinery—what was the clothing which could first be spared when rent was to be defrayed or bread to be bought, and what was treasured until the last—in what scenes of gaiety or gravity, in the opera-house or the senate, had the perhaps departed wearers of some of that heap of old clothes figured—through how many possessors, and again through what new scenes of middle-class or artizan comfort had these dresses passed, or through what accidents of "genteel" privation and destitution—and lastly through what necessities of squalid wretchedness and low debauchery.

Every kind of old attire, from the highest to the *very lowest*, I was emphatically told, was sent to Ireland.

Some of the bales are composed of garments

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originally made for the labouring classes. These are made up of every description of colour and material—cloth, corduroy, woollen cords, fustian, moleskin, flannel, velveteen, plaids, and the several varieties of those substances. In them are to be seen coats, great-coats, jackets, trousers, and breeches, but no other habiliments, such as boots, shirts, or stockings. I was told by a gentleman, who between 40 and 50 years ago was familiar with the liberty and poorer parts of Dublin, that the most coveted and the most saleable of all second-hand apparel was that of leather breeches, worn commonly in some of the country parts of England half a century back, and sent in considerable quantities at that time from London to Ireland. These nether habiliments were coveted because, as the Dublin sellers would say, they "would wear for ever, and look illigant after that." Buck-skin breeches are now never worn except by grooms in their liveries, and gentlemen when hunting, so that the trade in them in the Old Clothes Exchange, and their exportation to Ireland, are at an end. The next most saleable thing—I may mention, incidentally—vended cheap and second-hand in Dublin, to the poor Irishmen of the period I speak of, was a wig! And happy was the man who could wear two, one over the other.

Some of the Irish buyers who are regular frequenters of the London Old Clothes Exchange, take a small apartment, often a garret or a cellar, in Petticoat-lane or its vicinity, and to this room they convey their purchases until a sufficient stock has been collected. Among these old clothes the Irish possessors cook, or at any rate eat, their meals, and upon them they sleep. I did not hear that such dealers were more than ordinarily unhealthy; though it may, perhaps, be assumed that such habits are fatal to health. What may be the average duration of life among old clothes sellers who live in the midst of their wares, I do not know, and believe that no facts have been collected on the subject; but I certainly saw among them some very old men.

Other wholesale buyers from Ireland occupy decent lodgings in the neighbourhood—decent considering the locality. In Phil's-buildings, a kind of wide alley which forms one of the approaches to the Exchange, are eight respectable apartments, almost always let to the Irish old clothes merchants.

Tradesmen of the same class come also from the large towns of England and Scotland to buy for their customers some of the left-off clothes of London.

Nor is this the extent of the wholesale trade. Bales of old clothes are exported to Belgium and Holland, but principally to Holland. Of the quantity of goods thus exported to the Continent not above one-half, perhaps, can be called old *clothes,* while among these the old livery suits are in the best demand. The other goods of this foreign trade are old serges, duffles, carpeting, drugget, and heavy woollen goods generally, of all the descriptions which I have before enumerated as parcel of the second-hand trade of the streets. Old merino curtains, and any second-hand decorations of fringes, woollen lace, &c., are in demand for Holland.

Twelve bales, averaging somewhere about 100*l.* each in value, but not fully 100*l.*, are sent direct every week of the year from the Old Clothes Exchange to distant places, and this is not the whole of the traffic, apart from what is done retail. I am informed on the best authority, that the average trade may be stated at 1500*l.* a week all the year round. When I come to the conclusion of the subject, however, I shall be able to present statistics of the amount turned over in the respective branches of the old clothes trade, as well as of the number of the traffickers, only one-fourth of whom are now Jews.

The conversation which goes on in the Old Clothes Exchange during business hours, apart from the "larking" of the young sweet-stuff and orange or cake-sellers, is all concerning business, but there is, even while business is being transacted, a frequent interchange of jokes, and even of practical jokes. The business talk—I was told by an old clothes collector, and I heard similar remarks—is often to the following effect:—

"How much is this here?" says the man who comes to buy. "One pound five," replies the Jew seller. "I won't give you above half the money." "Half de money," cries the salesman, "I can't take dat. Vat above the 16*s.* dat you offer now vill you give for it? Vill you give me eighteen? Vell, come, give ush your money, I 've got ma rent to pay." But the man says, "I only bid you 12*s.* 6*d.*, and I shan't give no more." And then, if the seller finds he can get him to "spring" or advance no further, he says, "I shupposh I musht take your money even if I loosh by it. You'll be a better cushtomer anoder time." [This is still a common "deal," I am assured by one who began the business at 13 years old, and is now upwards of 60 years of age. The Petticoat-laner will always ask at least twice as much as he means to take.]

For a more detailed account of the mode of business as conducted at the Old Clothes Exchange I refer the reader to p. 368, vol. i. Subsequent visits have shown me nothing to alter in that description, although written (in one of my letters in the *Morning Chronicle*), nearly two years ago. I have merely to add that I have there mentioned the receipt of a halfpenny toll; but this, I find, is not levied on Saturdays and Sundays.

I ought not to omit stating that pilfering one from another by the poor persons who have collected the second-hand garments, and have carried them to the Old Clothes Exchange to dispose of, is of very rare occurrence. This is the more commendable, for many of the wares could not be identified by their owner, as he had procured them only that morning. If, as happens often enough, a man carried a dozen pairs of old shoes to the Exchange, and one pair were stolen, he might have some difficulty in swearing to the

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SCENE IN PETTICOAT-LANE.

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identity of the pair purloined. It is true that the Jews, and crock-men, and others, who collect, by sale or barter, masses of old clothes, note all their defects very minutely, and might have no moral doubt as to identity, nevertheless the magistrate would probably conclude that the legal evidence—were it only circumstantial—was insufficient. The young thieves, however, who flock from the low lodging-houses in the neighbourhood, are an especial trouble in Petticoat-lane, where the people robbed are generally too busy, and the article stolen of too little value, to induce a prosecution—a knowledge which the juvenile pilferer is not slow in acquiring. Sometimes when these boys are caught pilfering, they are severely beaten, especially by the women, who are aided by the men, if the thief offers any formidable resistance, or struggles to return the blows.

Of the Uses of Second-hand Garments.

I have now to describe the uses to which the several kinds of garments which constitute the commerce of the Old Clothes Exchange are devoted, whether it be merely in the re-sale of the apparel, to be worn in its original form or in a repaired or renovated form; or whether it be "worked up" into other habiliments, or be useful for the making of other descriptions of woollen fabrics; or else whether it be fit merely for its last stages—the rag-bag for the paper-maker, or the manure heap for the hop-grower.

Each "left-off" garment has its peculiar after *uses*, according to its material and condition. The practised eye of the old clothes man at once embraces every capability of the apparel, and the amount which these capabilities will realize; whether they be woollen, linen, cotton, leathern, or silken goods; or whether they be articles which cannot be classed under any of those designations, such as macintoshes and furs.

A *surtout* coat is the most serviceable of any second-hand clothing, originally good. It can be re-cuffed, re-collared, or the skirts re-lined with new or old silk, or with a substitute for silk. It can be "restored" if the seams be white and the general appearance what is best understood by the expressive word "seedy." This restoration is a sort of re-dyeing, or rather re-colouring, by the application of gall and logwood with a small portion of copperas. If the under sleeve be worn, as it often is by those whose avocations are sedentary, it is renewed, and frequently with a second-hand piece of cloth "to match," so that there is no perceptible difference between the renewal and the other parts. Many an honest artisan in this way becomes possessed of his Sunday frock-coat, as does many a smarter clerk or shopman, impressed with a regard to his personal appearance.

In the last century, I may here observe, and perhaps in the early part of the present, when woollen cloth was much dearer, much more substantial, and therefore much more durable, it was common for economists to have a good coat "turned." It was taken to pieces by the tailor and re-made, the inner part becoming the outer. This mode prevailed alike in France and England; for Molière makes his miser, *Harpagon*, magnanimously resolve to incur the cost of his many-years'-old coat being "turned," for the celebration of his expected marriage with a young and wealthy bride. This way of dealing with a second-hand garment is not so general now as it was formerly in London, nor is it in the country.

If the surtout be incapable of restoration to the appearance of a "respectable" garment, the skirts are sold for the making of cloth caps; or for the material of boys' or "youths'" waistcoats; or for "poor country curates' gaiters; but not so much now as they once were. The poor journeymen parsons," I was told, "now goes for the new slops; they're often green, and is had by 'vertisements, and bills, and them books about fashions which is all over both country and town. Do you know, sir, why them there books is always made so small? The leaves is about four inches square. That's to prevent their being any use as waste paper. I'll back a coat such as is sometimes sold by a gentleman's servant to wear out two new slops."

Cloaks are things of as ready sale as any kind of old garments. If good, or even reparable, they are in demand both for the home and foreign trades, as cloaks; if too far gone, which is but rarely the case, they are especially available for the same purposes as the surtout. The same may be said of the great-coat.

Dress-coats are far less useful, as if cleaned up and repaired they are not in demand among the working classes, and the clerks and shopmen on small salaries are often tempted by the price, I was told, to buy some wretched new slop thing rather than a superior coat second-hand. The dress-coats, however, are used for caps. Sometimes a coat, for which the collector may have given 9*d*., is cut up for the repairs of better garments.

Trousers are re-seated and repaired where the material is strong enough; and they are, I am informed, now about the only habiliment which is ever "turned," and that but exceptionally. The repairs to trousers are more readily effected than those to coats, and trousers are freely bought by the collectors, and as freely re-bought by the public.

Waistcoats—I still speak of woollen fabrics—are sometimes used in cap-making, and were used in gaiter-making. But generally, at the present time, the worn edges are cut away, the buttons renewed or replaced by a new set, sometimes of glittering glass, the button-holes repaired or their jaggedness gummed down, and so the waistcoat is reproduced as a waistcoat, a size smaller. Sometimes a "vest," as waistcoats are occasionally called, is used by the cheap boot-makers for the "legs" of a woman's cloth boots, either laced or buttoned, but not a quarter as much as they would be, I was told, if the buttons and button-holes of the waistcoat would "do again" in the boot.

Nor is the woollen garment, if too thin, too worn, or too rotten to be devoted to any of the uses I have specified, flung away as worthless. To

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the traders in second-hand apparel, or in the remains of second-hand apparel, a dust-hole is an unknown receptacle. The woollen rag, for so it is then considered, when unravelled can be made available for the manufacture of cheap yarns, being mixed with new wool. It is more probable, however, that the piece of woollen fabric which has been rejected by those who make or mend, and who must make or mend so cheaply that the veriest vagrant may be their customer, is formed not only into a new material, but into a material which sometimes is made into a new garment. These garments are inferior to those woven of new wool, both in look and wear; but in some articles the re-manufacture is beautiful. The fabric thus snatched, as it were, from the ruins of cloth, is known as shoddy, the chief seat of manufacture being in Dewsbury, a small town in Yorkshire. The old material, when duly prepared, is torn into wool again by means of fine machinery, but the recovered wool is shorter in its fibre and more brittle in its nature; it is, indeed, more a woollen pulp than a wool.

Touching this peculiar branch of manufacture, I will here cite from the *Morning Chronicle* a brief description of a Shoddy Mill, so that the reader may have as comprehensive a knowledge as possible of the several uses to which his left-off clothes may be put.

"The small town of Dewsbury holds, in the woollen district, very much the same position which Oldham does in the cotton country—the spinning and preparing of waste and refuse materials. To this stuff the name of "shoddy" is given, but the real and orthodox "shoddy" is a production of the woollen districts, and consists of the second-hand wool manufactured by the tearing up, or rather the grinding, of woollen rags by means of coarse willows, called devils; the operation of which sends forth choking clouds of dry pungent dirt and floating fibres—the real and original "devil's dust." Having been, by the agency of the machinery in question, reduced to something like the original raw material, fresh wool is added to the pulp in different proportions, according to the quality of the stuff to be manufactured, and the mingled material is at length reworked in the usual way into a little serviceable cloth.

"There are some shoddy mills in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, but the mean little town of Dewsbury may be taken as the metropolis of the manufacture. Some mills are devoted solely to the sorting, preparing, and grinding of rags, which are worked up in the neighbouring factories. Here great bales, choke full of filthy tatters, lie scattered about the yard, while the continual arrival of loaded waggons keeps adding to the heap. A glance at the exterior of these mills shows their character. The walls and part of the roof are covered with the thick clinging dust and fibre, which ascends in choky volumes from the open doors and glassless windows of the ground floor, and which also pours forth from a chimney, constructed for the purpose, exactly like smoke. The mill is covered as with a mildewy fungus, and upon the gray slates of the roof the frowzy deposit is often not less than two inches in depth.

In the upper story of these mills the rags are stored. A great ware-room is piled in many places from the floor to the ceiling with bales of woollen rags, torn strips and tatters of every colour peeping out from the bursting depositories. There is hardly a country in Europe which does not contribute its quota of material to the shoddy manufacturer. Rags are brought from France, Germany, and in great quantities from Belgium. Denmark, I understand, is favourably looked upon by the tatter merchants, being fertile in morsels of clothing, of fair quality. Of domestic rags, the Scotch bear off the palm; and possibly no one will be surprised to hear, that of all rags Irish rags are the most worn, the filthiest, and generally the most unprofitable. The gradations of value in the world of rags are indeed remarkable. I was shown rags worth 50*l.* per ton, and rags worth only 30*s.* The best class is formed of the remains of fine cloth, the produce of which, eked out with a few bundles of fresh wool, is destined to go forth to the world again as broad cloth, or at all events as pilot cloth. Fragments of damask and skirts of merino dresses form the staple of middle-class rags; and even the very worst bales —they appear unmitigated mashes of frowzy filth—afford here and there some fragments of calico, which are wrought up into brown paper. The refuse of all, mixed with the stuff which even the shoddy-making devil rejects, is packed off to the agricultural districts for use as manure, to fertilize the hop-gardens of Kent.

"Under the rag ware-room is the sorting and picking room. Here the bales are opened, and their contents piled in close, poverty-smelling masses, upon the floor. The operatives are entirely women. They sit upon low stools, or half sunk and half enthroned amid heaps of the filthy goods, busily employed in arranging them according to the colour and the quality of the morsels, and from the more pretending quality of rags carefully ripping out every particle of cotton which they can detect. Piles of rags of different sorts, dozens of feet high, are the obvious fruits of their labour. All these women are over eighteen years of age, and the wages which they are paid for ten hours' work are 6*s.* per week. They look squalid and dirty enough; but all of them chatter and several sing over their noisome labour. The atmosphere of the room is close and oppressive; and although no particularly offensive smell is perceptible, there is a choky, mildewy sort of odour—a hot, moist exhalation—arising from the sodden smouldering piles, as the workwomen toss armfuls of rags from one heap to another. This species of work is the lowest and foulest which any phase of the factory system can show.

"The devils are upon the ground floor. The choking dust bursts out from door and window, and it is not until a minute or so that the visitor can see the workmen moving amid the clouds, catching up armfuls of the sorted rags and tossing them into the machine to be torn into fibry frag-

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ments by the whirling revolutions of its teeth. The place in which this is done is a large bare room—the uncovered beams above, the rough stone walls, and the woodwork of the unglazed windows being as it were furred over with clinging woolly matter. On the floor, the dust and coarse filaments lie as if 'it had been snowing snuff.' The workmen are coated with the flying powder. They wear bandages over their mouths, so as to prevent as much as possible the inhalation of the dust, and seem loath to remove the protection for a moment. The rag grinders, with their squalid, dust-strewn garments, powdered to a dull grayish hue, and with their bandages tied over the greater part of their faces, move about like reanimated mummies in their swathings, looking most ghastly. The wages of these poor creatures do not exceed 7*s.* or 8*s.* a week. The men are much better paid, none of them making less than 18*s.* a week, and many earning as much as 22*s.* Not one of them, however, will admit that he found the trade injurious. The dust tickles them a little, they say, that is all. They feel it most of a Monday morning, after being all Sunday in the fresh air. When they first take to the work it hurts their throats a little, but they drink mint tea, and that soon cures them. They are all more or less subject to 'shoddy fever,' they confess, especially after tenting the grinding of the very dusty sorts of stuff—worsted stockings, for example. The shoddy fever is a sort of stuffing of the head and nose, with sore throat, and it sometimes forces them to give over work for two or three days, or at most a week; but the disorder, the workmen say, is not fatal, and leaves no particularly bad effects.

"In spite of all this, however, it is manifestly impossible for human lungs to breathe under such circumstances without suffering. The visitor exposed to the atmosphere for ten minutes experiences an unpleasant choky sensation in the throat, which lasts all the remainder of the day. The rag grinders, moreover, according to the best accounts, are very subject to asthmatic complaints, particularly when the air is dull and warm. The shoddy fever is said to be like a bad cold, with constant acrid running from the nose, and a great deal of expectoration. It is when there is a particularly dirty lot of rags to be ground that the people are usually attacked in this way, but the fever seldom keeps them more than two or three days from their work.

"In other mills the rags are not only ground, but the shoddy is worked up into coarse bad cloth, a great proportion of which is sent to America for slave clothing (and much now sold to the slop-shops).

"After the rags have been devilled into shoddy, the remaining processes are much the same, although conducted in a coarser way, as those performed in the manufacture of woollen cloth. The weaving is, for the most part, carried on at the homes of the workpeople. The domestic arrangements consist, in every case, of two tolerably large rooms, one above the other, with a cellar beneath—a plan of construction called in Yorkshire a "house and a chamber." The chamber has generally a bed amid the looms. The weavers complain of irregular work and diminished wages. Their average pay, one week with another, with their wives to wind for them—*i. e.*, to place the thread upon the bobbin which goes into the shuttle—is hardly so much as 10*s.* a week. They work long hours, often fourteen per day. Sometimes the weaver is a small capitalist with perhaps half a dozen looms, and a hand-jenny for spinning thread, the workpeople being within his own family as regular apprentices and journeymen."

Dr. Hemingway, a gentleman who has a large practice in the shoddy district, has given the following information touching the "shoddy fever":—

"The disease popularly known as 'shoddy fever,' and which is of frequent occurrence, is a species of bronchitis, caused by the irritating effect of the floating particles of dust upon the mucous membrane of the trachea and its ramifications. In general, the attack is easily cured—particularly if the patient has not been for any length of time exposed to the exciting cause—by effervescing saline draughts to allay the symptomatic febrile action, followed by expectorants to relieve the mucous membrane of the irritating dust; but a long continuance of employment in the contaminated atmosphere, bringing on as it does repeated attacks of the disease, is too apt, in the end, to undermine the constitution, and produce a train of pectoral diseases, often closing with pulmonary consumption. Ophthalmic attacks are by no means uncommon among the shoddy-grinders, some of whom, however, wear wire-gauze spectacles to protect the eyes. As regards the effect of the occupation upon health, it may shorten life by about five years on a rough average, taking, of course, as the point of comparison, the average longevity of the district in which the manufacture is carried on."

"Shoddy fever" is, in fact, a modification of the very fatal disease induced by what is called "dry grinding" at Sheffield; but of course the particles of woollen filament are less fatal in their influence than the floating steel dust produced by the operation in question.

At one time shoddy cloth was not good and firm enough to be used for other purposes than such as padding by tailors, and in the inner linings of carriages, by coach-builders. It was not used for purposes which would expose it to stress, but only to a moderate wear or friction. Now shoddy, which modern improvements have made susceptible of receiving a fine dye (it always looked a dead colour at one period), is made into cloth for soldiers' and sailors' uniforms and for pilot-coats; into blanketing, drugget, stair and other carpeting, and into those beautiful table-covers, with their rich woollen look, on which elegantly drawn and elaborately coloured designs are printed through the application of aquafortis. Thus the rags which the beggar could no longer hang about him to cover his nakedness, may be a component of the soldier's or sailor's uniform, the carpet of a palace, or the library table-cover of a prime-minister.

There is yet another use for old woollen clothes.

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What is not good for shoddy is good for manure, and more especially for the manure prepared by the agriculturists in Kent, Sussex, and Herefordshire, for the culture of a difficult plant—hops. It is good also for corn land (judiciously used), so that we again have the remains of the old garment in our beer or our bread.

I have hitherto spoken of *woollen* fabrics. The garments of other materials are seldom diverted from their original use, for as long as they will hold together they can be sold for exportation to Ireland, though of course for very trifling amounts.

The black *Velvet* and *Satin Waistcoats*—the latter now so commonly worn—are almost always resold as waistcoats, and oft enough, when rebound and rebuttoned, make a very respectable looking garment. Nothing sells better to the working-classes than a *good* second-hand vest of the two materials of satin or velvet. If the satin, however, be so worn and frayed that mending is impossible, the back, if not in the same plight, is removed for rebacking of any waistcoat, and the satin thrown away, one of the few things which in its last stage is utterly valueless. It is the same with silk waistcoats, and for the most part with velvet, but a velvet waistcoat may be thrown in the refuse heap with the woollen rags for manure. The coloured waistcoats of silk or velvet are dealt with in the same way. At one time, when under-waistcoats were worn, the edges being just discernible, quantities were made out of the full waistcoats where a sufficiency of the stuff was unworn. This fashion is now becoming less and less followed, and is principally in vogue in the matter of white under-waistcoats. For the jean and other vests—even if a mixture of materials—there is the same use as what I have described of the black satin, and failing that, they are generally transferable to the rag-bag.

Hats have become in greater demand than ever among the street-buyers since the introduction into the London trade, and to so great an extent, of the silk, velvet, French, or Parisian hats. The construction of these hats is the same, and the easy way in which the hat-bodies are made, has caused a number of poor persons, with no previous knowledge of hat-making, to enter into the trade. "There 's hundreds starving at it," said a hat-manufacturer to me, "in Bermondsey, Lock's-fields, and the Borough; ay, hundreds." This facility in the making of the bodies of the new silk hats is quite as available in the restoration of the bodies of the old hats, as I shall show from the information of a highly-intelligent artisan, who told me that of all people he disliked rich slop-sellers; but there was another class which he disliked more, and that was rich slop-buyers.

The bodies of the stuff or beaver hats of the best quality are made of a firm felt, wrought up of fine wool, rabbits' hair, &c., and at once elastic, firm, and light. Over this is placed the nap, prepared from the hair of the beaver. The bodies of the silk hats are made of calico, which is blocked (as indeed is the felt) and stiffened and pasted up until "only a hat-maker can tell," as it was expressed to me, "good sound bodies from bad; and the slop-masters go for the cheap and bad." The covering is not a nap of any hair, but is of silk or velvet (the words are used indifferently in the trade) manufactured for the purpose. Thus if an old hat be broken, or rather crushed out of all shape, the body can be glazed and sized up again so as to suit the slop hatter, if sold to him as a body, and that whether it be of felt or calico. If, however, the silk cover of the hat be not worn utterly away, the body, without stripping off the cover, can be re-blocked and re-set, and the silk-velvet trimmed up and "set," or re-dyed, and a decent hat is sometimes produced by these means. More frequently, however, a steeping shower of rain destroys the whole fabric.

Second-hand Caps are rarely brought into this trade.

Such things as *drawers, flannel waistcoats,* and what is sometimes called "inner wear," sell very well when washed up, patched—for patches do not matter in a garment hidden from the eye when worn—or mended in any manner. Flannel waistcoats and drawers are often in demand by the street-sellers and the street-labourers, as they are considered "good against the rheumatics." These habiliments are often sold unrepaired, having been merely washed, as the poor men's wives may be competent to execute an easy bit of tailoring; or perhaps the men themselves, if they have been reared as mechanics; and they believe (perhaps erroneously) that so they obtain a better bargain. *Shirts* are repaired and sold as shirts, or for old linen; the trade is not large.

Men's Stockings are darned up, but only when there is little to be done in darning, as they are retailed at 2*d.* the pair. The sale is not very great, for the supply is not. "Lots might be sold," I was informed, "if they was to be had, for them flash coves never cares what they wears under their Wellingtons."

The Women's Apparel is sold to be re-worn in its original form quite as frequently, or more frequently, than it is mended up by the sellers; the purchasers often preferring to make the alterations themselves. A gown of stuff, cotton, or any material, if full-sized, is frequently bought and altered to fit a smaller person or a child, and so the worn parts may be cut away. It is very rarely also that the apparel of the middle-classes is made into any other article, with the sole exception, perhaps, of *silk gowns.* If a silk gown be not too much frayed, it is easily cleaned and polished up, so as to present a new gloss, and is sold readily enough; but if it be too far gone for this process, the old clothes renovator is often puzzled as to what uses to put it. A portion of a black silk dress may be serviceable to re-line the cuffs of the better kind of coats. There is seldom enough, I was told, to re-line the two skirts of a surtout, and it is difficult to match old silk; a man used to buying a good second-hand surtout, I was assured, would soon detect a difference in the shade of the silk, if the skirts were re-lined from the remains of different gowns, and say, "I 'll not give any such money for that piebald thing."

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Skirts may be sometimes re-lined this way on the getting up of frock coats, but very rarely. There is the same difficulty in using a coloured silk gown for the re-covering of a parasol. The quantity may not be enough for the gores, and cannot be matched to satisfy the eye, for the buyer of a silk parasol even in Rosemary-lane may be expected to be critical. When there is enough of good silk for the purposes I have mentioned, then, it must be borne in mind, the gown may be more valuable, because saleable to be re-worn as a gown. It is the same with satin dresses, but only a few of them, in comparison with the silk, are to be seen at the Old Clothes' Exchange.

Among the purposes to which portions of worn silk gowns are put are the making of spencers for little girls (usually by the purchasers, or by the dress-maker, who goes out to work for 1*s.* a day), of children's bonnets, for the lining of women's bonnets, the re-lining of muffs and fur-tippets, the patching of quilts (once a rather fashionable thing), the inner lining or curtains to a book-case, and other household appliances of a like kind. This kind of silk, too, no matter in how minute pieces, is bought by the fancy cabinet-makers (the small masters) for the lining of their dressing-cases and work-boxes supplied to the warehouses, but these poor artisans have neither means nor leisure to buy such articles of those connected with the traffic of the Old Clothes' Exchange, but must purchase it, of course at an enhanced price, of a broker who has bought it at the Exchange, or in some establishment connected with it. The second-hand silk is bought also for the dressing of dolls for the toy-shops, and for the lining of some toys. The hat-manufacturers of the cheaper sort, at one time, used second-hand silk for the padded lining of hats, but such is rarely the practice now. It was once used in the same manner by the bookbinders for lining the inner part of the back of a book. If there be any part of silk in a dress not suitable for any of these purposes it is wasted, or what is accounted wasted, although it may have been in wear for years. It is somewhat remarkable, that while woollen and even cotton goods can be "shoddied"—and if they are too rotten for that, they are made available for manure, or in the manufacture of paper—no use is made of the refuse of silk. Though one of the most beautiful and costly of textile fabrics, its "remains" are thrown aside, when a beggar's rags are preserved and made profitable. There can be little doubt that silk, like cotton, could be shoddied, but whether such a speculation would be remunerative or not is no part of my present inquiry.

There is not, as I shall subsequently show, so great an exportation of female attire as might be expected in comparison with male apparel; the poorer classes of the metropolis being too anxious to get any decent gown when within their slender means.

Stays, unless of superior make and in good condition, are little bought by the classes who are the chief customers of the old-clothes' men in London. I did not hear any reason for this from any of the old-clothes' people. One man thought, if there was a family of daughters, the stays which had became too small for the elder girl were altered for the younger, and that poor women liked to mend their old stays as long as they would stick together. Perhaps, there may be some repugnance—especially among the class of servant-maids who have not had "to rough it"—to wear street-collected stays; a repugnance not, perhaps, felt in the wearing of a gown which probably can be washed, and is not worn so near the person. The stays that are collected are for the most part exported, a great portion being sent to Ireland. If they are "worn to rags," the bones are taken out; but in the slop-made stays, it is not whalebone, but wood that is used to give, or preserve the due shape of the corset, and then the stays are valueless.

Old Stockings are of great sale both for home wear and foreign trade. In the trade of women's stockings there has been in the last 20 or 25 years a considerable change. Before that period black stockings were worn by servant girls, and the families of working people and small tradesmen; they "saved washing." Now, even in Petticoat-lane, women's stockings are white, or "mottled," or some light-coloured, very rarely black. I have heard this change attributed to what is rather vaguely called "pride." May it not be owing to a more cultivated sense of cleanliness? The women's stockings are sold darned and undarned, and at (retail) prices from 1*d.* to 4*d.*; 1*d.* or 2*d.* being the most frequent prices.

The *petticoats* and other under clothing are not much bought second-hand by the poor women of London, and are exported.

Women's caps used to be sold second-hand, I was told, both in the streets and the shops, but long ago, and before muslin and needlework were so cheap.

I heard of one article which formerly supplied considerable "stuff" (the word used) for second-hand purposes, and was a part, but never a considerable part, of the trade at Rag-fair. These were the "*pillions*," or large, firm, solid cushions which were attached to a saddle, so that a horse "carried double." Fifty years ago the farmer and his wife, of the more prosperous order, went regularly to church and market on one horse, a pillion sustaining the good dame. To the best sort of these pillions was appended what was called the "pillion cloth," often of a fine, but thin quality, which being really a sort of housing to the horse, cut straight and with few if any seams, was an excellent material for what I am informed was formerly called "making and mending." The colour was almost exclusively drab or blue. The pillion on which the squire's lady rode—and Sheridan makes his *Lady Teazle* deny "the pillion and the coach-horse," the butler being her cavalier—was a perfect piece of upholstery, set off with lace and fringes, which again were excellent for second-hand sale. Such a means of conveyance may still linger in some secluded country parts, but it is generally speaking obsolete.

Boots and *Shoes* are not to be had, I am told, in sufficient quantity for the demand from the

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slop-shops, the "translators," and the second-hand dealers. Great quantities of second-hand boots and shoes are sent to Ireland to be "translated" there. Of all the wares in this traffic, the clothing for the feet is what is most easily prepared to cheat the eye of the inexperienced, the imposition having the aids of heel-ball, &c., to fill up crevices, and of blacking to hide defects. Even when the boots or shoes are so worn out that no one will put a pair on his feet, though purchaseable for about 1*d.*, the insoles are ripped out; the soles, if there be a sufficiency of leather, are shaped into insoles for children's shoes, and these insoles are sold in bundles of two dozen pairs at 2*d.* the bundle. So long as the boot or shoe be not in many holes, it can be cobblered up in Monmouth-street or elsewhere. Of the "translating" business transacted in those localities I had the following interesting account from a man who was lately engaged in it.

"Translation, as I understand it (said my informant), is this—to take a worn, old pair of shoes or boots, and by repairing them make them appear as if left off with hardly any wear—as if they were only soiled. I'll tell you the way they manage in Monmouth-street. There are in the trade 'horses' heads'—a 'horse's head' is the foot of a boot with sole and heel, and part of a front—the back and the remainder of the front having been used for refooting boots. There are also 'stand-bottoms' and 'lick-ups.' A 'stand-bottom' is where the shoe appears to be only soiled, and a 'lick-up' is a boot or shoe re-lasted to take the wrinkles out, the edges of the soles having been rasped and squared, and then blacked up to hide blemishes, and the bottom covered with a 'smother,' which I will describe. There is another article called a 'flyer,' that is, a shoe soled without having been welted. In Monmouth-street a 'horse's head' is generally retailed at 2*s.* 6*d.*, but some fetch 4*s.* 6*d.*—that's the extreme price. They cost the translator from 1*s.* a dozen pair to 8*s.*, but those at 8*s.* are good, and are used for the making up of Wellington boots. Some 'horses' heads'—such as are cut off that the boots may be re-footed on account of old fashion, or a misfit, when hardly worn—fetch 2*s.* 6*d.* a pair, and they are made up as new-footed boots, and sell from 10*s.* to 15*s.* The average price of feet (that is, for the 'horse's head,' as we call it) is 4*d.*, and a pair of backs say 2*d.*; the back is attached loosely by chair stitching, as it is called, to the heel, instead of being stitched to the insole, as in a new boot. The wages for all this is 1*s.* 4*d.* in Monmouth-street (in Union-street, Borough, 1*s.* 6*d.*); but I was told by a master that he had got the work done in Gray's-inn-lane at 9*d.* Put it, however, at 1*s.* 4*d.* wages—then, with 4*d.* and 2*d.* for the feet and back, we have 1*s.* 10*d.* outlay (the workman finds his own grindery), and 8*d.* profit on each pair sold at a rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* Some masters will sell from 70 to 80 pairs per week: that's under the mark; and that's in 'horses' heads' alone. One man employs, or did lately employ, seven men on 'horses' heads' solely. The profit generally, in fair shops, in 'stand-bottoms,' is from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per pair, as they sell generally at 3*s.* 6*d.* One man takes, or did take, 100*l.* in a day (it was calculated as an average) over the counter, and all for the sort of shoes I have described. The profit of a 'lick-up' is the same as that of a 'stand-bottom.' To show the villanous way the 'stand-bottoms' are got up, I will tell you this. You have seen a broken upper-leather; well, we place a piece of leather, waxed, underneath the broken part, on which we set a few stitches through and through. When dry and finished, we take what is called a 'soft-heel-ball' and 'smother' it over, so that it sometimes would deceive a currier, as it appears like the upper leather. With regard to the bottoms, the worn part of the sole is opened from the edge, a piece of leather is made to fit exactly into the hole or worn part, and it is then nailed and filed until level. Paste is then applied, and 'smother' put over the part, and that imitates the dust of the road. This 'smother' is obtained from the dust of the room. It is placed in a silk stocking, tied at both ends, and then shook through, just like a powder-puff, only we shake at both ends. It is powdered out into our leather apron, and mixed with a certain preparation which I will describe to you (he did so), but I would rather not have it published, as it would lead others to practise similar deceptions. I believe there are about 2000 translators, so you may judge of the extent of the trade; and translators are more constantly employed than any other branch of the business. Many make a great deal of money. A journeyman translator can earn from 3*s.* to 4*s.* a day. You can give the average at 20*s.* a week, as the wages are good. It must be good, for we have 2*s.* for soling, heeling, and welting a pair of boots; and some men don't get more for making them. Monmouth-street is nothing like what it was; as to curious old garments, that's all gone. There's not one English master in the translating business in Monmouth-street—they are all Irish; and there is now hardly an English workman there—perhaps not one. I believe that all the tradesmen in Monmouth-street make their workmen lodge with them. I was lodging with one before I married a little while ago, and I know the system to be the same now as it was then, unless, indeed, it be altered for the worse. To show how disgusting these lodgings must be, I will state this:—I knew a Roman Catholic, who was attentive to his religious duties, but when pronounced on the point of death, and believing firmly that he was dying, he would not have his priest administer extreme unction, for the room was in such a filthy and revolting state he would not allow him to see it. Five men worked and slept in that room, and they were working and sleeping there in the man's illness—all the time that his life was despaired of. He was ill nine weeks. Unless the working shoemaker lodged there he would not be employed. Each man pays 2*s.* a week. I was there once, but I couldn't sleep in such a den; and five nights out of the seven I slept at my mother's, but my lodging had to be paid all the same. These men (myself excepted) were all Irish, and all tee-

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totallers, as was the master. How often was the room cleaned out, do you say? Never, sir, never. The refuse of the men's labour was generally burnt, smudged away in the grate, smelling terribly. It would stifle you, though it didn't me, because I got used to it. I lodged in Union-street once. My employer had a room known as the 'barracks;' every lodger paid him 2*s.* 6*d.* a week. Five men worked and slept there, and three were *sitters*—that is, men who paid 1*s.* a week to sit there and work, lodging elsewhere. A little before that there were six sitters. The furniture was one table, one chair, and two beds. There was no place for purposes of decency: it fell to bits from decay, and was never repaired. This barrack man always stopped the 2*s.* 6*d.* for lodging, if he gave you only that amount of work in the week. The beds were decent enough; but as to Monmouth-street! you don't see a clean sheet there for nine weeks; and, recollect, such snobs are dirty fellows. There was no chair in the Monmouth-street room that I have spoken of, the men having only their seats used at work; but when the beds were let down for the night, the seats had to be placed in the fire-place because there was no space for them in the room. In many houses in Monmouth-street there is a system of sub-letting among the journeymen. In one room lodged a man and his wife (a laundress worked there), four children, and two single young men. The wife was actually delivered in this room whilst the men kept at their work—they never lost an hour's work; nor is this an unusual case—it's not an isolated case at all. I could instance ten or twelve cases of two or three married people living in one room in that street. The rats have scampered over the beds that lay huddled together in the kitchen. The husband of the wife confined as I have described paid 4*s.* a week, and the two single men paid 2*s.* a week each, so the master was rent free; and he received from each man 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for tea (without sugar), and no bread and butter, and 2*d.* a day for potatoes—that's the regular charge."

In connection with the translation of old boots and shoes, I have obtained the following statistics. There are—

In Drury-lane and streets adjacent, about	....	50	shops.
Seven-dials do.	do.	100	do.
Monmouth-street do.	do.	40	do.
Hanway-court, Oxford-street	do.	4	do.
Lisson-grove do.	do.	100	do.
Paddington do.	do.	30	do.
Petticoat-lane (shops, stands, &c.)	do.	200	do.
Somers'-town do.	do.	50	do.
Field-lane, Saffron-hill	do.	40	do.
Clerkenwell	do.	30	do.
Bethnal-green, Spitalfields	do.	100	do.
Rosemary-lane, &c.	do.	30	do.
		774	shops,

employing upwards of 2000 men in making-up and repairing old boots and shoes; besides hundreds of poor men and women who strive for a crust by buying and selling the old material, previously to translating it, and by mending up what will mend. They or their children stand in the street and try to sell them.

Monmouth-street, now the great old shoe district, has been "sketched" by Mr. Dickens, not as regards its connection with the subject of street-sale or of any particular trade, but as to its general character and appearance. I first cite Mr. Dickens' description of the Seven Dials, of which Monmouth-street is a seventh:—

"The stranger who finds himself in 'The Dials' for the first time, and stands, Belzoni-like, at the entrance of seven obscure passages, uncertain which to take, will see enough around him to keep his curiosity and attention awake for no inconsiderable time. From the irregular square into which he has plunged, the streets and courts dart in all directions, until they are lost in the unwholesome vapour which hangs over the house-tops, and renders the dirty perspective uncertain and confined; and, lounging at every corner, as if they came there to take a few gasps of such fresh air as has found its way so far, but is too much exhausted already, to be enabled to force itself into the narrow alleys around, are groups of people, whose appearance and dwellings would fill any mind but a regular Londoner's with astonishment.

"In addition to the numerous groups who are idling about the gin-shops and squabbling in the centre of the road, every post in the open space has its occupant, who leans against it for hours, with listless perseverance. It is odd enough that one class of men in London appear to have no enjoyment beyond leaning against posts. We never saw a regular bricklayer's labourer take any other recreation, fighting excepted. Pass through St. Giles's in the evening of a week-day, there they are in their fustian dresses, spotted with brick-dust and whitewash, leaning against posts. Walk through Seven Dials on Sunday morning: there they are again, drab or light corduroy trowsers, Blucher boots, blue coats, and great yellow waistcoats, leaning against posts. The idea of a man dressing himself in his best clothes, to lean against a post all day!

"The peculiar character of these streets, and the close resemblance each one bears to its neighbour, by no means tends to decrease the bewilderment in which the unexperienced wayfarer through 'the Dials' finds himself involved. He traverses streets of dirty, straggling houses, with now and then an unexpected court, composed of buildings as ill-proportioned and deformed as the half-naked children that wallow in the kennels. Here and there, a little dark chandler's shop, with a cracked bell hung up behind the door to announce the entrance of a customer, or betray the presence of some young gentleman in whom a passion for shop tills has developed itself at an early age; others, as if for support, against some handsome lofty building, which usurps the place of a low dingy public-house; long rows of broken and patched windows expose plants that may have flourished when 'The Dials' were built, in vessels as dirty as 'The Dials' themselves; and shops for the purchase of rags, bones, old iron, and kitchen-stuff, vie in cleanliness with the bird-fanciers and rabbit-dealers, which one might fancy so many

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arks, but for the irresistible conviction that no bird in its proper senses, who was permitted to leave one of them would ever come back again. Brokers' shops, which would seem to have been established by humane individuals, as refuges for destitute bugs, interspersed with announcements of day-schools, penny theatres, petition-writers, mangles, and music for balls or routs, complete the 'still-life' of the subject; and dirty men, filthy women, squalid children, fluttering shuttlecocks, noisy battledores, reeking pipes, bad fruit, more than doubtful oysters, attenuated cats, depressed dogs, and anatomical fowls, are its cheerful accompaniments.

"If the external appearance of the houses, or a glance at their inhabitants, present but few attractions, a closer acquaintance with either is little calculated to alter one's first impression. Every room has its separate tenant, and every tenant is, by the same mysterious dispensation which causes a country curate to 'increase and multiply' most marvellously, generally the head of a numerous family.

"The man in the shop, perhaps, is in the baked 'jemmy' line, or the fire-wood and hearth-stone line, or any other line which requires a floating capital of eighteen pence or thereabouts: and he and his family live in the shop, and the small back parlour behind it. Then there is an Irish labourer and *his* family in the back kitchen, and a jobbing-man — carpet-beater and so forth — with *his* family, in the front one. In the front one pair there's another man with another wife and family, and in the back one-pair there's 'a young 'oman as takes in tambour-work, and dresses quite genteel,' who talks a good deal about 'my friend,' and can't 'abear anything low.' The second floor front, and the rest of the lodgers, are just a second edition of the people below, except a shabby-genteel man in the back attic, who has his half-pint of coffee every morning from the coffee-shop next door but one, which boasts a little front den called a coffee-room, with a fire-place, over which is an inscription, politely requesting that, 'to prevent mistakes,' customers will 'please to pay on delivery.' The shabby-genteel man is an object of some mystery, but as he leads a life of seclusion, and never was known to buy anything beyond an occasional pen, except half-pints of coffee, penny loaves, and ha'porths of ink, his fellow-lodgers very naturally suppose him to be an author; and rumours are current in the Dials, that he writes poems for Mr. Warren.

"Now any body who passed through the Dials on a hot summer's evening, and saw the different women of the house gossiping on the steps, would be apt to think that all was harmony among them, and that a more primitive set of people than the native Diallers could not be imagined. Alas! the man in the shop illtreats his family; the carpet-beater extends his professional pursuits to his wife; the one-pair front has an undying feud with the two-pair front, in consequence of the two-pair front persisting in dancing over his (the one-pair front's) head, when he and his family have retired for the night; the two-pair back *will* interfere with the front kitchen's children: the Irishman comes home drunk every other night, and attacks every body; and the one-pair back screams at everything. Animosities spring up between floor and floor; the very cellar asserts his equality. Mrs. A. 'smacks' Mrs. B.'s child for 'making faces.' Mrs. B. forthwith throws cold water over Mrs. A.'s child for 'calling names.' The husbands are embroiled—the quarrel becomes general—an assault is the consequence, and a police-officer the result."

Of Monmouth-street the same author says:—

"We have always entertained a particular attachment towards Monmouth-street, as the only true and real emporium for second-hand wearing apparel. Monmouth-street is venerable from its antiquity, and respectable from its usefulness. Holywell-street we despise; the red-headed and red-whiskered Jews who forcibly haul you into their squalid houses, and thrust you into a suit of clothes whether you will or not, we detest.

"The inhabitants of Monmouth-street are a distinct class; a peaceable and retiring race, who immure themselves for the most part in deep cellars, or small back parlours, and who seldom come forth into the world, except in the dusk and coolness of evening, when they may be seen seated, in chairs on the pavement, smoking their pipes, or watching the gambols of their engaging children as they revel in the gutter, a happy troop of infantine scavengers. Their countenances bear a thoughtful and a dirty cast, certain indications of their love of traffic; and their habitations are distinguished by that disregard of outward appearance, and neglect of personal comfort, so common among people who are constantly immersed in profound speculations, and deeply engaged in sedentary pursuits.

"Through every alteration and every change Monmouth-street has still remained the burial-place of the fashions; and such, to judge from all present appearances, it will remain until there are no more fashions to bury."

Of the Street-Sellers of Petticoat and Rosemary-Lanes.

Immediately connected with the trade of the central mart for old clothes are the adjoining streets of Petticoat-lane, and those of the not very distant Rosemary-lane. In these localities is a second-hand garment-seller at almost every step, but the whole stock of these traders, decent, frowsy, half-rotten, or smart and good habilments, has first passed through the channel of the Exchange. The men who sell these goods have all bought them at the Exchange—the exceptions being insignificant—so that this street-sale is but an extension of the trade of the central mart, with the addition that the wares have been made ready for use.

A cursory observation might lead an inexperienced person to the conclusion, that these old clothes traders who are standing by the bundles of gowns, or lines of coats, hanging from their door-posts, or in the place from which the window has been removed, or at the sides of their houses, or

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piled in the street before them, are drowsy people, for they seem to sit among their property, lost in thought, or caring only for the fumes of a pipe. But let any one indicate, even by an approving glance, the likelihood of his becoming a customer, and see if there be any lack of diligence in business. Some, indeed, pertinaciously invite attention to their wares; some (and often well-dressed women) leave their premises a few yards to accost a stranger pointing to a "good dress-coat" or "an excellent frock" (coat). I am told that this practice is less pursued than it was, and it seems that the solicitations are now addressed chiefly to strangers. These strangers, persons happening to be passing, or visitors from curiosity, are at once recognised; for as in all not very extended localities, where the inhabitants pursue a similar calling, they are, as regards their knowledge of one another, as the members of one family. Thus a stranger is as easily recognised as he would be in a little rustic hamlet where a strange face is not seen once a quarter. Indeed so narrow are some of the streets and alleys in this quarter, and so little is there of privacy, owing to the removal, in warm weather, even of the casements, that the room is commanded in all its domestic details; and as among these details there is generally a further display of goods similar to the articles outside, the jammed-up places really look like a great family house with merely a sort of channel, dignified by the name of a street, between the right and left suites of apartments.

In one off-street, where on a Sunday there is a considerable demand for Jewish sweet-meats by Christian boys, and a little sly, and perhaps not very successful gambling on the part of the ingenuous youth to possess themselves of these confectionaries at the easiest rate, there are some mounds of builders' rubbish upon which, if an inquisitive person ascended, he could command the details of the upper rooms, probably the bed chambers—if in their crowded apartments these traders can find spaces for beds.

It must not be supposed that old clothes are more than the great staple of the traffic of this district. Wherever persons are assembled there are certain to be purveyors of provisions and of cool or hot drinks for warm or cold weather. The interior of the Old Clothes Exchange has its oyster-stall, its fountain of ginger-beer, its coffee-house, and ale-house, and a troop of peripatetic traders, boys principally, carrying trays. Outside the walls of the Exchange this trade is still thicker. A Jew boy thrusts a tin of highly-glazed cakes and pastry under the people's noses here; and on the other side a basket of oranges regales the same sense by its proximity. At the next step the thoroughfare is interrupted by a gaudy-looking ginger-beer, lemonade, raspberryade, and nectar fountain; "a halfpenny a glass, a halfpenny a glass, sparkling lemonade!" shouts the vendor as you pass. The fountain and the glasses glitter in the sun, the varnish of the wood-work shines, the lemonade really does sparkle, and all looks clean—except the owner. Close by is a brawny young Irishman, his red beard unshorn for perhaps ten days, and his neck, where it had been exposed to the weather, a far deeper red than his beard, and he is carrying a small basket of nuts, and selling them as gravely as if they were articles suited to his strength. A little lower is the cry, in a woman's voice, "Fish, fried fish! Ha'penny; fish, fried fish!" and so monotonously and mechanically is it ejaculated that one might think the seller's life was passed in uttering these few words, even as a rook's is in crying "Caw, caw." Here I saw a poor Irishwoman who had a child on her back buy a piece of this fish (which may be had "hot" or "cold"), and tear out a piece with her teeth, and this with all the eagerness and relish of appetite or hunger; first eating the brown outside and then *sucking* the bone. I never saw fish look firmer or whiter. That fried fish is to be procured is manifest to more senses than one, for you can hear the sound of its being fried, and smell the fumes from the oil. In an open window opposite frizzle on an old tray, small pieces of thinly-cut meat, with a mixture of onions, kept hot by being placed over an old pan containing charcoal. In another room a mess of batter is smoking over a grate. "Penny a lot, oysters," resounds from different parts. Some of the sellers command two streets by establishing their stalls or tubs at a corner. Lads pass, carrying sweet-stuff on trays. I observed one very dark-eyed Hebrew boy chewing the hard-bake he vended—if it were not a substitute—with an expression of great enjoyment. Heaped up trays of fresh-looking sponge-cakes are carried in tempting pyramids. Youths have stocks of large hard-looking biscuits, and walk about crying, "Ha'penny biscuits, ha'penny; three a penny, biscuits;" these, with a morsel of cheese, often supply a dinner or a luncheon. Dates and figs, as dry as they are cheap, constitute the stock in trade of other street-sellers. "Coker-nuts" are sold in pieces and entire; the Jew boy, when he invites to the purchase of an entire nut, shaking it at the ear of the customer. I was told by a costermonger that these juveniles had a way of drumming with their fingers on the shell so as to satisfy a "green" customer that the nut offered was a sound one.

Such are the summer eatables and drinkables which I have lately seen vended in the Petticoat-lane district. In winter there are, as long as daylight lasts—and in no other locality perhaps does it last so short a time—other street provisions, and, if possible, greater zeal in selling them, the hours of business being circumscribed. There is then the potato-can and the hot elder-wine apparatus, and smoking pies and puddings, and roasted apples and chestnuts, and walnuts, and the several fruits which ripen in the autumn—apples, pears, &c.

Hitherto I have spoken only of such eatables and drinkables as are ready for consumption, but to these the trade in the Petticoat-lane district is by no means confined. There is fresh fish, generally of the cheaper kinds, and smoked or dried fish (smoked salmon, moreover, is sold ready

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cooked), and costermongers' barrows, with their loads of green vegetables, looking almost out of place amidst the surrounding dinginess. The cries of "Fine cauliflowers," "Large penny cabbages," "Eight a shilling, mackarel," "Eels, live eels," mix strangely with the hubbub of the busier street.

Other street-sellers also abound. You meet one man who says mysteriously, and rather bluntly, "Buy a good knife, governor." His tone is remarkable, and if it attract attention, he may hint that he has smuggled goods which he *must* sell anyhow. Such men, I am told, look out mostly for seamen, who often resort to Petticoat-lane; for idle men like sailors on shore, and idle uncultivated men often love to lounge where there is bustle. Pocket and pen knives and scissors, "Penny a piece, penny a pair," rubbed over with oil, both to hide and prevent rust, are carried on trays, and spread on stalls, some stalls consisting of merely a tea-chest lid on a stool. Another man, carrying perhaps a sponge in his hand, and well-dressed, asks you, in a subdued voice, if you want a good razor, as if he almost suspected that you meditated suicide, and were looking out for the means! This is another ruse to introduce smuggled (or "duffer's") goods. Account-books are hawked. "Penny-a-quire," shouts the itinerant street stationer (who, if questioned, always declares he said "Penny half quire"). "Stockings, stockings, two pence a pair." "Here's your chewl-ry; penny, a penny; pick 'em and choose 'em." [I may remark that outside the window of one shop, or rather parlour, if there be any such distinction here, I saw the handsomest, as far as I am able to judge, and the best cheap jewellery I ever saw in the streets.] "Pencils, sir, pencils; steel-pens, steel-pens; ha'penny, penny; pencils, steel-pens; sealing-wax, wax, wax, wax!" shouts one, "Green peas, ha'penny a pint!" cries another.

These things, however, are but the accompaniments of the main traffic. But as such things accompany all traffic, not on a small scale, and may be found in almost every metropolitan thoroughfare, where the police are not required, by the householders, to interfere, I will point out, to show the distinctive character of the street-trade in this part, what is *not* sold and not encouraged. I saw no old books. There were no flowers: no music, which indeed could not be heard except at the outskirts of the din; and no beggars plying their vocation among the trading class.

Another peculiarity pertaining alike to this shop and street locality is, that everything is at the veriest minimum of price; though it may not be asked, it will assuredly be taken. The bottle of lemonade which is elsewhere a penny is here a halfpenny. The tarts, which among the street-sellers about the Royal Exchange are a halfpenny each, are here a farthing. When lemons are two a-penny in St. George's-market, Oxford-street, as the long line of street stalls towards the western extremity is called—they are three and four a-penny in Petticoat and Rosemary lanes. Certainly there is a difference in size between the dearer and the cheaper tarts and lemons, and perhaps there is a difference in quality also, but the rule of a minimized cheapness has no exceptions in this cheap-trading quarter.

But Petticoat-lane is essentially the old clothes district. Embracing the streets and alleys adjacent to Petticoat-lane, and including the rows of old boots and shoes on the ground, there is perhaps between two and three miles of old clothes. Petticoat-lane proper is long and narrow, and to look down it is to look down a vista of many coloured garments, alike on the sides and on the ground. The effect sometimes is very striking, from the variety of hues, and the constant flitting, or gathering, of the crowd into little groups of bargainers. Gowns of every shade and every pattern are hanging up, but none, perhaps, look either bright or white; it is a vista of dinginess, but many coloured dinginess, as regards female attire. Dress coats, frock coats, great coats, livery and game-keepers' coats, paletots, tunics, trowsers, knee-breeches, waistcoats, capes, pilot coats, working jackets, plaids, hats, dressing gowns, shirts, Guernsey frocks, are all displayed. The predominant colours are black and blue, but there is every colour; the light drab of some aristocratic livery; the dull brown-green of velveteen; the deep blue of a pilot jacket; the variegated figures of the shawl dressing-gown; the glossy black of the restored garments; the shine of newly turpentined black satin waistcoats; the scarlet and green of some flaming tartan; these things—mixed with the hues of the women's garments, spotted and striped—certainly present a scene which cannot be beheld in any other part of the greatest city of the world, nor in any other portion of the world itself.

The ground has also its array of colours. It is covered with lines of boots and shoes, their shining black relieved here and there by the admixture of females' boots, with drab, green, plum or lavender-coloured "legs," as the upper part of the boot is always called in the trade. There is, too, an admixture of men's "button-boots" with drab cloth legs; and of a few red, yellow, and russet coloured slippers; and of children's coloured morocco boots and shoes. Handkerchiefs, sometimes of a gaudy orange pattern, are heaped on a chair. Lace and muslins occupy small stands or are spread on the ground. Black and drab and straw hats are hung up, or piled one upon another and kept from falling by means of strings; while, incessantly threading their way through all this intricacy, is a mass of people, some of whose dresses speak of a recent purchase in the lane.

I have said little of the shopkeepers of Petticoat-lane, nor is it requisite for the full elucidation of my present subject (which relates more especially to *street-sale*), that I should treat of them otherwise than as being in a great degree connected with street-trade. They stand in the street (in front of their premises), they trade in the street, they smoke and read the papers in the street; and indeed the greater part of their lives seems passed in the street, for, as I have elsewhere remarked, the Saturday's or Sabbath's recreation to some of them, after synagogue hours, seems to be to stand by their doors looking about them.

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In the earlier periods of the day—the Jewish Sabbath excepted, when there is no market at all in Petticoat-lane, not even among the Irish and other old clothes people, or a mere nothing of a market—the goods of these shops seem consigned to the care of the wives and female members of the families of the proprietors. The Old Clothes Exchange, like other places known by the name—the Royal Exchange, for example—has its daily season of "high change." This is, in summer, from about half-past two to five, in winter, from two to four o'clock. At those hours the crockman, and the bartering costermonger, and the Jew collector, have sought the Exchange with their respective bargains; and business there, and in the whole district, is at its fullest tide. Before this hour the master of the shop or *store* (the latter may be the more appropriate word) is absent buying, collecting, or transacting any business which requires him to leave home. It is curious to observe how, during this absence, the women, but with most wary eyes to the business, sit in the street carrying on their domestic occupations. Some, with their young children about them, are shelling peas; some are trimming vegetables; some plying their needles; some of the smaller traders' wives, as well as the street-sellers with a "pitch," are eating dinners out of basins (laid aside when a customer approaches), and occasionally some may be engaged in what Mrs. Trollope has called (in noticing a similar procedure in the boxes of an American theatre) "the most maternal of all offices." The females I saw thus occupied were principally Jewesses, for though those resorting to the Old Clothes Exchange and its concomitant branches may be but one-fourth Jews, more than half of the remainder being Irish people, the householders or shopkeepers of the locality, when capital is needed, are generally Israelites.

It must be borne in mind that, in describing Petticoat-lane, I have described it as seen on a fine summer's day, when the business is at its height. Until an hour or two after midday the district is quiet, and on very rainy days its aspect is sufficiently lamentable, for then it appears actually deserted. Perhaps on a winter's Saturday night—as the Jewish Sabbath terminates at sunset—the scene may be the most striking of all. The flaring lights from uncovered gas, from fat-fed lamps, from the paper-shaded candles, and the many ways in which the poorer street-folk throw some illumination over their goods, produce a multiplicity of lights and shadows, which, thrown and blended over the old clothes hanging up along the line of street, cause them to assume mysterious forms, and if the wind be high make them, as they are blown to and fro, look more mysterious still.

On one of my visits to Petticoat-lane I saw two foreign Jews—from Smyrna I was informed. An old street-seller told me he believed it was their first visit to the district. But, new as the scene might be to them, they looked on impassively at all they saw. They wore the handsome and peculiar dresses of their country. A glance was cast after them by the Petticoat-lane people, but that was all. In the Strand they would have attracted considerable attention; not a few heads would have been turned back to gaze after them; but it seems that only to those who may possibly be customers is any notice paid in Petticoat-lane.

Rosemary-lane.

Rosemary-lane, which has in vain been re-christened Royal Mint-street, is from half to three-quarters of a mile long—that is, if we include only the portion which runs from the junction of Leman and Dock streets (near the London Docks) to Sparrow-corner, where it abuts on the Minories. Beyond the Leman-street termination of Rosemary-lane, and stretching on into Shadwell, are many streets of a similar character as regards the street and shop supply of articles to the poor; but as the old clothes trade is only occasionally carried on there, I shall here deal with Rosemary-lane proper.

This lane partakes of some of the characteristics of Petticoat-lane, but without its so strongly marked peculiarities. Rosemary-lane is wider and airier, the houses on each side are loftier (in several parts), and there is an approach to a gin palace, a thing unknown in Petticoat-lane: there is no room for such a structure there.

Rosemary-lane, like the quarter I have last described, has its off-streets, into which the traffic stretches. Some of these off-streets are narrower, dirtier, poorer in all respects than Rosemary-lane itself, which indeed can hardly be stigmatized as very dirty. These are Glasshouse-street, Russell-court, Hairbrine-court, Parson's-court, Blue Anchor-yard (one of the poorest places and with a half-built look), Darby-street, Cartwright-street, Peter's-court, Princes-street, Queen-street, and beyond these and in the direction of the Minories, Rosemary-lane becomes Sharp's-buildings and Sparrow-corner. There are other small non-thoroughfare courts, sometimes called blind alleys, to which no name is attached, but which are very well known to the neighbourhood as Union-court, &c.; but as these are not scenes of street-traffic, although they may be the abodes of street-traffickers, they require no especial notice.

The dwellers in the neighbourhood or the off-streets of Rosemary-lane, differ from those of Petticoat-lane by the proximity of the former place to the Thames. The lodgings here are occupied by dredgers, ballast-heavers, coal-whippers, watermen, lumpers, and others whose trade is connected with the river, as well as the slop-workers and sweaters working for the Minories. The poverty of these workers compels them to lodge wherever the rent of the rooms is the lowest. As a few of the wives of the ballast-heavers, &c., are street-sellers in or about Rosemary-lane, the locality is often sought by them. About Petticoat-lane the off-streets are mostly occupied by the old clothes merchants.

In Rosemary-lane is a greater *street*-trade, as regards things placed on the ground for retail sale, &c., than in Petticoat-lane; for though the traffic in the last-mentioned lane is by far the greatest, it is more connected with the shops, and fewer

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traders whose dealings are strictly those of the street alone resort to it. Rosemary-lane, too, is more Irish. There are some cheap lodging-houses in the courts, &c., to which the poor Irish flock; and as they are very frequently street-sellers, on busy days the quarter abounds with them. At every step you hear the Erse tongue, and meet with the Irish physiognomy; Jews and Jewesses are also seen in the street, and they abound in the shops. The street-traffic does not begin until about one o'clock, except as regards the vegetable, fish, and oyster-stalls, &c.; but the chief business of this lane, which is as inappropriately as that of Petticoat is suitably named, is in the vending of the articles which have often been thrown aside as refuse, but from which numbers in London wring an existence.

One side of the lane is covered with old boots and shoes; old clothes, both men's, women's, and children's; new lace for edgings, and a variety of cheap prints and muslins (also new); hats and bonnets; pots, and often of the commonest kinds; tins; old knives and forks, old scissors, and old metal articles generally; here and there is a stall of cheap bread or American cheese, or what is announced as American; old glass; different descriptions of second-hand furniture of the smaller size, such as children's chairs, bellows, &c. Mixed with these, but only very scantily, are a few bright-looking swag-barrows, with china ornaments, toys, &c. Some of the wares are spread on the ground on wrappers, or pieces of matting or carpet; and some, as the pots, are occasionally placed on straw. The cotton prints are often heaped on the ground; where are also ranges or heaps of boots and shoes, and piles of old clothes, or hats, or umbrellas. Other traders place their goods on stalls or barrows, or over an old chair or clothes-horse. And amidst all this motley display the buyers and sellers smoke, and shout, and doze, and bargain, and wrangle, and eat and drink tea and coffee, and sometimes beer. Altogether Rosemary-lane is more of a *street* market than is Petticoat-lane.

This district, like the one I have first described, is infested with young thieves and vagrants from the neighbouring lodging-houses, who may be seen running about, often bare-footed, bare-necked, and shirtless, but "larking" one with another, and what may be best understood as "full of fun." In what way these lads dispose of their plunder, and how their plunder is in any way connected with the trade of these parts, I shall show in my account of the Thieves. One pickpocket told me that there was no person whom he delighted so much to steal from as any Petticoat-laner with whom he had professional dealings!

In Rosemary-lane there is a busy Sunday morning trade; there is a street-trade, also, on the Saturday afternoons, but the greater part of the shops are then closed, and the Jews do not participate in the commerce until after sunset.

The two marts I have thus fully described differ from all other street-markets, for in these two second-hand garments, and second-hand merchandize generally (although but in a small proportion), are the grand staple of the traffic. At the other street-markets, the second-hand commerce is the exception.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MEN'S SECOND-HAND CLOTHES.

IN the following accounts of street-selling, I shall not mix up any account of the retailers' modes of buying, collecting, repairing, or "restoring" the second-hand garments, otherwise than incidentally. I have already sketched the systems pursued, and more will have to be said concerning them under the head of STREET-BUYERS. Neither have I thought it necessary, in the further accounts I have collected, to confine myself to the trade carried on in the Petticoat and Rosemary-lane districts. The greater portion relates to those places, but my aim, of course, is to give an account which will show the character of the second-hand trade of the metropolis generally.

"People should remember," said an intelligent shoemaker (not a street-seller) with whom I had some conversation about cobbling for the streets, "that such places as Rosemary-lane have their uses this way. But for them a very poor industrious widow, say, with only 2*d.* or 3*d.* to spare, couldn't get a pair of shoes for her child; whereas now, for 2*d.* or 3*d.*, she can get them there, of some sort or other. There 's a sort of decency, too, in wearing shoes. And what 's more, sir—for I 've bought old coats and other clothes in Rosemary-lane, both for my own wear and my family's, and know something about it—how is a poor creature to get such a decency as a petticoat for a poor little girl, if she 'd only a penny, unless there were such places?"

In the present state of the very poor, it may be that such places as those described have, on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, their benefits. But whether the state of things in which an industrious widow, or a host of industrious persons, *can* spare but 1*d.* for a child's clothing (and nothing, perhaps, for their own), is one to be lauded in a Christian country, is another question, fraught with grave political and social considerations.

The man from whom I received the following account of the sale of men's wearing apparel was apparently between 30 and 40 years of age. His face presented something of the Jewish physiognomy, but he was a Christian, he said, though he never had time to go to church or chapel, and Sunday was often a busy day; besides, a man must live as others in his way lived. He had been connected with the sale of old clothes all his life, as were his parents, so that his existence had been monotonous enough, for he had never been more than five miles, he thought, from Whitechapel, the neighbourhood where he was born. In winter he liked a concert, and was fond of a hand at cribbage, but he didn't care for the play. His goods he sometimes spread on the ground—at other times he had a stall or a "horse" (clothes-horse).

"My customers," he said, "are nearly all working people, some of them very poor, and with large families. For anything I know, some

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of them works with their heads, though, as well, and not their hands, for I've noticed that their hands is smallish and seems smoothish, and suits a tight sleeve very well. I don't know what they are. How should I? I asks no questions, and they'll tell me no fibs. To such as them I sell coats mostly; indeed, very little else. They're often very perticler about the fit, and often asks, 'Does it look as if it was made for me?' Sometimes they is seedy, very seedy, and comes to such as me, most likely, 'cause we're cheaper than the shops. They don't like to try things on in the street, and I can always take a decent customer, or one as looks sich, in there, to try on (pointing to a coffee-shop). Bob-tailed coats (dress-coats) is far the cheapest. I've sold them as low as 1*s*., but not often; at 2*s*. and 3*s*. often enough; and sometimes as high as 5*s*. Perhaps a 3*s*. or 3*s*. 6*d*. coat goes off as well as any, but bob-tailed coats is little asked for. Now, I've never had a frock (surtout or frock coat), as well as I can remember, under 2*s*. 6*d*., except one that stuck by me a long time, and I sold it at last for 20*d*., which was 2*d*. less than what it cost. It was only a poor thing, in course, but it had such a rum-coloured velvet collar, that was faded, and had had a bit let in, and was all sorts of shades, and that hindered its selling, I fancy. Velvet collars isn't worn now, and I'm glad of it. Old coats goes better with their own collars (collars of the same cloth as the body of the coat). For frocks, I've got as much as 7*s*. 6*d*., and cheap at it too, sir. Well, perhaps (laughing) at an odd time they wasn't so very cheap, but that's all in the way of trade. About 4*s*. 6*d*. or 5*s*. is perhaps the ticket that a frock goes off best at. It's working people that buys frocks most, and often working people's wives or mothers—that is as far as I knows. They're capital judges as to what'll fit their men; and if they satisfy me it's all right, I'm always ready to undertake to change it for another if it don't fit. O, no, I never agree to give back the money if it don't fit; in course not; that wouldn't be business.

"No, sir, we're very little troubled with people larking. I have had young fellows come, half drunk, even though it might be Sunday morning, and say, 'Guv'ner, what'll you give me to wear that coat for you, and show off your cut?' We don't stand much of their nonsense. I don't know what such coves are. Perhaps 'torneys' journeymen, or pot-boys out for a Sunday morning's spree." [This was said with a bitterness that surprised me in so quiet-speaking a man.] "In greatcoats and cloaks I don't do much, but it's a very good sale when you can offer them well worth the money. I've got 10*s*. often for a greatcoat, and higher and lower, oftener lower in course; but 10*s*. is about the card for a good thing. It's the like with cloaks. Paletots don't sell well. They're mostly thinner and poorer cloth to begin with at the tailors—them new-fashioned named things often is so—and so they show when hard worn. Why no, sir, they can be done up, certainly; anything can be touched up; but they get thin, you see, and there's nothing to work upon as there is in a good cloth greatcoat. You'll excuse me, sir, but I saw you a little bit since take one of them there square books that a man gives away to people coming this way, as if to knock up the second-hand business, but he won't, though; I'll tell you how them slops, if they come more into wear, is sure to injure us. If people gets to wear them low-figured things, more and more, as they possibly may, why where's the second-hand things to come from? I'm not a tailor, but I understands about clothes, and I believe that no person ever saw anything green in my eye. And if you find a slop thing marked a guinea, I don't care what it is, but I'll undertake that you shall get one that'll wear longer, and look better to the very last, second-hand, at less than half the money, plenty less. It was good stuff and good make at first, and hasn't been abused, and that's the reason why it always bangs a slop, because it was good to begin with.

"Trousers sells pretty well. I sell them, cloth ones, from 6*d*. up to 4*s*. They're cheaper if they're not cloth, but very seldom less or so low as 6*d*. Yes, the cloth ones at that is poor worn things, and little things too. They're not men's, they're youth's or boy's size. Good strong cords goes off very well at 1*s*. and 1*s*. 6*d*., or higher. Irish bricklayers buys them, and paviours, and such like. It's easy to fit a man with a pair of second-hand trousers. I can tell by his build what'll fit him directly. Tweeds and summer trousers is middling, but washing things sells worse and worse. It's an expense, and expenses don't suit my customers—not a bit of it.

"Waistcoats isn't in no great call. They're often worn very hard under any sort of a tidy coat, for a tidy coat can be buttoned over anything that's 'dicky,' and so, you see, many of 'em's half-way to the rag-shop before they comes to us. Well, I'm sure I can hardly say what sort of people goes most for weskets" [so he pronounced it]. "If they're light, or there's anything 'fancy' about them, I thinks it's mothers as makes them up for their sons. What with the strings at the back and such like, it aint hard to make a wesket fit. They're poor people as buys certainly, but genteel people buys such things as fancy weskets, or how do you suppose they'd all be got through? O, there's ladies comes here for a bargain, I can tell you, and gentlemen, too; and many on 'em would go through fire for one. Second-hand satins (waistcoats) is good still, but they don't fetch the tin they did. I've sold weskets from 1½*d*. to 4*s*. Well, it's hard to say what the three-ha'pennies is made of; all sorts of things; we calls them 'serge.' Three-pence is a common price for a little wesket. There's no under-weskets wanted now, and there's no rolling collars. It was better for us when there was, as there was more stuff to work on. The double-breasted gets scarcer, too. Fashions grows to be cheap things now-a-days.

"I can't tell you anything about knee-breeches; they don't come into my trade, and they're never asked for. Gaiters is no go either. Liveries isn't

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a street-trade. I fancy all those sort of things is sent abroad. I don't know where. Perhaps where people doesn't know they was liveries. I wouldn't wear an old livery coat, if it was the Queen's, for five bob. I don't think wearing one would hinder trade. You may have seen a black man in a fine livery giving away bills of a slop in Holborn. If we was to have such a thing we'd be pulled up (apprehended) for obstructing.

"I sells a few children's (children's clothes), but only a few, and I can't say so much about them. They sells pretty freely though, and to very decent people. If they're good, then they're ready for use. If they ain't anything very prime, they can be mended—that is, if they was good to begin with. But children's woollen togs is mostly hardworn and fit only for the 'devil' (the machine which tears them up for shoddy). I've sold suits, which was tunics and trousers, but no weskets, for 3*s.* 6*d.* when they was tidy. That's a common price.

"Well, really, I hardly know how much I make every week; far too little, I know that. I could no more tell you how many coats I sell in a year, or how many weskets, than I could tell you how many days was fine, and how many wasn't. I can carry all in my head, and so I keeps no accounts. I know exactly what every single thing I sell has cost me. In course I must know *that*. I dare say I may clear about 12*s.* bad weeks, and 18*s.* good weeks, more and less both ways, and there's more bad weeks than good. I have cleared 50*s.* in a good week; and when it's been nothing but fog and wet, I haven't cleared 3*s.* 6*d.* But mine's a better business than common, perhaps. I can't say what others clears; more and less than I does."

The profit in this trade, from the best information I could obtain, runs about 50 per cent.

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-hand Boots and Shoes.

The man who gave me the following account of this trade had been familiar with it a good many years, fifteen he believed, but was by no means certain. I saw at his lodgings a man who was finishing his day's work there, in cobbling and "translating." He was not in the employ of my informant, who had two rooms, or rather a floor; he slept in one and let the other to the "translator" who was a relation, he told me, and they went on very well together, as he (the street-seller) liked to sit and smoke his pipe of a night in the translator's room, which was much larger than his own; and sometimes, when times were "pretty bobbish," they clubbed together for a good supper of tripe, or had a "prime hot Jemmy a-piece," with a drop of good beer. A "Jemmy" is a baked sheep's head. The room was tidy enough, but had the strong odour of shoemaker's wax proper to the craft.

"I've been in a good many street-trades, and others too," said my informant, "since you want to know, and for a good purpose as well as I can understand it. I was a 'prentice to a shoemaker in Northampton, with a lot more; why, it was more like a factory than anything else, was my master's, and the place we worked in was so confined and hot, and we couldn't open the window, that it was worse than the East Ingees. O, I know what they is. I've been there. I was so badly treated I ran away from my master, for I had only a father, and he cared nothing about me, and so I broke my indentures. After a good bit of knocking about and living as I could, and starving when I couldn't, but I never thought of going back to Northampton, I 'listed and was a good bit in the Ingees. Well, never mind, sir, how long, or what happened me when I was soldier. I did nothing wrong, and that ain't what you was asking about, and I'd rather say no more about it."

I have met with other street-folk, who had been soldiers, and who were fond of talking of their "service," often enough to grumble about it, so that I am almost tempted to think my informant had deserted, but I questioned him no further on the subject.

"I had my ups and downs again, sir," he continued, "when I got back to England. God bless us all; I'm very fond of children, but I never married, and when I've been at the worst, I've been really glad that I hadn't no one depending on me. It's bad enough for oneself, but when there's others as you must love, what must it be then? I've smoked a pipe when I was troubled in mind, and couldn't get a meal, but could only get a pipe, and baccy's shamefully dear here; but if I'd had a young daughter now, what good would it have been my smoking a pipe to comfort her? I've seen that in people that's akin to me, and has been badly off, and with families. I had a friend or two in London, and I applied to them when I couldn't hold out no longer, and they gave me a bit of a rise, so I began as a costermonger. I was living among them as was in that line. Well, now, it's a pleasant life in fine weather. Why it was only this morning Joe (the translator) was reading the paper at breakfast time;—he gets it from the public-house, and if it's two, three, or four day's old, it's just as good for us;—and there was 10,000 pines had been received from the West Ingees. There's a chance for the costermongers, says I, if they don't go off too dear. Then cherries is in; and I was beginning to wish I was a costermonger myself still, but my present trade is *surer*. My boots and shoes 'll keep. They don't spoil in hot weather. Cherries and strawberries does, and if it comes thunder and wet, you can't sell. I worked a barrow, and sometimes had only a bit of a pitch, for a matter of two year, perhaps, and then I got into this trade, as I understood it. I sells all sorts, but not so much women's or children's.

"Why, as to prices, there's two sorts of prices. You may sell as you buy, or you may sell new soled and heeled. They're never new welted for the streets. It wouldn't pay a bit. Not long since I had a pair of very good Oxonians that had been new welted, and the very first day I had them on sale—it was a dull drizzly day—a lad tried to prig them. I just caught him in time.

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Did I give him in charge? I hope I've more sense. I've been robbed before, and I've caught young rips in the act. If it's boots or shoes they've tried to prig, I gives them a stirruping with whichever it is, and a kick, and lets them go."

"Men's shoes, the regular sort, isn't a very good sale. I get from 10*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* a pair; but the high priced 'uns is either soled and heeled, and mudded well, or they've been real well-made things, and not much worn. I've had gentlemen's shooting-shoes sometimes, that's flung aside for the least thing. The plain shoes don't go off at all. I think people likes something to cover their stocking-feet more. For cloth button-boots I get from 1*s.*—that's the lowest I ever sold at—to 2*s.* 6*d.* The price is according to what condition the things is in, and what's been done to them, but there's no regular price. They're not such good sale as they would be, because they soon show worn. The black 'legs' gets to look very seamy, and it's a sort of boot that won't stand much knocking about, if it ain't right well made at first. I've been selling Oxonian button-overs ('Oxonian' shoes, which cover the instep, and are closed by being buttoned instead of being stringed through four or five holes) at 3*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* but they was really good, and soled and heeled; others I sell at 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* Bluchers is from 1*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* Wellingtons from 1*s.*—yes, indeed, I've had them as low as 1*s.*, and perhaps they weren't very cheap at that, them very low-priced things never is, neither new nor old—from 1*s.* to 5*s.*; but Wellingtons is more for the shops than the street. I do a little in children's boots and shoes. I sell them from 3*d.* to 15*d.* Yes, you can buy lower than 3*d.*, but I'm not in that way. They sell quite as quick, or quicker, than anything. I've sold children's boots to poor women that wanted shoeing far worse than the child; aye, many a time, sir. Top boots (they're called 'Jockeys' in the trade) isn't sold in the streets. I've never had any, and I don't see them with others in my line. O no, there's no such thing as Hessians or back-straps (a top-boot without the light-coloured top) in my trade now. Yes, I always have a seat handy where anybody can try on anything in the street; no, sir, no boot-hooks nor shoe-horn; shoe-horns is rather going out, I think. If what we sell in the streets won't go on without them they won't be sold at all. A good many will buy if the thing's only big enough—they can't bear pinching, and don't much care for a fine fit.

"Well, I suppose I take from 30*s.* to 40*s.* a week, 14*s.* is about my profit—that's as to the year through.

"I sell little for women's wear, though I do sell their boots and shoes sometimes."

Of the Street-Sellers of Old Hats.

The two street-sellers of old coats, waistcoats, and trousers, and of boots and shoes, whose statements precede this account, confined their trade, generally, to the second-hand merchandize I have mentioned as more especially constituting their stock. But this arrangement does not wholly prevail. There are many street-traders "in second-hand," perhaps two-thirds of the whole number, who sell indiscriminately anything which they can buy, or what they hope to turn out an advantage; but even they prefer to deal more in one particular kind of merchandize than another, and this is most of all the case as concerns the street-sale of old boots and shoes. Hats, however, are among the second-hand wares which the street-seller rarely vends unconnected with other stock. I was told that this might be owing to the hats sold in the streets being usually suitable only for one class, grown men; while clothes and boots and shoes are for boys as well as men. Caps may supersede the use of hats, but nothing can supersede the use of boots or shoes, which form the *steadiest* second-hand street-trade of any.

There are, however, occasions, when a street-seller exerts himself to become possessed of a cheap stock of hats, by the well-known process of "taking a quantity," and sells them without, or with but a small admixture of other goods. One man who had been lately so occupied, gave me the following account. He was of Irish parentage, but there was little distinctive in his accent:—

"Hats," he said, "are about the awkwardest things of any for the streets. Do as you will, they require a deal of room, so that what you'll mostly see isn't hats quite ready to put on your head and walk away in, but to be made ready. I've sold hats that way though, I mean ready to wear, and my father before me has sold hundreds—yes, I've been in the trade all my life—and it's the best way for a profit. You get, perhaps, the old hat in, or you buy it at 1*d.* or 2*d.* as may be, and so you kill two birds. But there's very little of that trade except on Saturday nights or Sunday mornings. People wants a decent tile for Sundays and don't care for work-days. I never hawks hats, but I sells to those as do. My customers for hats are mechanics, with an odd clerk or two. Yes, indeed, I sell hats now and then to my own countrymen to go decent to mass in. I go to mass myself as often as I can; sometimes I go to vespers. No, the Irish in this trade ain't so good in going to chapel as they ought, but it takes such a time; not just while you're there, but in shaving, and washing, and getting ready. My wife helps me in selling second-hand things; she's a better hand than I am. I have two boys; they're young yet, and I don't know what we shall bring them up to; perhaps to our own business; and children seems to fall naturally into it, I think, when their fathers and mothers is in it. They're at school now.

"I have sold hats from 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, but very seldom 3*s.* 6*d.* The 3*s.* 6*d.* ones would wear out two new gossamers, I know. It's seldom you see beaver hats in the street-trade now, they're nearly all silk. They say the beavers have got scarce in foreign parts where they're caught. I haven't an idea how many hats I sell in a year, for I don't stick to hats, you see, sir, but I like doing in them as well or better than in anything else. Sometimes I've sold nothing but hats for weeks together, wholesale and retail that is. It's

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only the regular-shaped hats I can sell. If you offer swells' hats, people 'll say: 'I may as well buy a new "wide-awake" at once.' I have made 20*s.* in a week on hats alone. But if I confined my trade to them now, I don't suppose I could clear 5*s.* one week with another the year through. It 's only the hawkers that can sell them in wet weather. I wish we could sell under cover in all the places where there 's what you call 'street-markets.' It would save poor people that lives by the street many a twopence by their things not being spoiled, and by people not heeding the rain to go and examine them."

Of the Street-Sellers of Women's Second-hand Apparel.

This trade, as regards the sale to retail customers in the streets, is almost entirely in the hands of women, seven-eighths of whom are the wives, relatives, or connections of the men who deal in second-hand male apparel. But gowns, cloaks, bonnets, &c., are collected more largely by men than by women, and the wholesale old clothes' merchants of course deal in every sort of habiliment. Petticoat and Rosemary-lanes are the grand marts for this street-sale, but in Whitecross-street, Leather-lane, Old-street (St. Luke's), and some similar Saturday-night markets in poor neighbourhoods, women's second-hand apparel is sometimes offered. "It is often of little use offering it in the latter places," I was told by a lace-seller who had sometimes tried to do business in second-hand shawls and cloaks, "because you are sure to hear, 'Oh, we can get them far cheaper in Petticoat-lane, when we like to go as far.'"

The different portions of female dress are shown and sold in the street, as I have described in my account of Rosemary-lane, and of the trading of the men selling second-hand male apparel. There is not so much attention paid to "set off" gowns that there is to set off coats. "If the gown be a washing gown," I was informed, "it is sure to have to be washed before it can be worn, and so it is no use bothering with it, and paying for soap and labour beforehand. If it be woollen, or some stuff that wont wash, it has almost always to be altered before it is worn, and so it is no use doing it up perhaps to be altered again." Silk goods, however, are carefully enough re-glossed and repaired. Most of the others "just take their chance."

A good-looking Irishwoman gave me the following account. She had come to London and had been a few years in service, where she saved a little money, when she married a cousin, but in what degree of cousinship she did not know. She then took part in his avocation as a crockman, and subsequently as a street-seller of second-hand clothes.

"Why, yis, thin and indeed, sir," she said, "I did feel rather quare in my new trade, going about from house to house, the Commercial-road and Stepney way, but I soon got not to mind, and indeed thin it don't matter much what way one gets one's living, so long as it 's honest. O, yis, I know there 's goings on in old clothes that isn't always honest, but my husband's a fair dealing man. I felt quarer, too, whin I had to sell in the strate, but I soon got used to that, too; and it 's not such slavish work as the 'crocks.' But we sometimes 'crocks' in the mornings a little still, and sells in the evenings. No, not what we 've collected—for that goes to Mr. Isaac's market almost always—but stock that 's ready for wear.

"For *Cotton Gowns* I 've got from 9*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* O, yis, and indeed thin, there 's gowns chaper, 4*d.* and 6*d.*, but there's nothing to be got out of them, and we don't sell them. From 9*d.* to 18*d.* is the commonest price. It 's poor people as buys: O, yis, and indeed thin it is, thim as has families, and must look about thim. Many 's the poor woman that 's said to me, 'Well, and indeed, marm, it isn't my inclination to chapen anybody as I thinks is fair, and I was brought up quite different to buying old gowns, I assure you'—yis, that 's often said; no, sir, it isn't my countrywomen that says it (laughing), it 's yours. 'I wouldn't think,' says she, 'of offering you 1*d.* less than 1*s.*, marm, for that frock for my daughter, marm, but it 's such a hard fight to live.' Och, thin, and it is indeed; but to hear some of them talk you 'd think they was born ladies. *Stuff-gowns* is from 2*d.* to 8*d.* higher than cotton, but they don't sell near so well. I hardly know why. Cotton washes, and if a dacent woman gets a chape second-hand cotton, she washes and does it up, and it seems to come to her fresh and new. That can't be done with stuff. *Silk* is very little in my way, but silk gowns sell from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* Of satin and velvet gowns I can tell you nothing; they 're never in the streets.

"*Second-hand Bonnets* is a very poor sale—very. The milliners, poor craitchers, as makes them up and sells them in the strate, has the greatest sale, but they makes very little by it. Their bonnets looks new, you see, sir, and close and nice for poor women. I 've sold bonnets from 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, and some of them cost 3*l.* But whin they git faded and out of fashion, they 're of no vally at all at all. *Shawls* is a very little sale; very little. I 've got from 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* for them. Plaid shawls is as good as any, at about 1*s.* 6*d.*; but they 're a winter trade. *Cloaks* (they are what in the dress-making trade are called mantles) isn't much of a call. I 've had them from 1*s.* 6*d.* as high as 7*s.*—but only once 7*s.*, and it was good silk. They 're not a sort of wear that suits poor people. Will and indeed thin, I hardly know who buys them second-hand. Perhaps bad women buys a few, or they get men to buy them for them. I think your misses don't buy much second-hand thin in gineral; the less the better, the likes of them; yis, indeed, sir. *Stays* I don't sell, but you can buy them from 3*d.* to 15*d.*; it 's a small trade. And I don't sell *Under Clothing*, or only now and thin, except *Children's*. Dear me, I can hardly tell the prices I get for the poor little things' dress—I 've a little girl myself—the prices vary so, just as the frocks and other things is made for big children or little, and what they 're made of. I 've sold frocks—they sell best on Saturday and

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Monday nights—from 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* Little petticoats is 1*d.* to 3*d.*; shifts is 1*d.* and 2*d.*, and so is little shirts. If they wasn't so low there would be more rags than there is, and sure there's plinty.

"Will, thin and indeed, I don't know what we make in a week, and if I did, why should I tell? O, yes, sir, I know from the gentleman that sent you to me that you're asking for a good purpose: yis, indeed, thin; but I ralely can't say. We do pritty well, God's name be praised! Perhaps a good second-hand gown trade and such like is worth from 10*s.* to 15*s.* a week, and nearer 15*s.* than 10*s.* ivery week; but that's a *good* second-hand trade you understand, sir. A poor trade's about half that, perhaps. But thin my husband sells men's wear as well. Yis, indeed, and I find time to go to mass, and I soon got my husband to go after we was married, for he'd got to neglect it, God be praised; and what's all you can get here compared to making your sowl" [saving your soul —*making* your soul is not an uncommon phrase among some of the Irish people]. "Och, and indeed thin, sir, if you've met Father ——, you've met a good gintleman."

Of the street-selling of *women and children's second-hand boots and shoes*, I need say but little, as they form part of the stock of the men's ware, and are sold by the same men, not unfrequently assisted by their wives. The best sale is for black *cloth boots*, whether laced or buttoned, but the prices run only from 5*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* If the "legs" of a second-hand pair be good, they are worth 5*d.*, no matter what the leather portion, including the soles, may be. Coloured boots sell very indifferently. Children's boots and shoes are sold from 2*d.* to 15*d.*

Of the Street-Sellers of Second-hand Furs.

Of furs the street-sale is prompt enough, or used to be prompt; but not so much so, I am told, last season, as formerly. A fur tippet is readily bought for the sake of warmth by women who thrive pretty well in the keeping of coffee-stalls, or any calling which requires attendance during the night, or in the chilliness of early morning, even in summer, by those who go out at early hours to their work. By such persons a big tippet is readily bought when the money is not an impediment, and to many it is a strong recommendation, that when new, the tippet, most likely, was worn by a real lady. So I was assured by a person familiar with the trade.

One female street-seller had three stalls or stands in the New Cut (when it was a great street market), about two years back, and all for the sale of second-hand furs. She has now a small shop in second-hand wearing apparel (women's) generally, furs being of course included. The business carried on in the street (almost always "the Cut") by the fur-seller in question, who was both industrious and respectable, was very considerable. On a Monday she has not unfrequently taken 8*l.*, one-half of which, indeed more than half, was profit, for the street-seller bought in the summer, when furs "were no money at all," and sold in the winter, when they "were really tin, and no mistake." Before the season began, she sometimes had a small room nearly full of furs.

This trade is less confined to Petticoat-lane and the old clothes district, as regards the supply to retail customers, than is anything else connected with dress. But the fur trade is now small. The money, prudence, and forethought necessary to enable a fur-seller to buy in the summer, for ample profit in the winter, as regards street-trade, is not in accordance with the habits of the general run of street-sellers, who think but of the present, or hardly think even of that.

The old furs, like all the other old articles of wearing apparel, whether garbs of what may be accounted primary necessaries, as shoes, or mere comforts or adornments, as boas or muffs, are bought in the first instance at the Old Clothes Exchange, and so find their way to the street-sellers. The exceptions as to this first transaction in the trade I now speak of, are very trifling, and, perhaps, more trifling than in other articles, for one great supply of furs, I am informed, is from their being swopped in the spring and summer for flowers with the "root-sellers," who carry them to the Exchange.

Last winter there were sometimes as many as ten persons—three-fourths of the number of second-hand fur sellers, which fluctuates, being women—with fur-stands. They frequent the street-markets on the Saturday and Monday nights, not confining themselves to any one market in particular. The best sale is for *Fur Tippets*, and chiefly of the darker colours. These are bought, one of the dealers informed me, frequently by maid-servants, who could run of errands in them in the dark, or wear them in wet weather. They are sold from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.*, about 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* being a common charge. Children's tippets "go off well," from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* *Boas* are not vended to half the extent of tippets, although they are lower-priced, one of tolerably good gray squirrel being 1*s.* 6*d.* The reason of the difference in the demand is that boas are as much an ornament as a garment, while the tippet answers the purpose of a shawl. *Muffs* are not at all vendible in the streets, the few that are disposed of being principally for children. As muffs are not generally used by maid-servants, or by the families of the working classes, the absence of demand in the second-hand traffic is easily accounted for. They are bought sometimes to cut up for other purposes. *Victorines* are disposed of readily enough at from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*, as are *Cuffs*, from 4*d.* to 8*d.*

One man, who told me that a few years since he and his wife used to sell second-hand furs in the street, was of opinion that his best customers were women of the town, who were tolerably well-dressed, and who required some further protection from the night air. He could readily sell any "tidy" article, tippet, boa, or muff, to those females, if they had from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* at command. He had so sold them in Clare-market, in Tottenham-court-road, and the Brill.

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OF THE SECOND-HAND SELLERS OF SMITHFIELD-MARKET.

No small part of the second-hand trade of London is carried on in the market-place of Smithfield, on the Friday afternoons. Here is a mart for almost everything which is required for the harnessing of beasts of draught, or is required for any means of propulsion or locomotion, either as a whole vehicle, or in its several parts, needed by street-traders: also of the machines, vessels, scales, weights, measures, baskets, stands, and all other appliances of street-trade.

The scene is animated and peculiar. Apart from the horse, ass, and goat trade (of which I shall give an account hereafter), it is a grand Second-hand Costermongers' Exchange. The trade is not confined to that large body, though they are the principal merchants, but includes greengrocers (often the costermonger in a shop), carmen, and others. It is, moreover, a favourite resort of the purveyors of street-provisions and beverages, of street dainties and luxuries. Of this class some of the most prosperous are those who are "well known in Smithfield."

The space devoted to this second-hand commerce and its accompaniments, runs from St. Bartholomew's Hospital towards Long-lane, but isolated peripatetic traders are found in all parts of the space not devoted to the exhibition of cattle or of horses. The crowd on the day of my visit was considerable, but from several I heard the not-always-very-veracious remarks of "Nothing doing" and "There 's nobody at all here to-day." The weather was sultry, and at every few yards arose the cry from men and boys, "Ginger-beer, ha'penny a glass! Ha'penny a glass," or "Iced lemonade here! Iced raspberriade, as cold as ice, ha'penny a glass, only a ha'penny!" A boy was elevated on a board at the end of a splendid affair of this kind. It was a square built vehicle, the top being about 7 feet by 4, and flat and surmounted by the lemonade fountain; long, narrow, champagne glasses, holding a raspberry coloured liquid, frothed up exceedingly, were ranged round, and the beverage dispensed by a woman, the mother or employer of the boy who was bawling. The sides of the machine, which stood on wheels, were a bright, shiny blue, and on them sprawled the lion and unicorn in gorgeous heraldry, yellow and gold, the artist being, according to a prominent announcement, a "herald painter." The apparatus was handsome, but with that exaggeration of handsomeness which attracts the high and low vulgar, who cannot distinguish between gaudiness and beauty. The sale was brisk. The ginger-beer sold in the market was generally dispensed from carts, and here I noticed, what occurs yearly in street-commerce, an innovation on the established system of the trade. Several sellers disposed of their ginger-beer in clear glass bottles, somewhat larger and fuller-necked than those introduced by M. Soyer for the sale of his "nectar," and the liquid was drank out of the bottle the moment the cork was undrawn, and so the necessity of a glass was obviated.

Near the herald-painter's work, of which I have just spoken, stood a very humble stall on which were loaves of bread, and round the loaves were pieces of fried fish and slices of bread on plates, all remarkably clean. "Oysters! Penny-a lot! Penny-a-lot, oysters!" was the cry, the most frequently heard after that of ginger-beer, &c. "Cherries! Twopence a-pound! Penny-a pound, cherries!" "Fruit-pies! Try my fruit-pies!" The most famous dealer in all kinds of penny pies is, however, not a pedestrian, but an equestrian hawker. He drives a very smart, handsome pie-cart, sitting behind after the manner of the Hansom cabmen, the lifting up of a lid below his knees displaying his large stock of pies. His "drag" is whisked along rapidly by a brisk chestnut poney, well-harnessed. The "whole set out," I was informed, poney included, cost 50*l.* when new. The proprietor is a keen Chartist and teetotalier, and loses no opportunity to inculcate to his customers the excellence of teetotalism, as well as of his pies. "Milk! ha'penny a pint! ha'penny a pint, good milk!" is another cry. "Raspberry cream! Iced raspberry-cream, ha'penny a glass!" This street-seller had a capital trade. Street-ices, or rather ice-creams, were somewhat of a failure last year, more especially in Greenwich-park, but this year they seem likely to succeed. The Smithfield man sold them in very small glasses, which he merely dipped into a vessel at his feet, and so filled them with the cream. The consumers had to use their fingers instead of a spoon, and no few seemed puzzled how to eat their ice, and were grievously troubled by its getting among their teeth. I heard one drover mutter that he felt "as if it had snowed in his belly!" Perhaps at Smithfield-market on the Friday afternoons every street-trade in eatables and drinkables has its representative, with the exception of such things as sweet-stuff, curds and whey, &c., which are bought chiefly by women and children. There were plum-dough, plum-cake, pastry, pea-soup, whelks, periwinkles, ham-sandwiches, hot-eels, oranges, &c., &c., &c.

These things are the usual accompaniment of street-markets, and I now come to the subject matter of the work, the sale of second-hand articles.

In this trade, since the introduction of a new arrangement two months ago, there has been a great change. The vendors are not allowed to vend barrows in the market, unless indeed with a poney or donkey harnessed to them, or unless they are wheeled about by the owner, and they are not allowed to spread their wares on the ground. When it is considered of what those wares are composed, the awkwardness of the arrangement, to the sales-people, may be understood. They consist of second-hand collars, pads, saddles, bridles, bits, traces, every description of worn harness, whole or in parts; the wheels, springs, axles, &c., of barrows and carts; the beams, chains, and bodies of scales;—these, perhaps, are the chief things which are sold separately, as parts of a whole. The traders have now no other option but to carry them as they best

THE STREET DOG-SELLER.

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can, and offer them for sale. You saw men who really appear clad in harness. Portions were fastened round their bodies, collars slung on their arms, pads or small cart-saddles, with their shaft-gear, were planted on their shoulders. Some carried merely a collar, or a harness bridle, or even a bit or a pair of spurs. It was the same with the springs, &c., of the barrows and small carts. They were carried under men's arms, or poised on their shoulders. The wheels and other things which are too heavy for such modes of transport had to be placed in some sort of vehicle, and in the vehicles might be seen trestles, &c.

The complaints on the part of the second-hand sellers were neither few nor mild: "If it had been a fat ox that had to be accommodated," said one, "before he was roasted for an alderman, they'd have found some way to do it. But it don't matter for poor men; though why we shouldn't be suited with a market as well as richer people is not the ticket, that's the fact."

These arrangements are already beginning to be infringed, and will be more and more infringed, for such is always the case. The reason why they were adopted was that the ground was so littered, that there was not room for the donkey traffic and other requirements of the market. The donkeys, when "shown," under the old arrangement, often trod on boards of old metal, &c., spread on the ground, and tripped, sometimes to their injury, in consequence. Prior to the change, about twenty persons used to come from Petticoat-lane, &c., and spread their old metal or other stores on the ground.

Of these there are now none. These Petticoat-laners, I was told by a Smithfield frequenter, were men "who knew the price of old rags,"—a new phrase expressive of their knowingness and keenness in trade.

The statistics of this trade will be found under that head; the prices are often much higher and much lower. I speak of the regular trades. I have not included the sale of the superior butchers' carts, &c., as that is a traffic not in the hands of the regular second-hand street-sellers. I have not thought it requisite to speak of the hawking of whips, sticks, wash-leathers, brushes, curry-combs, &c., &c., of which I have already treated distinctively.

The accounts of the Capital and Income of the Street-Sellers of Second-Hand Articles I am obliged to defer till a future occasion.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF LIVE ANIMALS.

The live animals sold in the streets include beasts, birds, fish, and reptiles, all sold in the streets of London.

The class of men carrying on this business—for they are nearly all men—is mixed; but the majority are of a half-sporting and half-vagrant kind. One informant told me that the bird-catchers, for instance, when young, as more than three-fourths of them are, were those who "liked to be after a loose end," first catching their birds, as a sort of sporting business, and then sometimes selling them in the streets, but far more frequently disposing of them in the bird-shops. "Some of these boys," a bird-seller in a large way of business said to me, "used to become rat-catchers or dog-sellers, but there's not such great openings in the rat and dog line now. As far as I know, they're the same lads, or just the same sort of lads, anyhow, as you may see 'helping,' holding horses, or things like that, at concerns like them small races at Peckham or Chalk Farm, or helping any way at the foot-races at Camberwell." There is in this bird-catching a strong manifestation of the vagrant spirit. To rise long before daybreak; to walk some miles before daybreak; from the earliest dawn to wait in some field, or common, or wood, watching the capture of the birds; then a long trudge to town to dispose of the fluttering captives; all this is done cheerfully, because there are about it the irresistible charms, to this class, of excitement, variety, and free and open-air life. Nor do these charms appear one whit weakened when, as happens often enough, all this early morn business is carried on fasting.

The old men in the bird-catching business are not to be ranked as to their enjoyment of it with the juveniles, for these old men are sometimes infirm, and can but, as one of them said to me some time ago, "hobble about it." But they have the same spirit, or the sparks of it. And in this part of the trade is one of the curious characteristics of a street-life, or rather of an open-air pursuit for the requirements of a street-trade. A man, worn out for other purposes, incapable of anything but a passive, or sort of lazy labour—such as lying in a field and watching the action of his trap-cages—will yet in a summer's morning, decrepid as he may be, possess himself of a dozen or even a score of the very freest and most aspiring of all our English small birds, a creature of the air beyond other birds of his "order"—to use an ornithological term—of sky-larks.

The dog-sellers are of a sporting, trading, idling class. Their sport is now the rat-hunt, or the ferret-match, or the dog-fight; as it was with the predecessors of their stamp, the cock-fight; the bull, bear, and badger bait; the shrove-tide cock-shy, or the duck hunt. Their trading spirit is akin to that of the higher-class sporting fraternity, the trading members of the turf. They love to sell and to bargain, always with a quiet exultation at the time—a matter of loud tavern boast afterwards, perhaps, as respects the street-folk—how they "do" a customer, or "do" one another. "It's not cheating," was the remark and apology of a very famous jockey of the old times, touching such measures; "it's not cheating, it's outwitting." Perhaps this expresses the code of honesty

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of such traders; not to cheat, but to outwit or over-reach. Mixed with such traders, however, are found a few quiet, plodding, fair-dealing men, whom it is difficult to classify, otherwise than that they are "in the line, just because they likes it." The idling of these street-sellers is a part of their business. To walk by the hour up and down a street, and with no manual labour except to clean their dogs' kennels, and to carry them in their arms, is but an idleness, although, as some of these men will tell you, "they work hard at it."

Under the respective heads of dog and bird-sellers, I shall give more detailed characteristics of the class, as well as of the varying qualities and inducements of the buyers.

The street-sellers of foreign birds, such as parrots, parroquets, and cockatoos; of gold and silver fish; of goats, tortoises, rabbits, leverets, hedgehogs; and the collectors of snails, worms, frogs, and toads, are also a mixed body. Foreigners, Jews, seamen, countrymen, costermongers, and boys form a part, and of them I shall give a description under the several heads. The prominently-characterized street-sellers are the traders in dogs and birds.

OF THE FORMER STREET-SELLERS, "FINDERS," STEALERS, AND RESTORERS OF DOGS.

BEFORE I describe the present condition of the street-trade in dogs, which is principally in spaniels, or in the description well known as lap-dogs, I will give an account of the former condition of the trade, if trade it can properly be called, for the "finders" and "stealers" of dogs were the more especial subjects of a parliamentary inquiry, from which I derive the official information on the matter. The Report of the Committee was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 26, 1844.

In their Report the Committee observe, concerning the value of pet dogs:—"From the evidence of various witnesses it appears, that in one case a spaniel was sold for 105*l*., and in another, under a sheriff's execution, for 95*l*. at the hammer; and 50*l*. or 60*l*. are not unfrequently given for fancy dogs of first-rate breed and beauty." The hundred guineas' dog above alluded to was a "black and tan King Charles's spaniel;"—indeed, Mr. Dowling, the editor of *Bell's Life in London*, said, in his evidence before the Committee, "I have known as much as 150*l*. given for a dog." He said afterwards: "There are certain marks about the eyes and otherwise, which are considered 'properties;' and it depends entirely upon the property which a dog possesses as to its value."

I need not dwell on the general fondness of the English for dogs, otherwise than as regards what were the grand objects of the dog-finders' search—ladies' small spaniels and lap-dogs, or, as they are sometimes called, "carriage-dogs," by their being the companions of ladies inside their carriages. These animals first became fashionable by the fondness of Charles II. for them. That monarch allowed them undisturbed possession of the gilded chairs in his palace of Whitehall, and seldom took his accustomed walk in the park without a tribe of them at his heels. So "fashionable" were spaniels at that time and afterwards, that in 1712 Pope made the chief of all his sylphs and sylphides the guard of a lady's lapdog. The fashion has long continued, and still continues; and it was on this fashionable fondness for a toy, and on the regard of many others for the noble and affectionate qualities of the dog, that a traffic was established in London, which became so extensive and so lucrative, that the legislature interfered, in 1844, for the purpose of checking it.

I cannot better show the extent and lucrativeness of this trade, than by citing a list which one of the witnesses before Parliament, Mr. W. Bishop, a gunmaker, delivered in to the Committee, of "cases in which money had recently been extorted from the owners of dogs by dog-stealers and their confederates." There is no explanation of the space of time included under the vague term "recently;" but the return shows that 151 ladies and gentlemen had been the victims of the dog-stealers or dog-finders, for in this business the words were, and still are to a degree, synonymes, and of these 62 had been so victimized in 1843 and in the six months of 1844, from January to July. The total amount shown by Mr. Bishop to have been paid for the restoration of stolen dogs was 977*l*. 4*s*. 6*d*., or an average of 6*l*. 10*s*. per individual practised upon. This large sum, it is stated on the authority of the Committee, was only that which came within Mr. Bishop's knowledge, and formed, perhaps, "but a *tenth* part in amount" of the whole extortion. Mr. Bishop was himself in the habit of doing business "in obtaining the restitution of dogs," and had once known 18*l*.—the dog-stealers asked 25*l*.— given for the restitution of a spaniel. The full amount realized by this dog-stealing was, according to the above proportion, 9772*l*. 5*s*. In 1843, 227*l*. 3*s*. 6*d*. was so realized, and 97*l*. 14*s*. 6*d*. in the six months of 1844, within Mr. Bishop's personal knowledge; and if this be likewise a *tenth* of the whole of the commerce in this line, a year's business, it appears, averaged 2166*l*. to the stealers or finders of dogs. I select a few names from the list of those robbed of dogs, either from the amount paid, or because the names are well known. The first payment cited is from a public board, who owned a dog in their corporate capacity:

	£	*s*.	*d*.
Board of Green Cloth	8	0	0
Hon. W. Ashley (v. t.*)	15	0	0
Sir F. Burdett	6	6	0
Colonel Udney (v. t.)	12	0	0
Duke of Cambridge	30	0	0
Count Kielmansegge	9	0	0
Mr. Orby Hunter (v. t.)	15	0	0
Mrs. Holmes (v. t.)	50	0	0
Sir Richard Phillips (v. t.)	20	0	0
The French Amdassador	1	11	6
Sir R. Peel	2	0	0
Edw. Morris, Esq.	17	0	0

* "v. t." signifies "various times," of theft and of "restoration."

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	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Ram (v. t.) . . .	15	0	0
Duchess of Sutherland . .	5	0	0
Wyndham Bruce, Esq. (v. t.) .	25	0	0
Capt. Alexander (v. t.) . .	22	0	0
Sir De Lacy Evans . . .	3	0	0
Judge Littledale . . .	2	0	0
Leonino Ippolito, Esq. (v. t.) .	10	0	0
Mr. Commissioner Rae . .	5	0	0
Lord Cholmondeley (v. t.) . .	12	0	0
Earl Stanhope . . .	8	0	0
Countess of Charlemont (v. t. in 1843)	12	0	0
Lord Alfred Paget . . .	10	0	0
Count Leodoffe (v. t.) . .	7	0	0
Mr. Thorne (whipmaker) . .	12	12	0
Mr. White (v. t.) . . .	15	0	0
Col. Barnard (v. t) . . .	14	14	0
Mr. T. Holmes . . .	15	0	0
Earl of Winchelsea . . .	6	0	0
Lord Wharncliffe (v. t.) . .	12	0	0
Hon. Mrs. Dyce Sombre . .	2	2	0
M. Ude (v. t.) . . .	10	10	0
Count Batthyany . . .	14	0	0
Bishop of Ely . . .	4	10	0
Count D'Orsay . . .	10	0	0

Thus these 36 ladies and gentlemen paid 438*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* to rescue their dogs from professional dog-stealers, or an average, per individual, of upwards of 12*l.*

These dog appropriators, as they found that they could levy contributions not only on royalty, foreign ambassadors, peers, courtiers, and ladies of rank, but on public bodies, and on the dignitaries of the state, the law, the army, and the church, became bolder and more expert in their avocations —a boldness which was encouraged by the existing law. Prior to the parliamentary inquiry, dog-stealing was not an indictable offence. To show this, Mr. Commissioner Mayne quoted Blackstone to the Committee: "As to those animals which do not serve for food, and which therefore the law holds to have no intrinsic value, as dogs of all sorts, and other creatures kept for whim and pleasure—though a man may have a base property therein, and maintain a civil action for the loss of them, yet they are not of such estimation as that the crime of stealing them amounts to larceny." The only mode of punishment for dog-stealing was by summary conviction, the penalty being fine or imprisonment; but Mr. Commissioner Mayne did not know of any instance of a dog-stealer being sent to prison in default of payment. Although the law recognised no property in a dog, the animal was taxed; and it was complained at the time that an unhappy lady might have to pay tax for the full term upon her dog, perhaps a year and a half after he had been stolen from her. One old offender, who stole the Duke of Beaufort's dog, was transported, not for stealing the dog, but his collar.

The difficulty of proving the positive theft of a dog was extreme. In most cases, where the man was not seen actually to seize a dog which could be identified, he escaped when carried before a magistrate. "The dog-stealers," said Inspector Shackell, "generally go two together; they have a piece of liver; they say it is merely bullock's liver, which will entice or tame the wildest or savagest dog which there can be in any yard; they give it him, and take him from his chain. At other times," continues Mr. Shackell, "they will go in the street with a little dog, rubbed over with some sort of stuff, and will entice valuable dogs away. . . . . If there is a dog lost or stolen, it is generally known within five or six hours where that dog is, and they know almost exactly what they can get for it, so that it is a regular system of plunder." Mr. G. White, "dealer in live stock, dogs, and other animals," and at one time a "dealer in lions, and tigers, and all sorts of things," said of the dog-stealers: "In turning the corners of streets there are two or three of them together; one will snatch up a dog and put into his apron, and the others will stop the lady and say, 'What is the matter?' and direct the party who has lost the dog in a contrary direction to that taken."

In this business were engaged from 50 to 60 men, half of them actual stealers of the animals. The others were the receivers, and the go-betweens or "restorers." The thief kept the dog perhaps for a day or two at some public-house, and he then took it to a dog-dealer with whom he was connected in the way of business. These dealers carried on a trade in "honest dogs," as one of the witnesses styled them (meaning dogs honestly acquired), but some of them dealt principally with the dog-stealers. Their depots could not be entered by the police, being private premises, without a search-warrant—and direct evidence was necessary to obtain a search-warrant—and of course a stranger in quest of a stolen dog would not be admitted. Some of the dog-dealers would not purchase or receive dogs known to have been stolen, but others bought and speculated in them. If an advertisement appeared offering a reward for the dog, a negotiation was entered into. If no reward was offered, the owner of the dog, who was always either known or made out, was waited upon by a restorer, who undertook "to restore the dog if terms could be come to." A dog belonging to Colonel Fox was once kept six weeks before the thieves would consent to the Colonel's terms. One of the most successful restorers was a shoemaker, and mixed little with the actual stealers; the dog-dealers, however, acted as restorers frequently enough. If the person robbed paid a good round sum for the restoration of a dog, and paid it speedily, the animal was almost certain to be stolen a second time, and a higher sum was then demanded. Sometimes the thieves threatened that if they were any longer trifled with they would inflict torture on the dog, or cut its throat. One lady, Miss Brown of Bolton-street, was so worried by these threats, and by having twice to redeem her dog, "that she has left England," said Mr. Bishop, "and I really do believe for the sake of keeping the dog." It does not appear, as far as the evidence shows, that these threats of torture or death were ever carried into execution;

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some of the witnesses had merely heard of such things.

The shoemaker alluded to was named Taylor, and Inspector Shackell thus describes this person's way of transacting business in the dog "restoring" line: "There is a man named Taylor, who is one of the greatest restorers in London of stolen dogs, through Mr. Bishop." [Mr. Bishop was a gun-maker in Bond-street.] "It is a disgrace to London that any person should encourage a man like that to go to extort money from ladies and gentlemen, especially a respectable man. A gentleman applied to me to get a valuable dog that was stolen, with a chain on his neck, and the name on the collar; and I heard Mr. Bishop himself say that it cost 6*l*.; that it could not be got for less. Capt. Vansittart (the owner of the dog) came out; I asked him particularly, 'Will you give me a description of the dog on a piece of paper,' and that is his writing (producing a paper). I went and made inquiry; and the captain himself, who lives in Belgrave-square, said he had no objection to give 4*l*. for the recovery of the dog, but would not give the 6*l*. I went and took a good deal of trouble about it. I found out that Taylor went first to ascertain what the owner of the dog would give for it, and then went and offered 1*l*. for the dog, then 2*l*., and at last purchased it for 3*l*.; and went and told Capt. Vansittart that he had given 4*l*. for the dog; and the dog went back through the hands of Mr. Bishop."

The "restorers" had, it appears, the lion's share in the profits of this business. One witness had known of as much as ten guineas being given for the recovery of a favourite spaniel, or, as the witness styled it, for "working a dog back," and only two of these guineas being received by "the party." The wronged individual, thus delicately intimated as the "party," was the thief. The same witness, Mr. Hobdell, knew 14*l*. given for the restoration of a little red Scotch terrier, which he, as a dog-dealer, valued at four shillings!

One of the coolest instances of the organization and boldness of the dog-stealers was in the case of Mr. Fitzroy Kelly's "favourite Scotch terrier." The "parties," possessing it through theft, asked 12*l*. for it, and urged that it was a reasonable offer, considering the trouble they were obliged to take. "The dog-stealers were obliged to watch every night," they contended, through Mr. Bishop, "and very diligently; Mr. Kelly kept them out very late from their homes, before they could get the dog; he used to go out to dinner or down to the Temple, and take the dog with him; they had a deal of trouble before they could get it." So Mr. Kelly was expected not only to pay more than the value of his dog, but an extra amount on account of the care he had taken of his terrier, and for the trouble his vigilance had given to the thieves! The matter was settled at 6*l*. Mr. Kelly's case was but one instance.

Among the most successful of the practitioners in this street-finding business were Messrs. "Ginger" and "Carrots," but a parliamentary witness was inclined to believe that Ginger and Carrots were nicknames for the same individual, one Barrett: although he had been in custody several times, he was considered "a very superior dog-stealer."

If the stolen dog were of little value, it was safest for the stealers to turn him loose; if he were of value, and unowned and unsought for, there was a ready market abroad. The stewards, stokers, or seamen of the Ostend, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburgh, and all the French steamers, readily bought stolen fancy dogs; sometimes twenty to thirty were taken at a voyage. A steward, indeed, has given 12*l*. for a stolen spaniel as a private speculation. Dealers, too, came occasionally from Paris, and bought numbers of these animals, and at what the dog fongers considered fair prices. One of the witnesses (Mr. Baker, a game dealer in Leadenhall-market) said:—"I have seen perhaps twenty or thirty dogs tied up in a little room, and I should suppose every one of them was stolen; a reward not sufficiently high being offered for their restoration, the parties get more money by taking them on board the different steam-ships and selling them to persons on board, or to people coming to this country to buy dogs and take them abroad."

The following statement, derived from Mr. Mayne's evidence, shows the extent of the dog-stealing business, but only as far as came under the cognizance of the police. It shows the number of dogs "lost" or "stolen," and of persons "charged" with the offence, and "convicted" or "discharged." Nearly all the dogs returned as lost, I may observe, were stolen, but there was no evidence to show the positive theft:—

	Dogs Stolen.	Dogs Lost.	Persons Charged.	Convicted.	Discharged.
1841	43	521	51	19	32
1842	54	561	45	17	28
1843	60	606	38	18	20

In what proportion the police-known thefts stood to the whole number, there was no evidence given; nor, I suppose, could it be given.

The dog-stealers were not considered to be connected with housebreakers, though they might frequent the same public-houses. Mr. Mayne pronounced these dog-stealers a genus, a peculiar class, "what they call dog-fanciers and dog-stealers; a sort of half-sporting, betting characters."

The law on the subject of dog-stealing (8 and 9 Vict., c. 47) now is, that "If any person shall steal any dog, every such offender shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, being convicted thereof before any two or more justices of the peace, shall, for the first offence, at the discretion of the said justices, either be committed to the common gaol or house of correction, there to be imprisoned only, or be imprisoned and kept to hard labour, for any term not exceeding six calendar months, or shall forfeit and pay over and above the value of the said dog such sum of money, not exceeding 20*l*., as to the said justices shall seem meet. And if any person so convicted shall

afterwards be guilty of the same offence, every such offender shall be guilty of an indictable misdemeanor, and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable to suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, or by both, as the court in its discretion shall award, provided such imprisonment do not exceed eighteen months."

Of a Dog-"Finder."—A "Lurker's" Career.

Concerning a dog-finder, I received the following account from one who had received the education of a gentleman, but whom circumstances had driven to an association with the vagrant class, and who has written the dog-finder's biography from personal knowledge—a biography which shows the *variety* that often characterizes the career of the "lurker," or street-adventurer.

"If your readers," writes my informant, "have passed the Rubicon of 'forty years in the wilderness,' memory must bring back the time when the feet of their childish pilgrimage have trodden a beautiful grass-plot—now converted into Belgrave-square; when Pimlico was a 'village out of town,' and the 'five fields' of Chelsea were fields indeed. To write the biography of a living character is always delicate, as to embrace all its particulars is difficult; but of the truthfulness of my account there is no question.

"Probably about the year of the great frost (1814), a French Protestant refugee, named La Roche, sought asylum in this country, not from persecution, but from difficulties of a commercial character. He built for himself, in Chelsea, a cottage of wood, nondescript in shape, but pleasant in locality, and with ample accommodations for himself and his son. Wife he had none. This little bazaar of mud and sticks was surrounded with a bench of rude construction, on which the Sunday visitors to Ranelagh used to sit and sip their curds and whey, while from the entrance—far removed in those days from competition—

'There stood uprear'd, as ensign of the place,
Of blue and red and white, a chequer'd mace,
On which the paper lantern hung to tell
How cheap its owner shaved you, and how well.'

Things went on smoothly for a dozen years, when the old Frenchman departed this life.

"His boy carried on the business for a few months, when frequent complaints of 'Sunday gambling' on the premises, and loud whispers of suspicion relative to the concealment of stolen goods, induced 'Chelsea George'—the name the youth had acquired—to sell the good-will of the house, fixtures, and all, and at the eastern extremity of London to embark in business as a 'mush or mushroom-faker.' Independently of his appropriation of umbrellas, proper to the mush-faker's calling, Chelsea George was by no means scrupulous concerning other little matters within his reach, and if the proprietors of the 'swell cribs' within his 'beat' had no 'umbrellas to mend,' or 'old 'uns to sell,' he would ease the pegs in the passage of the incumbrance of a greatcoat, and telegraph the same out of sight (by a colleague), while the servant went in to make the desired inquiries. At last he was 'bowl'd out' in the very act of 'nailing a yack' (stealing a watch). He 'expiated,' as it is called, this offence by three months' exercise on the 'cockchafer' (tread-mill). Unaccustomed as yet to the novelty of the exercise, he fell through the wheel and broke one of his legs. He was, of course, permitted to finish his time in the infirmary of the prison, and on his liberation was presented with five pounds out of 'the Sheriffs' Fund.'

"Although, as I have before stated, he had never been out of England since his childhood, he had some little hereditary knowledge of the French language, and by the kind and voluntary recommendation of one of the police-magistrates of the metropolis, he was engaged by an Irish gentleman proceeding to the Continent as a sort of supernumerary servant, to 'make himself generally useful.' As the gentleman was unmarried, and mostly stayed at hotels, George was to have permanent wages and 'find himself,' a condition he invariably fulfilled, if anything was left in his way. Frequent intemperance, neglect of duty, and unaccountable departures of property from the portmanteau of his master, led to his dismissal, and Chelsea George was left, without friends or character, to those resources which have supported him for some thirty years.

"During his 'umbrella' enterprise he had lived in lodging-houses of the lowest kind, and of course mingled with the most depraved society, especially with the vast army of trading sturdy mendicants, male and female, young and old, who assume every guise of poverty, misfortune, and disease, which craft and ingenuity can devise or well-tutored hypocrisy can imitate. Thus initiated, Chelsea George could 'go upon any lurk,' could be in the last stage of consumption—actually in his dying hour—but now and then convalescent for years and years together. He could take fits and counterfeit blindness, be a respectable broken-down tradesman, or a soldier maimed in the service, and dismissed without a pension.

"Thus qualified, no vicissitudes could be either very new or very perplexing, and he commenced operations without delay, and pursued them long without desertion. The 'first move' in his mendicant career was *taking them on the fly;* which means meeting the gentry on their walks, and beseeching or at times menacing them till something is given; something in general *was* given to get rid of the annoyance, and, till the 'game got stale,' an hour's work, morning and evening, produced a harvest of success, and ministered to an occasion of debauchery.

"His less popular, but more upright father, had once been a dog-fancier, and George, after many years vicissitude, at length took a 'fancy' to the same profession, but not on any principles recognised by commercial laws. With what success he has practised, the ladies and gentlemen about the West-end have known, to their loss and disappointment, for more than fifteen years past.

"Although the police have been and still are on the alert, George has, in every instance, hitherto

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escaped punishment, while numerous detections connected with escape have enabled the offender to hold these officials at defiance. The 'modus operandi' upon which George proceeds is to varnish his hands with a sort of gelatine, composed of the coarsest pieces of liver, fried, pulverised, and mixed up with tincture of myrrh." [This is the composition of which Inspector Shackell spoke before the Select Committee, but he did not seem to know of what the lure was concocted. My correspondent continues]: "Chelsea George caresses every animal who seems 'a likely spec,' and when his fingers have been rubbed over the dogs' noses they become easy and perhaps willing captives. A bag carried for the purpose, receives the victim, and away goes George, bag and all, to his printer's in Seven Dials. Two bills and no less—two and no more, for such is George's style of work—are issued to describe the animal that has thus been *found*, and which will be 'restored to its owner on payment of expenses.' One of these George puts in his pocket, the other he pastes up at a public-house whose landlord is 'fly' to its meaning, and poor 'bow-wow' is sold to a 'dealer in dogs,' not very far from Sharp's alley. In course of time the dog is discovered; the possessor refers to the 'establishment' where he bought it; the 'dealer makes himself *square*,' by giving the address of 'the chap he bought 'un of,' and Chelsea George shows a copy of the advertisement, calls in the publican as a witness, and leaves the place 'without the slightest imputation on his character.' Of this man's earnings I cannot speak with precision: it is probable that in a 'good year' his clear income is 200*l.*; in a bad year but 100*l.*, but, as he is very adroit, I am inclined to believe that the 'good' years somewhat predominate, and that the average income may therefore exceed 150*l.* yearly."

Of the Present Street-Sellers of Dogs.

It will have been noticed that in the accounts I have given of the former street-transactions in dogs, there is no mention of the *sellers*. The information I have adduced is a condensation of the evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, and the inquiry related only to the stealing, finding, and restoring of dogs, the selling being but an incidental part of the evidence. Then, however, as now, the street-sellers were not implicated in the thefts or restitution of dogs, "just except," one man told me, "as there was a black sheep or two in every flock." The black sheep, however, of this street-calling more frequently meddled with restoring, than with "finding."

Another street dog-seller, an intelligent man,—who, however did not know so much as my first informant of the state of the trade in the olden time,—expressed a positive opinion, that no dog-stealer was now a street-hawker ("hawker" was the word I found these men use). His reasons for this opinion, in addition to his own judgment from personal knowledge, are cogent enough: "It isn't possible, sir," he said, "and this is the reason why. We are not a large body of men. We stick pretty closely, when we are out, to the same places. We are as well-known to the police, as any men whom they most know, by sight at any rate, from meeting them every day. Now, if a lady or gentleman has lost a dog, or it's been stolen or strayed—and the most petted will sometimes stray unaccountably and follow some stranger or other—why where does she, and he, and all the family, and all the servants, first look for the lost animal? Why, where, but at the dogs we are hawking? No, sir, it can't be done now, and it isn't done in my knowledge, and it oughtn't to be done. I'd rather make 5*s.* on an honest dog than 5*l.* on one that wasn't, if there was no risk about it either." Other information convinces me that this statement is correct.

Of these street-sellers or hawkers there are now about twenty-five. There may be, however, but twenty, if so many, on any given day in the streets, as there are always some detained at home by other avocations connected with their line of life. The places they chiefly frequent are the Quadrant and Regent-street generally, but the Quadrant far the most. Indeed before the removal of the colonnade, one-half at least of all the dog-sellers of London would resort there on a very wet day, as they had the advantage of shelter, and generally of finding a crowd assembled, either lounging to pass the time, or waiting "for a fair fit," and so with leisure to look at dogs. The other places are the West-end squares, the banks of the Serpentine, Charing-cross, the Royal Exchange, and the Bank of England, and the Parks generally. They visit, too, any public place to which there may be a temporary attraction of the classes likely to be purchasers — a mere crowd of people, I was told, was no good to the dog-hawkers, it must be a crowd of people that had money—such as the assemblage of ladies and gentlemen who crowd the windows of Whitehall and Parliament-street, when the Queen opens or prorogues the houses. These spectators fill the street and the Horse-guards' portion of the park as soon as the street mass has dispersed, and they often afford the means of a good day's work to the dog people.

Two dogs, carefully cleaned and combed, or brushed, are carried in a man's arms for street-vending. A fine chain is generally attached to a neat collar, so that the dog can be relieved from the cramped feel he will experience if kept off his feet too long. In carrying these little animals for sale—for it is the smaller dogs which are carried—the men certainly display them to the best advantage. Their longer silken ears, their prominent dark eyes and black noses, and the delicacy of their fore-paws, are made as prominent as possible, and present what the masses very well call "quite a pictur." I have alluded to the display of the *Spaniels*, as they constitute considerably more than half of the street trade in dogs, the "King Charleses" and the "Blenheims" being disposed of in nearly equal quantities. They are sold for lap-dogs, pets, carriage companions or companions in a walk, and are often intelligent and affectionate. Their colours are black, black and tan, white and liver-colour, chestnut, black and white, and entirely

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white, with many shades of these hues, and inter-blendings of them, one with another, and with gray.

The small *Terriers* are, however, coming more into fashion, or, as the hawkers call it, into "vogue." They are usually black, with tanned muzzles and feet, and with a keen look, their hair being short and smooth. Some, however, are preferred with long and somewhat wiry hair, and the colour is often strongly mixed with gray. A small Isle of Skye terrier—but few, I was informed know a "real Skye"—is sometimes carried in the streets, as well as the little rough dogs known as Scotch terriers. When a street-seller has a litter of terrier pups, he invariably selects the handsomest for the streets, for it happens—my informant did not know why, but he and others were positive that so it was—that the handsomest is the worst; "the worst," it must be understood as regards the possession of choice sporting qualities, more especially of pluck. The terrier's education, as regards his prowess in a rat-pit, is accordingly neglected; and if a gentleman ask, "Will he kill rats?" the answer is in the negative; but this is no disparagement to the sale, because the dog is sold, perhaps, for a lady's pet, and is not wanted to kill rats, or to "fight any dog of his weight."

The *Pugs*, for which, 40 to 50 years ago, and, in a diminished degree, 30 years back, there was, in the phrase of the day, "quite a rage," provided only the pug was hideous, are now never offered in the streets, or so rarely, that a well-known dealer assured me he had only sold one in the streets for two years. A Leadenhall tradesman, fond of dogs, but in no way connected with the trade, told me that it came to be looked upon, that a pug was a fit companion for only snappish old maids, and "so the women wouldn't have them any longer, least of all the old maids."

French Poodles are also of rare street-sale. One man had a white poodle two or three years ago, so fat and so round, that a lady, who priced it, was told by a gentleman with her, that if the head and the short legs were removed, and the inside scooped out, the animal would make a capital muff; yet even *that* poodle was difficult of sale at 50*s*.

Occasionally also an *Italian Greyhound*, seeming cold and shivery on the warmest days, is borne in a hawker's arms, or if following on foot, trembling and looking sad, as if mentally murmuring at the climate.

In such places as the banks of the Serpentine, or in the Regent's-park, the hawker does not carry his dogs in his arms, so much as let them trot along with him in a body, and they are sure to attract attention; or he sits down, and they play or sleep about him. One dealer told me that children often took such a fancy for a pretty spaniel, that it was difficult for either mother, governess, or nurse, to drag them away until the man was requested to call in the evening, bringing with him the dog, which was very often bought, or the hawker recompensed for his loss of time. But sometimes the dog-dealers, I heard from several, meet with great shabbiness among rich people, who recklessly give them no small trouble, and sometimes put them to expense without the slightest return, or even an acknowledgment or a word of apology. "There's one advantage in my trade," said a dealer in live animals, "we always has to do with principals. There's never a lady would let her most favouritest maid choose her dog for her. So no parkisits."

The species which I have enumerated are all that are now sold in the streets, with the exception of an odd "plum-pudding," or coach-dog (the white dog with dark spots which runs after carriages), or an odd bull-dog, or bull-terrier, or indeed with the exception of "odd dogs" of every kind. The hawkers are, however, connected with the trade in sporting dogs, and often through the medium of their street traffic, as I shall show under the next head of my subject.

There is one peculiarity in the hawking of fancy dogs, which distinguishes it from all other branches of street-commerce. The purchasers are all of the wealthier class. This has had its influence on the manners of the dog-sellers. They will be found, in the majority of cases, quiet and deferential men, but without servility, and with little of the quality of speech; and I speak only of speech which among English people is known as "gammon," and among Irish people as "blarney." This manner is common to many; to the established trainer of race-horses for instance, who is in constant communication with persons in a very superior position in life to his own, and to whom he is exceedingly deferential. But the trainer feels that in all points connected with his not very easy business, as well, perhaps, as in general turf knowingness, his royal highness (as was the case once), or his grace, or my lord, or Sir John, was inferior to himself; and so with all his deference there mingles a strain of quiet contempt, or rather, perhaps, of conscious superiority, which is one ingredient in the formation of the manners I have hastily sketched.

The customers of the street-hawkers of dogs are ladies and gentlemen, who buy what may have attracted their admiration. The kept mistresses of the wealthier classes are often excellent customers. "Many of 'em, I know," was said to me, "dotes on a nice spaniel. Yes, and I've known gentlemen buy dogs for their misses; I couldn't be mistaken when I might be sent on with them, which was part of the bargain. If it was a two-guinea dog or so, I was told never to give a hint of the price to the servant, or to anybody. *I* know why. It's easy for a gentleman that wants to please a lady, and not to lay out any great matter of tin, to say that what had really cost him two guineas, cost him twenty." If one of the working classes, or a small tradesman, buy a dog in the streets, it is generally because he is "of a fancy turn," and breeds a few dogs, and traffics in them in hopes of profit.

The homes of the dog-hawkers, as far as I had means of ascertaining—and all I saw were of the same character—are comfortable and very cleanly. The small spaniels, terriers, &c.,—I do not now

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allude to sporting dogs—are generally kept in kennels, or in small wooden houses erected for the purpose in a back garden or yard. These abodes are generally in some open court, or little square or "grove," where there is a free access of air. An old man who was sitting at his door in the summer evening, when I called upon a dog-seller, and had to wait a short time, told me that so quiet were his next-door neighbour's (the street-hawker's) dogs, that for some weeks, he did not know his newly-come neighbour was a dog-man; although he was an old nervous man himself, and couldn't bear any unpleasant noise or smell. The scrupulous observance of cleanliness is necessary in the rearing or keeping of small fancy dogs, for without such observance the dog would have a disagreeable odour about it, enough to repel any lady-buyer. It is a not uncommon declaration among dog-sellers that the animals are "as sweet as nuts." Let it be remembered that I have been describing the class of regular dog-sellers, making, by an open and established trade, a tolerable livelihood.

The spaniels, terriers, &c., the stock of these hawkers, are either bred by them—and they all breed a few or a good many dogs—or they are purchased of dog-dealers (not street-sellers), or of people who having a good fancy breed of "King Charleses," or "Blenheims," rear dogs, and sell them by the litter to the hawkers. The hawkers also buy dogs brought to them, "in the way of business," but they are wary how they buy any animal suspected to be stolen, or they may get into "trouble." One man, a carver and gilder, I was informed, some ten years back, made a good deal of money by his "black-patched" spaniels. These dogs had a remarkable black patch over their eyes, and so fond was the dog-fancier, or breeder of them, that when he disposed of them to street-sellers or others, he usually gave a portrait of the animals, of his own rude painting, into the bargain. These paintings he also sold, slightly framed, and I have seen them—but not so much lately—offered in the streets, and hung up in poor persons' rooms. This man lived in York-square, behind the Colosseum, then a not very reputable quarter. It is now Munster-square, and of a reformed character, but the seller of dogs and the donor of their portraits has for some time been lost sight of.

The prices at which fancy-dogs are sold in the streets are about the same for all kinds. They run from 10*s.* to 5*l.* 5*s.*, but are very rarely so low as 10*s.*, as "it's only a very scrubby thing for that." Two and three guineas are frequent street prices for a spaniel or small terrier. Of the dogs sold, as I have before stated, more than one-half are spaniels. Of the remainder, more than one-half are terriers; and the surplusage, after this reckoning, is composed in about equal numbers of the other dogs I have mentioned. The exportation of dogs is not above a twentieth of what it was before the appointment of the Select Committee, but a French or Belgium dealer sometimes comes to London to buy dogs.

It is not easy to fix upon any per-centage as to the profit of the street dog-sellers. There is the keep and the rearing of the animal to consider; and there is the same uncertainty in the traffic as in all traffics which depend, not upon a demand for use, but on the caprices of fashion, or—to use the more appropriate word, when writing on such a subject—of "fancy." A hawker may sell three dogs in one day, without any extraordinary effort, or, in the same manner of trading, and frequenting the very same places, may sell only one in three days. In the winter, the dogs are sometimes offered in public houses, but seldom as regards the higher-priced animals.

From the best data I can command, it appears that each hawker sells "three dogs and a half, if you take it that way, splitting a dog like, every week the year through; that is, sir, four or five one week in the summer, when trade 's brisk and days are long, and only two or three the next week, when trade may be flat, and in winter when there isn't the same chance." Calculating, then, that seven dogs are sold by each hawker in a fortnight, at an average price of 50*s.* each, which is not a high average, and supposing that but twenty men are trading in this line the year through, we find that no less a sum than 9100*l.* is yearly expended in this street-trade. The weekly profit of the hawker is from 25*s.* to 40*s.* More than seven-eighths of these dogs are bred in this country, Italian greyhounds included.

A hawker of dogs gave me a statement of his life, but it presented so little of incident or of change, that I need not report it. He had assisted and then succeeded his father in the business; was a pains-taking, temperate, and industrious man, seldom taking even a glass of ale, so that the tenour of his way had been even, and he was prosperous enough.

I will next give an account of the connection of the hawkers of dogs with the "sporting" or "fancy" part of the business; and of the present state of dog "finding," to show the change since the parliamentary investigation.

I may observe that in this traffic the word "fancy" has two significations. A dog recommended by its beauty, or any peculiarity, so that it be suitable for a pet dog, is a "fancy" animal; so is he if he be a fighter, or a killer of rats, however ugly or common-looking; but the term "sporting dog" seems to become more and more used in this case: nor is the first-mentioned use of the word "fancy," at all strained or very original, for it is lexicographically defined as "an opinion bred rather by the imagination than the reason, inclination, liking, caprice, humour, whim, frolick, idle scheme, vagary."

Of the Street-Sellers of Sporting Dogs.

The use, if use it may be styled, of sporting, or fighting dogs, is now a mere nothing to what it once was. There are many sports—an appellation of many a brute cruelty—which have become extinct, some of them long extinct. Herds of bears, for instance, were once maintained in this country, merely to be baited by dogs. It was even a part of royal merry-making. It was a sport altogether

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congenial to the spirit of Henry VIII.; and when his daughter, then Queen Mary, visited her sister Elizabeth at Hatfield House, now the residence of the Marquess of Salisbury, there was a bear-baiting for their delectation—*after mass.* Queen Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, seems to have been very partial to the baiting of bears and of bulls; for she not unfrequently welcomed a foreign ambassador with such exhibitions. The historians of the day intimate—they dared do no more—that Elizabeth affected these rough sports the most in the decline of life, when she wished to seem still sprightly, active, and healthful, in the eyes of her courtiers and her subjects. Laneham, whose veracity has not been impeached—though Sir Walter Scott has pronounced him to be as thorough a coxcomb as ever blotted paper—thus describes a bear-bait in presence of the Queen, and after quoting his description I gladly leave the subject. I make the citation in order to show and contrast the former with the present use of sporting dogs.

"It was a sport very pleasant to see the bear, with his pink eyes leering after his enemies, approach; the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage; and the force and experience of the bear again to avoid his assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free; that if he were taken once, then by what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring with tossing and tumbling, he would work and wind himself from them; and, when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice, with the blood and the slaver hanging about his physiognomy."

The suffering which constituted the great delight of the *sport* was even worse than this, in bull-baiting, for the bull gored or tossed the dogs to death more frequently than the bear worried or crushed them.

The principal place for the carrying on of these barbarities was at Paris Garden, not far from St. Saviour's Church, Southwark. The clamour, and wrangling, and reviling, with and without blows, at these places, gave a proverbial expression to the language. "The place was like a bear-garden," for "gardens" they were called. These pastimes beguiled the *Sunday* afternoons more than any other time, and were among the chief delights of the people, "until," writes Dr. Henry, collating the opinions of the historians of the day, "until the refined amusements of the drama, possessing themselves by degrees of the public taste, if they did not mend the morals of the age, at least forced brutal barbarity to quit the stage."

Of this sport in Queen Anne's days, Strutt's industry has collected advertisements telling of bear and bull-baiting at Hockley-in-the-Hole, and "Tuttle"-fields, Westminster, and of dog-fights at the same places. Marylebone was another locality famous for these pastimes, and for its breed of mastiffs, which dogs were most used for baiting the bears, whilst bull-dogs were the antagonists of the bull. Gay, who was a sufficiently close observer, and a close observer of street-life too, as is well shown in his "Trivia," specifies these localities in one of his fables:—

"Both Hockley-hole and Mary-bone
The combats of my dog have known."

Hockley-hole was not far from Smithfield-market.

In the same localities the practice of these sports lingered, becoming less and less every year, until about the middle of the last century. In the country, bull-baiting was practised twenty times more commonly than bear-baiting; for bulls were plentiful, and bears were not. There are, perhaps, none of our older country towns without the relic of its bull-ring—a strong iron ring inserted into a large stone in the pavement, to which the baited bull was tied; or a knowledge of the site where the bull-ring was. The deeds of the baiting-dogs were long talked of by the vulgar. These sports, and the dog-fights, maintained the great demand for sporting dogs in former times.

The only sporting dogs now in request—apart, of course, from hunting and shooting (remnants of the old barbarous delight in torture or slaughter), for I am treating only of the street-trade, to which fox-hounds, harriers, pointers, setters, cockers, &c., &c., are unknown—are terriers and bull-terriers. Bull-dogs cannot now be classed as sporting, but only as fancy dogs, for they are not good fighters, I was informed, one with another, their mouths being too small.

The way in which the sale of sporting dogs is connected with street-traffic is in this wise: Occasionally a sporting-dog is offered for sale in the streets, and then, of course, the trade is direct. At other times, gentlemen buying or pricing the smaller dogs, ask the cost of a bull-dog, or a bull-terrier or rat-terrier, and the street-seller at once offers to supply them, and either conducts them to a dog-dealer's, with whom he may be commercially connected, and where they can purchase those dogs, or he waits upon them at their residences with some "likely animals." A dog-dealer told me that he hardly knew what made many gentlemen so fond of bull-dogs, and they were "the fonder on 'em the more blackguarder and varmint-looking the creatures was," although now they were useless for sport, and the great praise of a bull-dog, "never flew but at head in his life," was no longer to be given to him, as there were no bulls at whose heads he could now fly.

Another dog-dealer informed me—with what truth as to the judgment concerning horses I do not know, but no doubt with accuracy as to the purchase of the dogs—that Ibrahim Pacha, when in London, thought little of the horses which he saw, but was delighted with the bull-dogs, "and he weren't so werry unlike one in the face hisself," was said at the time by some of the fancy. Ibrahim, it seems, bought two of the finest and largest bull-dogs in London, of Bill George, giving no less than 70*l.* for the twain. The bull-dogs now sold by the street-folk, or through their agency in the way I have described, are from 5*l.* to 25*l.* each. The bull-terriers, of the best blood, are about the same price, or perhaps 10 to 15 per cent. lower, and rarely attaining the tip-top prise.

The bull-terriers, as I have stated, are now the chief fighting-dogs, but the patrons of those combats—of those small imitations of the savage tastes of the Roman Colosseum, may deplore the decay of the amusement. From the beginning, until well on to the termination of the last century, it was not uncommon to see announcements of "twenty dogs to fight for a collar," though such advertisements were far more common at the commencement than towards the close of the century. Until within these twelve years, indeed, dog-matches were not unfrequent in London, and the favourite time for the regalement was on Sunday mornings. There were dog-pits in Westminster, and elsewhere, to which the admission was not very easy, for only known persons were allowed to enter. The expense was considerable, the risk of punishment was not a trifle, and it is evident that this Sunday game was *not supported by the poor or working classes.* Now dog-fights are rare. "There 's not any public dog-fights," I was told, "and very seldom any in a pit at a public-house, but there 's a good deal of it, I know, *at the private houses of the nobs.*" I may observe that "the nobs" is a common designation for the rich among these sporting people.

There are, however, occasionally dog-fights in a sporting-house, and the order of the combat is thus described to me: "We 'll say now that it 's a scratch fight; two dogs have each their corner of a pit, and they 're set to fight. They 'll fight on till they go down together, and then if one leave hold, he 's sponged. Then they fight again. If a dog has the worst of it he mustn't be picked up, but if he gets into his corner, then he can stay for as long as may be agreed upon, minute or half-minute time, or more than a minute. If a dog won't go to the scratch out of his corner, he loses the fight. If they fight on, why to settle it, one must be killed—though that very seldom happens, for if a dog 's very much punished, he creeps to his corner and don't come out to time, and so the fight 's settled. Sometimes it 's agreed beforehand, that the master of a dog may give in for him; sometimes that isn't to be allowed; but there 's next to nothing of this now, unless it 's in private among the nobs."

It has been said that a sportsman—perhaps in the relations of life a benevolent man—when he has failed to kill a grouse or pheasant outright, and proceeds to grasp the fluttering and agonised bird and smash its skull against the barrel of his gun, reconciles himself to the sufferings he inflicts by the *pride of art*, the consciousness of skill—he has brought down his bird at a long shot; that, too, when he cares nothing for the possession of the bird. The same feeling hardens him against the most piteous, woman-like cry of the hare, so shot that it cannot run. Be this as it may, it cannot be urged that in matching a favourite dog there can be any such feeling to destroy the sympathy. The men who thus amuse themselves are then utterly insensible to any pang at the infliction of pain upon animals, witnessing the infliction of it merely for a passing excitement: and in this insensibility the whole race who cater to such recreations of the wealthy, as well as the wealthy themselves, participate. There is another feeling too at work, and one proper to the sporting character—every man of this class considers the glories of his horse or his dog his own, a feeling very dear to selfishness.

The main sport now, however, in which dogs are the agents is rat-hunting. It is called hunting, but as the rats are all confined in a pit it is more like mere killing. Of this sport I have given some account under the head of rat-catching. The dogs used are all terriers, and are often the property of the street-sellers. The most accomplished of this terrier race was the famous dog Billy, the eclipse of the rat pit. He is now enshrined—for a stuffed carcase is all that remains of Billy—in a case in the possession of Charley Heslop of the Seven Bells behind St. Giles's Church, with whom Billy lived and died. His great feat was that he killed 100 rats in five minutes. I understand, however, that it is still a moot point in the sporting world, whether Billy did or did not exceed the five minutes by a very few seconds. A merely average terrier will easily kill fifty rats in a pit in eight minutes, but many far exceed such a number. One dealer told me that he would back a terrier bitch which did not weigh 12 lbs. to kill 100 rats in six minutes. The price of these dogs ranges with that of the bull-terriers.

The passion for rat-hunting is evidently on the increase, and seems to have attained the popularity once vouchsafed to cock-fighting. There are now about seventy regular pits in London, besides a few that are run up for temporary purposes. The landlord of a house in the Borough, familiar with these sports, told me that they would soon have to breed rats for a sufficient supply!

But it is not for the encounter with dogs alone, the issue being that so many rats shall be killed in a given time, that these vermin are becoming a trade commodity. Another use for them is announced in the following card:—

A FERRET MATCH.

A Rare Evening's Sport for the Fancy will take place at the

"——— ———,"

——— STREET, NEW ROAD,

On Tuesday Evening next, May 27.

MR. ———

has backed his Ferret against Mr. W. B——'s Ferret to kill 6 Rats each, for 10*s.* a-side.

He is still open to match his Ferret for £1 to £5 to kill against any other Ferret in London.

Two other Matches with Terriers will come off the same Evening.

Matches take place every —— Evening. Rats always on hand for the accommodation of Gentlemen to try their dogs.

Under the Management of ———

As a rat-killer, a ferret is not to be compared to a dog; but his use is to kill rats in holes,

inaccessible to dogs, or to drive the vermin out of their holes into some open space, where they can be destroyed. Ferrets are worth from 1*l.* to 4*l.* They are not animals of street-sale.

The management of these sports is principally in the hands of the street dog-sellers, as indeed is the dog-trade generally. They are the breeders, dealers, and sellers. They are compelled, as it were, to exhibit their dogs in the streets, that they may attract the attention of the rich, who would not seek them in their homes in the suburbs. The evening business in rat-hunting, &c., for such it is principally, perhaps doubles the incomes I have specified as earned merely by street-*sale*. The amount "turned over" in the trade in sporting-dogs yearly in London, was computed for me by one of the traders at from 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* He could not, however, lay down any very precise statistics, as some bull-dogs, bull-terriers, &c., were bred by butchers, tanners, publicans, horse-dealers, and others, and disposed of privately.

In my account of the former condition of the dog-trade, I had to dwell principally on the stealing and restoring of dogs. This is now the least part of the subject. The alteration in the law, consequent upon the parliamentary inquiry, soon wrought a great change, especially the enactment of the 6th Sect. in the Act 8 and 9 Vict. c. 47. "Any person who shall corruptly take any money or reward, directly or indirectly, under pretence or upon account of aiding any person to recover any dog which shall have been stolen, or which shall be in the possession of any person not being the owner thereof, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and punishable accordingly."

There may now, I am informed, be half a dozen fellows who make a precarious living by dog-stealing. These men generally keep out of the way of the street dog-sellers, who would not scruple, they assure me, to denounce their practices, as the more security a purchaser feels in the property and possession of a dog, the better it is for the regular business. One of these dog-stealers, dressed like a lime-burner—they generally appear as mechanics—was lately seen to attempt the enticing away of a dog. Any idle good-for-nothing fellow, slinking about the streets, would also, I was informed, seize any stray dog within his reach, and sell it for any trifle he could obtain. One dealer told me that there might still be a little doing in the "restoring" way, and with that way of life were still mixed up names which figured in the parliamentary inquiry, but it was a mere nothing to what it was formerly.

From a man acquainted with the dog business I had the following account. My informant was not at present connected with the dog and rat business, but he seemed to have what is called a "hankering after it." He had been a pot-boy in his youth, and had assisted at the bar of public-houses, and so had acquired a taste for sporting, as some "fancy coves" were among the frequenters of the tap-room and skittle-ground. He had speculated a little in dogs, which a friend reared, and he sold to the public-house customers. "At last I went slap into the dog-trade," he said, "but I did no good at all. There 's a way to do it, I dare say, or perhaps you must wait to get known, but then you may starve as you wait. I tried Smithfield first—it 's a good bit since, but I can't say how long—and I had a couple of tidy little terriers that we 'd bred; I thought I 'd begin cheap to turn over money quick, so I asked 12*s.* a-piece for them. O, in course they weren't a werry pure sort. But I couldn't sell at all. If a grazier, or a butcher, or anybody looked at them, and asked their figure, they 'd say, 'Twelve shillings! a dog what ain't worth more nor 12*s.* ain't worth a d——n!' I asked one gent a sovereign, but there was a lad near that sung out, 'Why, you only axed 12*s.* a bit since; ain't you a-coming it?' After that, I was glad to get away. I had five dogs when I started, and about 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* in money, and some middling clothes; but my money soon went, for I could do no business, and there was the rent, and then the dogs must be properly fed, or they 'd soon show it. At last, when things grew uncommon taper, I almost grudged the poor things their meat and their sop, for they were filling their bellies, and I was an 'ung'ring. I got so seedy, too, that it was no use trying the streets, for any one would think I 'd stole the dogs. So I sold them one by one. I think I got about 5*s.* apiece for them, for people took their advantage on me. After that I fasted oft enough. I helped about the pits, and looked out for jobs of any kind, cleaning knives and spittoons at a public-house, and such-like, for a bite and sup. And I sometimes got leave to sit up all night in a stable or any out-house with a live rat trap that I could always borrow, and catch rats to sell to the dealers. If I could get three lively rats in a night, it was good work, for it was as good as 1*s.* to me. I sometimes won a pint, or a tanner, when I could cover it, by betting on a rat-hunt with helpers like myself—but it was only a few places we were let into, just where I was known—'cause I 'm a good judge of a dog, you see, and if I had it to try over again, I think I could knock a tidy living out of dog-selling. Yes, I 'd like to try well enough, but it 's no use trying if you haven't a fairish bit of money. I 'd only myself to keep all this time, but that was one too many. I got leave to sleep in hay-lofts, or stables, or anywhere, and I have slept in the park. I don't know how many months I was living this way. I got not to mind it much at last. Then I got to carry out the day and night beers for a potman what had hurt his foot and couldn't walk quick and long enough for supplying his beer, as there was five rounds every day. He lent me an apron and a jacket to be decent. After that I got a potman's situation. No, I 'm not much in the dog and rat line now, and don't see much of it, for I 've very little opportunity. But I 've a very nice Scotch terrier to sell if you should be wanting such a thing, or hear of any of your friends wanting one. It 's dirt cheap at 30*s.*, just about a year old. Yes, I generally has a dog, and swops and sells. Most masters allows that in a quiet respectable way."

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Of the Street-Sellers of Live Birds.

The bird-*sellers* in the streets are also the bird-*catchers* in the fields, plains, heaths, and woods, which still surround the metropolis; and in compliance with established precedent it may be proper that I should give an account of the catching, before I proceed to any further statement of the procedures subsequent thereunto. The bird-catchers are precisely what I have described them in my introductory remarks. An intelligent man, versed in every part of the bird business, and well acquainted with the character of all engaged in it, said they might be represented as of "the fancy," in a small way, and always glad to run after, and full of admiration of, fighting men. The bird-catcher's life is one essentially vagrant; a few gipsies pursue it, and they mix little in street-trades, except as regards tinkering; and the mass, not gipsies, who become bird-catchers, rarely leave it for any other avocation. They "catch" unto old age. During last winter two men died in the parish of Clerkenwell, both turned seventy, and both bird-catchers—a profession they had followed from the age of six.

The mode of catching I will briefly describe. It is principally effected by means of nets. A bird-net is about twelve yards square; it is spread flat upon the ground, to which it is secured by four "stars." These are iron pins, which are inserted in the field, and hold the net, but so that the two "wings," or "flaps," which are indeed the sides of the nets, are not confined by the stars. In the middle of the net is a cage with a fine wire roof, widely worked, containing the "call-bird." This bird is trained to sing loudly and cheerily, great care being bestowed upon its tuition, and its song attracts the wild birds. Sometimes a few stuffed birds are spread about the cage as if a flock were already assembling there. The bird-catcher lies flat and motionless on the ground, 20 or 30 yards distant from the edge of the net. As soon as he considers that a sufficiency of birds have congregated around his decoy, he rapidly draws towards him a line, called the "pull-line," of which he has kept hold. This is so looped and run within the edges of the net, that on being smartly pulled, the two wings of the net collapse and fly together, the stars still keeping their hold, and the net encircles the cage of the call-bird, and incloses in its folds all the wild birds allured round it. In fact it then resembles a great cage of net-work. The captives are secured in cages—the call-bird continuing to sing as if in mockery of their struggles—or in hampers proper for the purpose, which are carried on the man's back to London.

The use of the call-bird as a means of decoy is very ancient. Sometimes—and more especially in the dark, as in the taking of nightingales—the bird-catcher imitates the notes of the birds to be captured. A small instrument has also been used for the purpose, and to this Chaucer, although figuratively, alludes: "So, the birde is begyled with the merry voice of the foulers' whistel, when it is closed in your nette."

Sometimes, in the pride of the season, a bird-catcher engages a costermonger's poney or donkey cart, and perhaps his boy, the better to convey the birds to town. The net and its apparatus cost 1*l*. The call-bird, if he have a good wild note—goldfinches and linnets being principally so used—is worth 10*s*. at the least.

The bird-cather's life has many, and to the constitution of some minds, irresistible charms. There is the excitement of "sport"—not the headlong excitement of the chase, where the blood is stirred by motion and exercise—but still sport surpassing that of the angler, who plies his finest art to capture one fish at a time, while the bird-catcher despises an individual capture, but seeks to ensnare a flock at one twitch of a line. There is, moreover, the attraction of idleness, at least for intervals, and sometimes long intervals—perhaps the great charm of fishing—and basking in the lazy sunshine, to watch the progress of the snares. Birds, however, and more especially linnets, are caught in the winter, when it is not quite such holiday work. A bird-dealer (not a street-seller) told me that the greatest number of birds he had ever heard of as having been caught at one pull was nearly 200. My informant happened to be present on the occasion. "Pulls" of 50, 100, and 150 are not very unfrequent when the young broods are all on the wing.

Of the bird-catchers, including all who reside in Woolwich, Greenwich, Hounslow, Isleworth, Barnet, Uxbridge, and places of similar distance, all working for the London market, there are about 200. The localities where these men "catch," are the neighbourhoods of the places I have mentioned as their residences, and at Holloway, Hampstead, Highgate, Finchley, Battersea, Blackheath, Putney, Mortlake, Chiswick, Richmond, Hampton, Kingston, Eltham, Carshalton, Streatham, the Tootings, Woodford, Epping, Snaresbrook, Walthamstow, Tottenham, Edmonton—wherever, in fine, are open fields, plains, or commons around the metropolis.

I will first enumerate the several birds sold in the streets, as well as the supply to the shops by the bird-catchers. I have had recourse to the best sources of information. Of the number of birds which I shall specify as "supplied," or "caught," it must be remembered that a not-very-small proportion die before they can be trained to song, or inured to a cage life. I shall also give the street prices. All the birds are caught by the nets with call-birds, excepting such as I shall notice. I take the singing birds first.

The *Linnet* is the cheapest and among the most numerous of what may be called the London-caught birds, for it is caught in the nearer suburbs, such as Holloway. The linnet, however,—the brown linnet being the species—is not easily reared, and for some time ill brooks confinement. About one-half of those birds die after having been caged a few days. The other evening a bird-catcher supplied 26 fine linnets to a shopkeeper in Pentonville, and next morning ten were dead. But in some of those bird shops, and bird chambers connected with the shops, the heat at the time

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the new broods are caught and caged, is excessive; and the atmosphere, from the crowded and compulsory fellowship of pigeons, and all descriptions of small birds, with white rats, hedgehogs, guinea-pigs, and other creatures, is often very foul; so that the wonder is, not that so many die, but that so many survive.

Some bird-connoisseurs prefer the note of the linnet to that of the canary, but this is far from a general preference. The young birds are sold in the streets at 3*d.* and 4*d.* each; the older birds, which are accustomed to sing in their cages, from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* The "catch" of linnets—none being imported—may be estimated, for London alone, at 70,000 yearly. The mortality I have mentioned is confined chiefly to that year's brood. One-tenth of the catch is sold in the streets. Of the quality of the street-sold birds I shall speak hereafter.

The *Bullfinch*, which is bold, familiar, docile, and easily attached, is a favourite cage-bird among the Londoners; I speak of course as regards the body of the people. It is as readily sold in the streets as any other singing bird. Piping bullfinches are also a part of street-trade, but only to a small extent, and with bird-sellers who can carry them from their street pitches, or call on their rounds, at places where they are known, to exhibit the powers of the bird. The piping is taught to these finches when very young, and they must be brought up by their tutor, and be familiar with him. When little more than two months old, they begin to whistle, and then their training as pipers must commence. This tuition, among professional bullfinch-trainers, is systematic. They have schools of birds, and teach in bird-classes of from four to seven members in each, six being a frequent number. These classes, when their education commences, are kept unfed for a longer time than they have been accustomed to, and they are placed in a darkened room. The bird is wakeful and attentive from the want of his food, and the tune he is to learn is played several times on an instrument made for the purpose, and known as a bird-organ, its notes resembling those of the bullfinch. For an hour or two the young pupils mope silently, but they gradually begin to imitate the notes of the music played to them. When one commences—and he is looked upon as the most likely to make a good piper—the others soon follow his example. The light is then admitted and a portion of food, but not a full meal, is given to the birds. Thus, by degrees, by the playing on the bird-organ (a flute is sometimes used), by the admission of light, which is always agreeable to the finch, and by the reward of more and more, and sometimes more relishable food, the pupil "practises" the notes he hears continuously. The birds are then given into the care of boys, who attend to them without intermission in a similar way, their original teacher still overlooking, praising, or rating his scholars, till they acquire a tune which they pipe as long as they live. It is said, however, that only five per cent. of the number taught pipe in *perfect* harmony. The bullfinch is often pettish in his piping, and will in many instances not pipe at all, unless in the presence of some one who feeds it, or to whom it has become attached.

The system of training I have described is that practised by the Germans, who have for many years supplied this country with the best piping bullfinches. Some of the dealers will undertake to procure English-taught bullfinches which will pipe as well as the foreigners, but I am told that this is a prejudice, if not a trick, of trade. The mode of teaching in this country, by barbers, weavers, and bird-fanciers generally, who seek for a profit from their pains-taking, is somewhat similar to that which I have detailed, but with far less elaborateness. The price of a piping bullfinch is about three guineas. These pipers are also reared and taught in Leicestershire and Norfolk, and sent to London, as are the singing bullfinches which do not "pipe."

The bullfinches netted near London are caught more numerously about Hounslow than elsewhere. In hard winters they are abundant in the outskirts of the metropolis. The yearly supply, including those sent from Norfolk, &c., is about 30,000. The bullfinch is "hearty compared to the linnet," I was told, but of the amount which are the objects of trade, not more than two-thirds live many weeks. The price of a good young bullfinch is 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* They are often sold in the streets for 1*s.* The hawking or street trade comprises about a tenth of the whole.

The sale of piping bullfinches is, of course, small, as only the rich can afford to buy them. A dealer estimated it at about 400 yearly.

The *Goldfinch* is also in demand by street customers, and is a favourite from its liveliness, beauty, and sometimes sagacity. It is, moreover, the longest lived of our caged small birds, and will frequently live to the age of fifteen or sixteen years. A goldfinch has been known to exist twenty-three years in a cage. Small birds, generally, rarely live more than nine years. This finch is also in demand because it most readily of any bird pairs with the canary, the produce being known as a "mule," which, from its prettiness and powers of song, is often highly valued.

Goldfinches are sold in the streets at from 6*d.* to 1*s.* each, and when there is an extra catch, and they are nearly all caught about London, and the shops are fully stocked, at 3*d.* and 4*d.* each. The yearly catch is about the same as that of the linnet, or 70,000, the mortality being perhaps 30 per cent. If any one casts his eye over the stock of hopping, chirping little creatures in the window of a bird-shop, or in the close array of small cages hung outside, or at the stock of a street-seller, he will be struck by the preponderating number of goldfinches. No doubt the dealer, like any other shopkeeper, dresses his window to the best advantage, putting forward his smartest and prettiest birds. The demand for the goldfinch, especially among women, is steady and regular. The street-sale is a tenth of the whole.

The *Chaffinch* is in less request than either of its congeners, the bullfinch or the goldfinch, but the catch is about half that of the bullfinch, and

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with the same rate of mortality. The prices are also the same.

Greenfinches (called *green birds*, or sometimes *green linnets*, in the streets) are in still smaller request than are chaffinches, and that to about one-half. Even this smaller stock is little saleable, as the bird is regarded as "only a middling singer." They are sold in the open air, at 2*d.* and 3*d.* each, but a good "green bird" is worth 2*s.* 6*d.*

Larks are of good sale and regular supply, being perhaps more readily caught than other birds, as in winter they congregate in large quantities. It may be thought, to witness the restless throwing up of the head of the caged sky-lark, as if he were longing for a soar in the air, that he was very impatient of restraint. This does not appear to be so much the fact, as the lark adapts himself to the poor confines of his prison—poor indeed for a bird who soars higher and longer than any of his class—more rapidly than other wild birds, like the linnet, &c. The mortality of larks, however, approaches one-third.

The yearly "take" of larks is 60,000. This includes sky-larks, wood-larks, tit-larks, and mud-larks. The sky-lark is in far better demand than any of the others for his "stoutness of song," but some prefer the tit-lark, from the very absence of such stoutness. "Fresh-catched" larks are vended in the streets at 6*d.* and 8*d.*, but a seasoned bird is worth 2*s.* 6*d.* One-tenth is the street-sale.

The larks for the supply of fashionable tables are never provided by the London bird-catchers, who catch only "singing larks," for the shop and street-traffic. The edible larks used to be highly esteemed in pies, but they are now generally roasted for consumption. They are principally the produce of Cambridgeshire, with some from Bedfordshire, and are sent direct (killed) to Leadenhall-market, where about 215,000 are sold yearly, being nearly two-thirds of the gross London consumption.

It is only within these twelve or fifteen years that the London dealers have cared to trade to any extent in *Nightingales*, but they are now a part of the stock of every bird-shop of the more flourishing class. Before that they were merely exceptional as cage-birds. As it is, the "domestication," if the word be allowable with reference to the nightingale, is but partial. Like all migratory birds, when the season for migration approaches, the caged nightingale shows symptoms of great uneasiness, dashing himself against the wires of his cage or his aviary, and sometimes dying in a few days. Many of the nightingales, however, let the season pass away without showing any consciousness that it was, with the race of birds to which they belonged, one for a change of place. To induce the nightingale to sing in the daylight, a paper cover is often placed over the cage, which may be gradually and gradually withdrawn until it can be dispensed with. This is to induce the appearance of twilight or night. On the subject of this night-singing, however, I will cite a short passage.

"The Nightingale is usually supposed to withhold his notes till the sun has set, and then to be the only songster left. This is, however, not quite true, for he sings in the day, often as sweetly and as powerfully as at night; but amidst the general chorus of other singing birds, his efforts are little noticed. Neither is he by any means the only feathered musician of the night. The Wood-lark will, to a very late hour, pour forth its rich notes, flying in circles round the female, when sitting on her nest. The Sky-lark, too, may frequently be heard till near midnight high in the air, soaring as if in the brightness of a summer's morning. Again we have listened with pleasure long after dark to the warblings of a Thrush, and been awakened at two in the morning by its sweet serenade." It appears, however, that this night-singing, as regards England, is on fine summer nights when the darkness is never very dense. In far northern climates larks sing all night.

I am inclined to believe that the mortality among nightingales, before they are reconciled to their new life, is higher than that of any other bird, and much exceeding one-half. The dealers may be unwilling to admit this; but such mortality is, I have been assured on good authority, the case; besides that, the habits of the nightingale unfit him for a cage existence.

The capture of the nightingale is among the most difficult achievements of the profession. None are caught nearer than Epping, and the catchers travel considerable distances before they have a chance of success. These birds are caught at night, and more often by their captor's imitation of the nightingale's note, than with the aid of the call-bird. Perhaps 1000 nightingales are reared yearly in London, of which three-fourths may be, more or less, songsters. The inferior birds are sold at about 2*s.* each, the street-sale not reaching 100, but the birds, "caged and singing," are worth 1*l.* each, when of the best; and 10*s.* 12*s.* and 15*s.* each when approaching the best. The mortality I have estimated.

Redbreasts are a portion of the street-sold birds, but the catch is not large, not exceeding 3000, with a mortality of about a third. Even this number, small as it is, when compared with the numbers of other singing birds sold, is got rid of with difficulty. There is a popular feeling repugnant to the imprisonment, or coercion in any way, of "a robin," and this, no doubt has its influence in moderating the demand. The redbreast is sold, when young, both in the shops and streets for 1*s.*, when caged and singing, sometimes for 1*l.* These birds are considered to sing best by candlelight. The street-sale is a fifth, or sometimes a quarter, all young birds, or with the rarest exceptions.

The *Thrush, Throstle*, or (in Scottish poetry) *Mavis*, is of good sale. It is reared by hand, for the London market, in many of the villages and small towns at no great distance, the nests being robbed of the young, wherever they can be found. The nestling food of the infant thrush is grubs, worms, and snails, with an occasional moth or butterfly. On this kind of diet the young thrushes are reared until they are old enough for sale to the shopkeeper, or to any private patron. Thrushes are also netted, but

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those reared by hand are much the best, as such a rearing disposes the bird the more to enjoy his cage life, as he has never experienced the delights of the free hedges and thickets. This process the catchers call "rising" from the nest. A throstle thus "rose" soon becomes familiar with his owner—always supposing that he be properly fed and his cage duly cleaned, for all birds detest dirt—and among the working-men of England no bird is a greater favourite than the thrush; indeed few other birds are held in such liking by the artisan class. About a fourth of the thrushes supplied to the metropolitan traders have been thus "rose," and as they must be sufficiently grown before they will be received by the dealers, the mortality among them, when once able to feed themselves, in their wicker-work cages, is but small. Perhaps somewhere about a fourth perish in this hand-rearing, and some men, the aristocrats of the trade, let a number go when they have ascertained that they are hens, as these men exert themselves to bring up thrushes to sing well, and then they command good prices. Often enough, however, the hens are sold cheap in the streets. Among the catch supplied by netting, there is a mortality of perhaps more than a third. The whole take is about 35,000. Of the sale the streets have a tenth proportion. The prices run from 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* for the "fresh-caught," and 10*s.*, 1*l.*, and as much as 2*l.* for a seasoned throstle in high song. Indeed I may observe that for any singing bird, which is considered greatly to excel its mates, a high price is obtainable.

Blackbirds appear to be less prized in London than thrushes, for, though with a mellower note, the blackbird is not so free a singer in captivity. They are "rose" and netted in the same manner as the thrush, but the supply is less by one-fifth. The prices, mortality, street-sale, &c., are in the same ratio.

The street-sale of *Canaries* is not large; not so large, I am assured by men in the trade, as it was six or seven years ago, more especially as regarded the higher-priced birds of this open-air traffic. Canaries are now never brought from the group of islands, thirteen in number, situate in the North Atlantic and near the African coast, and from which they derive their name. To these islands and to these alone (as far as is known to ornithologists) are they indigenous. The canary is a slow flyer and soon wearied; this is one reason no doubt for its not migrating. This delightful songster was first brought into England in the reign of Elizabeth, at the era when so many foreign luxuries (as they were then considered, and stigmatised accordingly) were introduced; of these were potatoes, tobacco, turkeys, nectarines, and canaries. I have seen no account of what was the cost of a canary-bird when first imported, but there is no doubt that they were very dear, as they were found only in the abodes of the wealthy. This bird-trade seems, moreover, to have been so profitable to the Spaniards, then and now the possessors of the isles, that a government order for the killing or setting at liberty of all hen canaries, caught with the males, was issued in order that the breed might be confined to its native country; a decree not attended with successful results as regards the intention of the then ruling powers.

The foreign supply to this country is now principally from Holland and Germany, where canaries are reared in great numbers, with that care which the Dutch in especial bestow upon everything on which money-making depends, and whence they are sent or brought over in the spring of every year, when from nine to twelve months old. Thirty years ago, the Tyrolese were the principal breeders and purveyors of canaries for the London market. From about the era of the peace of 1814, on the first abdication of Napoleon, for ten or twelve years they brought over about 2000 birds yearly. They travelled the whole way on foot, carrying the birds in cages on their backs, until they reached whatever port in France or the Netherlands (as Belgium then was) they might be bound for. The price of a canary of an average quality was then from 5*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.*, and a fair proportion were street-sold. At that period, I was told, the principal open-air sale for canaries (and it is only of that I now write) was in Whitechapel and Bethnal-green. All who are familiar with those localities may smile to think that the birds chirping and singing in these especially urban places, were bred for such street-traffic in the valleys of the Rhætian Alps! I presume that it was the greater rapidity of communication, and the consequent diminished cost of carriage, between England, Holland, and Germany, that caused the Tyrolese to abandon the trade as one unremunerative—even to men who will live on bread, onions, and water.

I have, perhaps, dwelt somewhat at length on this portion of the subject, but it is the most curious portion of all, for the canary is the only one of all our singing-birds which is *solely* a household thing. Linnets, finches, larks, nightingales, thrushes, and blackbirds, are all free denizens of the open air, as well as prisoners in our rooms, but the canary with us is unknown in a wild state. "Though not very handy," wrote, in 1848, a very observant naturalist, the late Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, "canaries might possibly be naturalized in our country, by putting their eggs in the nests of sparrows, chaffinches, or other similar birds. The experiment has been partially tried in Berkshire, where a person for years kept them in an exposed aviary out of doors, and where they seemed to suffer no inconvenience from the severest weather."

The breeding of canaries in this country for the London supply has greatly increased. They are bred in Leicester and Norwich, weavers being generally fond of birds. In London itself, also, they are bred to a greater extent than used to be the case, barbers being among the most assiduous rearers of the canary. A dealer who trades in both foreign and home-bred birds thought that the supply from the country, and from the Continent, was about the same, 8000 to 9000 each, not including what were sold by the barbers, who are regarded as "fanciers," not to say interlopers,

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by the dealers. No species of birds are ever bred by the shop-dealers. The price of a brisk canary is 5s. or 6s.; but they are sold in the streets as low as 1s. each, a small cage worth 6d. being sometimes included. These, however, are hens. As in the life of a canary there is no transition from freedom to enthralment, for they are in a cage in the egg, and all their lives afterwards, they are subject to a far lower rate of mortality than other street-sold birds. A sixteenth of the number above stated as forming the gross supply are sold in the streets.

The foregoing enumeration includes all the singing-birds of street-traffic and street-folk's supply. The trade I have thus sketched is certainly one highly curious. We find that there is round London a perfect belt of men, employed from the first blush of a summer's dawn, through the heats of noon, in many instances during the night, and in the chills of winter; and all labouring to give to city-pent men of humble means one of the peculiar pleasures of the country—the song of the birds. It must not be supposed that I would intimate that the bird-catcher's life, as regards his field and wood pursuits, is one of hardship. On the contrary, it seems to me to be the very one which, perhaps unsuspected by himself, is best suited to his tastes and inclinations. Nor can we think similar pursuits partake much of hardship when we find independent men follow them for mere sport, to be rid of lassitude.

But the detail of the birds captured for the Londoners by no means ends here. I have yet to describe those which are not songsters, and which are a staple of street-traffic to a greater degree than birds of song. Of these my notice may be brief.

The trade in *Sparrows* is almost exclusively a street-trade and, numerically considered, not an inconsiderable one. They are netted in quantities in every open place near London, and in many places in London. It is common enough for a bird-catcher to obtain leave to catch sparrows in a wood-yard, a brick-field, or places where is an open space certain to be frequented by these bold and familiar birds. The sparrows are sold in the streets generally at 1d. each, sometimes halfpenny, and sometimes 1½d., and for no purpose of enjoyment (as in the case of the cheap song birds), but merely as playthings for children; in other words, for creatures wilfully or ignorantly to be tortured. Strings are tied to their legs and so they have a certain degree of freedom, but when they offer to fly away they are checked, and kept fluttering in the air as a child will flutter a kite. One man told me that he had sometimes sold as many as 200 sparrows in the back streets about Smithfield on a fine Sunday. These birds are not kept in cages, and so they can only be bought for a plaything. They oft enough escape from their persecutors.

But it is not merely for the sport of children that sparrows are purveyed, but for that of grown men, or—as Charles Lamb, if I remember rightly, qualifies it, when he draws a Pentonville sportsman with a little shrubbery for his preserve—for grown cockneys. The birds for adult recreation are shot in sparrow-matches: the gentleman slaughtering the most being, of course, the hero of a sparrow "*battue*." One dealer told me that he had frequently supplied dozens of sparrows for these matches, at 2s the dozen, but they were required to be fine bold birds! One dealer thought that during the summer months there were as many sparrows caught close to and within London as there were goldfinches in the less urban districts. These birds are sold direct from the hands of the catcher, so that it is less easy to arrive at statistics than when there is the intervention of dealers who know the extent of the trade carried on. I was told by several, who had no desire to exaggerate, that to estimate this sparrow-sale at 10,000 yearly, sold to children and idlers in the streets, was too low, but at that estimate, the outlay, at 1d. a sparrow, would be 850l. The adult sportsmen may slaughter half that number yearly in addition. The sporting sparrows are derived from the shopkeepers, who, when they receive the order, instruct the catchers to go to work.

Starlings used to be sold in very great quantities in the streets, but the trade is now but the shadow of its former state. The starling, too, is far less numerous than it was, and has lost much of its popularity. It is now seldom seen in flocks of more than 40, and it is rare to see a flock at all, although these birds at one period mustered in congregations of hundreds and even thousands. Ruins, and the roofs of ancient houses and barns—for they love the old and decaying buildings—were once covered with them. The starling was moreover the poor man's and the peasant's parrot. He was taught to speak, and sometimes to swear. But now the starling, save as regards his own note, is mute. He is seldom tamed or domesticated and taught tricks. It is true starlings may be seen carried on sticks in the street as if the tamest of the tame, but they are "braced." Tapes are passed round their bodies, and so managed that the bird cannot escape from the stick, while his fetters are concealed by his feathers, the street-seller of course objecting to allow his birds to be handled.

Starlings are caught chiefly Ilford way, I was told, and about Turnham-green. Some are "rose" from the nest. The price is from 9d. to 2s. each. About 3000 are sold annually, half in the streets. After having been braced, or ill-used, the starling, if kept as a solitary bird, will often mope and die.

Jackdaws and *Magpies* are in less demand than might be expected from their vivacity. Many of the other birds are supplied the year round, but daws and pies for only about two months, from the middle of June to the middle of August. The price is from 6d. to 1s. and about 1000 are thus disposed of, in equal quantities, one-half in the streets. These birds are for the most part reared from the nest, but little pains appear to be taken with them.

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The *Redpole* is rather a favourite bird among street-buyers, especially where children are allowed to choose birds from a stock. I am told that they most frequently select a goldfinch or a redpole. These birds are supplied for about two months. About 800 or 1000 is the extent of the take. The mortality and prices are the same as with the goldfinch. but a goldfinch in high song is worth twice as much as the best redpole. About a third of the sale of the redpole is in the streets.

There are also 150 or 200 *Black-caps* sold annually in the open air, at from 3*d*. to 5*d*. each.

These are the chief birds, then, that constitute the trade of the streets, with the addition of an occasional yellow-hammer, wren, jay, or even cuckoo. They also, with the addition of pigeons, form the stock of the bird-shops.

I have shown the number of birds caught, the number which survive for sale, and the cost; and, as usual, under the head of "Statistics," will be shown the whole annual expenditure. This, however, is but a portion of the London outlay on birds. There is, in addition, the cost of their cages and of their daily food. The commonest and smallest cage costs 6*d*., a frequent price being 1*s*. A thrush's basket-cage cannot be bought, unless rubbish, under 2*s*. 6*d*. I have previously shown the amount paid for the green food of birds, and for their turfs, &c., for these are all branches of street-commerce. Of their other food, such as rape and canary-seed, German paste, chopped eggs, biscuit, &c., I need but intimate the extent by showing what birds will consume, as it is not a portion of street-trade.

A goldfinch, it has been proved by experimentalising ornithologists, will consume 90 grains, in weight, of canary-seed in 24 hours. A greenfinch, for whose use 80 grains of wheat were weighed out, ate 79 of them in 24 hours; and, on another occasion ate, in the same space of time, 100 grains of a paste of eggs and flour. Sixteen canaries consumed 100 grains' weight of food, each bird, in 24 hours. The amount of provision thus eaten was about one-sixth of the full weight of the bird's body, or an equivalent, were a man to swallow victuals in the same proportion, of 25 lbs. in 24 hours. I may remark, moreover, that the destruction of caterpillars, insects, worms, &c., by the small birds, is enormous, especially during the infancy of their nestlings. A pair of sparrows fed their brood 36 times an hour for 14 hours of a long spring day, and, it was calculated, administered to them in one week 3400 caterpillars. A pair of chaffinches, also, carried nearly as great a number of caterpillars for the maintenance of their young.

The singing-birds sold in the street are offered either singly in small cages, when the cage is sold with the bird, or they are displayed in a little flock in a long cage, the buyer selecting any he prefers. They always appear lively in the streets, or indeed a sale would be hopeless, for no one would buy a dull or sick bird. The captives are seen to hop and heard to chirp, but they are not often heard to sing when thus offered to the public, and it requires some little attention to judge what is but an impatient flutter, and what is the fruit of mere hilarity.

The places where the street-sellers more especially offer their birds are—Smithfield, Clerkenwell-green, Lisson-grove, the City and New roads, Shepherdess-walk, Old Street-road, Shoreditch, Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Tower-hill, Ratcliffe-highway, Commercial-road East, Poplar, Billingsgate, Westminster Broadway, Covent-garden, Blackfriars-road, Bermondsey (mostly about Dock-head), and in the neighbourhood of the Borough Market. The street-sellers are also itinerant, carrying the birds in cages, holding them up to tempt the notice of people whom they see at the windows, or calling at the houses. The sale used to be very considerable in the "Cut" and Lambeth-walk. Sometimes the cages with their inmates are fastened to any contiguous rail; sometimes they are placed on a bench or stall; and occasionally in cages on the ground.

To say nothing, in this place, of the rogueries of the bird-trade, I will proceed to show how the street-sold birds are frequently inferior to those in the shops. The catcher, as I have stated, is also the street-seller. He may reach the Dials, or whatever quarter the dealer he supplies may reside in, with perhaps 30 linnets and as many goldfinches. The dealer selects 24 of each, refusing the remaining dozen, on account of their being hens, or hurt, or weakly birds. The man then resorts to the street to effect a sale of that dozen, and thus the streets have the refuse of the shops. On the other hand, however, when the season is at its height, and the take of birds is the largest, as at this time of year, the shops are "stocked." The cages and recesses are full, and the dealer's anxiety is to sell before he purchases more birds. The catchers proceed in their avocation; they must dispose of their stock; the shopkeeper will not buy "at any figure," and so the streets are again resorted to, and in this way fine birds are often sold very cheap. Both these liabilities prevail the year through, but most in the summer, and keep up a sort of poise; but I apprehend that the majority, perhaps the great majority, of the street-sold birds, are of an inferior sort, but then the price is much lower. On occasions when the bird-trade is overdone, the catchers will sell a few squirrels, or gather snails for the shops.

The buyers of singing-birds are eminently the working people, along with the class of tradesmen whose means and disposition are of the same character as those of the artisan. Grooms and coachmen are frequently fond of birds; many are kept in the several mews, and often the larger singing-birds, such as blackbirds and thrushes. The fondness of a whole body of artificers for any particular bird, animal, or flower, is remarkable. No better instance need be cited than that of the Spitalfields weavers. In the days of their prosperity they were the cultivators of choice tulips, afterwards, though not in so full a degree, of dahlias, and their pigeons were the best "fliers" in England. These things were

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accomplished with little cost, comparatively, for the weavers were engaged in tasks, grateful and natural to their tastes and habitudes; and what was expense in the garden or aviary of the rich, was an exercise of skill and industry on the part of the silk-weaver. The humanising and even refining influence of such pursuits is very great, and as regards these pure pleasures it is not seldom that the refinement which can appreciate them has proceeded not to but *from* the artisans. The operatives have often been in the van of those who have led the public taste from delighting in the cruelty and barbarity of bear and bull-baiting and of cock-fighting—among the worst of all possible schools, and very influential those schools were—to the delight in some of the most beautiful works of nature. It is easy to picture the difference of mood between a man going home from a dog-fight at night, or going home from a visit to his flowers, or from an examination to satisfy himself that his birds were "all right." The families of the two men felt the difference. Many of the rich appear to remain mere savages in their tastes and sports. Battues, lion and hippopotamus hunting, &c.,—all are mere civilized barbarisms. When shall we learn, as Wordsworth says,

> "Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
> With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels."

But the change in Spitalfields is great. Since the prevalence of low wages the weaver's garden has disappeared, and his pigeon-cote, even if its timbers have not rotted away, is no longer stocked with carriers, dragoons, horsemen, jacobins, monks, poulters, turtles, tumblers, fantails, and the many varieties of what is in itself a variety—the fancy-pigeon. A thrush, or a linnet, may still sing to the clatter of the loom, but that is all. The culture of the tulip, the dahlia, and (sometimes) of the fuchsia, was attended, as I have said, with small cost, still it *was* cost, and the weaver, as wages grew lower, could not afford either the outlay or the loss of time. To cultivate flowers, or rear doves, so as to make them a means of subsistence, requires a man's whole time, and to such things the Spitalfields man did not devote his time, but his leisure.

The readers who have perused this work from its first appearance will have noticed how frequently I have had to comment on the always realized indication of good conduct, and of a superior taste and generally a superior intelligence, when I have found the rooms of working people contain flowers and birds. I could adduce many instances. I have seen and heard birds in the rooms of tailors, shoemakers, coopers, cabinet-makers, hatters, dressmakers, curriers, and street-sellers,—all people of the best class. One of the most striking, indeed, was the room of a street-confectioner. His family attended to the sale of the sweets, and he was greatly occupied at home in their manufacture, and worked away at his peppermint-rock, in the very heart of one of the thickliest populated parts of London, surrounded by the song of thrushes, linnets, and gold-finches, all kept, not for profit, but because he "loved" to have them about him. I have seldom met a man who impressed me more favourably.

The flowers in the room are more attributable to the superintending taste of a wife or daughter, and are found in the apartments of the same class of people.

There is a marked difference between the buyers or keepers of birds and of dogs in the working classes, especially when the dog is of a sporting or "varmint" sort. Such a dog-keeper is often abroad and so his home becomes neglected; he is interested about rat-hunts, knows the odds on or against the dog's chance to dispatch his rats in the time allotted, loses much time and customers, his employers grumbling that the work is so slowly executed, and so custom or work falls off. The bird-lover, on the other hand, is generally a more domestic, and, perhaps consequently, a more prosperous and contented man. It is curious to mark the refining qualities of particular trades. I do not remember seeing a bull-dog in the possession of any of the Spitalfields silk-weavers: with them all was flowers and birds. The same I observed with the tailors and other kindred occupations. With slaughterers, however, and drovers, and Billingsgatemen, and coachmen, and cabmen, whose callings naturally tend to blunt the sympathy with suffering, the gentler tastes are comparatively unknown. The dogs are almost all of the "varmint" kind, kept either for rat-killing, fighting, or else for their ugliness. For "pet" or "fancy" dogs they have no feeling, and in singing birds they find little or no delight.

Of the Bird-Catchers who are Street-Sellers.

The street-sellers of birds are called by themselves "hawkers," and sometimes "bird hawkers."

Among the bird-catchers I did not hear of any very prominent characters at present, three of the best known and most prominent having died within these ten months. I found among all I saw the vagrant characteristics I have mentioned, and often united with a quietness of speech and manner which might surprise those who do not know that any pursuit which entails frequent silence, watchfulness, and solitude, forms such manners. Perhaps the man most talked of by his fellow-labourers, was Old Gilham, who died lately. Gilham was his real name, for among the bird-catchers there is not that prevalence of nicknames which I found among the costermongers and patterers. One reason no doubt is, that these bird-folk do not meet regularly in the markets. It is rarely, however, that they know each other's surnames, Old Gilham being an exception. It is Old Tom, or Young Mick, or Jack, or Dick, among them. I heard of no John or Richard.

For 60 years, almost without intermission, Old Gilham caught birds. I am assured that to state that his "catch" during this long period averaged 100 a week, hens included, is within the mark, for he was a most indefatigable man; even at that computation, however, he would have been the captor, in his lifetime, of three hundred and twelve

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STREET-SELLER OF BIRDS'-NESTS.

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thousand birds! A bird-catcher who used sometimes to start in the morning with Old Gilham, and walk with him until their roads diverged, told me that of late years the old man's talk was a good deal of where he had captured his birds in the old times: 'Why, Ned,' he would say to me, proceeded his companion, 'I've catched goldfinches in lots at Chalk Farm, and all where there's that railway smoke and noise just by the hill (Primrose Hill). I can't think where they'll drive all the birds to by and bye. I dare say the first time the birds saw a railway with its smoke, and noise to frighten them, and all the fire too, they just thought it was the devil was come.' He wasn't a fool, wasn't old Gilham, sir. 'Why,' he'd go on for to say, 'I've laid many a day at Ball's Pond there, where it's nothing but a lot of houses now, and catched hundreds of birds. And I've catched them where there's all them grand squares Pimlico way, and in Britannia Fields, and at White Condic. What with all these buildings, and them barbers, I don't know what the bird-trade'll come to. It's hard for a poor man to have to gó to Finchley for birds that he could have catched at Holloway once, but people never thinks of that. When I were young I could make three times as much as I do now. I've got a pound for a good sound chaffinch as I brought up myself.' Ah, poor old Gilham, sir; I wish you could have seen him, he'd have told you of some queer changes in his time."

A shopkeeper informed me that a bird-catcher had talked to him of even "queerer" changes. This man died eight or ten years ago at an advanced age, but beyond the fact of his offering birds occasionally at my informant's shop, where he was known merely as "the old man," he could tell me nothing of the ancient bird-catcher, except that he was very fond of a talk, and used to tell how he had catched birds between fifty and sixty years, and had often, when a lad, catched them where many a dock in London now stands. "Where there's many a big ship now in deep water, I've catched flocks of birds. I never catched birds to be sure at them docks," he would add, "as was dug out of the houses. Why, master, you'll remember their pulling down St. Katherine's Church, and all them rummy streets the t'other side of the Tower, for a dock." As I find that the first dock constructed on the north side of the Thames, the West India dock, was not commenced until the year 1800, there seems no reason to discredit the bird-catcher's statement. Among other classes of street-sellers I have had to remark the little observation they extended to the changes all around, such as the extension of street-traffic to miles and miles of suburbs, unknown till recently. Two thousand miles of houses have been built in London within the last 20 years. But with the bird-catchers this want of observance is not so marked. Of necessity they must notice the changes which have added to the fatigues and difficulties of their calling, by compelling them, literally, to "go further a-field."

A young man, rather tall, and evidently active, but very thin, gave me the following account. His manners were quiet and his voice low. His dress could not so well be called mean as hard worn, with the unmistakable look of much of the attire of his class, that it was not made for the wearer; his surtout, for instance, which was fastened in front by two buttons, reached down to his ancles, and could have inclosed a bigger man. He resided in St. Luke's, in which parish there are more bird-catchers living than in any other. The furniture of his room was very simple. A heavy old sofa, in the well of which was a bed, a table, two chairs, a fender, a small closet containing a few pots and tins, and some twenty empty bird-cages of different sizes hung against the walls. In a sort of wooden loft, which had originally been constructed, he believed, for the breeding of fancy-pigeons, and which was erected on the roof, were about a dozen or two of cages, some old and broken, and in them a few live goldfinches, which hopped about very merrily. They were all this year's birds, and my informant, who had "a little connection of his own," was rearing them in hopes they would turn out good specs, quite "birds beyond the run of the streets." The place and the cages, each bird having its own little cage, were very clean, but at the time of my visit the loft was exceedingly hot, as the day was one of the sultriest. Lest this heat should prove too great for the finches, the timbers on all sides were well wetted and re-wetted at intervals, for about an hour at noon, at which time only was the sun full on the loft.

"I shall soon have more birds, sir," he said, "but you see I only put aside here such as are the very best of the take; all cocks, of course. O, I've been in the trade all my life; I've had a turn at other things, certainly, but this life suits me best, I think, because I have my health best in it. My father—he's been dead a goodish bit—was a bird-catcher as well, and he used to take me out with him as soon as I was strong enough; when I was about ten, I suppose. I don't remember my mother. Father was brought up to brick-making. I believe that most of the bird-catchers that have been trades, and that's not half a quarter perhaps, were brick-makers, or something that way. Well, I don't know the reason. The brick-making was, in my father's young days, carried on more in the country, and the bird-catchers used to fall in with the brick-makers, and so perhaps that led to it. I've heard my father tell of an old soldier that had been discharged with a pension being the luckiest bird-catcher he knowed. The soldier was a catcher before he first listed, and he listed drunk. I once—yes, sir, I dare say that's fifteen year back, for I was quite a lad—walked with my father and captain" (the pensioner's sobriquet) "till they parted for work, and I remember very well I heard him tell how, when on march in Portingal—I think that's what he called it, but it's in foreign parts—he saw flocks of birds; he wished he could be after catching them, for he was well tired of sogering. I was sent to school twice or thrice, and can read a little and write a little; and I should like reading better if I could manage it better. I read a penny number,

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or the 'police' in a newspaper, now and then, but very seldom. But on a fine day I hated being at school. I wanted to be at work, to make something at bird-catching. If a boy can make money, why shouldn't he? And if I'd had a net, or cage, and a mule of my own, then, I thought, I could make money." [I may observe that the mule longed for by my informant was a "cross" between two birds, and was wanted for the decoy. Some bird-catchers contend that a mule makes the best call-bird of any; others that the natural note of a linnet, for instance, was more alluring than the song of a mule between a linnet and a goldfinch. One birdman told me that the excellence of a mule was, that it had been bred and taught by its master, had never been at large, and was "better to manage;" it was bolder, too, in a cage, and its notes were often loud and ringing, and might be heard to a considerable distance.]

"I couldn't stick to school, sir," my informant continued, "and I don't know why, lest it be that one man's best suited for one business, and another for another. That may be seen every day. I was sent on trial to a shoemaker, and after that to a ropemaker, for father didn't seem to like my growing up and being a bird-catcher, like he was. But I never felt well, and knew I should never be any great hand at them trades, and so when my poor father went off rather sudden, I took to the catching at once and had all his traps. Perhaps, but I can't say to a niceness, that was eleven year back. Do I like the business, do you say, sir? Well, I'm forced to like it, for I've no other to live by." [The reader will have remarked how this man attributed the course he pursued, evidently from natural inclination, to its being the best and most healthful means of subsistence in his power.] "Last Monday, for my dealers like birds on a Monday or Tuesday best, and then they've the week before them,—I went to catch in the fields this side of Barnet, and started before two in the morning, when it was neither light nor dark. You must get to your place before daylight to be ready for the first flight, and have time to lay your net properly. When I'd done that, I lay down and smoked. No, smoke don't scare the birds; I think they're rather drawn to notice anything new, if all's quite quiet. Well, the first pull I had about 90 birds, nearly all linnets. There was, as well as I can remember, three hedge-sparrows among them, and two larks, and one or two other birds. Yes, there's always a terrible flutter and row when you make a catch, and often regular fights in the net. I then sorted my birds, and let the hens go, for I didn't want to be bothered with them. I might let such a thing as 35 hens go out of rather more than an 80 take, for I've always found, in catching young broods, that I've drawn more cocks than hens. How do I know the difference when the birds are so young? As easy as light from dark. You must lift up the wing, quite tender, and you'll find that a cock linnet has black, or nearly black, feathers on his shoulder, where the hens are a deal lighter. Then the cock has a broader and whiter stripe on the wing than the hen has. It's quite easy to distinguish, quite. A cock goldfinch is straighter and more larger in general than a hen, and has a broader white on his wing, as the cock linnet has; he's black round the beak and the eye too, and a hen's greenish thereabouts. There's some gray-pates (young birds) would deceive any one until he opens their wings. Well, I went on, sir, until about one o'clock, or a little after, as well as I could tell from the sun, and then came away with about 100 singing birds. I sold them in the lump to three shopkeepers at 2*s.* 2*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* the doxen. That was a good day, sir; a very lucky day. I got about 17*s.*, the best I ever did but once, when I made 19*s.* in a day.

"Yes, it's hard work is mine, because there's such a long walking home when you've done catching. O, when you're at work it's not work but almost a pleasure. I've laid for hours though, without a catch. I smoke to pass the time when I'm watching; sometimes I read a bit if I've had anything to take with me to read; then at other times I thinks. If you don't get a catch for hours, it's only like an angler without a nibble. O, I don't know what I think about; about nothing, perhaps. Yes, I've had a friend or two go out catching with me just for the amusement. They must lie about and wait as I do. We have a little talk of course: well, perhaps about sporting; no, not horse-racing, I care nothing for that, but it's hardly business taking any one with you. I supply the dealers and hawk as well. Perhaps I make 12*s.* a week the year through. Some weeks I've made between 3*l.* and 4*l.*, and in winter, when there's rain every day, perhaps I haven't cleared a penny in a fortnight. That's the worst of it. But I make more than others because I have a connection and raise good birds.

"Sometimes I'm stopped by the farmers when I'm at work, but not often, though there is some of 'em very obstinate. It's no use, for if a catcher's net has to be taken from one part of a farm, after he's had the trouble of laying it, why it must be laid in another part. Some country people likes to have their birds catched."

My informant supplied shopkeepers and hawked his birds in the streets and to the houses. He had a connection, he said, and could generally get through them, but he had sometimes put a bird or two in a fancy house. These are the public-houses resorted to by "the fancy," in some of which may be seen two or three dozen singing-birds for sale on commission, through the agency of the landlord or the waiter. They are the property of hawkers or dealers, and must be good birds, or they will not be admitted.

The number of birds caught, and the proportion sold in the streets, I have already stated. The number of bird-catchers, I may repeat, is about the same as that of street bird-sellers, 200.

Of the Crippled Street Bird-Seller.

From the bird-seller whose portrait will be given in the next number of this work I have received the following account. The statement previously

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given was that of a catcher and street-seller, as are the great majority in the trade; the following narrative is that of one who, from his infirmities, is merely a street-*seller*.

The poor man's deformity may be best understood by describing it in his own words: "I have no ancle." His right leg is emaciated, the bone is smaller than that of his other leg (which is not deformed), and there is no ancle joint. The joints of the wrists and shoulders are also defective, though not utterly wanting, as in the ancle. In walking this poor cripple seems to advance by means of a series of jerks. He uses his deformed leg, but must tread, or rather support his body, on the ball of the misformed foot, while he advances his sound leg; then, with a twist of his body, after he has advanced and stands upon his undeformed leg and foot, he throws forward the crippled part of his frame by the jerk I have spoken of. His arms are usually pressed against his ribs as he walks, and convey to a spectator the notion that he is unable to raise them from that position. This, however, is not the case; he can raise them, not as a sound man does, but with an effort and a contortion of his body to humour the effort. His speech is also defective, his words being brought out, as it were, by jerks; he has to prepare himself, and to throw up his chin, in order to converse, and then he speaks with difficulty. His face is sun-burnt and healthy-looking. His dress was a fustian coat with full skirts, cloth trowsers somewhat patched, and a clean coarse shirt. His right shoe was suited to his deformity, and was strapped with a sort of leather belt round the lower part of the leg.

A considerable number of book-stall keepers, as well as costermongers, swag-barrowmen, ginger-beer and lemonade sellers, orange-women, sweet-stuff vendors, root-sellers, and others, have established their pitches—some of them having stalls with a cover, like a roof—from Whitechapel workhouse to the Mile End turnpike-gate; near the gate they are congregated most thickly, and there they are mixed with persons seated on the forms belonging to adjacent innkeepers, which are placed there to allow any one to have his beer and tobacco in the open air. Among these street-sellers and beer-drinkers is seated the crippled bird-seller, generally motionless.

His home is near the Jews' burial-ground, and in one of the many "places" which by a misnomer, occasioned by the change in the character and appearance of what *were* the outskirts, are still called "Pleasant." On seeking him here, I had some little difficulty in finding the house, and asking a string of men, who were chopping fire-wood in an adjoining court, for the man I wanted, mentioning his name, no one knew anything about him; though when I spoke of his calling, "O," they said, "you want Old Billy." I then found Billy at his accustomed pitch, with a very small stock of birds in two large cages on the ground beside him, and he accompanied me to his residence. The room in which we sat had a pile of fire-wood opposite the door; the iron of the upper part of the door-latch being wanting was replaced by a piece of wood—and on the pile sat a tame jackdaw, with the inquisitive and askant look peculiar to the bird. Above the pile was a large cage, containing a jay—a bird seldom sold in the streets now—and a thrush, in different compartments. A table, three chairs, and a hamper or two used in the wood-cutting, completed the furniture. Outside the house were cages containing larks, goldfinches, and a very fine starling, of whose promising abilities the bird-seller's sister had so favourable an opinion that she intended to try and teach it to talk, although that was very seldom done now.

The following is the statement I obtained from the poor fellow. The man's sister was present at his desire, as he was afraid I could not understand him, owing to the indistinctness of his speech; but that was easy enough, after awhile, with a little patience and attention.

"I was born a cripple, sir," he said, "and I shall die one. I was born at Lewisham, but I don't remember living in any place but London. I remember being at Stroud though, where my father had taken me, and bathed me often in the sea himself, thinking it might do me good. I 've heard him say, too, that when I was very young he took me to almost every hospital in London, but it was of no use. My father and mother were as kind to me and as good parents as could be. He 's been dead nineteen years, and my mother died before him. Father was very poor, almost as poor as I am. He worked in a brick-field, but work weren't regular. I couldn't walk at all until I was six years old, and I was between nine and ten before I could get up and down stairs by myself. I used to slide down before, as well as I could, and had to be carried up. When I could get about and went among other boys, I was in great distress, I was teased so. Life was a burthen to me, as I 've read something about. They used to taunt me by offering to jump me" (invite him to a jumping match), "and to say, I 'll run you a race on one leg. They were bad to me then, and they are now. I 've sometimes sat down and cried, but not often. No, sir, I can't say that I ever wished I was dead. I hardly know why I cried. I suppose because I was miserable. I learned to read at a Sunday school, where I went a long time. I like reading. I read the Bible and tracts, nothing else; never a newspaper. It don't come in my way, and if it did I shouldn't look at it, for I can't read over well and it 's nothing to me who 's king or who 's queen. It can never have anything to do with me. It don't take my attention. There 'll be no change for me in this world. When I was thirteen my father put me into the bird trade. He knew a good many catchers. I 've been bird-selling in the streets for six-and-twenty years and more, for I was 39 the 24th of last January. Father didn't know what better he could put me to, as I hadn't the right use of my hands or feet, and at first I did very well. I liked the birds and do still. I used to think at first that they was like me; they was prisoners, and I was a cripple. At first I sold birds in Poplar, and

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Limehouse, and Blackwall, and was a help to my parents, for I cleared 9*s.* or 10*s.* every week. But now, oh dear, I don't know where all the money 's gone to. I think there 's very little left in the country. I 've sold larks, linnets, and goldfinches, to captains of ships to take to the West Indies. I 've sold them, too, to go to Port Philip. O, and almost all those foreign parts. They bring foreign birds here, and take back London birds. I don't know anything about foreign birds. I know there 's men dressed as sailors going about selling them; they 're duffers—I mean the men. There 's a neighbour of mine, that 's very likely never been 20 miles out of London, and when he hawks birds he always dresses like a countryman, and duffs that way.

"When my father died," continued the man, "I was completely upset; everything in the world was upset. I was forced to go into the workhouse, and I was there between four and five months. O, I hated it. I'd rather live on a penny loaf a day than be in it again. I 've never been near the parish since, though I 've often had nothing to eat many a day. I'd rather be lamer than I am, and be oftener called silly Billy—and that sometimes makes me dreadful wild—than be in the workhouse. It was starvation, but then I know I 'm a hearty eater, very hearty. Just now I know I could eat a shilling plate of meat, but for all that I very seldom taste meat. I live on bread and butter and tea, sometimes bread without butter. When I have it I eat a quartern loaf at three meals. It depends upon how I 'm off. My health 's good. I never feel in any pain now; I did when I first got to walk, in great pain. Beer I often don't taste once in two or three months, and this very hot weather one can't help longing for a drop, when you see people drinking it all sides of you, but they have the use of their limbs." [Here two little girls and a boy rushed into the room, for they had but to open the door from the outside, and, evidently to tease the poor fellow, loudly demanded "a ha'penny bird." When the sister had driven them away, my informant continued.] "I 'm still greatly teased, sir, with children; yes, and with men too, both when they 're drunk and sober. I think grown persons are the worst. They swear and use bad language to me. I 'm sure I don 't know why. I know no name they call me by in particular when I 'm teased, if it isn't 'Old Hypocrite.' I can 't say why they call me 'hypocrite.' I suppose because they know no better. Yes, I think I 'm religious, rather. I would be more so, if I had clothes. I get to chapel sometimes." [A resident near the bird-seller's pitch, with whom I had some conversation, told me of "Billy" being sometimes teased in the way described. Some years ago, he believed it was at Limehouse, my informant heard a gentlemanly-looking man, tipsy, d—n the street bird-seller for Mr. *Hobbler*, and bid him go to the Mansion House, or to h—l. I asked the cripple about this, but he had no recollection of it; and, as he evidently did not understand the allusion to Mr. Hobbler, I was not surprised at his forgetfulness.]

"I like to sit out in the sunshine selling my birds," he said. "If it 's rainy, and I can't go out, because it would be of no use, I 'm moped to death. I stay at home and read a little; or I chop a little fire-wood, but you may be very sure, sir, its little I can do that way. I never associate with the neighbours. I never had any pleasure, such as going to a fair, or like that. I don't remember having ever spent a penny in a place of amusement in my life. Yes, I 've often sat all day in the sun, and of course a deal of thoughts goes through my head. I think, shall I be able to afford myself plenty of bread when I get home? And I think of the next world sometimes, and feel quite sure, quite, that I shan't be a cripple there. Yes, that 's a comfort, for this world will never be any good to me. I feel that I shall be a poor starving cripple, till I end, perhaps, in the workhouse. Other poor men can get married, but not such as me. But I never was in love in my life, never." [Among the vagrants and beggars, I may observe, there are men more terribly deformed than the bird-seller, who are married, or living in concubinage.] "Yes, sir," he proceeded, "I 'm quite reconciled to my lameness, quite; and have been for years. O, no, I never fret about that now; but about starving, perhaps, and the workhouse.

"Before father died, the parish allowed us 1*s.* 6*d.* and a quartern loaf a week; but after he was buried, they 'd allow me nothing; they 'd only admit me into the house. I hadn't a penny allowed to me when I discharged myself and came out. I hardly know how ever I *did* manage to get a start again with the birds. I knew a good many catchers, and they trusted me. Yes, they was all poor men. I did pretty tidy by bits, but only when it was fine weather, until these five years or so, when things got terrible bad. Particularly just the two last years with me. Do you think times are likely to mend, sir, with poor people? If working-men had only money, they 'd buy innocent things like birds to amuse them at home; but if they can't get the money, as I 've heard them say when they 've been pricing my stock, why in course they can't spend it."

"Yes, indeed," said the sister, "trade 's very bad. Where my husband and I once earned 18*s.* at the fire-wood, and then 15*s.*, we can't now earn 12*s.* the two of us, slave as hard as we will. I always dread the winter a-coming. Though there may be more fire-wood wanted, there 's greater expenses, and it 's a terrible time for such as us."

"I dream sometimes, sir," the cripple resumed in answer to my question, "but not often. I often have more than once dreamed I was starving and dying of hunger. I remember that, for I woke in a tremble. But most dreams is soon forgot. I 've never seemed to myself to be a cripple in my dreams. Well, I can't explain how, but I feel as if my limbs was all free like—so beautiful. I dream most about starving I think, than about anything else. Perhaps that 's when I have to go to sleep hungry. I sleep very well, though, take it altogether. If I had only plenty to live upon there would be

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nobody happier. I'm happy enough when times is middling with me, only one feels it won't last. I like a joke as well as anybody when times is good; but that's been very seldom lately.

"It's all small birds I sell in the street now, except at a very odd time. That jackdaw there, sir, he's a very fine bird. I've tamed him myself, and he's as tame as a dog. My sister's a very good hand among birds, and helps me. She once taught a linnet to say 'Joey' as plain as you can speak it yourself, sir. I buy birds of different catchers, but haven't money to buy the better kinds, as I have to sell at *3d.*, and *4d.*, and *6d.* mostly. If I had a pound to lay out in a few nice cages and good birds, I think I could do middling, this fine weather particler, for I'm a very good judge of birds, and know how to manage them as well as anybody. Then birds is rather dearer to buy than they was when I was first in the trade. The catchers have to go further, and I'm afeared the birds is getting scarcer, and so there's more time taken up. I buy of several catchers. The last whole day that I was at my pitch I sold nine birds, and took about *3s.* If I could buy birds ever so cheap, there's always such losses by their dying. I've had three parts of my young linnets die, do what I might, but not often so many. Then if they die all the food they've had is lost. There goes all for nothing the rape and flax-seed for your linnets, canary and flax for your goldfinches, chopped eggs for your nightingales, and German paste for your sky-larks. I've made my own German paste when I've wanted a sufficient quantity. It's made of pea-meal, treacle, hog's-lard, and moss-seed. I sell more goldfinches than anything else. I used to sell a good many sparrows for shooting, but I haven't done anything that way these eight or nine years. It's a fash'nable sport still, I hear. I've reared nightingales that sung beautiful, and have sold them at *4s.* a piece, which was very cheap. They often die when the time for their departure comes. A shopkeeper as supplied such as I've sold would have charged *1l.* a piece for them. One of my favouritest birds is redpoles, but they're only sold in the season. I think it's one of the most knowingest little birds that is; more knowing than the goldfinch, in my opinion.

"My customers are all working people, all of them. I sell to nobody else; I make *4s.* or *5s.*; I call *5s.* a good week at this time of year, when the weather suits. I lodge with a married sister; her husband's a wood-chopper, and I pay *1s. 6d.* a week, which is cheap, for I've no sticks of my own. If I earn *4s.* there's only *2s. 6d.* left to live on the week through. In winter, when I can make next to nothing, and must keep my birds, it is terrible—oh yes, sir, if you believe me, terrible!"

Of the Tricks of the Bird-Duffers.

The tricks practised by the bird-sellers are frequent and systematic. The other day a man connected with the bird-trade had to visit Holloway, the City, and Bermondsey. In Holloway he saw six men, some of whom he recognised as regular bird-catchers and street-sellers, offering sham birds; in the City he found twelve; and in Bermondsey six, as well as he could depend upon his memory. These, he thought, did not constitute more than a half of the number now at work as bird-"duffers," not including the sellers of foreign birds. In the summer, indeed, the duffers are most numerous, for birds are cheapest then, and these tricksters, to economise time, I presume, buy of other catchers any cheap hens suited to their purpose. Some of them, I am told, never catch their birds at all, but purchase them.

The greenfinch is the bird on which these men's art is most commonly practised, its light-coloured plumage suiting it to their purposes. I have heard these people styled "bird-swindlers," but by street-traders I heard them called "bird-duffers," yet there appears to be no very distinctive name for them. They are nearly all men, as is the case in the bird trade generally, although the wives may occasionally assist in the street-sale. The means of deception, as regards the greenfinch especially, are from paint. One aim of these artists is to make their finch resemble some curious foreign bird, "not often to be sold so cheap, or to be sold at all in this country." They study the birds in the window of the naturalists' shops for this purpose. Sometimes they declare these painted birds are young Java sparrows (at one time "a fashionable bird"), or St. Helena birds, or French or Italian finches. They sometimes get *5s.* for such a "duffing bird;" one man has been known to boast that he once got a sovereign. I am told, however, by a bird-catcher who had himself supplied birds to these men for duffing, that they complained of the trade growing worse and worse.

It is usually a hen which is painted, for the hen is by far the cheapest purchase, and while the poor thing is being offered for sale by the duffers, she has an unlimited supply of hemp-seed, without other food, and hemp-seed beyond a proper quantity, is a very strong stimulus. This makes the hen look brisk and bold, but if newly caught, as is usually the case, she will perhaps be found dead next morning. The duffer will object to his bird being handled on account of its timidity; "but it is timid only with strangers!" When you've had him a week, ma'am," such a bird-seller will say, "you'll find him as lovesome and tame as can be." One jealous lady, when asked *5s.* for a "very fine Italian finch, an excellent singer," refused to buy, but offered a deposit of *2s. 6d.*, if the man would leave his bird and cage, for the trial of the bird's song, for two or three days. The duffer agreed; and was bold enough to call on the third day to hear the result. The bird was dead, and after murmuring a little at the lady's mismanagement, and at the loss he had been subjected to, the man brought away his cage. He boasted of this to a dealer's assistant who mentioned it to me, and expressed his conviction that it was true enough. The paints used for the transformation of native birds into foreign are bought at the colour-shops, and applied with camel-hair brushes in the usual way.

When canaries are "a bad colour," or have

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grown a paler yellow from age, they are re-dyed, by the application of a colour sold at the colour-shops, and known as "the Queen's yellow." Blackbirds are dyed a deeper black, the "grit" off a frying-pan being used for the purpose. The same thing is done to heighten the gloss and blackness of a jackdaw, I was told, by a man who acknowledged he had duffed a little; "people liked a gay bright colour." In the same way the tints of the goldfinch are heightened by the application of paint. It is common enough, moreover, for a man to paint the beaks and legs of the birds. It is chiefly the smaller birds which are thus made the means of cheating.

Almost all the "duffing birds" are hawked. If a young hen be passed off for a good singing bird, without being painted, as a cock in his second singing year, she is "brisked up" with hemp-seed, is half tipsy in fact, and so passed off deceitfully. As it is very rarely that even the male birds will sing in the streets, this is often a successful ruse, the bird appearing so lively.

A dealer calculated for me, from his own knowledge, that 2000 small birds were "duffed" yearly, at an average of from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* each.

As yet I have only spoken of the "duffing" of English birds, but similar tricks are practised with the foreign birds.

In parrot-selling there is a good deal of "duffing." The birds are "painted up," as I have described in the case of the greenfinches, &c. Varnish is also used to render the colours brighter; the legs and beak are frequently varnished. Sometimes a spot of red is introduced, for as one of these duffers observed to a dealer in English birds, "the more outlandish you make them look, the better's the chance to sell." Sometimes there is little injury done by this paint and varnish, which disappear gradually when the parrot is in the cage of a purchaser; but in some instances when the bird picks himself where he has been painted, he dies from the deleterious compound. Of this mortality, however, there is nothing approaching that among the duffed small birds.

Occasionally the duffers carry really fine cockatoos, &c., and if they can obtain admittance into a lady's house, to display the beauty of the bird, they will pretend to be in possession of smuggled silk, &c., made of course for duffing purposes. The bird-duffers are usually dressed as seamen, and sometimes pretend they must sell the bird before the ship sails, for a parting spree, or to get the poor thing a good home. This trade, however, has from all that I can learn, and in the words of an informant, "seen its best days." There are now sometimes six men thus engaged; sometimes none: and when one of these men is "hard up," he finds it difficult to start again in a business for which a capital of about 1*l.* is necessary, as a cage is wanted generally. The duffers buy the very lowest priced birds, and have been known to get 2*l.* 10*s.* for what cost but 8*s.*, but that is a very rare occurrence, and the men are very poor, and perhaps more dissipated than the generality of street-sellers. Parrot duffing, moreover, is seldom carried on regularly by any one, for he will often duff cigars and other things in preference, or perhaps vend really smuggled and good cigars or tobacco. Perhaps 150 parrots, paroquets, or cockatoos, are sold in this way annually, at from 15*s.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* each, but hardly averaging 1*l.*, as the duffer will sell, or raffle, the bird for a small sum if he cannot dispose of it otherwise.

Of the Street-Sellers of Foreign Birds.

This trade is curious, but far from extensive as regards street-sale. There is, moreover, contrary to what might be expected, a good deal of "duffing" about it. The "duffer" in English birds disguises them so that they shall look like foreigners; the duffer in what are unquestionably foreign birds disguises them that they may look *more* foreign—more Indian than in the Indies.

The word "Duffer," I may mention, appears to be connected with the German *Durffen*, to want, to be needy, and so to mean literally a needy or indigent man, even as the word *Pedlar* has the same origin—being derived from the German *Bettler*, and the Dutch *Bedelaar*—a beggar. The verb *Durffen* means also to dare, to be so bold as to do; hence, to *Durff*, or *Duff*, would signify to resort to any impudent trick.

The supply of parrots, paroquets, cockatoos, Java sparrows, or St. Helena birds, is not in the regular way of consignment from a merchant abroad to one in London. The commanders and mates of merchant vessels bring over large quantities; and often enough the seamen are allowed to bring parrots or cockatoos in the homeward-bound ship from the Indies or the African coast, or from other tropical countries, either to beguile the tedium of the voyage, for presents to their friends, or, as in some cases, for sale on their reaching an English port. More, I am assured, although statistics are hardly possible on such a subject, are brought to London, and perhaps by one-third, than to all the other ports of Great Britain collectively. Even on board the vessels of the royal navy, the importation of parrots used to be allowed as a sort of boon to the seamen. I was told by an old naval officer that once, after a long detention on the west coast of Africa, his ship was ordered home, and, as an acknowledgment of the good behaviour of his men, he permitted them to bring parrots, cockatoos, or any foreign birds, home with them, not limiting the number, but of course under the inspection of the petty officers, that there might be no violation of the cleanliness which always distinguishes a vessel of war. Along the African coast, to the southward of Sierra Leone, the men were not allowed to land, both on account of the unhealthiness of the shores, and of the surf, which rendered landing highly dangerous, a danger, however, which the seamen would not have scrupled to brave, and recklessly enough, for any impulse of the minute. As if by instinct, however, the natives seemed to know what was wanted, for they came off from the shores in their light canoes, which danced like feathers on the surf, and brought boat-loads of birds; these the seamen bought of them, or possessed themselves of in the way of barter.

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Before the ship took her final departure, however, she was reported as utterly uninhabitable below, from the incessant din and clamour: "We might as well have a pack of women aboard, sir," was the ungallant remark of one of the petty officers to his commander. Orders were then given that the parrots, &c., should be "thinned," so that there might not be such an unceasing noise. This was accordingly done. How many were set at liberty and made for the shore—for the seamen in this instance did not kill them for their skins, as is not unfrequently the case—the commander did not know. He could but conjecture; and he conjectured that something like a thousand were released; and even after that, and after the mortality which takes place among these birds in the course of a long voyage, a very great number were brought to Plymouth. Of these, again, a great number were sent or conveyed under the care of the sailors to London, when the ship was paid off. The same officer endeavoured on this voyage to bring home some very large pine-apples, which flavoured, and most deliciously, parts of the ship when she had been a long time at sea; but every one of them rotted, and had to be thrown overboard. He fell into the error, Captain—— said, of having the finest fruit selected for the experiment; an error which the Bahama merchants had avoided, and consequently they succeeded where he failed. How the sailors fed the parrots, my informant could hardly guess, but they brought a number of very fine birds to England, some of them with well-cultivated powers of speech.

This, as I shall show, is one of the ways by which the London supply of parrots, &c., is obtained; but the permission, as to the importation of these brightly-feathered birds, is, I understand, rarely allowed at present to the seamen in the royal navy. The far greater supply, indeed more than 90 per cent. of the whole of the birds imported, is from the merchant-service. I have already stated, on the very best authority, the motives which induce merchant-seamen to bring over parrots and cockatoos. That to bring them over is an inducement to some to engage in an African voyage is shown by the following statement, which was made to me, in the course of a long inquiry, published in my letters in the *Morning Chronicle*, concerning the condition of the merchant-seamen.

"I would never go to that African coast again, only I make a pound or two in birds. We buy parrots, gray parrots chiefly, of the natives, who come aboard in their canoes. We sometimes pay 6*s.* or 7*s.*, in Africa, for a fine bird. I have known 200 parrots on board; they make a precious noise; but half the birds die before they get to England. Some captains won't allow parrots."

When the seamen have settled themselves after landing in England, they perhaps find that there is no room in their boarding-houses for their parrots; these birds are not admitted into the Sailors' Home; the seamen's friends are stocked with the birds, and look upon another parrot as but another intruder, an unwelcome pensioner. There remains but one course—to sell the birds, and they are generally sold to a highly respectable man, Mr. M. Samuel, of Upper East Smithfield; and it is from him, though not always directly, that the shopkeepers and street-sellers derive their stock-in-trade. There is also a further motive for the disposal of parrots, paroquets, and cockatoos to a merchant. The seafaring owner of those really magnificent birds, perhaps, squanders his money, perhaps he gets "skinned" (stripped of his clothes and money from being hocussed, or tempted to helpless drunkenness), or he chooses to sell them, and he or his boarding-house keeper takes the birds to Mr. Samuel, and sells them for what he can get; but I heard from three very intelligent seamen whom I met with in the course of my inquiry, and by mere chance, that Mr. Samuel's price was fair and his money sure, considering everything, for there is usually a qualification to every praise. It is certainly surprising, under these circumstances, that such numbers of these birds should thus be disposed of.

Parrots are as gladly, or more gladly, got rid of, in any manner, in different regions in the continents of Asia and America, than with us are even rats from a granary. Dr. Stanley, after speaking of the beauty of a flight of parrots, says:—"The husbandman who sees them hastening through the air, with loud and impatient screams, looks upon them with dismay and detestation, knowing that the produce of his labour and industry is in jeopardy, when visited by such a voracious multitude of pilferers, who, like the locusts of Egypt, desolate whole tracts of country by their unsparing ravages." A contrast with their harmlessness, in a gilded cage in the houses of the wealthy, with us! The destructiveness of these birds, is, then, one reason why seamen can obtain them so readily and cheaply, for the natives take pleasure in catching them; while as to plentifulness, the tropical regions teem with bird, as with insect and reptile, life.

Of parrots, paroquets, and cockatoos, there are 3000 imported to London in the way I have described, and in about equal proportions. They are sold, wholesale, from 5*s.* to 30*s.* each.

There are now only three men selling these brilliant birds regularly in the streets, and in the fair way of trade; but there are sometimes as many as 18 so engaged. The price given by a hawker for a cockatoo, &c., is 8*s.* or 10*s.*, and they are retailed at from 15*s.* to 30*s.*, or more, "if it can be got." The purchasers are the wealthier classes who can afford to indulge their tastes. Of late years, however, I am told, a parrot or a cockatoo seems to be considered indispensable to an inn (not a gin-palace), and the innkeepers have been among the best customers of the street parrot-sellers. In the neighbourhood of the docks, and indeed along the whole river side below London-bridge, it is almost impossible for a street-seller to dispose of a parrot to an innkeeper, or indeed to any one, as they are supplied by the seamen. A parrot which has been taught to talk is worth from 4*l.* to 10*l.*, according to its proficiency in speech. About 500 of these birds are sold yearly by the

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street-hawkers, at an outlay to the public of from 500*l.* to 600*l.*

Java sparrows, from the East Indies, and from the Islands of the Archipelago, are brought to London, but considerable quantities die during the voyage and in this country; for, though hardy enough, not more than one in three survives being "taken off the paddy seed." About 10,000, however, are sold annually, in London, at 1*s.* 6*d.* each, but a very small proportion by street-hawking, as the Java sparrows are chiefly in demand for the aviaries of the rich in town and country. In some years not above 100 may be sold in the streets; in others, as many as 500.

In St. Helena birds, known also as wax-bills and red-backs, there is a trade to the same extent, both as regards number and price; but the street-sale is perhaps 10 per cent. lower.

Of the Street-Sellers of Birds'-Nests.

The young gypsy-looking lad, who gave me the following account of the sale of birds'-nests in the streets, was peculiarly picturesque in his appearance. He wore a dirty-looking smock-frock with large pockets at the side; he had no shirt; and his long black hair hung in curls about him, contrasting strongly with his bare white neck and chest. The broad-brimmed brown Italian-looking hat, broken in and ragged at the top, threw a dark half-mask-like shadow over the upper part of his face. His feet were bare and black with mud: he carried in one hand his basket of nests, dotted with their many-coloured eggs; in the other he held a live snake, that writhed and twisted as its metallic-looking skin glistened in the sun; now over, and now round, the thick knotty bough of a tree that he used for a stick. The portrait of the youth is here given. I have never seen so picturesque a specimen of the English nomade. He said, in answer to my inquiries:—

"I am a seller of birds'-nesties, snakes, slow-worms, adders, 'effets'—lizards is their common name—hedgehogs (for killing black beetles); frogs (for the French—they eats 'em); snails (for birds); that's all I sell in the summer-time. In the winter I get all kinds of wild flowers and roots, primroses, 'butter-cups' and daisies and snow-drops, and 'backing' off of trees; ('backing' it's called, because it's used to put at the back of nosegays, it's got off the yew trees, and is the green yew fern. I gather bulrushes in the summer-time, besides what I told you; some buys bulrushes for stuffing; they're the fairy rushes the small ones, and the big ones is bulrushes. The small ones is used for 'stuffing,' that is, for showing off the birds as is stuffed, and make 'em seem as if they was alive in their cases, and among the rushes; I sell them to the bird-stuffers at 1*d.* a dozen. The big rushes the boys buys to play with and beat one another—on a Sunday evening mostly. The birds'-nesties I get from 1*d.* to 3*d.* a-piece for. I never have young birds, I can never sell em; you see the young things generally dies of the cramp before you can get rid of them. I sell the birds'-nesties in the streets; the three-penny ones has six eggs, a half-penny a egg. The linnets has mostly four eggs, they're 4*d.* the nest; they're for putting under canaries, and being hatched by them. The thrushes has from four to five—five is the most; they're 2*d.*; they're merely for cur'osity—glass cases or anything like that. Moor-hens, wot build on the moors, has from eight to nine eggs, and is 1*d.* a-piece; they're for hatching underneath a bantam-fowl, the same as partridges. Chaffinches has five eggs; they're 3*d.*, and is for cur'osity. Hedge-sparrows, five eggs; they're the same price as the other, and is for cur'osity. The Bottletit—the nest and the bough are always put in glass cases; it's a long hanging nest, like a bottle, with a hole about as big as a sixpence, and there's mostly as many as eighteen eggs; they've been known to lay thirty-three. To the house-sparrow there is five eggs; they're 1*d.* The yellow-hammers, with five eggs, is 2*d.* The water-wagtails, with four eggs, 2*d.* Black-birds, with five eggs, 2*d.* The golden-crest wren, with ten eggs—it has a very handsome nest—is 6*d.* Bulfinches, four eggs, 1*s.*; they're for hatching, and the bulfinch is a very dear bird. Crows, four eggs, 4*d.* Magpies, four eggs, 4*d.* Starlings, five eggs, 3*d.* The egg-chats, five eggs, 2*d.* Goldfinches, five eggs, 6*d.*, for hatching. Martins, five eggs, 3*d.* The swallow, four eggs, 6*d*; it's so dear because the nest is such a cur'osity, they build up again the house. The butcher-birds—hedge-murderers some calls them, for the number of birds they kills—five eggs, 3*d.* The cuckoo—they never has a nest, but lays in the hedge-sparrow's; there's only one egg (it's very rare you see the two, they has been got, but that's seldom) that is 4*d.*, the egg is such a cur'osity. The greenfinches has four or five eggs, and is 3*d.* The sparrer-hawk has four eggs, and they're 6*d.* The reed-sparrow—they builds in the reeds close where the bulrushes grow; they has four eggs, and is 2*d.* The wood-pigeon has two eggs, and they're 4*d.* The horned owl, four eggs; they're 6*d.* The wood-pecker—I never see no more nor two—they're 6*d.* the two; they're a great cur'osity, very seldom found. The kingfishers has four eggs, and is 6*d.* That's all I know of.

"I gets the eggs mostly from Witham and Chelmsford, in Essex; Chelmsford is 20 mile from Whitechapel Church, and Witham, 8 mile further. I know more about them parts than anywhere else, being used to go after moss for Mr. Butler, of the herb-shop in Covent Garden. Sometimes I go to Shirley Common and Shirley Wood, that's three miles from Croydon, and Croydon is ten from Westminster-bridge. When I'm out bird-nesting I take all the cross country roads across fields and into the woods. I begin bird-nesting in May and leave off about August, and then comes the bulrushing, and they last till Christmas; and after that comes the roots and wild flowers, which serves me up to May again. I go out bird-nesting three times a week. I go away at night, and come up on the morning of the day after. I'm away a day and two nights. I start between one and two in the morning and walk all night—for the coolness—you see the weather's so hot you can't

do it in the daytime. When I get down I go to sleep for a couple of hours. I 'skipper it'—turn in under a hedge or anywhere. I get down about nine in the morning, at Chelmsford, and about one if I go to Witham. After I 've had my sleep I start off to get my nests and things. I climb the trees, often I go up a dozen in the day, and many a time there 's nothing in the nest when I get up. I only fell once; I got on the end of the bough and slipped off. I p'isoned my foot once with the stagnant water going after the bulrushes,—there was horseleeches, and effets, and all kinds of things in the water, and they stung me, I think. I couldn't use my foot hardly for six weeks afterwards, and was obliged to have a stick to walk with. I couldn't get about at all for four days, and should have starved if it hadn't been that a young man kept me. He was a printer by trade, and almost a stranger to me, only he seed me and took pity on me. When I fell off the bough I wasn't much hurt, nothing to speak of. The house-sparrow is the worst nest of all to take; it 's no value either when it *is* got, and is the most difficult of all to get at. You has to get up a sparapet (a parapet) of a house, and either to get permission, or run the risk of going after it without. Partridges' eggs (they has no nest) they gives you six months for, if they see you selling them, because it 's game, and I haven't no licence; but while you 're hawking, that is showing 'em, they can't touch you. The owl is a very difficult nest to get, they builds so high in the trees. The bottle-tit is a hard nest to find; you may go all the year round, and, perhaps, only get one. The nest I like best to get is the chaffinch, because they 're in the hedge, and is no bother. Oh, you hasn't got the skylark down, sir; they builds on the ground, and has five eggs; I sell them for 4*d*. The robin-redbreast has five eggs, too, and is 3*d*. The ringdove has two eggs, and is 6*d*. The tit-lark—that 's five blue eggs, and very rare—I get 4*d*. for them. The jay has five eggs, and a flat nest, very wiry, indeed; it's a ground bird; that 's 1*s*.—the egg is just like a partridge egg. When I first took a kingfisher's nest, I didn't know the name of it, and I kept wondering what it was. I daresay I asked three dozen people, and none of them could tell me. At last a bird-fancier, the lame man at the Mile-end gate, told me what it was. I likes to get the nesties to sell, but I havn't no fancy for birds. Sometimes I get squirrels' nesties with the young in 'em—about four of 'em there mostly is, and they 're the only young things I take—the young birds I leaves; they 're no good to me. The four squirrels brings me from 6*s*. to 8*s*. After I takes a bird's nest, the old bird comes dancing over it, chirupping, and crying, and flying all about. When they lose their nest they wander about, and don't know where to go. Oftentimes I wouldn't take them if it wasn't for the want of the victuals, it seems such a pity to disturb 'em after they 've made their little bits of places. Bats I never take myself—I can't get over 'em. If I has an order for 'em, I buys 'em of boys.

"I mostly start off into the country on Monday and come up on Wednesday. The most nesties as ever I took is twenty-two, and I generally get about twelve or thirteen. These, if I 've an order, I sell directly, or else I may be two days, and sometimes longer, hawking them in the street. Directly I 've sold them I go off again that night, if it 's fine; though I often go in the wet, and then I borrow a tarpaulin of a man in the street where I live. If I 've a quick sale I get down and back three times in a week, but then I don't go so far as Witham, sometimes only to Rumford; that is 12 miles from Whitechapel Church. I never got an order from a bird-fancier; they gets all the eggs they want of the countrymen who comes up to market.

"It 's gentlemen I gets my orders of, and then mostly they tells me to bring 'em one nest of every kind I can get hold of, and that will often last me three months in the summer. There 's one gentleman as I sells to is a wholesale dealer in window-glass—and he has a hobby for them. He puts 'em into glass cases, and makes presents of 'em to his friends. He has been one of my best customers. I 've sold him a hundred nesties, I 'm sure. There 's a doctor at Dalston I sell a great number to—he 's taking one of every kind of me now. The most of my customers is stray ones in the streets. They 're generally boys. I sells a nest now and then to a lady with a child; but the boys of twelve to fifteen years of age is my best friends. They buy 'em only for cur'osity. I sold three partridges' eggs yesterday to a gentlemen, and he said he would put them under a bantam he 'd got, and hatch 'em.

"The snakes, and adders, and slow-worms I get from where there 's moss or a deal of grass. Sunny weather's the best for them, they won't come out when it 's cold; then I go to a dung-heap, and turn it over. Sometimes, I find five or six there, but never so large as the one I had to-day, that 's a yard and five inches long, and three-quarters of a pound weight. Snakes is 5*s*. a pound. I sell all I can get to Mr. Butler, of Covent-garden. He keeps 'em alive, for they 're no good dead. I think it's for the skin they 're kept. Some buys 'em to dissect: a gentleman in Theobalds-road does so, and so he does hedge-hogs. Some buys 'em for stuffing, and others for cur'osities. Adders is the same price as snakes, 5*s*. a pound after they first comes in, when they 're 10*s*. Adders is wanted dead; it's only the fat and skin that 's of any value; the fat is used for curing p'isoned wounds, and the skin is used for any one as has cut their heads. Farmers buys the fat, and rubs it into the wound when they gets bitten or stung by anything p'isonous. I kill the adders with a stick, or, when I has shoes, I jumps on 'em. Some fine days I get four or five snakes at a time; but then they 're mostly small, and won't weigh above half a pound. I don't get many adders—they don't weigh many ounces, adders don't—and I mostly has 9*d*. a-piece for each I gets. I sells *them* to Mr. Butler as well.

"The hedgehogs is 1*s*. each; I gets them mostly in Essex. I 've took one hedgehog with three

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young ones, and sold the lot for 2*s.* 6*d.* People in the streets bought them of me—they 're wanted to kill the black-beetles; they 're fed on bread and milk, and they 'll suck a cow quite dry in their wild state. They eat adders, and can't be p'isoned, at least it says so in a book I 've got about 'em at home.

"The effets I gets orders for in the streets. Gentlemen gives me their cards, and tells me to bring them one; they 're 2*d.* apiece. I get them at Hampstead and Highgate, from the ponds. They 're wanted for cur'osity.

"The snails and frogs I sell to Frenchmen. I don't know what part they eat of the frog, but I know they buy them, and the dandelion root. The frogs is 6*d.* and 1*s.* a dozen. They like the yellow-bellied ones, the others they 're afraid is toads. They always pick out the yellow-bellied first; I don't know how to feed 'em, or else I might fatten them. Many people swallows young frogs, they 're reckoned very good things to clear the inside. The frogs I catch in ponds and ditches up at Hampstead and Highgate, but I only get them when I 've a order. I 've had a order for as many as six dozen, but that was for the French hotel in Leicester-square; but I *have* sold three dozen a week to one man, a Frenchman, as keeps a cigar shop in R—r's-court.

"The snails I sell by the pailful—at 2*s.* 6*d.* the pail. There is some hundreds in a pail. The wet weather is the best times for catching 'em; the French people eats 'em. They boils 'em first to get 'em out of the shell and get rid of the green froth; then they boils them again, and after that in vinegar. They eats 'em hot, but some of the foreigners likes 'em cold. They say they 're better, if possible, than whelks. I used to sell a great many to a lady and gentleman in Soho-square, and to many of the French I sell 1*s.*'s worth, that 's about three or four quarts. Some persons buys snails for birds, and some to strengthen a sickly child's back; they rub the back all over with the snails, and a very good thing they tell me it is. I used to take 2*s.*'s worth a week to one woman; it 's the green froth that does the greatest good. There are two more birds'-nest sellers besides myself, they don't do as many as me the two of 'em. They 're very naked, their things is all to ribbins; they only go into the country once in a fortnight. They was never nothing, no trade—they never was in place—from what I 've heard—either of them. I reckon I sell about 20 nesties a week take one week with another, and that I do for four months in the year. (This altogether makes 320 nests.) Yes, I should say, I do sell about 300 birds'-nests every year, and the other two, I 'm sure, don't sell half that. Indeed they don't want to sell; they does better by what they gets give to them. I can't say what they takes, they 're Irish, and I never was in conversation with them. I get about 4*s.* to 5*s.* for the 20 nests, that 's between 2*d.* and 3*d.* apiece. I sell about a couple of snakes every week, and for some of them I get 1*s.*, and for the big ones 2*s.* 6*d.*; but them I seldom find. I 've only had three hedgehogs this season, and I 've done a little in snails and frogs, perhaps about 1*s.* The many foreigners in London this season hasn't done me no good. I haven't been to Leicester-square lately, or perhaps I might have got a large order or two for frogs."

Life of a Bird's-Nest Seller.

"I am 22 years of age. My father was a dyer, and I was brought up to the same trade. My father lived at Arundel, in Sussex, and kept a shop there. He had a good business as dyer, scourer, calico glazer, and furniture cleaner. I have heard mother say his business in Arundel brought him in 300*l.* a year at least. He had eight men in his employ, and none under 30*s.* a week. I had two brothers and one sister, but one of my brothers is since dead. Mother died five years ago in the Consumption Hospital, at Chelsea, just after it was built. I was very young indeed when father died; I can hardly remember him. He died in Middlesex Hospital: he had abscesses all over him; there were six-and-thirty at the time of his death. I 've heard mother say many times that she thinked it was through exerting himself too much at his business that he fell ill. The ruin of father was owing to his house being burnt down; the fire broke out at two in the morning; he wasn't insured: I don't remember the fire; I 've only heerd mother talk about it. It was the ruin of us all she used to tell me; father had so much work belonging to other people; a deal of moreen curtains, five or six hundred yards. It was of no use his trying to start again: he lost all his glazing machines and tubs, and his drugs and 'punches.' From what I 've heerd from mother they was worth some hundreds. The Duke of Norfolk, after the fire, gave a good lot of money to the poor people whose things father had to clean, and father himself came up to London. I wasn't two year old when that happened. We all come up with father, and he opened a shop in London and bought all new things. He had got a bit of money left, and mother's uncle lent him 60*l.* We lived two doors from the stage door of the Queen's Theatre, in Pitt-street, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square; but father didn't do much in London; he had a new connection to make, and when he died his things was sold for the rent of the house. There was only money enough to bury him. I don't know how long ago that was, but I think it was about three years after our coming to London, for I 've heerd mother say I was six years old when father died. After father's death mother borrowed some more money of her uncle, who was well to do. He was perfumer to her Majesty: he 's dead now, and left the business to his foreman. The business was worth 2000*l.* His wife, my mother's aunt, is alive still, and though she 's a woman of large property, she won't so much as look at me. She keeps her carriage and two footmen; her address is, Mrs. Lewis, No. 10, Porchester-terrace, Bayswater. I have been in her drawing-room two or three times. I used to take letters to her from mother: she was very kind to me then, and give me several half-crowns. She

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knows the state I am in now. A young man wrote a letter to her, saying I had no clothes to look after work in, and that I was near starving, but she sent no answer to it. The last time I called at her house she sent me down nothing, and bid the servant tell me not to come any more. Ever since I 've wanted it I 've never had nothing from her, but before that she used to give me something whenever I took a letter from mother to her. The last half-crown I got at her house was from the cook, who gave it me out of her own money because she 'd known my mother.

"I 've got a grandmother living in Woburn-place; she 's in service there, and been in the family for twenty years. The gentleman died lately and left her half his property. He was a foreigner and had no relations here. My grandmother used to be very good to me, and when I first got out of work she always gave me something when I called, and had me down in her room. She was housekeeper then. She never offered to get me a situation, but only gave me a meal of victuals and a shilling or eighteen-pence whenever I called. I was tidy in my dress then. At last a new footman came, and he told me as I wasn't to call again; he said, the family didn't allow no followers. I 've never seen my grandmother since that time but once, and then I was passing with my basket of birds' nests in my hand just as she was coming out of the door. I was dressed about the same then as you seed me yesterday. I was without a shirt to my back. I don't think she saw me, and I was ashamed to let her see me as I was. She was kind enough to me, that is, she wouldn't mind about giving me a shilling or so at a time, but she never would do nothing else for me, and yet she had got plenty of money in the bank, and a gold watch, and all, at her side.

After father died, as I was saying, mother got some money from her uncle and set up on her own account; she took in glazing for the trade. Father had a few shops that he worked for, and they employed mother after his death. She kept on at this for eighteen months and then she got married again. Before this an uncle of mine, my father's brother, who kept some lime-kilns down in Bury St. Edmunds, consented to take my brother and sister and provide for them, and four or five year ago he got them both into the Duke of Norfolk's service, and there they are now. They 've never seen me since I was a child but once, and that was a few year ago. I 've never sent to them to say how badly I was off. They 're younger than I am, and can only just take care of theirselves. When mother married again, her husband came to live at the house; he was a dyer. He behaved very well to me. Mother wouldn't send me down to uncle's, she was too fond of me. I was sent to school for about eighteen months, and after that I used to assist in the glazing at home, and so I went on very comfortable for some time. Nine year ago I went to work at a French dyer's, in Rathbone-place. My step-father got me there, and there I stopped six year. I lived in the house after the first eighteen months of my service. Five year ago mother fell ill; she had been ailing many years, and she got admitted into the Consumption Hospital, at Brompton. She was there just upon three months and was coming out the next day (her term was up), when she died on the over night. After that my step-father altered very much towards me. He didn't want me at home at all. He told me so a fortnight after mother was in her grave. He took to drinking very hearty directly she was gone. He would do anything for me before that. He used to take me with him to every place of amusement what he went to, but when he took to drinking he quite changed; then he got to beat me, and at last he told me I needn't come there any more.

"After that, I still kept working in Rathbone-place, and got a lodging of my own; I used to have 9*s.* a week where I was, and I paid 2*s.* a week for my bed, and washing, and mending. I had half a room with a man and his wife; I went on so for about two years, and then I was took bad with the scarlet fever and went to Gray's-inn-lane hospital. After I was cured of the scarlet fever, I had the brain fever, and was near my death; I was altogether eight weeks in the hospital, and when I come out I could get no work where I had been before. The master's nephew had come from Paris, and they had all French hands in the house. He wouldn't employ an English hand at all. He give me a trifle of money, and told me he would pay my lodgings for a week or two while I looked for work. I sought all about and couldn't find any; this was about three year ago. People wouldn't have me because I didn't know nothing about the English mode of business. I couldn't even tell the names of the English drugs, having been brought up in a French house. At last, my master got tired of paying for my lodging, and I used to try and pick up a few pence in the streets by carrying boxes and holding horses, it was all as I could get to do; I tried all I could to find employment, and they was the only jobs I could get. But I couldn't make enough for my lodging this way, and over and over again I 've had to sleep out. Then I used to walk the streets most of the night, or lie about in the markets till morning came in the hopes of getting a job. I'm a very little eater, and perhaps that 's the luckiest thing for such as me; half a pound of bread and a few potatoes will do me for the day. If I could afford it, I used to get a ha'porth of coffee and a ha'porth of sugar, and make it do twice. Sometimes I used to have victuals give to me, sometimes I went without altogether; and sometimes I couldn't eat. I can't always.

"Six weeks after I had been knocking about in the streets in the manner I 've told you, a man I met in Covent-Garden market told me he was going into the country to get some roots (it was in the winter time and cold indeed; I was dressed about the same as I am now, only I had a pair of boots); and he said if I chose to go with him, he 'd give me half of whatever he earned. I went to Croydon and got some primroses; my share came to 9*d.*, and that was quite a God-send to me, after getting nothing. Sometimes before that I'd been two days without tasting

anything; and when I got some victuals after that, I couldn't touch them. All I felt was giddy; I wasn't to say hungry, only weak and sicklified. I went with this man after the roots two or three times; he took me to oblige me, and show me the way how to get a bit of food for myself; after that, when I got to know all about it, I went to get roots on my own account. I never felt a wish to take nothing when I was very hard up. Sometimes when I got cold and was tired, walking about and weak from not having had nothing to eat, I used to think I'd break a window and take something out to get locked up; but I could never make my mind up to it; they never hurt me, I'd say to myself. I do fancy though, if anybody had refused me a bit of bread, I should have done something again them, but I couldn't, do you see, in cold blood like.

"When the summer came round a gentleman whom I seed in the market asked me if I'd get him half a dozen nesties—he didn't mind what they was, so long as they was small, and of different kinds—and as I'd come across a many in my trips after the flowers, I told him I would do so—and that first put it into my head; and I've been doing that every summer since then. It's poor work, though, at the best. Often and often I have to walk 30 miles out without any victuals to take with me, or money to get any, and 30 miles again back, and bring with me about a dozen nesties; and, perhaps, if I'd no order for them, and was forced to sell them to the boys, I shouldn't get more than a shilling for the lot after all. When the time comes round for it, I go Christmasing and getting holly, but that's more dangerous work than bird-nesting; the farmers don't mind your taking the nesties, as it prevents the young birds from growing up and eating their corn. The greater part of the holly used in London for trimming up the churches and sticking in the puddings, is stolen by such as me, at the risk of getting six months for it. The farmers brings a good lot to market, but we is obligated to steal it. Take one week with another, I'm sure I don't make above 5*s*. You can tell that to look at me. I don't drink, and I don't gamble; so you can judge how much I get when I've had to pawn my shirt for a meal. All last week I only sold two nesties—they was a partridge's and a yellow-hammer's; for one I got 6*d*., and the other 3*d*., and I had been thirteen miles to get them. I got beside that a fourpenny piece for some chickweed which I'd been up to Highgate to gather for a man with a bad leg (it's the best thing there is for a poultice to a wound), and then I earned another 4*d*. by some mash (marsh) mallow leaves (that there was to purify the blood of a poor woman): that, with 4*d*. that a gentleman give to me, was all I got last week; 1*s*. 9*d*. I think it is altogether. I had some victuals give to me in the street, or else I daresay I should have had to go without; but, as it was, I gave the money to the man and his wife I live with. You see they had nothing, and as they're good to me when I want, why, I did what I could for them. I've tried to get out of my present life, but there seems to be an ill luck again me. Sometimes I gets a good turn. A gentleman gives me an order, and then I saves a shilling or eighteenpence, so as to buy something with that I can sell again in the streets; but a wet day is sure to come, and then I'm cracked up, obligated to eat it all away. Once I got to sell fish. A gentleman give me a crown-piece in the street, and I borrowed a barrow at 2*d*. a day, and did pretty well for a time. In three weeks I had saved 18*s*.; then I got an order for a sack of moss from one of the flower-sellers, and I went down to Chelmsford, and stopped for the night in Lower Nelson-street, at the sign of "The Three Queens." I had my money safe in my fob the night before, and a good pair of boots to my feet then; when I woke in the morning my boots was gone, and on feeling in my fob my money was gone too. There was four beds in the rooms, feather and flock; the feather ones was 4*d*., and the flock 3*d*. for a single one, and 2½*d*. each person for a double one. There was six people in the room that night, and one of 'em was gone before I awoke—he was a cadger—and had took my money with him. I complained to the landlord—they call him George—but it was no good; all I could get was some victuals. So I've been obliged to keep to birds'-nesting ever since.

"I've never been in prison but once. I was took up for begging. I was merely leaning again the railings of Tavistock-square with my birds'-nesties in my hand, and the policemen took me off to Clerkenwell, but the magistrates, instead of sending me to prison, gave me 2*s*. out of the poors'-box. I feel it very much going about without shoes or without shirt, and exposed to all weathers, and often out all night. The doctor at the hospital in Gray's-inn-lane gave me two flannels, and told me that whatever I did I was to keep myself wrapped up; but what's the use of saying that to such as me who is obligated to pawn the shirt off our back for food the first wet day as comes? If you haven't got money to pay for your bed at a lodging-house, you must take the shirt off your back and leave it with them, or else they'll turn you out. I know many such. Sometimes I go to an artist. I had 5*s*. when I was drawed before the Queen. I wasn't 'xactly drawed before her, but my portrait was shown to her, and I was told that if I'd be there I might receive a trifle. I was drawed as a gipsy fiddler. Mr. Oakley in Regent-street was the gentleman as did it. I was dressed in some things he got for me. I had an Italian's hat, one with a broad brim and a peaked crown, a red plush waistcoat, and a yellow hankercher tied in a good many knots round my neck. I'd a black velveteen Newmarket-cut coat, with very large pearl buttons, and a pair of black knee-breeches tied with fine red strings. Then I'd blue stripe stockings and high-ancle boots with very thin soles. I'd a fiddle in one hand and a bow in the other. The gentleman said he drawed me for my head of hair. I've never been a gipsy, but he told me he didn't mind that, for I should make as good a gipsy fiddler as the real thing. The artists

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mostly give me 2*s*. I 've only been three times. I only wish I could get away from my present life. Indeed I would do any work if I could get it. I 'm sure I could have a good character from my masters in Rathbone-place, for I never done nothing wrong. But if I couldn't get work I might very well, if I 'd money enough, get a few flowers to sell. As it is it 's more than any one can do to save at bird-nesting, and I 'm sure I 'm as prudent as e'er a one in the streets. I never took the pledge, but still I never take no beer nor spirits—I never did. Mother told me never to touch 'em, and I haven't tasted a drop. I 've often been in a public-house selling my things, and people has offered me something to drink, but I never touch any. I can't tell why I dislike doing so—but something seems to tell me not to taste such stuff. I don't know whether it 's what my mother said to me. I know I was very fond of her, but I don't say it 's that altogether as makes me do it. I don't feel to want it. I smoke a good bit, and would sooner have a bit of baccy than a meal at any time. I could get a goodish rig-out in the lane for a few shillings. A pair of boots would cost me 2*s*., and a coat I could get for 2*s*. 6*d*. I go to a ragged school three times a week if I can, for I 'm but a poor scholar still, and I should like to know how to read; it 's always handy you know, sir."

This lad has been supplied with a suit of clothes and sufficient money to start him in some of the better kind of street-trades. It was thought advisable not to put him to any more *settled* occupation on account of the vagrant habits he has necessarily acquired during his bird-nesting career. Before doing this he was employed as errand-boy for a week, with the object of testing his trustworthiness, and was found both honest and attentive. He appears a prudent lad, but of course it is difficult, as yet, to speak positively as to his character. He has, however, been assured that if he shows a disposition to follow some more reputable calling he shall at least be put in the way of so doing.

Of the Street-Sellers of Squirrels.

The street squirrel-sellers are generally the same men as are engaged in the open-air traffic in cage-birds. There are, however, about six men who devote themselves more particularly to squirrel-selling, while as many more sometimes "take a turn at it." The squirrel is usually carried in the vendor's arms, or is held against the front of his coat, so that the animal's long bushy tail is seen to advantage. There is usually a red leather collar round its neck, to which is attached some slender string, but so contrived that the squirrel shall not appear to be a prisoner, nor in general—although perhaps the hawker became possessed of his squirrel only that morning—does the animal show any symptoms of fear.

The chief places in which squirrels are offered for sale, are Regent-street and the Royal Exchange, but they are offered also in all the principal thoroughfares—especially at the West End. The purchasers are gentlefolk, tradespeople, and a few of the working classes who are fond of animals. The wealthier persons usually buy the squirrels for their children, and, even after the free life of the woods, the animal seems happy enough in the revolving cage, in which it "thinks it climbs."

The prices charged are from 2*s*. to 5*s*., "or more if it can be got," from a third to a half being profit. The sellers will oft enough state, if questioned, that they caught the squirrels in Epping Forest, or Caen Wood, or any place sufficiently near London, but such is hardly ever the case, for the squirrels are bought by them of the dealers in live animals. Countrymen will sometimes catch a few squirrels and bring them to London, and nine times out of ten they sell them to the shop-keepers. To sell three squirrels a day in the street is accounted good work.

I am assured by the best-informed parties that for five months of the year there are 20 men selling squirrels in the streets, at from 20 to 50 per cent. profit, and that they average a weekly sale of six each. The average price is from 2*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*., although not very long ago one man sold a "wonderfully fine squirrel" in the street for three half-crowns, but they are sometimes parted with for 1*s*. 6*d*. or less, rather than be kept over-night. Thus 2400 squirrels are vended yearly in the streets, at a cost to the public of 240*l*.

Of the Street-Sellers of Leverets, Wild Rabbits, etc.

There are a few leverets, or young hares, sold in the streets, and they are vended for the most part in the suburbs, where the houses are somewhat detached, and where there are plenty of gardens. The softness and gentleness of the leveret's look pleases children, more especially girls, I am informed, and it is usually through their importunity that the young hares are bought, in order that they may be fed from the garden, and run tame about an out-house. The leverets thus sold, however, as regards nine out of ten, soon die. They are rarely supplied with their natural food, and all their natural habits are interrupted. They are in constant fear and danger, moreover, from both dogs and cats. One shopkeeper who sold fancy rabbits in a street off the Westminster-road told me that he had once tried to tame and rear leverets in hutches, as he did rabbits, but to no purpose. He had no doubt it might be done, he said, but not in a shop or a small house. Three or four leverets are hawked by the street-people in one basket and are seen lying on hay, the basket having either a wide-worked lid, or a net thrown over it. The hawkers of live poultry sell the most leverets, but they are vended also by the singing-bird sellers. The animals are nearly all bought, for this traffic, at Leadenhall, and are retailed at 1*s*. to 2*s*. each, one-third to one-half being profit. Perhaps 300 are sold this way yearly, producing 22*l*. 10*s*.

About 400 young wild rabbits are sold in the street in a similar way, but at lower sums, from 3*d*. to 6*d*. each, 4*d*. being the most frequent rate.

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The yearly outlay is thus 6*l.* 13*s.* They thrive, in confinement, no better than the leverets.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF GOLD AND SILVER FISH.

OF these dealers, residents in London, there are about 70; but during my inquiry (at the beginning of July) there were not 20 in town. One of their body knew of ten who were at work live-fish selling, and there might be as many more, he thought, "working" the remoter suburbs of Blackheath, Croydon, Richmond, Twickenham, Isleworth, or wherever there are villa residences of the wealthy. This is the season when the gold and silver fish-sellers, who are altogether a distinct class from the bird-sellers of the streets, resort to the country, to vend their glass globes, with the glittering fish swimming ceaselessly round and round. The gold fish-hawkers are, for the most part, of the very best class of the street-sellers. One of the principal fish-sellers is in winter a street-vendor of cough drops, horehound candy, coltsfoot-sticks, and other medicinal confectionaries, which he himself manufactures. Another leading gold-fish seller is a costermonger now "on pine-apples." A third, "with a good connection among the innkeepers," is in the autumn and winter a hawker of game and poultry.

There are in London three wholesale dealers in gold and silver fish; two of whom—one in the Kingsland-road and the other close by Billingsgate—supply more especially the street-sellers, and the street-traffic is considerable. Gold fish is one of the things which people buy when brought to their doors, but which they seldom care to "order." The importunity of children when a man unexpectedly tempts them with a display of such brilliant creatures as gold fish, is another great promotive of the street-trade; and the street-traders are the best customers of the wholesale purveyors, buying somewhere about three-fourths of their whole stock. The dealers keep their fish in tanks suited to the purpose, but goldfish are never bred in London. The English-reared gold fish are "raised" for the most part, as respects the London market, in several places in Essex. In some parts they are bred in warm ponds, the water being heated by the steam from adjacent machinery, and in some places they are found to thrive well. Some are imported from France, Holland, and Belgium; some are brought from the Indies, and are usually sold to the dealers to improve their breed, which every now and then, I was told, "required a foreign mixture, or they didn't keep up their colour." The Indian and foreign fish, however, are also sold in the streets; the dealers, or rather the Essex breeders, who are often in London, have "just the pick of them," usually through the agency of their town customers. The English-reared gold fish are not much short of three-fourths of the whole supply, as the importation of these fishes is troublesome; and unless they are sent under the care of a competent person, or unless the master or steward of a vessel is made to incur a share in the venture, by being paid so much freight-money for as many gold and silver fishes as are landed in good health, and nothing for the dead or dying, it is very hazardous sending them on shipboard at all, as in case of neglect they may all die during the voyage.

The gold and silver fish are of the carp species, and are natives of China, but they were first introduced into this country from Portugal about 1690. Some are still brought from Portugal. They have been common in England for about 120 years.

These fish are known in the street-trade as "globe" and "pond" fish. The distinction is not one of species, nor even of the "variety" of a species, but merely a distinction of size. The larger fish are "pond;" the smaller, "globe." But the difference on which the street-sellers principally dwell is that the pond fish are far more troublesome to keep by them in a "slack time," as they must be fed and tended most sedulously. Their food is stale bread or biscuit. The "globe" fish are not fed at all by the street-dealer, as the animalcules and the minute insects in the water suffice for their food. Soft, rain, or sometimes Thames water, is used for the filling of the globe containing a street-seller's gold fish, the water being changed twice a day, at a public-house or elsewhere, when the hawker is on a round. Spring-water is usually rejected, as the soft water contains "more feed." One man, however, told me he had recourse to the street-pumps for a renewal of water, twice, or occasionally thrice a day, when the weather was sultry; but spring or well water "wouldn't do at all." He was quite unconscious that he was using it from the pump.

The wholesale price of these fish ranges from 5*s.* to 18*s.* per dozen, with a higher charge for "picked fish," when high prices must be paid. The cost of "large silvers," for instance, which are scarcer than "large golds," so I heard them called, is sometimes 5*s.* apiece, even to a retailer, and rarely less than 3*s.* 6*d.* The most frequent price, retail from the hawker—for almost all the fish are hawked, but only there, I presume, for a temporary purpose—is 2*s.* the pair. The gold fish are now always hawked in glass globes, containing about a dozen occupants, within a diameter of twelve inches. These globes are sold by the hawker, or, if ordered, supplied by him on his next round that way, the price being about 2*s.* Glass globes, for the display of gold fish, are indeed manufactured at from 6*d.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* each, but 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* is the usual limit to the price of those vended in the street. The fish are lifted out of the water in the globe to consign to a purchaser, by being caught in a neat net, of fine and different-coloured cordage, always carried by the hawker, and manufactured for the trade at 2*s.* the dozen. Neat handles for these nets, of stained or plain wood, are 1*s.* the dozen. The dealers avoid touching the fish with their hands. Both gold fish and glass globes are much cheaper than they were ten years ago; the globes are cheaper, of course, since the alteration in the

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tax on glass, and the street-sellers are, numerically, nearly double what they were.

From a well-looking and well-spoken youth of 21 or 22, I had the following account. He was the son, and grandson, of costermongers, but was —perhaps, in consequence of his gold-fish selling lying among a class not usually the costermongers' customers—of more refined manners than the generality of the costers' children.

"I've been in the streets, sir," he said, "helping my father, until I was old enough to sell on my own account, since I was six years old. *Yes, I like a street life, I'll tell you the plain truth, for I was put by my father to a paperstainer, and found I couldn't bear to stay in doors. It would have killed me.* Gold fish are as good a thing to sell as anything else, perhaps, but I've been a costermonger as well, and have sold both fruit and good fish—salmon and fine soles. Gold fish are not good for eating. I tried one once, just out of curiosity, and it tasted very bitter indeed; I tasted it boiled. I've worked both town and country on gold fish. I've served both Brighton and Hastings. The fish were sent to me by rail, in vessels with air-holes, when I wanted more. I never stopped at lodging-houses, but at respectable public-houses, where I could be well suited in the care of my fish. It's an expense, but there's no help for it." [A costermonger, when I questioned him on the subject, told me that he had sometimes sold gold fish in the country, and though he had often enough slept in common lodging-houses, he never could carry his fish there, for he felt satisfied, although he had never tested the fact, that in nine out of ten such places, the fish, in the summer season, would half of them die during the night from the foul air.] "Gold fish sell better in the country than town," the street-dealer continued; "much better. They're more thought of in the country. My father's sold them all over the world, as the saying is. I've sold both foreign and English fish. I prefer English. They're the hardiest; Essex fish. The foreign—I don't just know what part—are bred in milk ponds; kept fresh and sweet, of course; and when they're brought here, and come to be put in cold water, they soon die. In Essex they're bred in cold water. They live about three years; that's their lifetime if they're properly seen to. I don't know what kind of fish gold fish are. I've heard that they first came from China. No, I can't read, and I'm very sorry for it. If I have time next winter I'll get taught. Gentlemen sometimes ask me to sit down, and talk to me about fish, and their history (natural history), and I'm often at a loss, which I mightn't be if I could read. If I have fish left after my day's work, I never let them stay in the globe I've hawked them in, but put them into a large pan, a tub sometimes, three-parts full of water, where they have room. My customers are ladies and gentlemen, but I have sold to shopkeepers, such as buttermen, that often show gold fish and flowers in their shops. The fish don't live long in the very small globes, but they're put in them sometimes just to satisfy children. I've sold as many as two dozen at a time to stock a pond in a gentleman's garden. It's the best sale a little way out of town, in any direction. I sell six dozen a week, I think, one week with another; they'll run as to price at 1*s.* apiece. That six dozen includes what I sell both in town and country. Perhaps I sell them nearly three-parts of the year. Some hawk all the year, but it's a poor winter trade. Yes, I make a very fair living; 2*s.* 6*d.* or 3*s.* or so, a day, perhaps, on gold fish, when the weather suits."

A man, to whom I was referred as an experienced gold fish-seller, had just returned, when I saw him, from the sale of a stock of new potatoes, peas, &c., which he "worked" in a donkey cart. He had not this season, he said, started in the gold-fish line, and did very little last year in it, as his costermongering trade kept steady, but his wife thought gold fish-selling was a better trade, and she always accompanied him in his street rounds; so he might take to it again. In his youth he was in the service of an old lady who had several pets, and among them were gold fish, of which she was very proud, always endeavouring to procure the finest, a street-seller being sure of her as a customer if he had fish larger or deeper or brighter-coloured than usual. She kept them both in stone cisterns, or small ponds, in her garden, and in glass globes in the house. Of these fish my informant had the care, and was often commended for his good management of them. After his mistress's death he was very unlucky, he said, in his places. His last master having been implicated, he believed, in some gambling and bill-discounting transactions, left the kingdom suddenly, and my informant was without a character, for the master he served previously to the one who went off so abruptly was dead, and a character two years back was of no use, for people said, "But where have you been living since? Let me know all about that." The man did not know what to do, for his money was soon exhausted: "I had nothing left," he said, "which I could turn into money except a very good great coat, which had belonged to my last master, and which was given to me because he went off without paying me my wages. I thought of 'listing, for I was tired of a footman's life, *almost always in the house in such places as I had*, but I was too old, I feared, and if I could have got over that I knew I should be rejected because I was getting bald. I was sitting thinking whatever could be done—I wasn't married then—and had nobody to consult with; when I heard the very man as used to serve my old lady crying gold fish in the street. It struck me all of a heap, and I wonder I hadn't thought of it before, when I recollected how well I'd managed the fish, that I'd sell gold fish too, and hawk it as he did, as it didn't seem such a bad trade. So I asked the man all about it, and he told me, and I raised a sovereign on my great coat, and that was my start in the streets. I was nervous, and a little 'shamed at first, but I soon got over that, and in time turned my hand to fruit and other things. Gold fish saved my life, sir; I do believe that, for I might have pined into a consumption if I'd been

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without something to do, and something to eat much longer."

If we calculate, in order to allow for the cessation of the trade during the winter, and often in the summer when costermongering is at its best, that but half the above-mentioned number of gold-fish sellers hawk in the streets and that for but half a year, each selling six dozen weekly at 12*s.* the dozen, we find 65,520 fish sold, at an outlay of 3276*l.* As the country is also "worked" by the London street-sellers, and the supply is derived from London, the number and amount may be doubled to include this traffic, or 131,040 fish sold, and 6552*l.* expended.

Of the Street-Sellers of Tortoises.

The number of tortoises sold in the streets of London is far greater than might be imagined, for it is a creature of no utility, and one which is inanimate in this country for half its life.

Of live tortoises, there are 20,000 annually imported from the port of Mogadore in Morocco. They are not brought over, as are the parrots, &c., of which I have spoken, for amusement or as private ventures of the seamen, but are regularly consigned from Jewish houses in Mogadore, to Jewish merchants in London. They are a freight of which little care is taken, as they are brought over principally as ballast in the ship's hold, where they remain torpid.

The street-sellers of tortoises are costermongers of the smarter class. Sometimes the vendors of shells and foreign birds "work" also a few tortoises, and occasionally a wholesale dealer (the consignee of the Jewish house in Africa) will send out his own servants to sell barrow-loads of tortoises in the street on his own account. They are regularly ranged on the barrows, and certainly present a curious appearance—half-alive creatures as they are (when the weather is not of the warmest), brought from another continent for sale by thousands in the streets of London, and retention in the gardens and grounds of our civic villas. Of the number imported, one-half, or 10,000, are yearly sold in the streets by the several open-air dealers I have mentioned. The wholesale price is from 4*s.* to 6*s.* the dozen; they are retailed from 6*d.* to 1*s.*, a very fine well-grown tortoise being sometimes worth 2*s.* 6*d.* The mass, however, are sold at 6*d.* to 9*d.* each, but many fetch 1*s.* They are bought for children, and to keep in gardens as I have said, and when properly fed on lettuce leaves, spinach, and similar vegetables, or on white bread sopped in water, will live a long time. If the tortoise be neglected in a garden, and have no access to his favourite food, he will eat almost any green thing which comes in his way, and so may commit ravages. During the winter, and the later autumn and earlier spring, the tortoise is torpid, and may be kept in a drawer or any recess, until the approach of summer "thaws" him, as I heard it called.

Calculating the average price of tortoises in street-sale at 8*d.* each, we find upwards of 333*l.* thus expended yearly.

Of the Street-Sellers of Snails, Frogs, Worms, Snakes, Hedgehogs, etc.

I class together these several kinds of live creatures, as they are all "gathered" and sold by the same persons—principally by the men who supply bird-food, of whom I have given accounts in my statements concerning groundsel, chickweed, plaintain, and turf-selling.

The principal *snail-sellers*, however, are the turf-cutters, who are young and active men, while the groundsel-sellers are often old and infirm and incapable of working all night, as the necessities of the snail-trade often require. Of turf-cutters there were, at the time of my inquiry last winter, 42 in London, and of these full one-third are regular purveyors of snails, such being the daintier diet of the caged blackbirds and thrushes. These men obtain their supply of snails in the market-gardens, the proprietors willingly granting leave to any known or duly recommended person who will rid them of these depredators. Seven-eighths of the quantity gathered are sold to the bird-dealers, to whom the price is 2*d.* a quart. The other eighth is sold on a street round at from 3*d.* to 6*d.* the quart. A quart contains at least 80 snails, not heaped up, their shells being measured along with them. One man told me there were "100 snails to a fair quart."

When it is moonlight at this season of the year, the snail gatherers sometimes work all night; at other times from an hour before sunset to the decline of daylight, the work being resumed at the dawn. To gather 12 quarts in a night, or a long evening and morning, is accounted a prosperous harvest. Half that quantity is "pretty tidy." An experienced man said to me:—

"The best snail grounds, sir, you may take my word for it, is in Putney and Barnes. It's the 'greys' we go for, the fellows with the shells on 'em; the black snails or slugs is no good to us. I think snails is the slowest got money of any. I don't suppose they get's scarcer, but there's good seasons for snails and there's bad. Warm and wet is best. We don't take the little 'uns. They come next year. I may make 1*l.* a year, or a little more, in snails. In winter there's hardly anything done in them, and the snails is on the ground; in summer they're on the walls or leaves. They'll keep six months without injury; they'll keep the winter round indeed in a proper place."

I am informed that the 14 snail gatherers on the average gather six dozen quarts each in a year, which supplies a total of 12,096 quarts, or individually, 1,189,440 snails. The labourers in the gardens, I am informed, may gather somewhat more than an equal quantity,—all being sold to the bird-shops; so that altogether the supply of snails for the caged thrushes and blackbirds of London is about two millions and a half. Computing them at 24,000 quarts, and only at 2*d.* a quart, the outlay is 200*l.* per annum.

The *Frogs* sold by street-people are, at the rate of about 36 dozen a year, disposed of in equal proportion to University and King's Colleges. Only two men collect the frogs, one for each hos-

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pital. They are charged 1*d*. each :—"I 've sometimes," said one of the frog-purveyors, "come on a place where I could have got six or seven dozen in a day, but that 's mostly been when I didn't want them. At other times I 've gone days without collaring a single frog. I only want them four times a year, and four or five dozen at a time. The low part of Hampstead 's the best ground for them, I think. The doctors like big fellows. They keep them in water 'til they 're wanted to dissect." One man thought that there might be 50 more frogs or upwards ordered yearly, through the bird-shops, for experiments under air-pumps, &c. This gives about 500 frogs sold yearly by the street-people. One year, however, I was told, the supply was larger, for a Camberwell gentleman ordered 40 frogs to stock a watery place at the foot of his garden, as he liked to hear and see them.

The *Toad* trade is almost a nonentity. One man, who was confident he had as good a trade in that line as any of his fellows, told me that last year he only supplied one toad; in one year, he forgot the precise time, he collected ten. He was confident that from 12 to 24 a year was now the extent of the toad trade, perhaps 20. There was no regular price, and the men only "work to order." "It 's just what the shopkeeper, mostly a herbalist, likes to give." I was told, from 1*d*. to 6*d*. according to size. "I don't know what they 're wanted for, something about the doctors, I believe. But if you want any toads, sir, for anything, I know a place between Hampstead and Willesden, where there 's real stunners."

Worms are collected in small quantities by the street-sellers, and very grudgingly, for they are to be supplied gratuitously to the shopkeepers who are the customers of the turf-cutters, and snail and worm collectors. "They expects it as a parquisite, like." One man told me that they only gathered ground worms for the bird-fanciers.

Of the *Snakes* and *Hedgehogs* I have already spoken, when treating of the collection of birds'-nests. I am told that some few *glow-worms* are collected.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MINERAL PRODUCTIONS AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

THE class of which I have now to treat, including as it does the street-sellers of coal, coke, tan-turf, salt, and sand, seem to have been called into existence principally by the necessities of the poorer classes. As the earnings of thousands of men, in all the slop, "slaughter-house," or "scamping" branches of tailoring, shoemaking, cabinet-making, joining, &c. have become lower and lower, they are compelled to purchase the indispensable articles of daily consumption in the smallest quantities, and at irregular times, just as the money is in their possession. This is more especially the case as regards chamber-masters and garret-masters (among the shoemakers) and cabinet-makers, who, as they are small masters, and working on their own account, have not even such a regularity of payment as the journeyman of the slop-tailor. Among these poor artizans, moreover, the wife must slave with the husband, and it is often an object with them to save the time lost in going out to the chandler's-shop or the coal-shed, to have such things as coal, and coke brought to their very doors, and vended in the smallest quantities. It is the same with the women who work for the slop-shirt merchants, &c., or make cap-fronts, &c., on their own account, for the supply of the shopkeepers, or the wholesale swag-men, who sell low-priced millinery. The street-sellers of the class I have now to notice are, then, the principal purveyors of the very poor.

The men engaged in the street-sale of coal and coke—the chief articles of this branch of the street-sale—are of the costermonger class, as, indeed, is usually the case where an exercise of bodily strength is requisite. Costermongers, too, are better versed than any other street-folk in the management of barrows, carts, asses, ponies, or horses, so that when these vehicles and these animals are a necessary part of any open-air business, it will generally be found in the hands of the coster class.

Nor is this branch of the street-traffic confined solely to articles of necessity. Under my present enumeration will be found the street-sale of *shells*, an ornament of the mantel-piece above the fire-grate to which coal is a necessity.

The present division will complete the subject of Street *Sale* in the metropolis.

OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF COALS.

ACCORDING to the returns of the coal market for the last few years, there has been imported into London, on an average, 3,500,000 tons of sea-borne coal annually. Besides this immense supply, the various railways have lately poured in a continuous stream of the same commodity from the inland districts, which has found a ready sale without sensibly affecting the accustomed vend of the north country coals, long established on the Coal Exchange.

To the very poor the importance of coal can be scarcely estimated. Physiological and medical writers tell us that carbonaceous food is that which produces heat in the body, and is therefore the fuel of the system. Experience tells us that this is true; for who that has had an opportunity of visiting the habitations of the poor—the dwellers in ill-furnished rooms and garrets—has not remarked the more than half-starved slop needle-woman, the wretched half-naked children of the casually employed labourer, as the dock-man, or those whose earnings are extorted from them by their employers, such as the ballast-man, sitting crouched around the smouldering embers in the place where the fire ought to be? The reason of this is, because the system of the sufferer by long

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want of food has been deprived of the necessary internal heat, and so seeks instinctively to supply the deficiency by imbibing it from some outward source. It is on this account chiefly, I believe, that I have found the ill-paid and ill-fed work-people prize warmth almost more than food. Among the poorest Irish, I have invariably found them crowding round the wretched fire when they had nothing to eat.

The census returns of the present year (according to the accounts published in the newspapers) estimate the number of the inhabitants of London at 2,363,141, and the number of inhabited houses as 307,722. Now if we take into consideration that in the immense suburbs of the metropolis, there are branching off from almost every street, labyrinths of courts and alleys, teeming with human beings, and that almost every room has its separate family—for it takes a multitude of poor to make one rich man—we may be able to arrive at the conclusion that by far the greater proportion of coals brought into London are consumed by the poorer classes. It is on this account of the highest importance, that honesty should be the characteristic of those engaged in the vend and distribution of an article so necessary not only to the comfort but to the very existence of the great masses of the population.

The modes in which the coals imported into London are distributed to the various classes of consumers are worthy of observation, as they unmistakably exhibit not only the wealth of the few, but the poverty of the many. The inhabitants of Belgravia, the wealthy shopkeepers, and many others periodically see at their doors the well-loaded waggon of the coal merchant, with two or three swarthy "coal-porters" bending beneath the black heavy sacks, in the act of laying in the 10 or 20 tons for yearly or half-yearly consumption. But this class is supplied from a very different quarter from that of the artizans, labourers, and many others, who, being unable to spare money sufficient to lay in at once a ton or two of coals, must have recourse to other means. To meet their limited resources, there may be found in every part, always in back streets, persons known as coal-shed men, who get the coals from the merchant in 7, 14, or 20 tons at a time, and retail them from ¼ cwt. upwards. The coal-shed men are a very numerous class, for there is not a low neighbourhood in any part of the city which contains not two or three of them in every street.

There is yet another class of purchasers of coals, however, which I have called the 'very poor,'—the inhabitants of two pairs back—the dwellers in garrets, &c. It seems to have been for the purpose of meeting the wants of this class that the street-sellers of coals have sprung into existence. Those who know nothing of the decent pride which often lingers among the famishing poor, can scarcely be expected to comprehend the great boon that the street-sellers of coals, if they could only be made honest and conscientious dealers, are calculated to confer on these people. "I have seen," says a correspondent, "the starveling child of misery, in the gloom of the evening, steal timidly into the shop of the coal-shed man, and in a tremulous voice ask, as if begging a great favour, for *seven pound of coals*. The coal-shed man has set down his pint of beer, taken the pipe from his mouth, blowing after it a cloud of smoke, and in a gruff voice, at which the little wretch has shrunk up (if it were possible) into a less space than famine had already reduced her to, and demanded —'Who told you as how I sarves seven pound o' coal?—Go to Bill C—— he may sarve you if he likes—I won't, and that's an end on 't—I wonders what people wants with seven pound o' coal.' The coal-shed man, after delivering himself of this enlightened observation, has placidly resumed his pipe, while the poor child, gliding out into the drizzling sleet, disappeared in the darkness."

The street-sellers vend any quantity at the very door of the purchaser, without rendering it necessary for them to expose their poverty to the prying eyes of the neighbourhood; and, as I have said were the street dealers only honest, they would be conferring a great boon upon the poorer portion of the people, but unhappily it is scarcely possible for them to be so, and realize a profit for themselves. The police reports of the last year show that many of the coal merchants, standing high in the estimation of the world, have been heavily fined for using false weights; and, did the present inquiry admit of it, there might be mentioned many other infamous practices by which the public are shamefully plundered in this commodity, and which go far to prove that the coal trade, *in toto*, is a gigantic fraud. May I ask how it is possible for the street-sellers, with such examples of barefaced dishonesty before their eyes, even to dream of acting honestly? If not actually certain, yet strongly suspecting, that they themselves are defrauded by the merchant, how can it be otherwise than that they should resort to every possible mode of defrauding their customers, and so add to the already almost unendurable burdens of the poorest of the poor, who by one means or other are made to bear all the burdens of the country?

The usual quantity of coals consumed in the poorest rooms, in which a family resides, is ½ cwt. per week in summer, and 1 cwt. do. in winter, or about 2 tons per annum.

The street sale of coals was carried on to a considerable extent during the earlier part of the last century, "small coalmen" being among the regular street-traders. The best known of these was Tom Britton, who died through fright occasioned by a practical joke. He was a great fosterer of a taste for music among the people; for, after hawking his coals during the day, he had a musical gathering in his humble abode in the evening, to which many distinguished persons resorted. This is alluded to in the lines, by Hughes, under Tom Britton's portrait, and the allusion, according to the poetic fashion of the time being made by means of a strained classicality :—

"Cyllenius so, as fables tell, and Jove,
Came willing guests to poor Philemon's grove."

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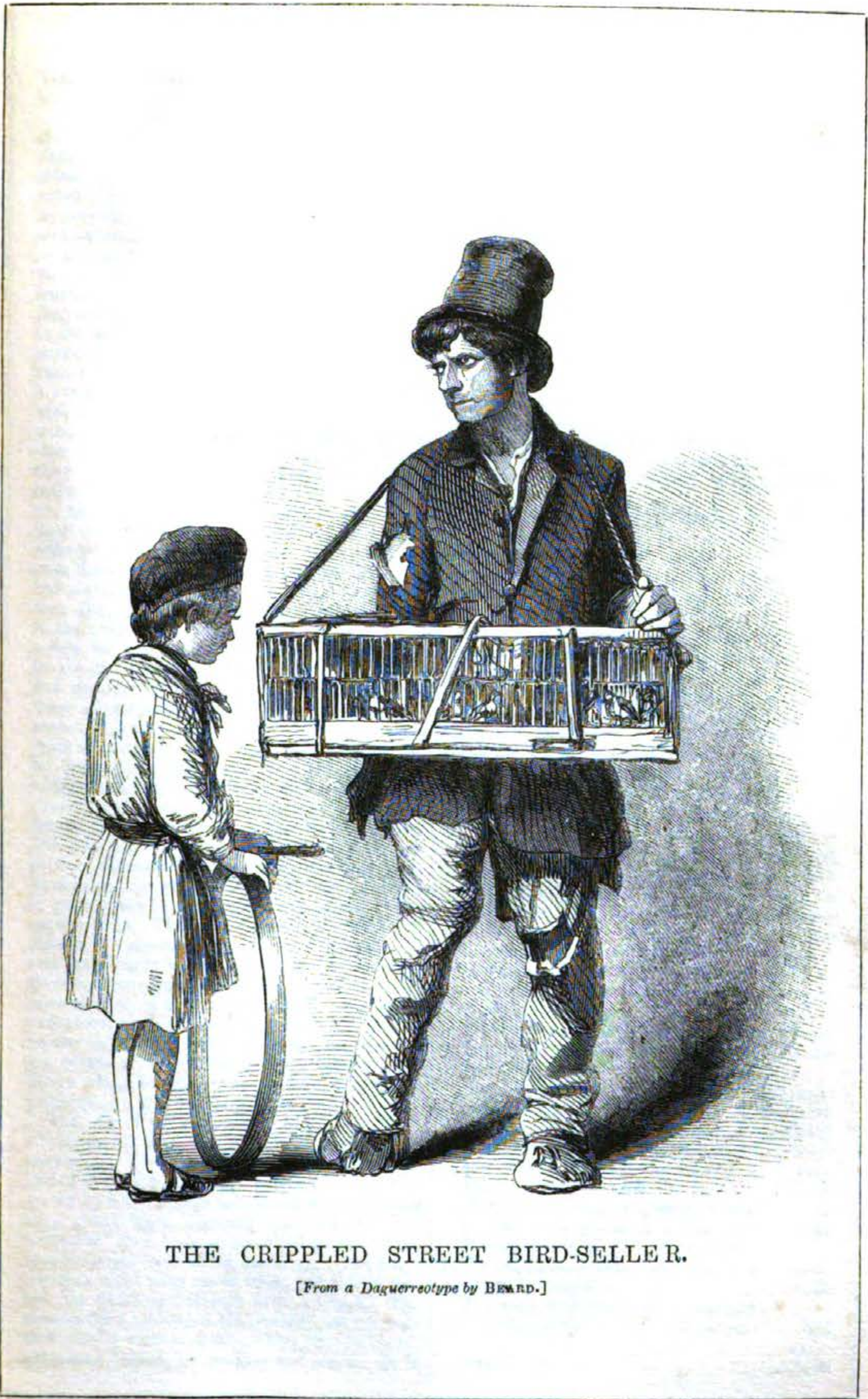

THE CRIPPLED STREET BIRD-SELLER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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The trade seems to have disappeared gradually, but has recently been revived in another form.

Some few years ago an ingenious and enterprising costermonger, during a "slack" in his own business, conceived the idea of purchasing some of the refuse of the coals at the wharfs, conveying them round the poorer localities of his beat, in his ass- or pony-cart, and vending them to "room-keepers" and others, in small quantities and at a reduced rate, so as to undersell the coal-shed men, while making for himself a considerable profit. The example was not lost upon his fraternity, and no long time had elapsed before many others had started in the same line; this eventually took so much custom from the regular coal-shed men, that, as a matter of self-defence, those among them who had a horse and cart, found it necessary to compete with the originators of the system in their own way, and, being possessed of more ample means, they succeeded, in a great measure, in driving the costers out of the field. The success of the coal-shed men was for a time so well followed up, that they began by degrees to edge away from the lanes and alleys, extending their excursions into quarters somewhat more aristocratic, and even there establishing a trade amongst those who had previously taken their ton or half ton of coals from the "brass-plate merchant," as he is called in the trade, being a person who merely procures orders for coals, gets some merchant who buys in the coal market to execute them in his name, and manages to make a living by the profits of these transactions. Some of this latter class consequently found themselves compelled to adopt a mode of doing their business somewhat similar, and for that purpose hired vans from the proprietors of those vehicles, loaded them with sacks of coals, drove round among their customers, prepared to furnish them with sacks or half sacks, as they felt disposed. Finally, many of the van proprietors themselves, finding that business might be done in this way, started in the line, and, being in general men of some means, established it as a regular trade. The van proprietors at the present time do the greater part of the business, but there may occasionally be seen, employed in this traffic, all sorts of conveyances, from the donkey-cart of the costermonger, or dock labourer, the latter of whom endeavours to make up for the miserable pittance he can earn at the rate of fourpence per hour, by the profits of this calling, to the aristocratic van, drawn along by two plump, well-fed horses, the property of a man worth 800*l*. or 900*l*.

The van of the street-seller of coals is easily distinguished from the waggon of the regular merchant. The merchant's waggon is always loaded with sacks standing perpendicularly; it is drawn by four immense horses, and is driven along by a gaunt figure, begrimed with coal-dust, and "sporting" ancle boots, or shoes and gaiters, white, or what ought to be white, stockings, velvet knee-breeches, short tarry smock-frock, and a huge fan-tail hat slouching half-way down his back. The street-seller's vehicle, on the contrary, has the coals shot into it without sacks; while, on a tailboard, extending behind, lie weights and scales. It is most frequently drawn by one horse, but sometimes by two, with bells above their collars jingling as they go, or else the driver at intervals rings a bell like a dustman's, to announce his approach to the neighbourhood.

The street-sellers formerly purchased their coals from any of the merchants along the river-side; generally the refuse, or what remained after the best had been picked out by "skreening" or otherwise; but always taking a third or fourth quality as most suitable for their purpose. But since the erection of machinery for getting coals out of the ships in the Regent's Canal basin, they have resorted to that place, as the coals are at once shot from the box in which they are raised from the hold of the ship, into the cart or van, saving all the trouble of being filled in sacks by coal porters, and carried on their backs from the ship, barge, or heap, preparatory to their being emptied into the van; thus getting them at a cheaper rate, and consequently being enabled to realize a greater profit.

Since the introduction of inland coals, also, by the railways, many of the street-sellers have either wholly, or in part, taken to sell them on account of the lower rate at which they can be purchased; sometimes they vend them unmixed, but more frequently they mix them up with "the small" of north country coals of better quality, and palm off the compound as "genuine Wallsend direct from the ship:" this (together with short weights) being, in fact, the principal source of their profit.

It occasionally happens that a merchant purchases in the market a cargo of coals which turns out to be damaged, very small, or of inferior quality. In such cases he usually refuses to take them, and it is difficult to dispose of them in any regular way of trade. Such cargoes, or parts of cargoes, are consequently at times bought up by some of the more wealthy van proprietors engaged in the coal line, who realize on them a great profit.

To commence business as a street-seller of coals requires little capital beyond the possession of a horse and cart. The merchants in all cases let street-sellers have any quantity of coals they may require till they are able to dispose of them; and the street-trade being a ready-money business, they can go on from day to day, or from week to week, according to their pre-arrangements, so that, as far as the commodity in which they deal is concerned, there is no outlay of capital whatever.

There are about 30 two-horse vans continually engaged in this trade, the price of each van

being 70*l*. This gives	£2100
100 horses at 20*l*. each	1200
160 carts at 10*l*. each	1600
160 horses at 10*l*. each . . .	1600
20 donkey or pony carts, value 1*l*. each	20
20 donkeys or ponies at 1*l*. 10*s*. each	30
Making a total of 210 vehicles continually employed, which, with the horses, &c., may be valued at	6550
This sum, with the price of 210 sets of weights and scales, at 1*l*. 10*s*. per set	315
Makes a total of	£6865

This may be fairly set down as the gross amount of capital at present employed in the street-sale of coals.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain correctly the amount of coals distributed in this way among the poorer classes. But I have found that they generally take two turns per day; that is they go to the wharfs in the morning, get their vans or carts loaded, and proceed on their various rounds. This first turn usually occupies them till dinner-time, after which they get another load, which is sufficient to keep them employed till night. Now if we allow each van to carry two and a half tons, it will make for all 150 tons per day, or 900 tons per week. In the same manner allowing the 160 carts to carry a ton each, it will give 320 tons per day, or 1920 tons per week, and the twenty pony carts half a ton each, 40 tons per day, or 240 tons per week, making a total of 3060 tons per week, or 159,120 tons per annum. This quantity purchased from the merchants at 14*s*. 6*d*. per ton amounts to 115,362*l*. annually, and sold at the rate of 1*s*. per cwt., or 1*l*. per ton, leaves 5*s*. 6*d*. per ton profit, or a total profit of 43,758*l*., and this profit divided according to the foregoing account gives the subjoined amounts, viz.:—

To each two-horse van regularly employed throughout the year, a profit of . .	£429	0
To each one-horse cart, ditto, ditto,	171	12
To each pony cart, ditto, ditto,	121	12

From which must, of course, be made the necessary deductions for the keep of the animals and the repair of vehicles, harness, &c.

The keep of a good horse is 10*s*. per week; a pony 6*s*. Three horses can be kept for the price of two, and so on; the more there are, the less cost for each.

The localities where the street-sellers of coals may most frequently be met with, are Blackwall, Poplar, Limehouse, Stepney, St. George's East, Twig Folly, Bethnal Green, Spitalfields, Shoreditch, Kingsland, Haggerstone, and Islington. It is somewhat remarkable that they are almost unknown on the south side of the Thames, and are seldom or never to be encountered in the low streets and lanes in Westminster lying contiguous to the river, nor in the vicinity of Marylebone, nor in any place farther west than Shoreditch; this is on account of the distance from the Regent's Canal basin precluding the possibility of their making more than one turn in the day, which would greatly diminish their profits, even though they might get a higher price for their commodity.

It may be observed that the foregoing statement in figures is rather under the mark than otherwise, as it is founded on the amount of coals purchased at a certain rate, and sold at a certain profit, without taking into account any of the "dodges" which almost all classes of coal dealers, from the highest to the lowest, are known to practise, so that the rate of profit arising from this business may be fairly supposed to amount to much more than the above account can show in figures.

I received the following statement from a person engaged in the street traffic:—

"I kept a coal-shed and greengrocer's shop, and as I had a son grown up, I wanted to get something for him to do; so about six years ago, having a pony and cart, and seeing others selling coals through the street, I thought I'd make him try his hand at it. I went to Mr. B——'s, at Whiting's wharf, and got the cart loaded, and sent my son round our own neighbourhood. I found that he soon disposed of them, and so he went on by degrees. People think we get a great deal of profit, but we don't get near as much as they think. I paid 16*s*. a ton all the winter for coals and sold them for a shilling a hundred, and when I came to feed the horse I found that he'll nearly eat it all up. A horse's belly is not so easy to fill. I don't think my son earns much more now, in summer, than feeds the horse. It's different in winter; he does not sell more nor half a ton a day now the weather's so warm. In winter he can always sell a ton at the least, and sometimes two, and on the Saturday he might sell three or four. My cart holds a ton; the vans hold from two to three tons. I can't exactly tell how many people are engaged in selling coals in the street, but there are a great many, that's certain. About eight o'clock what a number of carts and vans you'll see about the Regent's Canal! They like to get away before breakfast, because then they may have another turn after dinner. There's a great many go to other places for coals. The people who have vans do much better than those with the carts, because they carry so much that they save time. There are no great secrets in our business; we haven't the same chance of 'doing the thing' as the merchants have. They can mix the coals up as they like for their customers, and sell them for best; all we can do is to buy a low quality; then we may lose our customers if we play any tricks. To be sure, after that we can go to parts where we're not known. I don't use light weights, but I know it's done by a good many, and they mix up small coals a good deal, and that of course helps their profits. My son generally goes four or five miles before he sells a ton of coals, and in summer weather a great deal farther. It's hard-earned money that's got at it, I can tell you. My cart is worth 12*l*.; I have a van worth 20*l*. I wouldn't take 20*l*. for my horse. My van holds two tons of coals, and the horse draws it easily. I send the van out in the winter when there's a good call, but in the summer I only send it out on the Saturday. I never calculated how much profit I made. I haven't the least idea how much is got by it, but I'm sure there's not near as much as you say. Why, if there was, I ought to have made a fortune by this time." [It is right I should state that I received the foregoing account of the profits of the street trade in coals from one practically and eminently acquainted with it.] "Some in the trade have done very well, but they were well enough off before. I know very well I'll never make a fortune at anything; I'll be satisfied if I keep moving along, so as to keep out of the Union."

As to the habits of the street-sellers of coals,

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they are as various as their different circumstances will admit; but they closely resemble each other in one general characteristic—their provident and careful habits. Many of them have risen from struggling costermongers, to be men of substance, with carts, vans, and horses of their own. Some of the more wealthy of the class may be met with now and then in the parlours of respectable public houses, where they smoke their pipes, sip their brandy and water, and are remarkable for the shrewdness of their remarks. They mingle freely with the respectable tradesmen of their own localities, and may be seen, especially on the Sunday afternoons, with their wives and showily-dressed daughters in the gardens of the New Globe, or Green Dragon—the Cremorne and Vauxhall of the east. I visited the house of one of those who I was told had originally been a costermonger. The front portion of the shop was almost filled with coals, he having added to his occupation of street-seller the business of a coal-shed man; this his wife and a little boy managed in his absence; while, true to his early training, the window-ledge and a bench before it were heaped up with cabbages, onions, and other vegetables. In an open space opposite his door, I observed a one-horse cart and two or three trucks with his name painted thereon. At his invitation, I passed through what may be termed the shop, and entered the parlour, a neat room nicely carpeted, with a round table in the centre, chairs ranged primly round the walls, and a long looking-glass reflecting the china shepherds and shepherdesses on the mantel-piece, while, framed and glazed, all around were highly-coloured prints, among which, Dick Turpin, in flash red coat, gallantly clearing the toll-gate in his celebrated ride to York, and Jack Sheppard lowering himself down from the window of the lock-up house, were most conspicuous. In the window lay a few books, and one or two old copies of *Bell's Life.* Among the well-thumbed books, I picked out the *Newgate Calendar*, and the "*Calendar of Orrers*," as he called it, of which he expressed a very high opinion. "Lor bless you," he exclaimed, "them there stories is the vonderfullest in the vorld! I 'd never ha believed it, if I adn't seed it vith my own two hies, but there can't be no mistake ven I read it hout o' the book, can there, now? I jist asks yer that ere plain question."

Of his career he gave me the following account:—"I vos at von time a coster, riglarly brought up to the business, the times vas good then; but lor, ve used to lush at sich a rate! About ten year ago, I ses to meself, I say Bill, I 'm blowed if this here game 'ill do any longer. I had a good moke (donkey), and a tidyish box ov a cart; so vot does I do, but goes and sees von o' my old pals that gits into the coal-line somehow. He and I goes to the Bell and Siven Mackerels in the Mile End Road, and then he tells me all he knowed, and takes me along vith hisself, and from that time I sticks to the coals.

"I niver cared much about the lush myself, and ven I got avay from the old uns, I didn't mind it no how; but Jack my pal vos a awful lushy cove, he couldn't do no good at nothink, votsomever; he died they say of *lirium trumans*" [not understanding what he meant, I inquired of what it was he died]; "why, of *lirium trumans*, vich I takes to be too much of Trueman and Hanbury's heavy; so I takes varnin by poor Jack, and cuts the lush; but if you thinks as ve don't enjoy ourselves sometimes, I tells you, you don't know nothink about it. I 'm gittin on like a riglar house a fire."

Of the Street-Sellers of Coke.

Among the occupations that have sprung up of late years is that of the purchase and distribution of the refuse cinders or coke obtained from the different gas-works, which are supplied at a much cheaper rate than coal. Several of the larger gas companies burn as many as 100,000 tons of coals per annum, and some even more, and every ton thus burnt is stated to leave behind two chaldrons of coke, returning to such companies 50 per cent. of their outlay upon the coal. The distribution of coke is of the utmost importance to those whose poverty forces them to use it instead of coal.

It is supposed that the ten gas companies in and about the metropolis produce at least 1,400,000 chaldrons of coke, which are distributed to the poorer classes by vans, one-horse carts, donkey carts, trucks, and itinerant vendors who carry one, and in some cases two sacks lashed together on their backs, from house to house.

The van proprietors are those who, having capital, contract with the companies at a fixed rate per chaldron the year through, and supply the numerous retail shops at the current price, adding 3*d.* per chaldron for carriage; thus speculating upon the rise or fall of the article, and in most cases carrying on a very lucrative business. This class numbers about 100 persons, and are to be distinguished by the words "coke contractor," painted on a showy ground on the exterior of their handsome well-made vehicles; they add to their ordinary business the occupation of conveying to their destination the coke that the companies sell from time to time. These men have generally a capital, or a reputation for capital, to the extent of 400*l.* or 500*l.*, and in some cases more, and they usually enter into their contracts with the companies in the summer, when but small quantities of fuel are required, and the gas-works are incommoded for want of space to contain the quantity made. They are consequently able, by their command of means, to make advantageous bargains, and several instances are known of men starting with a wheelbarrow in this calling and who are now the owners of the dwellings in which they reside, and have goods, vans, and carts besides.

Another class, to whom may be applied much that has been said of the van proprietors, are the possessors of one-horse carts, who in many instances keep small shops for the sale of greens, coals, &c. These men are scattered over the whole metropolis, but as they do not exclusively obtain their

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living by vending this article, they do not properly belong to this portion of the inquiry.

A very numerous portion of the distributors of coke are the donkey-cart men, who are to be seen in all the poorer localities with a quantity shot in the bottom of their cart, and two or three sacks on the top or fastened underneath—for it is of a light nature—ready to meet the demand, crying "Coke! coke! coke!" morning, noon, and night. This they sell as low as 2*d.* per bushel, coke having, in consequence of the cheapness of coals, been sold at the gas-works by the single sack as low as 7*d.*, and although there is here a seeming contradiction—that of a man selling and living by the loss—such is not in reality the case. It should be remembered that a bushel of good coke will weigh 40 lbs., and that the bushels of these men rarely exceed 25 lbs.; so that it will be seen that by this unprincipled mode of dealing they can seemingly sell for less than they give, and yet realize a good profit. The two last classes are those who own a truck or wheelbarrow or are the fortunate possessors of an athletic frame and broad shoulders, who roam about near the vicinity of the gas-works, soliciting custom, obtaining ready cash if possible, but in most cases leaving one sack on credit, and obtaining a profit of from 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.*, or more. These men are to be seen going from house to house cleverly regulating their arrival to such times as when the head of the family returns home with his weekly wage, and in possession of ready cash enough to make a bargain with the coke contractor. Another fact in connection with this class, many of whom are women, who employ boys to drag or carry their wares to their customers, is this: when they fail through any cause, they put their walk up for sale, and find no difficulty to obtain purchasers from 2*l.* to as high as 8*l.*, 10*l.*, and 12*l.* The street-sellers of coke number in all not less than 1500 persons, who may be thus divided: van proprietors, 100; single horse carts, 300; donkey-cart men, 500; trucks, wheelbarrows, and "physical force men," 550; and women about 50, who penetrate to all the densely-crowded districts about town distributing this useful article; the major portion of those who are of anything like sober habits, live in comfort; and in spite of the opinion held by many, that the consumption of coke is injurious to health and sight, they carry on a large and increasing business.

At the present time coke may be purchased at the gas factories at 6*s.* per chaldron; but in winter it generally rises to 10*s.*, so that, taking the average, 8*s.*, it will be found, that the gas factories of the metropolis realize no less a sum than 560,000*l.* per annum, by the *coke* produced in the course of their operations. And 4*s.* per chaldron being considered a fair profit, it will be found, that the total profit arising from its sale by the various vendors is 280,000*l.*

It is impossible to arrive with any degree of certainty at the actual amount of business done by each of the above-named classes, and the profits consequent on that business: by dividing the above amount equally among all the coke sellers, it will be found to give 186*l.* per annum to each person. But it will be at once seen, that the same rule holds good in the coke trade that has already been explained in connection with coals: those possessing vans reaping the largest amount of profit; the one-horse cart men next; then the donkey carts, trucks, and wheelbarrows; and, least of all, the "backers," as they are sometimes called.

Concerning the amount of capital invested in the street-sale of coals it may be estimated as follows:—

If we allow 70*l.* for each of the 100 vans, it will give	£7,000
20*l.* for each of the horses . .	2,000
300 carts at 10*l.* each . . .	3,000
300 horses at 10*l.* each . . .	3,000
500 donkey-carts at 1*l.* each . .	500
500 donkeys at 1*l.* each . . .	500
200 trucks and barrows at 10*s.* each .	100
making a total of	£16,000

To this must be added			
4800 sacks for the 100 vans at 3*s.* 6*d.* each	840	0	0
3600 sacks for the 300 carts .	630	0	0
3000 " " 500 donkey carts	525	0	0
1652 " " 550 trucks and backers	288	15	0
300 " " 50 women.	52	10	0
	£18,336	5	0

Which being added to the value of vans, carts, and horses employed in the street-sale of coals, viz.	6,865
gives a capital of	£252,015

employed in the street-sale of coal and coke.

The profits of both these trades added together, namely, that on coals . .	43,758
and the profit on coke . . .	280,000
shows a total profit of . . .	£323,758

to be divided among 1710 persons, who compose the class of itinerant coal and coke vendors of the metropolis.

The following statement as to the street-sale of coke was given by a man in good circumstances, who had been engaged in the business for many years:—

"I am a native of the south of Ireland. More nor twenty years ago I came to London. I had friends here working in a gas factory, and afther a time they managed to get me into the work too. My business was to keep the coals to the stokers, and when they emptied the retorts to wheel the coke in barrows and empty it on the coke heap. I worked for four or five years, off and on, at this place. I was sometimes put out of work in the summer-time, because they don't want as many hands then. There's not near so much gas burned in summer, and then, of course, it takes less hands

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to make it. Well, at last I got to be a stoker; I had betther wages thin, and a couple of pots of beer in the day. It was dhreadful hard work, and as hot, aye, as if you were in the inside of an oven. I don't know how I ever stood it. Be me soul, I don't know how anybody stands it; it's the divil's place of all you ever saw in your life, standing there before them retorts with a long heavy rake, pullin out the red-hot coke for the bare life, and then there's the rake red-hot in your hands, and the hissin and the bubblin of the wather, and the smoke and the smell—it's fit to melt a man like a rowl of fresh butther. I wasn't a bit too fond of it, at any rate, for it 'ud kill a horse; so I ses to the wife, 'I can't stand this much longer, Peggy.' Well, behold you, Peggy begins to cry and wring her hands, thinkin we'd starve; but I knew a grate dale betther nor that, for I was two or three times dhrinkin with some of thim that carry the coke out of the yard in sacks to sell to the poor people, and they had twice as much money to spind as me, that was working like a horse from mornin to night. I had a pound or two by me, for I was always savin, and by this time I knew a grate many people round about; so off I goes, and asks one and another to take a sack of coke from me, and bein knoun in the yard, and standin a dhrop o' dhrink now and thin for the fillers, I alway got good measure, and so I used to make four sacks out of three, and often three out of two. Well, at last I got tired carryin sacks on me back all day, and now I know I was a fool for doin it at all, for it's asier to dhrag a thruck with five or six sacks than to carry one; so I got a second-hand thruck for little or nothin, and thin I was able to do five times as much work in half the time. At last, I took a notion of puttin so much every Sathurday night in the savin bank, and faith, sir, that was the lucky notion for me, although Peggy wouldn't hear of it at all at all. She swore the bank 'ud be broke, and said she could keep the goold safer in her own stockin; that thim gintlemin in banks were all a set of blickards, and only desaved the poor people into givin them their money to keep it thimselves. But in spite of Peggy I put the money in, and it was well for me that I did so, for in a short time I could count up 30 or 40 guineas in bank, and whin Peggy saw that the bank wasn't broke she was quite satisfied; so one day I ses to myself, What the divil's the use of me breakin my heart mornin, noon, and night, dhraggin a thruck behind me, whin ever so little a bit of a horse would dhrag ten time as much as I can? so off I set to Smithfield, and bought a stout stump of a horse for 12*l.* 10*s.*, and thin wint to a sale and bought an ould cart for little or nothin, and in less nor a month I had every farthin back again in the bank. Well, afther this, I made more and more every day, and findin that I paid more for the coke in winther than in summer, I thought as I had money if I could only get a place to put a good lot in summer to sell in winther it would be a good thing; so I begun to look about, and found this house for sale, so I bought it out and out. It was an ould house to be sure; but it's sthrong enough, and dune up well enough for a poor man—besides there's the yard, and see in that yard there's a hape o'coke for the winther. I'm buyin it up now, an it 'ill turn a nice pinny whin the could weather comes again. To make a long story short, I needn't call the king my cousin. I'm sure any one can do well, if he likes; but I don't mane that they can do well brakin their heart workin; divil a one that sticks to work 'ill ever be a hapenny above a beggar; and I know if I'd stuck to it myself I'd be a grate dale worse off now than the first day, for I'm not so young nor near so sthrong as I was thin, and if I hadn't lift it off in time I'd have nothin at all to look to in a few years more but to ind my days in the workhouse—bad luck to it."

Of the Street-Sellers of Tan-Turf.

Tan-turf is oak bark made into turf after its virtues have been exhausted in the tan-pits. To make it into turf the manufacturers have a mill which is turned by horse-power, in which they grind the bark to a considerable degree of fineness, after which it is shaped by a mould into thin cakes about six inches square, put out to dry and harden, and when thoroughly hardened it is fit for sale and for all the uses for which it is intended.

There is only one place in London or its neighbourhood where there are tan-pits—in Bermondsey—and there only is the turf made. There are not more than a dozen persons in London engaged in the sale of this commodity in the streets, and they are all of the tribe of the costermongers. The usual capital necessary for starting in the line being a donkey and cart, with 9*s.* or 10*s.* to purchase a few hundreds of the turf.

There is a tradition extant, even at the present day, that during the prevalence of the plague in London the houses where the tan-turf was used in a great measure escaped that awful visitation; and to this moment many people purchase and burn it in their houses on account of the peculiar smell, and under the belief that it is efficacious in repelling infectious diseases from the localities in which it is used.

The other purposes for which it is used are for forming a sort of compost or manure for plants of the heath kind, which delight in a soil of this description, growing naturally among mosses and bogs where the peat fuel is obtained. It is used also by small bakers for heating their ovens, as preferable for their purposes, and more economical than any other description of fuel. Sometimes it is used for burning under coppers; and very often for keeping alight during the night, on account of the slowness of its decomposition by fire, for a single cake will continue burning for a whole night, will be found in the morning completely enveloped in a white ash, which, on being removed, discovers the live embers in the centre.

The rate at which the tan-turf is sold to the dealers, at the tan-pits, is from 6*d.* to 9*d.* per hun-

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dred cakes. Those at 9*d*. per hundred are perfect and unbroken, while those at 6*d*. have been injured in some way or other. The quality of the article, however, remains the same, and by purchasing some of each sort the vendors are able to make somewhat more profit, which may be, on an average, about 4½*d*. per hundred, as they sell it at 1*s*.

While seeking information on this subject I obtained the address of a person in T—— mews, T—— square, engaged in the business. Running out of the square is a narrow street, which, about mid-way through, leads on the right-hand side to a narrow alley, at the bottom of which is the mews, consisting of merely an oblong court, surrounded by stables of the very smallest dimensions, not one of them being more than twelve feet square. Three or four men, in the long waistcoats and full breeches peculiar to persons engaged among horses, were lounging about, and, with the exception of the horses, appeared to be the only inhabitants of the place. On inquiring of one of the loungers, I was shown a stable in one corner of the court, the wide door of which stood open. On entering I found it occupied by a donkey-cart, containing a couple of hundred cakes of tan-turf; another old donkey-cart was turned up opposite, the tailboard resting on the ground, the shafts pointing to the ceiling, while a cock and two or three draggle-tailed hens were composing themselves to roost on the front portion of the cart between the shafts. Within the space thus inclosed by the two carts lay a donkey and two dogs, that seemed keeping him company, and were busily engaged in mumbling and crunching some old bones. On the wall hung "Jack's harness." In one corner of the ceiling was an opening giving access to the place above, which was reached by means of a long ladder. On ascending this I found myself in a very small attic, with a sloping ceiling on both sides. In the highest part, the middle of the room, it was not more than six feet high, but at the sides it was not more than three feet. In this confined apartment stood a stump bedstead, taking up the greater portion of the floor. In a corner alongside the fire-place I noticed what appeared to be a small turn-up bedstead. A little ricketty deal table, an old smoke-dried Dutch clock, and a poor old woman, withered and worn, were the only other things to be seen in the place. The old woman had been better off, and, as is not uncommon under such circumstances, she endeavoured to make her circumstances appear better than they really were. She made the following statement:—

"My husband was 23 years selling the tan turf. There used to be a great deal more of it sold than there is now; people don't seem to think so much of it now, as they once did, but there are some who still use it. There 's an old lady in Kentish-town, who must have it regularly; she burns it on account of the smell, and has burned it for many years: my husband used to serve her. There 's an old doctor at Hampstead —or rather he was there, for he died a few days ago—he always bought a deal of it, but I don't know whether he burned it or not; he used to buy 500 or 600 at a time, he was a very good customer, and we miss him now. The gardeners buy some of it, for their plants, they say it makes good manure, though you wouldn't think so to look at it, it 's so hard and dry. My husband is dead three years; we were better off when he was alive; he was a very sober and careful man, and never put anything to waste. My youngest son goes with the cart now; he don't do as well as his father, poor little fellow! he 's only fourteen years of age, but he does very well for a boy of his age. He sometimes travels 30 miles of a day, and can't sell a load—sometimes not half a load; and then he comes home of a night so foot-sore that you 'd pity him. Sometimes he 's not able to stir out, for a day or two, but he must do something for a living; there 's nothing to be got by idleness. The cart will hold 1000 or 1200, and if he could sell that every day we 'd do very well; it would leave us about 3*s*. 6*d*. profit, after keeping the donkey. It costs 9*d*. a day to keep our donkey; he 's young yet, but he promises to be a good strong animal, and I like to keep him well, even if I go short myself, for what could we do without him? I believe there are one or two persons selling tan-turf who use trucks, but they 're strong; besides they can't do much with a truck, they can't travel as far with a truck as a donkey can, and they can't take as much out with them. My son goes of a morning to Bermondsey for a load, and is back by breakfast time; from this to Bermondsey is a long way—then he goes out and travels all round Kentish-town and Hampstead, and what with going up one street and down another, by the time he comes home at night, he don't travel less than from 25 to 30 miles a day. I have another son, the eldest. He used to go with his father when he was alive; he was reared to the business, but after he died he thought it was useless for both to go out with the cart, so he left it to the little fellow, and now the eldest works among horses. He don't do much, only gets an odd job now and then among the ostlers, and earns a shilling now and then. They 're both good lads, and would do well if they could; they do as well as they can, and I have a right to be thankful for it."

The poor woman, notwithstanding the extraordinary place in which she lived, and the confined dimensions of her single apartment (I ascertained that the two sons slept in the stump bedstead, while she used the turn-up), was nevertheless cleanly in her person and apparel, and superior in many respects to persons of the same class, and I give her statement verbatim, as it corroborates, in almost every particular, the statement of the unfortunate seller of salt, who is afflicted with a drunken disorderly wife, and who is also a man superior to the people with whom he is compelled to associate, but who in evident bitterness of spirit made this assertion: "Bad as I 'm off now, if I had only a careful partner, I wouldn't want for anything."

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Concerning the dogs that I have spoken of as being with the donkey, there is a curious story. During his rounds the donkey frequently met the bitch, and an extraordinary friendship grew up between the two animals, so that the dog at last forsook its owner, and followed the donkey in all his travels. For some time back she has accompanied him home, together with her puppy, and they all sleep cozily together during the night, Jack taking especial care not to hurt the young one. In the morning, when about to go out for the day's work, it is of no use to expect Jack to go without his friends, as he will not budge an inch, so he is humoured in his whim. The puppy, when tired, is put into the cart, and the mother forages for her living along the way; the poor woman not being able to feed them. The owner of the dogs came to see them on the day previous to my visit.

Of the Street-Sellers of Salt.

Until a few years after the repeal of the duty on the salt, there were no street-sellers of it. It was first taxed in the time of William III., and during the war with Napoleon the impost was 15*s.* the bushel, or nearly thirty times the cost of the article taxed. The duty was finally repealed in 1823. When the tax was at the highest, salt was smuggled most extensively, and retailed at 4*d.* and 4½*d.* the pound. A licence to sell it was also necessary. Street salt-selling is therefore a trade of some twenty years standing. Considering the vast consumption of salt, and the trifling amount of capital necessary to start in the business, it might be expected that the street-sellers would be a numerous class, but they do not number above 150 at the outside. The reason assigned by a well-informed man was, that in every part of London there are such vast numbers of shopkeepers who deal in salt.

	£	s.	d.
About one-half of those employed in street salt-selling have donkeys and carts, and the rest use the two-wheeled barrow of the costermonger, to which class the street salt-sellers, generally, belong. The value of the donkey and cart may be about 2*l.* 5*s.* on an average, so that 75 of the number possessing donkeys and carts will have a capital among them equal to the sum of	£168	15	0
The barrows of the remainder are worth about 10*s.* each, which will amount to	37	10	0
To sell 3 cwt. of salt in a day is considered good work; and this, if purchased at 2*s.* per cwt., gives for stock-money the sum total of	45	0	0
Thus the amount of capital which may be reasonably assumed to be embarked in this business is .	£251	5	0

The street-sellers pay at the rate of 2*s.* per cwt. for the salt, and retail it at 3 lbs. for 1*d.*, which leaves 1*s.* 1*d.* profit on every cwt. One day with another, taking wet and dry, for from the nature of the article it cannot be hawked in wet weather, the street-sellers dispose of about 2½ cwt. per day, or 18 tons 15 cwt. per day for all hands, which, deducting Sundays, makes 5825 tons in the course of the year. The profit of 1*s.* 1*d.* per cwt. amounts to a yearly aggregate profit of 6310*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, or about 42*l.* per annum for each person in the trade.

The salt dealers, generally, endeavour to increase their profits by the sale of mustard, and sometimes by the sale of rock-salt, which is used for horses; but in these things they do little, the most profit they can realize in a day averaging about 4*d.*

The salt men who merely use the barrow are much better off than the donkey-cart men; the former are young men, active and strong, well able to drive their truck or barrow about from one place to another, and they can thereby save the original price and subsequent keep of the donkey. The latter are in general old men, broken down and weak, or lads. The daily cost of keeping a donkey is from 6*d.* to 9*d.*; if we reckon 7½*d.* as the average, it will annually amount to 11*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* the year, which will reduce the profit of 42*l.* to about 30*l.*, and so leave a balance of 11*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* in favour of the truck or barrow man.

There are nine or ten places where the street-sellers purchase the salt:—Moore's, at Paddington, who get their salt by the canal, from Staffordshire; Welling's, at Battle-bridge; Baillie, of Thames-street, &c. Great quantities are brought to London by the different railways. The street-sellers have all regular beats, and seldom intrude on each other, though it sometimes happens, especially when any quarrel occurs among them, that they oppose and undersell one another in order to secure the customers.

During my inquiries on this subject, I visited Church-lane, Bloomsbury, to see a street-seller, about seven in the evening. Since the alterations in St. Giles's, Church-lane has become one of the most crowded places in London. The houses, none of which are high, are all old, time-blackened, and dilapidated, with shattered window-frames and broken panes. Stretching across the narrow street, from all the upper windows, might be seen lines crossing and recrossing each other, on which hung yellow-looking shirts, stockings, women's caps, and handkerchiefs looking like soiled and torn paper, and throwing the whole lane into shade. Beneath this ragged canopy, the street literally swarmed with human beings—young and old, men and women, boys and girls, wandering about amidst all kinds of discordant sounds. The footpaths on both sides of the narrow street were occupied here and there by groups of men and boys, some sitting on the flags and others leaning against the wall, while their feet, in most instances bare, dabbled in the black channel alongside the kerb, which being disturbed sent up a sickening stench. Some of these groups were playing cards for money, which lay on the ground near them. Men and women at intervals lay stretched out in

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sleep on the pathway; over these the passengers were obliged to jump; in some instances they stood on their backs as they stepped over them, and then the sleeper languidly raised his head, growled out a drowsy oath, and slept again. Three or four women, with bloated countenances, blood-shot eyes, and the veins of their necks swollen and distended till they resembled strong cords, staggered about violently quarrelling at the top of their drunken voices.

The street salt-seller—whom I had great difficulty in finding in such a place—was a man of about 50, rather sickly in his look. He wore an old cloth cap without a peak, a sort of dun-coloured waistcoat, patched and cobbled, a strong check shirt, not remarkable for its cleanliness, and what seemed to me to be an old pair of buckskin breeches, with fragments hanging loose about them like fringes. To the covering of his feet—I can hardly say shoes—there seemed to be neither soles nor uppers. How they kept on was a mystery.

In answer to my questions, he made the following statement, in language not to be anticipated from his dress, or the place in which he resided: "For many years I lived by the sale of toys, such as little chairs, tables, and a variety of other little things which I made myself and sold in the streets; and I used to make a good deal of money by them; I might have done well, but when a man hasn't got a careful partner, it 's of no use what he does, he 'll never get on, he may as well give it up at once, for the money 'll go out ten times as fast as he can bring it in. I hadn't the good fortune to have a careful woman, but one who, when I wouldn't give her money to waste and destroy, took out my property and made money of it to drink; where a bad example like that is set, it 's sure to be followed; the good example is seldom taken, but there 's no fear of the bad one. You may want to find out where the evil lies, I tell you it lies in that pint pot, and in that quart pot, and if it wasn't for so many pots and so many pints, there wouldn't be half so much misery as there is. I know that from my own case. I used to sell toys, but since the foreign things were let come over, I couldn't make anything of them, and was obliged to give them up. I was forced to do something for a living, for a half loaf is better than no bread at all, so seeing two or three selling salt, I took to it myself. I buy my salt at Moore's wharf, Paddington; I consider it the purest; I could get salt 3*d*. or 2*d*. the cwt., or even cheaper, but I 'd rather have the best. A man 's not ashamed when he knows his articles are good. Some buy the cheap salt, of course they make more profit. We never sell by measure, always by weight; some of the street weights, a good many of them, are slangs, but I believe they are as honest as many of the shopkeepers after all; every one does the best he can to cheat everybody else. I go two or three evenings in the week, or as often as I want it, to the wharf for a load. I 'm going there to-night, three miles out and three miles in. I sell, considering everything, about 2 cwt. a day; I sold 1½ to-day, but to-morrow (Saturday) I 'll sell 3 or 4 cwt., and perhaps more. I pay 2*s*. the cwt. for it, and make about 1*s*. a cwt. profit on that. I sold sixpennyworth of mustard to-day; it might bring me in 2*d*. profit, every little makes something. If I wasn't so weak and broke down, I wouldn't trouble myself with a donkey, it 's so expensive; I 'd easily manage to drive about all I 'd sell, and then I 'd save the expense. It costs me 7*d*. or 8*d*. a day to keep him, besides other things. I got him a set of shoes yesterday, I said I 'd shoe him first and myself afterwards; so you see there's other expenses. There 's my son, too, paid off the other day from the *Prince of Wales*, after a four years' voyage, and he came home without a sixpence in his pocket. He might have done something for me, but I couldn't expect anything else from him after the example that was set to him. Even now, bad as I am, I wouldn't want for anything if I had a careful woman; but she 's a shocking drunkard, and I can do nothing with her." This poor fellow's mind was so full of his domestic troubles that he recurred to them again and again, and was more inclined to talk about what so nearly concerned himself than on any matter of business.

Of the Street-Sellers of Sand.

Two kinds of sand only are sold in the streets, scouring or floor sand, and bird sand for birds. In scouring sand the trade is inconsiderable to what it was, saw-dust having greatly superseded it in the gin-palace, the tap-room, and the butcher's shop. Of the supply of sand, a man, who was working at the time on Hampstead-heath, gave the following account:—"I 've been employed here for five-and-thirty years, under Sir Thomas Wilson. Times are greatly changed, sir; we used to have from 25 to 30 carts a day hawking sand, and taking six or seven men to fill them every morning; besides large quantities which went to brass-founders, and for cleaning dentists' cutlery, for stone-sawing, lead and silver casting, and such like. This heath, sir, contains about every kind of sand, but Sir Thomas won't allow us to dig it. The greatest number of carts filled now is eight or ten a day, which I fill myself. Sir Thomas has raised the price from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. a load, of about 2½ tons. Bless you, sir, some years ago, one might go into St. Luke's, and sell five or six cart-loads of house-sand a week; now, a man may roar himself hoarse, and not sell a load in a fortnight. Saw-dust is used in all the public-houses and gin-palaces. People 's sprung up who don't use sand at all; and many of the old people are too poor to buy it. The men who get sand here now are old customers, who carry it all over the town, and round Holloway, Islington, and such parts. Twelve year ago I would have taken here 6*l*. or 7*l*. in a morning, to-day I have only taken 9*s*. Fine weather is greatly against the sale of house-sand; in wet, dirty weather, the sale is greater."

One street sand-seller gave the following account of his calling:—

"I have been in the sand business, man and

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boy, for 40 years. I was at it when I was 12 years old, and am now 52. I used to have two carts hawking sand, but it wouldn't pay, so I have just that one you see there. Hawking sand is a poor job now. I send two men with that 'ere cart, and pay one of 'em 3s. 4d. and the other 3s. a day. Now, with beer-money, 2s. a week, to the man at the heath, and turnpike gates, I reckon every load of sand to cost me 5s. Add to that 6s. 4d. for the two men, the wear and tear, and horse's keep (and, to do a horse justice, you cannot in these cheap times keep him at less than 10s. a week, in dear seasons, it will cost 15s.), and you will find each load of sand stands me in a good sum. So suppose we get a guinea a load, you see we have no great pull. Then there 's the licence, 8l. a year. Many years ago we resisted this, and got Mr. Humphreys to defend us before the magistrates at Clerkenwell; but we were 'cast,' several hawkers were fined 10l., and I was brought up before old Sir Richard Birnie, at Bow-street, and had to find bail that I would not sell another bushel of sand till I took out a licence. Soon after that Sir Thomas Wilson shut up the heath from us; he said he would not have it cut about any more, for that a poor animal could not pick up a crumb without being in danger of breaking its leg. This was just after we took out our licences, and, as we 'd paid dearly for being allowed to sell the sand, some of us, and I was one, we waited upon Sir Thomas, and asked to be allowed to work out our licences, which was granted, and we have gone on ever since. My men work very hard for their money, sir; they are up at 3 o'clock of the morning, and are knocking about the streets, perhaps till 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening."

The yellow house-sand is also found at Kingsland, and at the Kensington Gravel-pits; but at the latter place street-sellers are not supplied. The sand here is very fine, and mostly disposed of to plasterers. There is also some of this kind of sand at Wandsworth. In the street-selling of house-sand, there are now not above 30 men employed, and few of these trade on their own account. Reckoning the horses and carts employed in the trade at the same price as our Camden-town informant sets on his stock, we have 20 horses, at 10l. each, and 20 carts, at 3l. each, with 3 baskets to each, at 2s. apiece, making a total of 236l. of capital employed in the carrying machinery of the street-selling of sand. Allowing 3s. a day for each man, the wages would amount for 30 men to 27l. weekly; and the expenses for horses' keep, at 10s. a head, would give, for 20 horses, 10l. weekly, making a total of 38l. weekly, or an annual expenditure for man and horse of 2496l. Calculating the sale at a load per day, for each horse and cart, at 21s. a load, we have 6573l. annually expended in the purchase of house or floor-sand.

Bird-sand, or the fine and dry sand required for the use of cage-birds, is now obtained altogether of a market gardener in Hackney. It is sold at 8d. the barrow-load; as much being shovelled on to a coster's barrow "as it will carry." A good-sized barrow holds 3½ bushels; a smaller size, 3 bushels, and the buyer is also the shoveller. Three-fourths of the quantity conveyed by the street-sellers from Hackney is sold to the bird-shop keepers at 6d. for 3 pecks. The remainder is disposed of to such customers as purchase it in the street, or is delivered at private houses, which receive a regular supply. The usual charge to the general public is a halfpenny or a penny for sand to fill any vessel brought to contain it. A penny a gallon is perhaps an average price in this retail trade.

A man, "in a good way of business," disposes of a barrow-load once a week; the others once a fortnight. In wet or windy weather great care is necessary, and much trouble incurred in supplying this sand to the street-sellers, and again in their vending it in the streets. The street-vendors are the same men as supply the turf, &c., for cage-birds, of whom I have treated, p. 156, vol. i. They are 40 in number, and although they do not all supply sand, a matter beyond the strength of the old and infirm, a few costermongers convey a barrow-load of sand now and then to the bird-sellers, and this addition ensures the weekly supply of 40 barrow-loads. Calculating these at the wholesale, or bird-dealer's price—2s. 3d. a barrow being an average—we find 234l. yearly expended in this sand. What is vended at 2s. 3d. costs but 8d. at the wholesale price; but the profit is hardly earned considering the labour of wheeling a heavy barrow of sand for miles, and the trouble of keeping over night what is unsold during the day.

Of the Street-Sellers of Shells.

The street-trade in shells presents the characteristics I have before had to notice as regards the trade in what are not necessaries, or an approach to necessaries, in contradistinction of what men must have to eat or wear. Shells, such as the green snail, ear shell, and others of that class, though extensively used for inlaying in a variety of ornamental works, are comparatively of little value; for no matter how useful, if shells are only well known, they are considered of but little importance; while those which are rarely seen, no matter how insignificant in appearance, command extraordinary prices. As an instance I may mention that on the 23rd of June there was purchased by Mr. Sowerby, shell-dealer, at a public sale in King-street, Covent-garden, a small shell not two inches long, broken and damaged, and withal what is called a "dead shell," for the sum of 30 guineas. It was described as the *Conus Glory Mary*, and had it only been perfect would have fetched 100 guineas.

Shells, such as conches, cowries, green snails, and ear shells (the latter being so called from their resemblance to the human ear), are imported in large quantities, as parts of cargoes, and are sold to the large dealers by weight. Conch shells are sold at 8s. per cwt; cowries and clams from 10s. to 12s. per cwt; the green snail, used for inlaying, fetches from 1l. to 1l. 10s. per cwt.; and the ear shell, on account of its superior quality and richer variety of colours, as much as 3l. and 5l. per cwt.

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The conches are found only among the West India Islands, and are used principally for garden ornaments and grotto-work. The others come principally from the Indian Ocean and the China seas, and are used as well for chimney ornaments, as for inlaying, for the tops of work-tables and other ornamental furniture.

The shells which are considered of the most value are almost invariably small, and of an endless variety of shape. They are called "cabinet" shells, and are brought from all parts of the world —land as well as sea—lakes, rivers, and oceans furnishing specimens to the collection. The Australian forests are continually ransacked to bring to light new varieties. I have been informed that there is not a river in England but contains valuable shells; that even in the Thames there are shells worth from 10*s.* to 1*l.* each. I have been shown a shell of the snail kind, found in the woods of New Holland, and purchased by a dealer for 2*l.*, and on which he confidently reckoned to make a considerable profit.

Although "cabinet" shells are collected from all parts, yet by far the greater number come from the Indian Ocean. They are generally collected by the natives, who sell them to captains and mates of vessels trading to those parts, and very often to sailors, all of whom frequently speculate to a considerable extent in these things, and have no difficulty in disposing of them as soon as they arrive in this country, for there is not a shell dealer in London who has not a regular staff of persons stationed at Gravesend to board the homeward-bound ships at the Nore, and sometimes as far off as the Downs, for the purpose of purchasing shells. It usually happens that when three or four of these persons meet on board the same ship, an animated competition takes place, so that the shells on board are generally bought up long before the ship arrives at London. Many persons from this country go out to various parts of the world for the sole purpose of procuring shells, and they may be found from the western coast of Africa to the shores of New South Wales, along the Persian Gulf, in Ceylon, the Malaccas, China, and the Islands of the Pacific, where they employ the natives in dredging the bed of the ocean, and are by this means continually adding to the almost innumerable varieties which are already known.

To show the extraordinary request in which shells are held in almost every place, while I was in the shop of Mr. J. C. Jamrach, naturalist, and agent to the Zoological Society at Amsterdam—one of the largest dealers in London, and to whom I am indebted for much valuable information on this subject—a person, a native of High Germany, was present. He had arrived in London the day before, and had purchased on that day a collection of shells of a low quality for which he paid Mr. Jamrach 36*l.*; to this he added a few birds. Placing his purchase in a box furnished with a leather strap, he slung it over his shoulder, shook hands with Mr. Jamrach, and departed. Mr. Jamrach informed me that the next morning he was to start by steam for Rotterdam, then continue his journey up the Rhine to a certain point, from whence he was to travel on foot from one place to another, till he could dispose of his commodities; after which he would return to London, as the great mart for a fresh supply. He was only a very poor man, but there are a great many others far better off, continually coming backwards and forwards, who are able to purchase a larger stock of shells and birds, and who, in the course of their peregrinations, wander through the greater part of Germany, extending their excursions sometimes through Austria, the Tyrol, and the north of Italy. A visit to the premises of Mr. Jamrach, Ratcliff-highway, or Mr. Samuel, Upper East Smithfield, would well repay the curious observer. The front portion of Mr. Jamrach's house is taken up with a wonderful variety of strange birds that keep up an everlasting screaming; in another portion of the house are collected confusedly together heaps of nondescript articles, which might appear to the uninitiated worth little or nothing, but on which the possessor places great value. In a yard behind the house, immured in iron cages, are some of the larger species of birds, and some beautiful varieties of foreign animals—while in large presses ranged round the other rooms, and furnished with numerous drawers, are placed his real valuables, the cabinet shells. The establishment of Mr. Samuel is equally curious.

In London, the dealers in shells, keeping shops for the sale of them, amount to no more than ten; they are all doing a large business, and are men of good capital, which may be proved by the following quotation from the day-books of one of the class for the present year, viz.:—

Shells sold in February . . .	£275	0	0
Ditto, ditto, March	471	0	0
Ditto, ditto, April	1389	0	0
Ditto, ditto, May	475	0	0
Total	£2610	0	0
Profit on same, February . . .	£75	12	0
Ditto, ditto, March	140	0	0
Ditto, ditto, April	323	0	0
Ditto, ditto, May	127	0	0
Total	£665	12	0

Besides these there are about 20 private dealers who do not keep shops, but who nevertheless do a considerable business in this line among persons at the West End of London. All shell dealers add to that occupation the sale of foreign birds and curiosities.

There is yet another class of persons who seem to be engaged in the sale of shells, but it is only seeming. They are dressed as sailors, and appear at all times to have just come ashore after a long voyage, as a man usually follows them with that sort of canvas bag in use among sailors, in which they stow away their clothes; the men themselves go on before carrying a parrot or some rare bird in one hand, and in the other a large shell. These men are the "duffers" of whom I have spoken

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in my account of the sale of foreign birds. They make shells a more frequent medium for the introduction of their real avocation, as a shell is a far less troublesome thing either to hawk or keep by them than a parrot.

I now give a description of these men, as general duffers, and from good authority.

"They are known by the name of '*duffers*,' and have an exceedingly cunning mode of transacting their business. They are all united in some secret bond; they have persons also bound to them, who are skilled in making shawls in imitation of those imported from China, and who, according to the terms of their agreement, must not work for any other persons. The duffers, from time to time, furnish these persons with designs for shawls, such as cannot be got in this country, which, when completed, they (the duffers) conceal about their persons, and start forward on their travels. They contrive to gain admission to respectable houses by means of shells and sometimes of birds, which they purchase from the regular dealers, but always those of a low quality; after which they contrive to introduce the shawls, their real business, for which they sometimes have realized prices varying from 5*l.* to 20*l.* In many instances, the cheat is soon discovered, when the duffers immediately decamp, to make place for a fresh batch, who have been long enough out of London to make their faces unknown to their former victims. These remain till they also find danger threaten them, when they again start away, and others immediately take their place. While away from London, they travel through all parts of the country, driving a good trade among the country gentlemen's houses; and sometimes visiting the seaports, such as Liverpool, Portsmouth, and Plymouth."

An instance of the skill with which the duffers sometimes do business, is the following. One of these persons some time ago came into the shop of a shell dealer, having with him a beautiful specimen of a three-coloured cockatoo, for which he asked 10*l.* The shell dealer declined the purchase at that price, saying, that he sold these birds at 4*l.* a piece, but offered to give 3*l.* 10*s.* for it, which was at once accepted; while pocketing the money, the man remarked that he had paid ten guineas for that bird. The shell dealer, surprised that so good a judge should be induced to give so much more than the value of the bird, was desirous of hearing further, when the duffer made this statement:—"I went the other day to a gentleman's house, he was an old officer, where I saw this bird, and, in order to get introduced, I offered to purchase it. The gentleman said he knew it was a valuable bird, and couldn't think of taking less than ten guineas. I then offered to barter for it, and produced a shawl, for which I asked twenty-five guineas, but offered to take fifteen guineas and the bird. This was at length agreed to, and now, having sold it for 3*l.* 10*s.*, it makes 19*l.* 5*s.* I got for the shawl, and not a bad day's work either."

Of shells there are about a million of the commoner sorts bought by the London street-sellers at 3*s.* the gross. They are retailed at 1*d.* apiece, or 12*s.* the gross, when sold separately; a large proportion, as is the case with many articles of taste or curiosity rather than of usefulness, being sold by the London street-folk on country rounds; some of these rounds stretch half-way to Bristol or to Liverpool.

Of the River Beer-Sellers, or Purl-Men.

There is yet another class of itinerant dealers who, if not traders in the streets, are traders in what was once termed the silent highway—the river beer-sellers, or purl-men, as they are more commonly called. These should strictly have been included among the sellers of eatables and drinkables; they have, however, been kept distinct, being a peculiar class, and having little in common with the other out-door sellers.

I will begin my account of the river-sellers by enumerating the numerous classes of labourers, amounting to many thousands, who get their living by plying their respective avocations on the river, and who constitute the customers of these men. There are first the sailors on board the corn, coal, and timber ships; then the "lumpers," or those engaged in discharging the timber ships; the "stevedores," or those engaged in stowing craft; and the "riggers," or those engaged in rigging them; ballast-heavers, ballast-getters, corn-porters, coal-whippers, watermen and lightermen, and coal-porters, who, although engaged in carrying sacks of coal from the barges or ships at the river's side to the shore, where there are public-houses, nevertheless, when hard worked and pressed for time, frequently avail themselves of the presence of the purl-man to quench their thirst, and to naval stimulate them to further exertion.

It would be a remarkable circumstance if the fact of so many persons continually employed in severe labour, and who, of course, are at times in want of refreshment, had not called into existence a class to supply that which was evidently required; under one form or the other, therefore, river-dealers boast of an antiquity as old as the navel commerce of the country.

The prototype of the river beer-seller of the present day is the bumboat-man. Bumboats (or rather *Baum*-boats, that is to say, the boats of the harbour, from the German *Baum*, a haven or bar) are known in every port where ships are obliged to anchor at a distance from the shore. They are stored with a large assortment of articles, such as are likely to be required by people after a long voyage. Previously to the formation of the various docks on the Thames, they were very numerous on the river, and drove a good trade with the homeward-bound shipping. But since the docks came into requisition, and steam-tugs brought the ships from the mouth of the river to the dock entrance, their business died away, and they gradually disappeared; so that a bumboat on the Thames at the present day would be a sort of curiosity, a relic of times past.

In former times it was *not* in the power of any person who chose to follow the calling of a bumboat man on the Thames. The Trinity Com-

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pany had the power of granting licences for this purpose. Whether they were restrained by some special clause in their charter, or not, from giving licences indiscriminately, it is difficult to say. But it is certain that none got a licence but a sailor—one who had "served his country;" and it was quite common in those days to see an old fellow with a pair of wooden legs, perhaps blind of an eye, or wanting an arm, and with a face rugged as a rock, plying about among the shipping, accompanied by a boy whose duty it was to carry the articles to the purchasers on shipboard, and help in the management of the boat. In the first or second year of the reign of her present Majesty, however, when the original bumboat-men had long degenerated into the mere beer-sellers, and any one who wished traded in this line on the river (the Trinity Company having for many years paid no attention to the matter), an inquiry took place, which resulted in a regulation that all the beer-sellers or purl-men should thenceforward be regularly licensed for the river-sale of beer and spirits from the Waterman's Hall, which regulation is in force to the present time.

It appears to have been the practice at some time or other in this country to infuse wormwood into beer or ale previous to drinking it, either to make it sufficiently bitter, or for some medicinal purpose. This mixture was called *purl*—why I know not, but Bailey, the philologist of the seventeenth century, so designates it. The drink originally sold on the river was purl, or this mixture, whence the title, purl-man. Now, however, the wormwood is unknown; and what is sold under the name of purl is beer warmed nearly to boiling heat, and flavoured with gin, sugar, and ginger. The river-sellers, however, still retain the name, of *purl*-men, though there is not one of them with whom I have conversed that has the remotest idea of the meaning of it.

To set up as a purl-man, some acquaintance with the river, and a certain degree of skill in the management of a boat, are absolutely necessary; as, from the frequently-crowded state of the pool, and the rapidity with which the steamers pass and repass, twisting and wriggling their way through craft of every description, the unskilful adventurer would run in continual danger of having his boat crushed like a nutshell. The purl-men, however, through long practice, are scarcely inferior to the watermen themselves in the management of their boats; and they may be seen at all times easily working their way through every obstruction, now shooting athwart the bows of a Dutch galliot or sailing-barge, then dropping astern to allow a steam-boat to pass till they at length reach the less troubled waters between the tiers of shipping.

The first thing required to become a purl-man is to procure a licence from the Waterman's Hall, which costs 3*s.* 6*d.* per annum. The next requisite is the possession of a boat. The boats used are all in the form of skiffs, rather short, but of a good breadth, and therefore less liable to capsize through the swell of the steamers, or through any other cause. Thus equipped he then goes to some of the small breweries, where he gets two "pins," or small casks of beer, each containing eighteen pots; after this he furnishes himself with a quart or two of gin from some publican, which he carries in a tin vessel with a long neck, like a bottle—an iron or tin vessel to hold the fire, with holes drilled all round to admit the air and keep the fuel burning, and a huge bell, by no means the least important portion of his fit out. Placing his two pins of beer on a frame in the stern of the boat, the spiles loosened and the brass cocks fitted in, and with his tin gin bottle close to his hand beneath the seat, two or three measures of various sizes, a black tin pot for heating the beer, and his fire pan secured on the bottom of the boat, and sending up a black smoke, he takes his seat early in the morning and pulls away from the shore, resting now and then on his oars, to ring the heavy bell that announces his approach. Those on board the vessels requiring refreshment, when they hear the bell, hail "Purl ahoy;" in an instant the oars are resumed, and the purl-man is quickly alongside the ship.

The bell of the purl-man not unfrequently performs another very important office. During the winter, when dense fogs settle down on the river, even the regular watermen sometimes lose themselves, and flounder about bewildered perhaps for hours. The direction once lost, their shouting is unheeded or unheard. The purl-man's bell, however, reaches the ear through the surrounding gloom, and indicates his position; when near enough to hear the hail of his customers, he makes his way unerringly to the spot by now and then sounding his bell; this is immediately answered by another shout, so that in a short time the glare of his fire may be distinguished as he emerges from the darkness, and glides noiselessly alongside the ship where he is wanted.

The amount of capital necessary to start in the purl line may be as follows:—I have said that the boats are all of the skiff kind—generally old ones, which they patch up and repair at but little cost. They purchase these boats at from 3*l.* to 6*l.* each. If we take the average of these two sums, the items will be—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Boat	4	10	0
Pewter measures	0	5	0
Warming-pot	0	1	6
Fire stove	0	5	0
Gallon can	0	2	6
Two pins of beer	0	8	0
Quart of gin	0	2	6
Sugar and ginger	0	1	0
Licence	0	3	6
Total	£5	19	0

Thus it requires, at the very least, a capital of 6*l.* to set up as a purl-man.

Since the Waterman's Hall has had the granting of licences, there have been upwards of 140 issued; but out of the possessors of these many are dead, some have left for other business, and others are too old and feeble to follow the occupation

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any longer, so that out of the whole number there remain only 35 purl-men on the river, and these are thus divided:—23 ply their trade in what is called "the pool," that is, from Execution Dock to Ratcliff Cross, among the coal-laden ships, and do a tolerable business amongst the sailors and the hard-working and thirsty coal-whippers; 8 purl-men follow their calling from Execution Dock to London Bridge, and sell their commodity among the ships loaded with corn, potatoes, &c.; and 4 are known to frequent the various reaches below Limehouse Hole, where the colliers are obliged to lie at times in sections, waiting till they are sold on the Coal Exchange, and some even go down the river as far as the ballast-lighters of the Trinity Company, for the purpose of supplying the ballast-getters. The purl-men cannot sell much to the unfortunate ballast-heavers, for they are suffering under all the horrors of an abominable truck system, and are compelled to take from the publicans about Wapping and Shadwell, who are their employers, large quantities of filthy stuff compounded especially for their use, for which they are charged exorbitant prices, being thus and in a variety of other ways mercilessly robbed of their earnings, so that they and their families are left in a state of almost utter destitution. One of the purl-men, whose boat is No. 44, has hoops like those used by gipsies for pitching their tents; these he fastens to each side of the boat, over which he draws a tarred canvas covering, water-proof, and beneath this he sleeps the greater part of the year, seldom going ashore except for the purpose of getting a fresh supply of liquors for trade, or food for himself. He generally casts anchor in some unfrequented nook down the river, where he enjoys all the quiet of a Thames hermit, after the labour of the day. To obtain the necessary heat during the winter, he fits a funnel to his fire-stove to carry away the smoke, and thus warmed he sleeps away in defiance of the severest weather.

It appears from the facts above given that 210*l.* is the gross amount of capital employed in this business. On an average all the year round each purl-man sells two "pins" of beer weekly, independent of gin; but little gin is thus sold in the summer, but in the winter a considerable quantity of it is used in making the purl. The men purchase the beer at 4*s.* per pin, and sell it at 4*d.* per pot, which leaves them a profit of 4*s.* on the two pins, and, allowing them 6*d.* per day profit on the gin, it gives 1*l.* 7*s.* per week profit to each, or a total to all hands of 47*l.* 5*s.* per week, and a gross total of 2457*l.* profit made on the sale of 98,280 gallons of beer, beside gin sold on the Thames in the course of the year. From this amount must be deducted 318*l.* 10*s.*, which is paid to boys, at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* per week; it being necessary for each purl-man to employ a lad to take care of the boat while he is on board the ships serving his customers, or traversing the tiers. This deduction being made leaves 61*l.* 2*s.* per annum to each purl-man as the profit on his year's trading.

The present race of purl-men, unlike the weather-beaten tars who in former times alone were licensed, are generally young men, who have been in the habit of following some river employment, and who, either from some accident having befallen them in the course of their work, or from their preferring the easier task of sitting in their boat and rowing leisurely about to continuous labour, have started in the line, and ultimately superseded the old river dealers. This is easily explained. No man labouring on the river would purchase from a stranger when he knew that his own fellow-workman was afloat, and was prepared to serve him with as good an article; besides he might not have money, and a stranger could not be expected to give trust, but his old acquaintance would make little scruple in doing so. In this way the customers of the purl-men are secured; and many of these people do so much more than the average amount of business above stated, that it is no unusual thing to see some of them, after four or five years on the river, take a public-house, spring up into the rank of licensed victuallers, and finally become men of substance.

I conversed with one who had been a coal-whipper. He stated that he had met with an accident while at work which prevented him from following coal-whipping any longer. He had fallen from the ship's side into a barge, and was for a long time in the hospital. When he came out he found he could not work, and had no other prospect before him but the union. "I thought I'd be by this time toes up in Stepney churchyard," he said, "and grinning at the lid of an old coffin." In this extremity a neighbour, a waterman, who had long known him, advised him to take to the purl business, and gave him not only the advice, but sufficient money to enable him to put it in practice. The man accordingly got a boat, and was soon afloat among his old workmates. In this line he now makes out a living for himself and his family, and reckons himself able to clear, one week with the other, from 18*s.* to 20*s.* "I should do much better," he said, "if people would only pay what they owe; but there are some who never think of paying anything." He has between 10*l.* and 20*l.* due to him, and never expects to get a farthing of it.

The following is the form of licence issued by the Watermen's Company:—

INCORPORATED 1827.

BUMBOAT.

Height 5 feet 8 inches, 30 years of age, dark hair, sallow complexion. 2nd & 3rd Vic. cap. 47, sec. 25.

I hereby certify that , of , in the parish of in the county of Middlesex, is this day registered in a book of the Company of the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of Watermen and Lightermen of the river Thames, kept for that purpose, to use, work, or navigate a boat called a skiff, named , number , for the purpose of selling, disposing of, or exposing for sale to and amongst the seamen, or other per-

sons employed in and about any of the ships or vessels upon the said river, any liquors, slops, or other articles whatsoever, between London Bridge and Limehouse Hole; but the said boat is not to be used on the said river for any other purpose than the aforesaid.

Waterman's Hall,

JAS. BANYON, *Clerk*.

Beside the regular purl-men, or, as they may be called, bumboat-men, there are two or three others who, perhaps unable to purchase a boat, and take out the licence, have nevertheless for a number of years contrived to carry on a traffic in spirits among the ships in the Thames. Their practice is to carry a flat tin bottle concealed about their person, with which they go on board the first ship in a tier, where they are well known by those who may be there employed. If the seamen wish for any spirit the river-vendor immediately supplies it, entering the name of the customers served, as none of the vendors ever receive, at the time of sale, any money for what they dispose of; they keep an account till their customers receive their wages, when they always contrive to be present, and in general succeed in getting what is owing to them. What their profits are it is impossible to tell, perhaps they may equal those of the regular purl-man, for they go on board of almost every ship in the course of the day. When their tin bottle is empty they go on shore to replenish it, doing so time after time if necessary.

It is remarkable that although these people are perfectly well known to every purl-man on the river, who have seen them day by day, for many years going on board the various ships, and are thoroughly cognizant of the purpose of their visits, there has never been any information laid against them, nor have they been in any way interrupted in their business.

There is one of these river spirit-sellers who has pursued the avocation for the greater part of his life; he is a native of the south of Ireland, now very old, and a little shrivelled-up man. He may still be seen every day, going from ship to ship by scrambling over the quarters where they are lashed together in tiers—a feat sometimes attended with danger to the young and strong; yet he works his way with the agility of a man of 20, gets on board the ship he wants, and when there, were he not so well known, he might be thought to be some official sent to take an inventory of the contents of the ship, for he has at all times an ink-bottle hanging from one of his coat buttons, a pen stuck over his ear, spectacles on his nose, a book in his hand, and really has all the appearance of a man determined on doing business of some sort or other. He possesses a sort of ubiquity, for go where you will through any part of the pool you are sure to meet him. He seems to be expected everywhere; no one appears to be surprised at his presence. Captains and mates pass him by unnoticed and unquestioned. As suddenly as he comes does he disappear, to start up in some other place. His visits are so regular, that it would scarcely look like being on board ship if "old D——, the whiskey man," as he is called, did not make his appearance some time during the day, for he seems to be in some strange way identified with the river, and with every ship that frequents it.

OF THE NUMBERS, CAPITAL, AND INCOME OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND ARTICLES, LIVE ANIMALS, MINERAL PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

THE hawkers of second-hand articles, live animals, mineral productions, and natural curiosities, form, as we have seen, large important classes of the street-sellers. According to the facts already given, there appear to be at present in the streets, 90 sellers of metal wares, including the sellers of second-hand trays and Italian-irons; 30 sellers of old linen, as wrappers and towelling; 80 vendors of second-hand (burnt) linen and calico; 30 sellers of curtains; 30 sellers of carpeting, &c.; 30 sellers of bed-ticking, &c.; 6 sellers of old crockery and glass; 25 sellers of old musical instruments; 6 vendors of second-hand weapons; 6 sellers of old curiosities; 6 vendors of telescopes and pocket glasses; 30 to 40 sellers of other miscellaneous second-hand articles; 100 sellers of men's second-hand clothes; 30 sellers of old boots and shoes; 15 vendors of old hats; 50 sellers of women's second-hand apparel; 30 vendors of second-hand bonnets, and 10 sellers of old furs; 116 sellers of second-hand articles at Smithfield-market;—making altogether 725 street-sellers of second-hand commodities.

But some of the above trades are of a temporary character only, as in the case of the vendors of old linen towelling or wrappers, carpets, bed-ticking, &c.—the same persons who sell the one often selling the others; the towels and wrappers, moreover, are offered for sale only on the Monday and Saturday nights. Assuming, then, that upwards of 100 or one-sixth of the above number sell two different second-hand articles, or are not continually employed at that department of street-traffic, we find the total number of street-sellers belonging to this class to be about 500.

Concerning the number selling live animals in the streets, there are 50 men vending fancy and sporting dogs; 200 sellers and "duffers" of English birds; 10 sellers of parrots and other foreign birds; 3 sellers of birds'-nests, &c.; 20 vendors of squirrels; 6 sellers of leverets and wild rabbits; 35 vendors of gold and silver fish; 20 vendors of tortoises; and 14 sellers of snails, frogs, worms, &c.; or, allowing for the temporary and mixed character of many of these trades, we may say that there are 200 constantly engaged in this branch of street-commerce.

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Then of the street-sellers of mineral productions and natural curiosities, there are 216 vendors of coals; 1500 sellers of coke; 14 sellers of tan-turf; 150 vendors of salt; 70 sellers of sand; 26 sellers of shells; or 1969 in all. From this number the sellers of shells must be deducted, as the shell-trade is not a special branch of street-traffic. We may, therefore, assert that the number of people engaged in this latter class of street-business amounts to about 1900.

Now, adding all these sums together, we have the following table as to the numbers of individuals comprised in the *first* division of the London street-folk, viz. the street-sellers:—

1. Costermongers (including men, women, and children engaged in the sale of fish, fruit, vegetables, game, poultry, flowers, &c.)	30,000
2. Street-sellers of "green stuff," including water-cresses, chickweed and gru'n'sel, turf, &c.	2,000
3. Street-sellers of eatables and drinkables	4,000
4. Street-sellers of stationery, literature, and fine arts	1,000
5. Street-sellers of manufactured articles of metal, crockery, glass, textile, chemical, and miscellaneous substances	4,000
6. Street-sellers of second-hand articles, including the sellers of old metal articles, old glass, old linen, old clothes, old shoes, &c.	500
7. Street-sellers of live animals, as dogs, birds, gold and silver fish, squirrels, leverets, tortoises, snails, &c.	200
8. Street-sellers of mineral productions and natural curiosities, as coals, coke, tan-turf, salt, sand, shells, &c.	1,900
TOTAL NUMBER OF STREET-SELLERS	43,640

These numbers, it should be remembered, are given rather as an approximation to the truth than as the absolute fact. It would therefore be safer to say, making all due allowance for the temporary and mixed character of many branches of street-commerce, that there are about 40,000 people engaged in selling articles in the streets of London. I am induced to believe that this is very near the real number of street-sellers, from the *wholesale* returns of the places where the street-sellers purchase their goods, and which I have always made a point of collecting from the best authorities connected with the various branches of street-traffic. The statistics of the fish and green markets, the swag-shops, the old clothes exchange, the bird-dealers, which I have caused to be collected for the first time in this country, all tend to corroborate this estimate.

The next fact to be evolved is the amount of capital invested in the street-sale of Second-hand Articles, of Live Animals, and of Mineral Productions. And, first, as to the money employed in the Second-hand Street-Trade.

The following tables will show the amount of capital invested in this branch of street-business.

	£	s.	d.
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Metal Wares.			
30 stalls, 5s. each; 20 barrows, 1l. each; stock-money for 50 vendors, at 10s. per head	52	10	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Metal Trays.			
Stock-money for 20 sellers, at 5s. each	5	0	0
Street-Sellers of other Second-hand Metal Articles, as Italian and Flat Irons.			
Stock-money for 20 vendors, at 5s. each; 20 stalls, at 3s. each	8	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Linen, &c.			
Stock-money for 30 vendors, at 5s. per head	7	10	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand (burnt) Linen and Calico.			
Stock-money for 80 vendors, at 10s. each	40	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Curtains.			
Stock-money for 30 sellers, at 5s. each	7	10	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Carpeting, Flannels, Stocking-legs, &c.			
Stock-money for 30 sellers, at 6s. each	9	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Bed-ticking, Sacking, Fringe, &c.			
Stock-money for 30 sellers, at 4s. each	6	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Glass and Crockery.			
6 barrows, 15s. each; 6 baskets, 1s. 6d. each; stock-money for 6 vendors, at 5s. each	6	9	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Miscellaneous Articles.			
Stock-money for 5 vendors, at 15s. each	3	15	0
Street-Sellers and Duffers of Second-hand Music.			
Stock-money for 25 sellers, at 1l. each	25	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Weapons.			
Stock-money for 6 vendors, at 1l. each	6	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Curiosities.			
6 barrows, 15s. each; stock-money for 6 vendors, at 15s. per head	9	0	0
Street-Sellers of Second-hand Telescopes and Pocket-Glasses.			
Stock-money for 6 vendors, at 4l. each	24	0	0
Street-Sellers of other Miscellaneous Articles.			
30 stalls, 5s. each; stock-money for 30 sellers, at 15s. each	30	0	0

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Street-Sellers of Men's Second-hand Clothes.

	£	s.	d.
100 linen bags, at 2s. each; stock-money for 100 sellers, at 15s. each .	85	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Boots and Shoes.

10 stalls, at 3s. each; 30 baskets, at 2s. 6d. each; stock-money for 30 sellers, at 10s. each	20	5	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Hats.

30 irons, two to each man, at 2s. each; 60 blocks, at 1s. 6d. per block; stock-money for 15 vendors, at 10s. each .	15	0	0

Street-Sellers of Women's Second-hand Apparel.

Stock-money for 50 sellers, at 10s. each; 50 baskets, at 2s. 6d. each .	31	5	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Bonnets.

10 umbrellas, at 3s. each; 30 baskets, at 2s. 6d. each; stock-money for 30 sellers, at 5s. each	12	15	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Furs.

Stock-money for 10 vendors, at 7s. 6d. each	3	15	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Articles in Smithfield-market.

30 sellers of harness sets and collars, at an average capital of 15s. each; 6 sellers of saddles and pads, at 15s. each; 10 sellers of bits, at 3s. each; 6 sellers of wheel-springs and trays, at 15s. each; 6 sellers of boards and trestles for stalls, at 10s. each; 20 sellers of barrows, small carts, and trucks, at 5l. each; 6 sellers of goat carriages, at 3l. each; 6 sellers of shooting galleries and guns for ditto, and drums for costers, at 15s. each; 10 sellers of measures, weights, and scales, at 25s. each; 5 sellers of potato cans and roasted-chestnut apparatus, at 5l. each; 3 sellers of ginger-beer trucks, at 5l. each; 6 sellers of pea-soup cans and pickled-eel kettles, 15s. each; 2 sellers of elder-wine vessels, at 15s. each. Thus we find that the average number of street-sellers frequenting Smithfield-market once a week is 116, and the average capital	217	0	0

TOTAL AMOUNT OF CAPITAL BELONGING TO STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND ARTICLES	621	14	0

STREET-SELLERS OF LIVE ANIMALS.

Street-Sellers of Dogs.

Stock-money for 20 sellers (including kennels and keep), at 5l. 15s. each seller	115	0	0

Street-Sellers and Duffers of Birds (English).

	£	s.	d.
2400 small cages (reckoning 12 to each seller), at 6d. each; 1200 long cages (allowing 6 cages to each seller), at 2s. each; 1800 large cages (averaging 9 cages to each seller), at 2s. 6d. each. Stock-money for 200 sellers, at 20s. each	605	0	0

Street-Sellers of Parrots, &c.

20 cages, at 10s. each; stock-money for 10 sellers, at 30s. each .	25	0	0

Street-Sellers of Birds'-Nests.

3 hamper baskets, at 6d. each . .		1	6

Street-Sellers of Squirrels.

Stock-money for 20 vendors, at 10s. each	10	0	0

Street-Sellers of Leverets, Wild Rabbits, &c.

6 baskets, at 2s. each; stock-money for 6 vendors, at 5s. each	2	2	0

Street-Sellers of Gold and Silver Fish.

35 glass globes, at 2s. each; 35 small nets, at 6d. each; stock-money for 35 vendors, at 15s. each . . .	30	12	6

Street-Sellers of Tortoises.

Stock-money for 20 vendors, at 10s. each	25	0	0

Street-Sellers of Snails, Frogs, Worms, Snakes, Hedgehogs, &c.

14 baskets, at 1s. each		14	0

TOTAL AMOUNT OF CAPITAL BELONGING TO STREET-SELLERS OF LIVE ANIMALS	798	10	0

STREET-SELLERS OF MINERAL PRODUCTIONS AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

Street-Sellers of Coals.

30 two-horse vans, at 70l. each; 100 horses, at 20l. each; 100 carts, at 10l. each; 160 horses, at 10l. each; 20 donkey or pony carts, at 1l. each; 20 donkeys or ponies, at 1l. 10s. each; 210 sets of weights and scales, at 1l. 10s. each; stock-money for 210 vendors, at 2l. each	7,485	0	0

Street-Sellers of Coke.

100 vans, at 70l. each; 100 horses, at 20l. each; 300 carts, at 10l. each; 300 horses, at 10l. each; 500 donkey-carts, at 1l. each; 500 donkeys, at 1l. each; 200 trucks and barrows, at 10s. each; 4800 sacks for the 100 vans, at 3s. 6d. each; 3600 sacks for the 300 carts; 3000 sacks for the 500 donkey carts; 1652 sacks for the 550 trucks and barrows; 300 sacks for the 50 women; stock-money for 1500 vendors, at 1l. per head . . .	19,936	12	0

Street-Sellers of Tan-Turf.

12 donkeys and carts, at 2l. each;

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	£	s.	d.
2 trucks, at 15s. each; stock-money for 14 vendors, at 10s. each . . .	32	10	0

Street-Sellers of Salt.

75 donkeys and carts, at 2l. 5s. each; 75 barrows, at 10s. each; stock-money for 150 vendors, at 6s. each	251	5	0

Street-Sellers of Sand.

20 horses, at 10l. each; 20 carts, at 3l. each; 60 baskets, at 2s. each; wages of 30 men, at 3s. per day for each; expenses for keep of 20 horses, at 10s. per head; estimated stock-money for 30 sellers, at 5s. each; 40 barrows, at 15s. each; stock-money for the barrow-men, at 1s. 6d. each .	320	5	0

Street-Sellers of Shells.

Stock-money for 70 vendors, at 5s. each	17	10	0

TOTAL CAPITAL BELONGING TO STREET-SELLERS OF MINERAL PRODUCTIONS, ETC.	28,043	2	0

River-Sellers of Purl.

35 boats, at 4l. 10s. each; 35 sets of measures, at 5s. the set; 35 warming pots, at 1s. 6d. each; 35 fire-stoves, at 5s. each; 35 gallon cans, at 2s. 6d. each; 70 "pins" of beer, at 4s. per "pin;" 35 quarts of gin, at 2s. 6d. the quart; 35 licences, at 3s. 6d.; stock-money for spice, &c., at 1s. each	208	5	0

Hence it would appear that the gross amount of property belonging to the street-sellers may be reckoned as follows:—

Value of stock-in-trade belonging to costermongers	25,000	0	0
Ditto street-sellers of green-stuff .	149	0	0
Ditto street-sellers of eatables and drinkables	9,000	0	0
Ditto street-sellers of stationery, literature, and the fine arts . . .	400	0	0
Ditto street-sellers of manufactured articles	2,800	0	0
Ditto street-sellers of second-hand articles	621	14	0
Ditto street-sellers of live animals	798	10	0
Ditto street-sellers of mineral productions, &c.	28,043	2	0
Ditto river-sellers of purl . . .	208	5	0

TOTAL AMOUNT OF CAPITAL BELONGING TO THE LONDON STREET-SELLERS	67,023	11	0

The gross value of the stock in trade of the London street-sellers may then be estimated at about 60,000l.

INCOME, OR "TAKINGS," OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND ARTICLES.

We have now to estimate the receipts of each of the above-mentioned classes.

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Metal Wares.

	£	s.	d.
I was told by several in this trade that there were 200 old metal sellers in the streets, but, from the best information at my command, not more than 50 appear to be strictly *street*-sellers, unconnected with shopkeeping. Estimating a weekly receipt, per individual, of 15s. (half being profit), the yearly street outlay among this body amounts to . .	1,950	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Metal-Trays, &c.

Calculating that 20 persons take in the one or two nights' sale 4s. a week each, on second-hand trays (33 per cent. being the rate of profit), the street expenditure amounts yearly to	208	0	0

Street-Sellers of other Second-hand Metal Articles, as Italian and Flat Irons, &c.

There are, I am informed, 20 persons selling Italian and flat irons regularly throughout the year in the streets of London; each takes upon an average 6s. weekly, which gives an annual expenditure of upwards of	312	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Linen, &c.

There are at present 30 men and women who sell towelling and canvas wrappers in the streets on Saturday and Monday nights, each taking in the sale of those articles 9s. per week, thus giving an annual outlay of	702	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand (burnt) Linen and Calico.

The most intelligent man whom I met with in this trade calculated that there were 80 of these second-hand street-folk plying their trade two nights in the week; and that they took 8s. each weekly, about half of it being profit; thus the annual street expenditure would be	1,664	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Curtains.

From the best data at my command there are 30 individuals who are engaged in the street-sale of second-hand curtains, and reckoning the weekly takings of each to be 5s., we find the yearly sum spent in the streets upon second-hand curtains amounts to	390	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Carpeting, Flannels, Stocking-legs, &c.

I am informed that the same persons selling curtains sell also second-hand carpeting, &c.; their weekly average takings appear to be about 6s. each in the sale of the above articles, thus we have a yearly outlay of. . . .	468	0	0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Bed-ticking, Sacking, Fringe, &c.

The street-sellers of curtains, car-

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peting, &c., of whom there are 30, are also the street-sellers of bed-ticking, sacking, fringe, &c. Their weekly takings for the sale of these articles amount to 4s. each. Hence we find that the sum spent yearly in the streets upon the purchase of bed-ticking, &c., amounts to . . . . . £312 0s. 0d.

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Glass and Crockery.

Calculating that each of the six dealers takes 12s. weekly, with a profit of 6s. or 7s., we find there is annually expended in this department of street-commerce 187 4 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Miscellaneous Articles.

From the best data I have been able to obtain, it appears that there are five street-sellers engaged in the sale of these second-hand articles of amusement, and the receipts of the whole are 10*l.* weekly, about half being profit, thus giving a yearly expenditure of 520 0 0

Street-Sellers and Duffers of Second-hand Music.

A broker who was engaged in this traffic estimated—and an intelligent street-seller agreed in the computation—that, take the year through, at least 25 individuals are regularly, but few of them fully, occupied with this traffic, and that their weekly takings average 30s. each, or an aggregate yearly amount of 1950*l.* The weekly profits run from 10s. to 15s., and sometimes the well-known dealers clear 40s. or 50s. a week, while others do not take 5s. 1,950 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Weapons.

In this traffic it may be estimated, I am assured, that there are 20 men engaged, each taking, as an average, 1*l.* a week. In some weeks a man may take 5*l.*; in the next month he may sell no weapons at all. From 30 to 50 per cent. is the usual rate of profit, and the yearly street outlay on these second-hand offensive or defensive weapons is 1,040 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Curiosities.

There are not now more than six men who carry on this trade apart from other commerce. Their average takings are 15s. weekly each man, about two-thirds being profit, or early 234 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Telescopes and Pocket-Glasses.

There are only six men at present engaged in the sale of telescopes and pocket-glasses, and their weekly average takings are 30s. each, giving a yearly expenditure in the streets of £468 0s. 0d.

Street-Sellers of other Second-hand Miscellaneous Articles.

If we reckon that there are 30 street-sellers carrying on a traffic in second-hand miscellaneous articles, and that each takes 10s. weekly, we find the annual outlay in the streets upon these articles amounts to . . 780 0 0

Street-Sellers of Men's Second-hand Clothes.

The street-sale of men's second-hand wearing apparel is carried on principally by the Irish and others. From the best information I can gather, there appear to be upwards of 1200 old clothes men buying left-off apparel in the metropolis, one-third of whom are Irish. There are, however, not more than 100 of these who sell in the streets the articles they collect; the average-takings of each of the sellers are about 20s. weekly, their trading being chiefly on the Saturday nights and Sunday mornings. Their profits are from 50 to 60 per cent. Estimating the number of sellers at 100, and their weekly takings at 20s. each, we have an annual expenditure of 5,200 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Boots and Shoes.

There are at present about 30 individuals engaged in the street-sale of second-hand boots and shoes of all kinds; some take as much as 30s. weekly, while others do not take more than half that amount; their profits being about 50 per cent. Reckoning that the weekly average takings are 20s. each, we have a yearly expenditure on second-hand boots and shoes of 1,560 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Hats.

Throughout the year there are not more than 15 men constantly "working" this branch of street-traffic. The average weekly gains of each are about 10s., and in order to clear that sum they must take 20s. Hence the gross gains of the class will be 390*l.* per annum, while the sum yearly expended in the streets upon second-hand hats will amount altogether to 780 0 0

Street-Sellers of Women's Second-hand Apparel.

The number of persons engaged in the street-sale of women's second-hand apparel is about 50, each of whom take, upon an average, 15s. per week; one-half of this is clear gain. Thus we find the annual outlay in

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THE BONE-GRUBBER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.

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the streets upon women's second-hand apparel is no less than . . . . £1,950 0s. 0d.

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Bonnets.

There are at present 30 persons (nearly one-half of whom are milliners, and the others street-sellers) who sell second-hand straw and other bonnets; some of these are placed in an umbrella turned upside down, while others are spread upon a wrapper on the stones. The average takings of this class of street-sellers are about 12*s.* each per week, and their clear gains not more than one-half, thus giving a yearly expenditure of 936 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Furs.

During five months of the year there are as many as 8 or 12 persons who sell furs in the street-markets on Saturday nights, Sunday mornings, and Monday nights. The weekly average takings of each is about 12*s.*, nearly three-fourths of which is clear profit. Reckoning that 10 individuals are engaged 20 weeks during the year, and that each of these takes weekly 12*s.*, we find the sum annually expended in the streets on furs amounts to 120 0 0

Street-Sellers of Second-hand Articles in Smithfield-market.

I am informed, by those who are in a position to know, that there are sold on an average every year in Smithfield-market about 624 sets of harness, at 14*s.* per set; 1560 collars, at 2*s.* each; 686 pads, at 1*s.* each; 1560 saddles, at 5*s.* each; 936 bits, at 6*d.* each; 520 pair of wheels, at 10*s.* per pair; 624 pair of springs, at 8*s.* 4*d.* per pair; 832 pair of trestles, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per pair; 520 boards, at 4*s.* each; 1820 barrows, at 25*s.* each; 312 trucks, at 50*s.* each; 208 trays, at 1*s.* 3*d.* each; 1040 small carts, at 63*s.* each; 156 goat-carriages, at 20*s.* each; 520 shooting-galleries, at 14*s.* each; 312 guns for shooting-galleries, at 10*s.* each; 1040 drums for costers, at 3*s.* each; 2080 measures, at 3*d.* each; 2080 pair of large scales, at 5*s.* per pair; 2080 pair of hand-scales, at 5*d.* per pair; 30 roasted chestnut-apparatus, at 20*s.* each; 100 ginger-beer trucks, at 30*s.* each; 20 eel-kettles, at 5*s.* each; 100 potato-cans, at 17*s.* each; 10 pea-soup cans, at 5*s.* each; 40 elderwine vessels, at 8*s.* each; giving a yearly expenditure of 10,242 3 8

TOTAL SUM OF MONEY ANNUALLY TAKEN BY THE STREET-SELLERS OF SECOND-HAND ARTICLES . . . 33,461 1 4

STREET-SELLERS OF LIVE ANIMALS.

Street-Sellers of Dogs (Fancy Pets).

From the best data it appears that each hawker sells "four or five occasionally in one week in the summer, when trade's brisk and days are long, and only two or three the next week, when trade may be flat, and during each week in winter, when there isn't the same chance." Calculating, then, that seven dogs are sold by each hawker in a fortnight, at an average price of 50*s.* each (many fetch 3*l.*, 4*l.*, and 5*l.*), and supposing that but 20 men are trading in this line the year through, we find that no less a sum is yearly expended in this street-trade than . . £9,100 0*s.* 0*d.*

Street-Sellers of Sporting Dogs.

The amount "turned over" in the trade in sporting dogs yearly, in London, is computed by the best informed at about 12,000 0 0

Street-Sellers and Duffers of Live Birds. (English).

There are in the metropolis 200 street-sellers of English birds, who may be said to sell among them 7000 linnets, at 3*d.* each; 3000 bullfinches, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 400 piping bullfinches, at 63*s.* each; 7000 goldfinches, at 9*d.* each; 1500 chaffinches, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 700 greenfinches, at 3*d.* each; 6000 larks, at 1*s.* each; 200 nightingales, at 1*s.* each; 600 redbreasts, at 1*s.* each; 3500 thrushes and thrustles, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 1400 blackbirds, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each; 1000 canaries, at 1*s.* each; 10,000 sparrows, at 1*d.* each; 1500 starlings, at 1*s.* 6*d.* each; 500 magpies and jackdaws, at 9*d.* each; 300 redpoles, at 9*d.* each; 150 blackcaps, at 4*d.* each; 2000 "duffed," birds, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each. Thus making the sum annually expended in the purchase of birds in the streets, amount to 3,624 12 2

Street-Sellers of Parrots, &c.

The number of individuals at present hawking parrots and other foreign birds in the streets is 10, who sell among them during the year about 500 birds. Reckoning each bird to sell at 1*l.*, we find the annual outlay upon parrots bought in the streets to be 500*l.*; adding to this the sale of 110 Java sparrows and St. Helena birds, as Wax-bills and Red-beaks at 1*s.* 6*d.* each, we have for the sum yearly expended in the streets on the sale of foreign birds 508 5 0

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Street-Sellers of Birds'-Nests.

	£	s.	d.
There are at present only three persons hawking birds'-nests, &c., in the streets during the season, which lasts from May to August; these street-sellers sell among them 400 nests, at 2½d. each; 144 snakes, at 1s. 6d. each; 4 hedgehogs, at 1s. each; and about 2s.'s worth of snails. This makes the weekly income of each amount to about 8s. 6d. during a period of 12 weeks in the summer, and the sum annually expended on these articles to come to	15	6	0

Street-Sellers of Squirrels.

For five months of the year there are 20 men selling squirrels in the streets, at from 20 to 50 per cent. profit, and averaging a weekly sale of six each. The average price is from 2s. to 2s. 6d. Thus 2400 squirrels are vended yearly in the streets, at a cost to the public of 240 0 0

Street-Sellers of Leverets, Wild Rabbits, &c.

During the year there are about six individuals exposing for sale in the streets young hares and wild rabbits. These persons sell among them 300 leverets, at 1s. 6d. each; and 400 young wild-rabbits, at 4d. each, giving a yearly outlay of 29 3 4

Street-Sellers of Gold and Silver Fish.

If we calculate, in order to allow for the cessation of the trade during the winter, and often in the summer when costermongering is at its best, that but 35 gold-fish sellers hawk in the streets and that for but half a year, each selling six dozen weekly, at 12s. the dozen, we find 65,520 fish sold, at an outlay of 3,276 0 0

Street-Sellers of Tortoises.

Estimating the number of individuals selling tortoises to be 20, and the number of tortoises sold to be 10,000, at an average price of 8d. each, we find there is expended yearly upon these creatures upwards of . . 333 6 8

Street-Sellers of Snails, Frogs, &c.

There are 14 snail gatherers, and they, on an average, gather six dozen quarts each in a year, which supplies a total of 12,096 quarts of snails. The labourers in the gardens, I am informed, gather somewhat more than an equal quantity, the greater part being sold to the bird-shops; so that altogether the supply of snails for the caged thrushes and blackbirds of London is about two millions and a half. Computing them at 24,000 quarts, and at 2d. a quart, the annual outlay is 200l. Besides snails, there are collected annually 500 frogs and 18 toads, at 1d. each, giving a yearly expenditure of 202 3 2

TOTAL, OR GROSS "TAKINGS," OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF LIVE ANIMALS 23,868 16 4

INCOME, OR "TAKINGS," OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MINERAL PRODUCTIONS AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

Street-Sellers of Coals.

The number of individuals engaged in the street-sale of coals is 210; these distribute 2940 tons of coals weekly, giving an annual trade of 152,880 tons, at 1l. per ton, and consequently a yearly expenditure by the poor of 152,880 0 0

Street-Sellers of Coke.

The number of individuals engaged in the street-sale of coke is 1500; and the total quantity of coke sold annually in the streets is computed at about 1,400,000 chaldrons. These are purchased at the gas factories at an average price of 8s. per chaldron. Reckoning that this is sold at 4s. per chaldron for profit, we find that the total gains of the whole class amount to 280,000l. per annum, and their gross annual takings to . . . 840,000 0 0

Street-Sellers of Tan-Turf.

The number of tan-turf sellers in the metropolis is estimated at 14; each of these dispose of, upon an average, 20,000 per week, during the year; selling them at 1s. per hundred, and realizing a profit of 4½d. for each hundred. This makes the annual outlay in the street-sale of the above article amount to . . 7,280 0 0

Street-Sellers of Salt.

There are at present 150 individuals hawking salt in the several streets of London; each of these pay at the rate of 2s. per cwt. for the salt, and retail it at 3 lbs. for 1d., which leaves 1s. 1d. profit on every cwt. One day with another, wet and dry, each of the street-sellers disposes of about 2½ cwt., or 18 tons 15 cwt. per day for all hands, and this, deducting Sundays, makes 5868 tons 15 cwt. in the course of the year. The profit of 1s. 1d. per cwt. amounts to a yearly aggregate profit of 6357l. 16s. 8d., or about 42l. per annum for each person in the trade; while the sum annually expended upon this article in the streets amounts to 18,095 6 3

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Street-Sellers of Sand. £ s. d.

Calculating the sale at a load of sand per day, for each horse and cart, at 21*s.* per load, we find the sum annually expended in house-sand to be 6573*l.*; adding to this the sum of 234*l.* spent yearly in bird-sand, the total street-expenditure is . 6,807 0 0

Street-Sellers of Shells.

There are about 50 individuals disposing of shells at different periods of the year. These sell among them 1,000,000 at 1*d.* each, giving an annual expenditure of 4,166 13 4

TOTAL, OR GROSS TAKINGS, OF THE STREET-SELLERS OF MINERAL PRODUCTIONS AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES £1,029,228 19 7

River-Sellers of Purl.

There are at present 35 men following the trade of purl-selling on the river Thames to colliers. The weekly profits of this class amount to 117*l.* 5*s.* per week, and yearly to 6097*l.*, while their annual takings is 8,190 0 0

Now, adding together the above and the other foregone results, we arrive at the following estimate as to the amount of money annually expended on the several articles purchased in the streets of the metropolis.

		£
"Wet" fish	£1,177,200	
Dry fish	127,000	
Shell fish	156,600	
Fish of all kinds		£1,460,800
Vegetables	£292,400	
Green fruit	332,200	
Dry fruit	1,000	
Fruit and Vegetables		625,600
Game, poultry, rabbits, &c.		80,000
Flowers, roots, &c.		14,800
Water-cresses		13,900
Chickweed, gru'nsel, and turf for birds		14,570
Eatables and drinkables		203,100
Stationery, literature, and fine arts		33,400
Manufactured articles		188,200
Second-hand articles		29,900
Live animals (*including dogs, birds, and gold fish*)		29,300
Mineral productions (*as coals, coke, salt, sand, &c.*)		1,022,700
TOTAL SUM EXPENDED UPON THE VARIOUS ARTICLES VENDED BY THE STREET-SELLERS		£3,716,270

Hence it appears that the street-sellers, of all ages, in the metropolis are about forty thousand in number—their stock-in-trade is worth about sixty thousand pounds—and their gross annual takings or receipts amount to no less than three millions and a half sterling.

OF THE STREET-BUYERS.

THE persons who traverse the streets, or call periodically at certain places to purchase articles which are usually sold at the door or within the house, are—according to the division I laid down in the first number of this work—STREET-BUYERS. The largest, and, in every respect, the most remarkable body of these traders, are the buyers of old clothes, and of them I shall speak separately, devoting at the same time some space to the STREET-JEWS. It will also be necessary to give a brief account of the Jews generally, for they are still a peculiar race, and street and shop-trading among them are in many respects closely blended.

The principal things bought by the itinerant purchasers consist of waste-paper, hare and rabbit skins, old umbrellas and parasols, bottles and glass, broken metal, rags, dripping, grease, bones, tea-leaves, and old clothes.

With the exception of the buyers of waste-paper, among whom are many active, energetic, and intelligent men, the street-buyers are of the lower sort, both as to means and intelligence. The only further exception, perhaps, which I need notice here is, that among some umbrella-buyers, there is considerable smartness, and sometimes, in the repair or renewal of the ribs, &c., a slight degree of skill. The other street-purchasers—such as the hare-skin and old metal and rag buyers, are often old and infirm people of both sexes, of whom—perhaps by reason of their infirmities—not a few have been in the trade from their childhood, and are as well known by sight in their respective rounds, as was the "long-remembered beggar" in former times.

It is usually the lot of a poor person who has been driven to the streets, or has adopted such a life when an adult, to *sell* trifling things—such as are light to carry and require a small outlay—in advanced age. Old men and women totter about offering lucifer-matches, boot and stay-laces, penny memorandum books, and such like. But the elder portion of the street-folk I have now to speak of do not sell, but *buy*. The street-seller commends his wares, their cheapness, and excellence. The same sort of man, when a buyer, depreciates everything offered to him, in order to ensure a cheaper bargain, while many of the things thus obtained find their way into street-sale, and are then as much commended for cheapness and goodness, as if they were the stock-in-trade of an acute slop advertisement-monger, and this is done sometimes by the very man who, when a buyer, condemned them as utterly valueless. But this is common to all trades.

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OF THE STREET-BUYERS OF RAGS, BROKEN METAL, BOTTLES, GLASS, AND BONES.

I CLASS all these articles under one head, for, on inquiry, I find no individual supporting himself by the trading in any one of them. I shall, therefore, describe the buyers of rags, broken metal, bottles, glass, and bones, as a body of street-traders, but take the articles in which they traffic seriatim, pointing out in what degree they are, or have been, wholly or partially, the staple of several distinct callings.

The traders in these things are not unprosperous men. The poor creatures who may be seen picking up rags in the street are "street-finders," and not buyers. It is the same with the poor old men who may be seen bending under an unsavoury sack of bones. The bones have been found, or have been given for charity, and are not purchased. One feeble old man whom I met with, his eyes fixed on the middle of the carriage-way in the Old St. Pancras-road, and with whom I had some conversation, told me that the best friend he had in the world was a gentleman who lived in a large house near the Regent's-park, and gave him the bones which his dogs had done with! "If I can only see hisself, sir," said the old man, "he's sure to give me any coppers he has in his coat-pocket, and that's a very great thing to a poor man like me. O, yes, I'll buy bones, if I have any ha'pence, rather than go without them; but I pick them up, or have them given to me mostly."

The street-buyers, who are only buyers, have barrows, sometimes even carts with donkeys, and, as they themselves describe it, they "buy everything." These men are little seen in London, for they "work" the more secluded courts, streets, and alleys, when in town; but their most frequented rounds are the poorer parts of the populous suburbs. There are many in Croydon, Woolwich, Greenwich, and Deptford. "It's no use," a man who had been in the trade said to me, "such as us calling at fine houses to know if they've any old keys to sell! No, we trades with the poor." Often, however, they deal with the servants of the wealthy; and their usual mode of business in such cases is to leave a bill at the house a few hours previous to their visit. This document has frequently the royal arms at the head of it, and asserts that the "firm" has been established since the year ——, which is seldom less than half a century. The hand-bill usually consists of a short preface as to the increased demand for rags on the part of the paper-makers, and this is followed by a liberal offer to give the very best prices for any old linen, or old metal, bottles, rope, stair-rods, locks, keys, dripping, carpeting, &c., "in fact, no rubbish or lumber, however worthless, will be refused;" and generally concludes with a request that this "bill" may be shown to the mistress of the house and preserved, as it will be called for in a couple of hours.

The papers are delivered by one of the "firm," who marks on the door a sign indicative of the houses at which the bill has been taken in, and the probable reception there of the gentleman who is to follow him. The road taken is also pointed by marks before explained, see vol. i. pp. 218 and 247. These men are residents in all quarters within 20 miles of London, being most numerous in the places at no great distance from the Thames. They work their way from their suburban residences to London, which, of course, is the mart, or "exchange," for their wares. The reason why the suburbs are preferred is that in those parts the possessors of such things as broken metal, &c., cannot so readily resort to a marine-store dealer's as they can in town. I am informed, however, that the shops of the marine-store men are on the increase in the more densely-peopled suburbs; still the dwellings of the poor are often widely scattered in those parts, and few will go a mile to sell any old thing. They wait in preference, unless very needy, for the *visit* of the street-buyer.

A good many years ago—perhaps until 30 years back—*rags*, and especially white and good linen rags, were among the things most zealously inquired for by street-buyers, and then 3*d*. a pound was a price readily paid. Subsequently the paper-manufacturers brought to great and economical perfection the process of boiling rags in lye and bleaching them with chlorine, so that colour became less a desideratum. A few years after the peace of 1815, moreover, the foreign trade in rags increased rapidly. At the present time, about 1200 tons of woollen rags, and upwards of 10,000 tons of linen rags, are imported yearly. These 10,000 tons give us but a vague notion of the real amount. I may therefore mention that, when reduced to a more definite quantity, they show a total of no less than twenty-two millions four hundred thousand pounds. The woollen rags are imported the most largely from Hamburg and Bremen, the price being from 5*l*. to 17*l*. the ton. Linen rags, which average nearly 20*l*. the ton, are imported from the same places, and from several Italian ports, more especially those in Sicily. Among these ports are Palermo, Messina, Ancona, Leghorn, and Trieste (the Trieste rags being gathered in Hungary). The value of the rags annually brought to this country is no less than 200,000*l*. What the native rags may be worth, there are no facts on which to ground an estimate; but supposing each person of the 20,000,000 in Great Britain to produce one pound of rags annually, then the rags of this country may be valued at very nearly the same price as the foreign ones, so that the gross value of the rags of Great Britain imported and produced at home, would, in such a case, amount to 400,000*l*. From France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and other continental kingdoms, the exportation of rags is prohibited, nor can so bulky and low-priced a commodity be smuggled to advantage.

Of this large sum of rags, which is independent of what is collected in the United Kingdom, the Americans are purchasers on an extensive scale. The wear of cotton is almost unknown in many parts of Italy, Germany, and Hungary; and al-

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although the linen in use is coarse and, compared to the Irish, Scotch, or English, rudely manufactured, the foreign rags *are* generally linen, and therefore are preferred at the paper mills. The street-buyers in this country, however, make less distinction than ever, as regards price, between linen and cotton rags.

The linen rag-buying is still prosecuted extensively by itinerant "gatherers" in the country, and in the further neighbourhoods of London, but the collection is not to the extent it was formerly. The price is lower, and, owing to the foreign trade, the demand is less urgent; so common, too, is now the wear of cotton, and so much smaller that of linen, that many people will not sell linen rags, but reserve them for use in case of cuts and wounds, or for giving to their poor neighbours on any such emergency. This was done doubtlessly to as great, or to a greater extent, in the old times, but linen rags were more plentiful then, for cotton shirting was not woven to the perfection seen at present, and many good country housewives spun their own linen sheetings and shirtings.

A street-buyer of the class I have described, upon presenting himself at any house, offers to buy rags, broken metal, or glass, and for rags especially there is often a serious bargaining, and sometimes, I was told by an itinerant street-seller, who had been an ear-witness, a little joking not of the most delicate kind. For coloured rags these men give ½*d.* a pound, or 1*d.* for three pounds; for inferior white rags ½*d.* a pound, and up to 1½*d.*; for the best, 2*d.* the pound. It is common, however, and even more common, I am assured, among masters of the old rag and bottle shops, than among street-buyers, to announce 2*d.* or 3*d.*, or even as much as 6*d.*, for the *best* rags, but, somehow or other, the rags taken for sale to those buyers never are of the best. To offer 6*d.* a pound for rags is ridiculous, but such an offer may be seen at some rag-shops, the figure **6**, perhaps, crowning a painting of a large plum-pudding, as a representation of what may be a Christmas result, merely from the thrifty preservation of rags, grease, and dripping. Some of the street-buyers, when working the suburbs or the country, attach a similar "illustration" to their barrows or carts. I saw the winter placard of one of these men, which he was reserving for a country excursion as far as Rochester, "when the plum-pudding time was a-coming." In this pictorial advertisement a man and woman, very florid and full-faced, were on the point of enjoying a huge plum-pudding, the man flourishing a large knife, and looking very hospitable. On a scroll which issued from his mouth were the words: "From our rags! The best prices given by —— ——, of London." The woman in like manner exclaimed: "From dripping and house fat! The best prices given by —— ——, of London."

This man told me that at some times, both in town and country, he did not buy a pound of rags in a week. He had heard the old hands in the trade say, that 20 or 30 years back they could "gather" (the word generally used for buying) twice and three times as many rags as at present. My informant attributed this change to two causes, depending more upon what he had heard from experienced street-buyers than upon his own knowledge. At one time it was common for a mistress to allow her maid-servant to "keep a rag-bag," in which all refuse linen, &c., was collected for sale for the servant's behoof; a privilege now rarely accorded. The other cause was that working-people's wives had less money at their command now than they had formerly, so that instead of gathering a good heap for the man who called on them periodically, they ran to a marine store-shop and sold them by one, two, and three pennyworths at a time. This related to all the things in the street-buyer's trade, as well as to rags.

"I 've known this trade ten years or so," said my informant, "I was a costermonger before that, and I work coster-work now in the summer, and buy things in the winter. Before Christmas is the best time for second-hand trade. When I set out on a country round—and I 've gone as far as Guildford and Maidstone, and St. Alban's—I lays in as great a stock of glass and crocks as I can raise money for, or as my donkey or pony—I 've had both, but I 'm working a ass now—can drag without distressing him. I swops my crocks for anythink in the second-hand way, and when I 've got through them I buys outright, and so works my way back to London. I bring back what I 've bought in the crates and hampers I 've had to pack the crocks in. The first year as I started I got hold of a few very tidy rags, coloured things mostly. The Jew I sold 'em to when I got home again gave me more than I expected. O, lord no, not more than I asked! He told me, too, that he 'd buy any more I might have, as they was wanted at some town not very far off, where there was a call for them for patching quilts. I haven't heard of a call for any that way since. I get less and less rags every year, I think. Well, I can't say what I got last year; perhaps about two stone. No, none of them was woollen. They 're things as people 's seldom satisfied with the price for, is rags. I 've bought muslin window curtains or frocks as was worn, and good for nothink but rags, but there always seems such a lot, and they weighs so light and comes to so little, that there 's sure to be grumbling. I 've sometimes bought a lot of old clothes, by the lump, or I 've swopped crocks for them, and among them there 's frequently been things as the Jew in Petticoat-lane, what I sells them to, has put o' one side as rags. If I 'd offered to give rag prices, them as I got 'em of would have been offended, and have thought I wanted to cheat. When you get a lot at one go, and 'specially if it 's for crocks, you must make the best of them. This for that, and t'other for t'other. I stay at the beer-shops and little inns in the country. Some of the landlords looks very shy at one, if you 're a stranger, acause, if the police detectives is after anythink, they go as hawkers, or barrowmen, or somethink that way." [This statement as to the police is correct; but the man did not know how it came to his knowledge; he had "heard of it," he believed.] "I 've very seldom slept in a common lodging-house. I 'd

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rather sleep on my barrow." [I have before had occasion to remark the aversion of the costermonger class to sleep in low lodging-houses. These men, almost always, and from the necessities of their calling, have rooms of their own in London; so that, I presume, they hate to sleep *in public*, as the accommodation for repose in many a lodging-house may very well be called. At any rate the costermongers, of all classes of street-sellers, when on their country excursions, resort the least to the lodging-houses.] "The last round I had in the country, as far as Reading and Pangbourne, I was away about five weeks, I think, and came back a better man by a pound; that was all. I mean I had 30 shillings' worth of things to start with, and when I 'd got back, and turned my rags, and old metal, and things into money, I had 50*s*. To be sure Jenny (the ass) and me lived well all the time, and I bought a pair of half-boots and a pair of stockings at Reading, so it weren't so bad. Yes, sir, there 's nothing I likes better than a turn into the country. It does one's health good, if it don't turn out so well for profits as it might."

My informant, the rag-dealer, belonged to the best order of costermongers; one proof of this was in the evident care which he had bestowed on Jenny, his donkey. There were no loose hairs on her hide, and her harness was clean and whole, and I observed after a pause to transact business on his round, that the animal held her head towards her master to be scratched, and was petted with a mouthful of green grass and clover, which the costermonger had in a corner of his vehicle.

Tailor's cuttings, which consist of cloth, satin, lining materials, fustian, waistcoatings, silk, &c., are among the things which the street-buyers are the most anxious to become possessed of on a country round; for, as will be easily understood by those who have read the accounts before given of the Old Clothes Exchange, and of Petticoat and Rosemary lanes, they are available for many purposes in London.

Dressmaker's cuttings are also a portion of the street-buyer's country traffic, but to no great extent, and hardly ever, I am told, unless the street-buyer, which is not often the case, be accompanied on his round by his wife. In town, tailor's cuttings are usually sold to the piece-brokers, who call or send men round to the shops or workshops for the purpose of buying them, and it is the same with the dressmaker's cuttings.

Old metal, or *broken metal*, for I heard one appellation used as frequently as the other, is bought by the same description of traders. This trade, however, is prosecuted in town by the street-buyers more largely than in the country, and so differs from the rag business. The carriage of old iron bolts and bars is exceedingly cumbersome; nor can metal be packed or stowed away like old clothes or rags. This makes the street-buyer indifferent as to the collecting of what I heard one of them call "country iron." By "metal" the street-folk often mean copper (most especially), brass, or pewter, in contradistinction to the cheaper substances of iron or lead. In the country they are most anxious to buy "metal;" whereas, in town, they as readily purchase "iron." When the street-buyers give merely the worth of any metal by weight to be disposed of, in order to be re-melted, or re-wrought in some manner, by the manufacturers, the following are the average prices:—Copper, 6*d*. per lb.; pewter, 5*d*.; brass, 5*d*.; iron, 6 lbs. for 1*d*., and 8 lbs. for 2*d*. (a smaller quantity than 6 lbs. is seldom bought); and 1*d*. and 1¼*d*. per lb. for lead. Old zinc is not a metal which "comes in the way" of the street-buyer, nor—as one of them told me with a laugh—old silver. Tin is never bought by weight in the streets.

It must be understood that the prices I have mentioned are those given for old or broken metal, valueless unless for re-working. When an old metal article is still available, or may be easily made available, for the use for which it was designed, the street-purchase is by "the piece," rather than the weight.

The broken pans, scuttles, kettles, &c., concerning one of the uses of which I have quoted Mr. Babbage, in page 6 of the present volume, as to the conversion of these worn-out vessels into the light and japanned edgings, or clasps, called "clamps," or "clips," by the trunk-makers, and used to protect or strengthen the corners of boxes and packing-cases, are purchased sometimes by the street-buyers, but fall more properly under the head of what constitutes a portion of the stock-in-trade of the street-finder. They are not bought by weight, but so much for the pan, perhaps so much along with other things; a halfpenny, a penny, or occasionally two-pence, and often only a farthing, or three pans for a penny. The uses for these things which the street-buyers have more especially in view, are not those mentioned by Mr. Babbage (the trunk clamps), but the conversion of them into the "iron shovels," or strong dust-pans sold in the streets. One street artisan supports himself and his family by the making of dust-pans from such grimy old vessels.

As in the result of my inquiry among the street-*sellers* of old metal, I am of opinion that the street-*buyers* also are not generally mixed up with the receipt of stolen goods. That they may be so to some extent is probable enough; in the same proportion, perhaps, as highly respectable tradesmen have been known to buy the goods of fraudulent bankrupts, and others. The street-buyers are low itinerants, seen regularly by the police and easy to be traced, and therefore, for one reason, cautious. In one of my inquiries among the young thieves and pickpockets in the low lodging-houses, I heard frequent accounts of their selling the metal goods they stole, to "fences," and in one particular instance, to the mistress of a lodging-house, who had conveniences for the melting of pewter pots (called "cats and kittens" by the young thieves, according to the size of the vessels), but I never heard them speak of any connection, or indeed any transactions, with street-folk.

Among the things purchased in great quantities by the street-buyers of old metal are keys. The

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keys so bought are of every size, are generally very rusty, and present every form of manufacture, from the simplest to the most complex wards. On my inquiring how such a number of keys without locks came to be offered for street-sale, I was informed that there were often duplicate or triplicate keys to one lock, and that in sales of household furniture, for instance, there were often numbers of odd keys found about the premises and sold "in a lump;" that locks were often spoiled and unsaleable, wearing out long before the keys. Twopence a dozen is an usual price for a dozen "mixed keys," to a street-buyer. Bolts are also freely bought by the street-people, as are holdfasts, bed-keys, and screws, "and everything," I was told, "which some one or other among the poor is always a-wanting."

A little old man, who had been many years a street-buyer, gave me an account of his purchases of *bottles* and *glass*. This man had been a soldier in his youth; had known, as he said, "many ups and downs;" and occasionally wheels a barrow, somewhat larger and shallower than those used by masons, from which he vends iron and tin wares, such as cheap gridirons, stands for hand-irons, dust-pans, dripping trays, &c. As he sold these wares, he offered to buy, or swop for, any second-hand commodities. "As to the bottle and glass buying, sir," he said, "it's dead and buried in the streets, and in the country too. I've known the day when I've cleared 2*l.* in a week by buying old things in a country round. How long was that ago, do you say, sir? Why perhaps twenty years; yes, more than twenty. Now, I'd hardly pick up odd glass in the street." [He called imperfect glass wares "odd glass."] "O, I don't know what's brought about such a change, but everything changes. I can't say anything about the duty on glass. No, I never paid any duty on my glass; it ain't likely. I buy glass still, certainly I do, but I think if I depended on it I should be wishing myself in the East Injes again, rather than such a poor consarn of a business—d——n me if I shouldn't. The last glass bargain I made about two months back, down Limehouse-way, and about the Commercial-road, I cleared 7*d.* by; and then I had to wheel what I bought—it was chiefly bottles—about five mile. It's a trade would starve a cat, the buying of old glass. I never bought glass by weight, but I've heard of some giving a halfpenny and a penny a pound. I always bought by the piece: from a halfpenny to a shilling (but that's long since) for a bottle; and farthings and halfpennies, and higher and sometimes lower, for wine and other glasses as was chipped or cracked, or damaged, for they could be sold in them days. People's got proud now, I fancy that's one thing, and must have everything slap. O, I do middling: I live by one thing or other, and when I die there'll just be enough to bury the old man." [This is the first street-trader I have met with who made such a statement as to having provided for his interment, though I have heard these men occasionally express repugnance at the thoughts of being buried by the parish.] "I have a daughter, that's all my family now; she does well as a laundress, and is a real good sort; I have my dinner with her every Sunday. She's a widow without any young ones. I often go to church, both with my daughter and by myself, on Sunday evenings. It does one good. I'm fond of the music and singing too. The sermon I can very seldom make anything of, as I can't hear well if any one's a good way off me when he's saying anythink. I buy a little old metal sometimes, but it's coming to be all up with street glass-people; everybody seems to run with their things to the rag-and-bottle-shops."

The same body of traders buy also *old sacking, carpeting, and moreen bed-curtains and window-hangings;* but the trade in them is sufficiently described in my account of the buying of rags, for it is carried on in the same way, so much per pound (1*d.* or 1½*d.* or 2*d.*), or so much for the lot.

Of *Bones* I have already spoken. They are bought by any street-collector with a cart, on his round in town, at a halfpenny a pound, or three pounds for a penny; but it is a trade, on account of the awkwardness of carriage, little cared for by the regular street-buyers. Men, connected with some bone-grinding-mill, go round with a horse and cart to the knackers and butchers to collect bones; but this is a portion, not of street, but of the mill-owner's, business. These bones are ground for manure, which is extensively used by the agriculturists, having been first introduced in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire about 30 years ago. The importation of bones is now very great; more than three times as much as it was 20 years back. The value of the foreign bones imported is estimated at upwards of 300,000*l.* yearly. They are brought from South America (along with hides), from Germany, Holland, and Belgium.

The men who most care to collect bones in the streets of London are old and infirm, and they barter toys for them with poor children; for those children sometimes gather bones in the streets and put them on one side, or get them from dustholes, for the sake of exchanging them for a plaything; or, indeed, for selling them to any shopkeeper, and many of the rag-and-bottle-tradesmen buy bones. The toys most used for this barter are paper "wind-mills." These toy-barterers, when they have a few pence, will buy bones of children or any others, if they cannot become possessed of them otherwise; but the carriage of the bones is a great obstacle to much being done in this business.

In the regular way of street-buying, such as I have described it, there are about 100 men in London and the suburbs. Some buy only during a portion of the year, and none perhaps (except in the way of barter) the year round. They are chiefly of the costermonger class, some of the street-buyers however, have been carmen's servants, or connected with trades in which they had the care of a horse and cart, and so became habituated to a street-life.

There are still many other ways in which the commerce in refuse and the second-hand street-trade is supplied. As the windmill-seller for bones, so will the puppet-show man for old bottles or broken table-spoons, or almost any old trifle, allow children to regale their eyes on the beauties of his exhibition.

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The trade expenditure of the street-buyers it is not easy to estimate. Their calling is so mixed with selling and bartering, that very probably not one among them can tell what he expends in *buying*, as a separate branch of his business. If 100 men expend 15*s*. each weekly, in the purchase of rags, old metal, &c., and if this trade be prosecuted for 30 weeks of the year, we find 2250*l*. so expended. The profits of the buyers range from 20 to 100 per cent.

Of the "Rag-and-Bottle," and the "Marine-Store," Shops.

The principal purchasers of any refuse or worn-out articles are the proprietors of the rag-and-bottle-shops. Some of these men make a good deal of money, and not unfrequently unite with the business the letting out of vans for the conveyance of furniture, or for pleasure excursions, to such places as Hampton Court. The stench in these shops is positively sickening. Here in a small apartment may be a pile of rags, a sack-full of bones, the many varieties of grease and "kitchen-stuff," corrupting an atmosphere which, even without such accompaniments, would be too close. The windows are often crowded with bottles, which exclude the light; while the floor and shelves are thick with grease and dirt. The inmates seem unconscious of this foulness,—and one comparatively wealthy man, who showed me his horses, the stable being like a drawing-room compared to his shop, in speaking of the many deaths among his children, could not conjecture to what cause it could be owing. This indifference to dirt and stench is the more remarkable, as many of the shopkeepers have been gentlemen's servants, and were therefore once accustomed to cleanliness and order. The door-posts and windows of the rag-and-bottle-shops are often closely placarded, and the front of the house is sometimes one glaring colour, blue or red; so that the place may be at once recognised, even by the illiterate, as the "red house," or the "blue house." If these men are not exactly street-buyers, they are street-billers, continually distributing hand-bills, but more especially before Christmas. The more aristocratic, however, now send round cards, and to the following purport:—

No. — No. —

THE —— HOUSE IS ——'S
RAG, BOTTLE, AND KITCHEN STUFF
WAREHOUSE,
—— STREET, —— TOWN,
Where you can obtain Gold and Silver to any amount.
ESTABLISHED ——.
THE HIGHEST PRICE GIVEN
For all the undermentioned articles, viz:—

Wax and Sperm Pieces	Old Copper, Brass, Pewter, &c.
Kitchen Stuff, &c.	Lead, Iron, Zinc, Steel, &c., &c.
Wine & Beer Bottles	Old Horse Hair, Mattresses, &c.
Eau de Cologne, Soda Water	Old Books, Waste Paper, &c.
Doctors' Bottles, &c.	All kinds of Coloured Rags
White Linen Rags	
Bones, Phials, & Broken Flint Glass	

The utmost value given for all kinds of Wearing Apparel.
Furniture and Lumber of every description bought, and full value given at his Miscellaneous Warehouse.
Articles sent for.

Some content themselves with sending hand-bills to the houses in their neighbourhood, which many of the cheap printers keep in type, so that an alteration in the name and address is all which is necessary for any customer.

I heard that suspicions were entertained that it was to some of these traders that the facilities with which servants could dispose of their pilferings might be attributed, and that a stray silver spoon might enhance the weight and price of kitchen-stuff. It is not pertaining to my present subject to enter into the consideration of such a matter; and I might not have alluded to it, had not I found the regular street-buyers fond of expressing an opinion of the indifferent honesty of this body of traders; but my readers may have remarked how readily the street-people have, on several occasions, justified (as they seem to think) their own delinquencies by quoting what they declared were as great and as frequent delinquencies on the part of shopkeepers: "I know very well," said an intelligent street-seller on one occasion, "that two wrongs can never make a right; but tricks that shopkeepers practise to grow rich upon we must practise, just as they do, to live at all. As long as they give short weight and short measure, the streets can't help doing the same."

The *rag-and-bottle* and the *marine-store shops* are in many instances but different names for the same description of business. The chief distinction appears to be this: the marine-store shopkeepers (proper) do not meddle with what is a very principal object of traffic with the rag-and-bottle man, the purchase of dripping, as well as of every kind of refuse in the way of fat or grease. The marine-store man, too, is more miscellaneous in his wares than his contemporary of the rag-and-bottle-store, as the former will purchase any of the smaller articles of household furniture, old tea-caddies, knife-boxes, fire-irons, books, pictures, draughts and backgammon boards, bird-cages, Dutch clocks, cups and saucers, tools and brushes. The rag-and-bottle tradesman will readily purchase any of these things to be disposed of as old metal or waste-paper, but his brother tradesman buys them to be re-sold and re-used for the purposes for which they were originally manufactured. When furniture, however, is the staple of one of these second-hand storehouses, the proprietor is a furniture-broker, and not a marine-store dealer. If, again, the dealer in these stores confine his business to the purchase of old metals, for instance, he is classed as an old metal dealer, collecting it or buying it of collectors, for sale to iron-founders, coppersmiths, brass-founders, and plumbers. In perhaps the majority of instances there is little or no distinction between the establishments I have spoken of. The *dolly* business is common to both, but most common to the marine-store dealer, and of it I shall speak afterwards.

These shops are exceedingly numerous. Perhaps in the poorer and smaller streets they are more numerous even than the chandlers' or the beer-sellers' places. At the corner of a small

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street, both in town and the nearer suburbs, will frequently be found the chandler's shop, for the sale of small quantities of cheese, bacon, groceries, &c., to the poor. Lower down may be seen the beer-seller's; and in the same street there is certain to be one rag-and-bottle or marine-store shop, very often two, and not unfrequently another in some adjacent court.

I was referred to the owner of a marine-store shop, as to a respectable man, keeping a store of the best class. Here the counter, or table, or whatever it is to be called, for it was somewhat nondescript, by an ingenious contrivance could be pushed out into the street, so that in bad weather the goods which were at other times exposed in the street could be drawn inside without trouble. The glass frames of the window were removable, and were placed on one side in the shop, for in the summer an open casement seemed to be preferred. This is one of the remaining old trade customs still seen in London; for previously to the great fire in 1666, and the subsequent rebuilding of the city, shops with open casements, and protected from the weather by overhanging eaves, or by a sloping wooden roof, were general.

The house I visited was an old one, and abounded in closets and recesses. The fire-place, which apparently had been large, was removed, and the space was occupied with a mass of old iron of every kind; all this was destined for the furnace of the iron-founder, wrought iron being preferred for several of the requirements of that trade. A chest or range of very old drawers, with defaced or worn-out labels—once a grocer's or a chemist's—was stuffed, in every drawer, with old horse-shoe nails (valuable for steel manufacturers), and horse and donkey shoes; brass knobs; glass stoppers; small bottles (among them a number of the cheap cast "hartshorn bottles"); broken pieces of brass and copper; small tools (such as shoemakers' and harness-makers' awls), punches, gimlets, plane-irons, hammer heads, &c.; odd dominoes, dice, and backgammon-men; lock escutcheons, keys, and the smaller sort of locks, especially padlocks; in fine, any small thing which could be stowed away in such a place.

In one corner of the shop had been thrown, the evening before, a mass of old iron, then just bought. It consisted of a number of screws of different lengths and substance; of broken bars and rails; of the odds and ends of the cogged wheels of machinery, broken up or worn out; of odd-looking spikes, and rings, and links; all heaped together and scarcely distinguishable. These things had all to be assorted; some to be sold for re-use in their then form; the others to be sold that they might be melted and cast into other forms. The floor was intricate with hampers of bottles; heaps of old boots and shoes; old desks and work-boxes; pictures (all modern) with and without frames; waste-paper, the most of it of quarto, and some larger sized, soiled or torn, and strung closely together in weights of from 2 to 7 lbs.; and a fire-proof safe, stuffed with old fringes, tassels, and other upholstery goods, worn and discoloured. The miscellaneous wares were carried out into the street, and ranged by the door-posts as well as in front of the house. In some small out-houses in the yard were piles of old iron and tin pans, and of the broken or separate parts of harness.

From the proprietor of this establishment I had the following account:—

"I 've been in the business more than a dozen years. Before that, I was an auctioneer's, and then a furniture broker's, porter. I wasn't brought up to any regular trade, but just to jobbing about, and a bad trade it is, as all trades is that ain't regular employ for a man. I had some money when my father died—he kept a chandler's shop—and I bought a marine." [An elliptical form of speech among these traders.] "I gave 10*l.* for the stock, and 5*l.* for entrance and good-will, and agreed to pay what rents and rates was due. It was a smallish stock then, for the business had been neglected, but I have no reason to be sorry for my bargain, though it might have been better. There 's lots taken in about good-wills, but perhaps not so many in my way of business, because we 're rather 'fly to a dodge.' It 's a confined sort of life, but there 's no help for that. Why, as to my way of trade, you 'd be surprised, what different sorts of people come to my shop. I don't mean the regular hands; but the chance comers. I 've had men dressed like gentlemen—and no doubt they was respectable when they was sober—bring two or three books, or a nice cigar case, or anythink that don't show in their pockets, and say, when as drunk as blazes, 'Give me what you can for this; I want it sold for a particular purpose.' That particular purpose was more drink, I should say; and I 've known the same men come back in less than a week, and buy what they 'd sold me at a little extra, and be glad if I had it by me still. O, we sees a deal of things in this way of life. Yes, poor people run to such as me. I 've known them come with such things as teapots, and old hair mattresses, and flock beds, and *then* I 'm sure they 're hard up—reduced for a meal. I don't like buying big things like mattresses, though I do purchase 'em sometimes. Some of these sellers are as keen as Jews at a bargain; others seem only anxious to get rid of the things and have hold of some bit of money anyhow. Yes, sir, I 've known their hands tremble to receive the money, and mostly the women's. They haven't been used to it, I know, when that 's the case. Perhaps they comes to sell to me what the pawns won't take in, and what they wouldn't like to be seen selling to any of the men that goes about buying things in the street.

"Why, I 've bought everythink; at sales by auction there 's often 'lots' made up of different things, and they goes for very little. I buy of people, too, that come to me, and of the regular hands that supply such shops as mine. I sell retail, and I sell to hawkers. I sell to anybody, for gentlemen 'll come into my shop to buy anythink that 's took their fancy in passing. Yes, I 've bought old oil paintings. I 've heard of some being bought by people in my way as have turned out stunners, and was sold for a

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hundred pounds or more, and cost, perhaps, half-a-crown or only a shilling. I never experienced such a thing myself. There 's a good deal of gammon about it. Well, it 's hardly possible to say anything about a scale of prices. I give 2*d.* for an old tin or metal teapot, or an old saucepan, and sometimes, two days after I 've bought such a thing, I 've sold it for 3*d.* to the man or woman I 've bought it of. I 'll sell cheaper to them than to anybody else, because they come to me in two ways—both as sellers and buyers. For pictures I've given from 3*d.* to 1*s.* I fancy they 're among the last things some sorts of poor people, which is a bit fanciful, parts with. I 've bought them of hawkers, but often I refuse them, as they 've given more than I could get. Pictures requires a judge. Some brought to me was published by newspapers and them sort of people. Waste-paper I buy as it comes. I can't read very much, and don't understand about books. I take the backs off and weighs them, and gives 1*d.*, and 1½*d.*, and 2*d.* a pound, and there 's an end. I sell them at about ½*d.* a pound profit, or sometimes less, to men as we calls 'waste' men. It 's a poor part of our business, but the books and paper takes up little room, and then it 's clean and can be stowed anywhere, and is a sure sale. Well, the people as sells 'waste' to me is not such as can read, I think; I don't know what they is; perhaps they 're such as obtains possession of the books and what-not after the death of old folks, and gets them out of the way as quick as they can. I know nothink about what they are. Last week, a man in black—he didn't seem rich—came into my shop and looked at some old books, and said 'Have you any black lead?' He didn't speak plain, and I could hardly catch him. I said, 'No, sir, I don't sell black lead, but you 'll get it at No. 27,' but he answered, 'Not black lead, but black letter,' speaking very pointed. I said, 'No,' and I haven't a notion what he meant.

"Metal (copper) that I give 5*d.* or 5½*d.* for, I can sell to the merchants from 6½*d.* to 8*d.* the pound. It 's no great trade, for they 'll often throw things out of the lot and say they 're not metal. Sometimes, it would hardly be a farthing in a shilling, if it war'n't for the draught in the scales. When we buys metal, we don't notice the quarters of the pounds; all under a quarter goes for nothink. When we buys iron, all under half pounds counts nothink. So when we buys by the pound, and sells by the hundredweight, there 's a little help from this, which we calls the draught.

"Glass bottles of all qualities I buys at three for a halfpenny, and sometimes four, up to 2*d.* a-piece for 'good stouts' (bottled-porter vessels), but very seldom indeed 2*d.*, unless it's something very prime and big like the old quarts (quart bottles). I seldom meddles with decanters. It 's very few decanters as is offered to me, either little or big, and I 'm shy of them when they are. There 's such a change in glass. Them as buys in the streets brings me next to nothing now to buy; they both brought and bought a lot ten year back and later. I never was in the street-trade in second-hand, but it 's not what it was. I sell in the streets, when I put things outside, and know all about the trade.

"It ain't a fortnight back since a smart female servant, in slap-up black, sold me a basket-full of doctor's bottles. I knew her master, and he hadn't been buried a week before she come to me, and she said, 'missus is glad to get rid of them, for they makes her cry.' They often say their missusses sends things, and that they 're not on no account to take less than so much. That 's true at times, and at times it ain't. I gives from 1½*d.* to 3*d.* a dozen for good new bottles. I 'm sure I can't say what I give for other odds and ends; just as they 're good, bad, or indifferent. It's a queer trade. Well, I pay my way, but I don't know what I clear a week—about 2*l.* I dare say, but then there 's rent, rates, and taxes to pay, and other expenses."

The *Dolly* system is peculiar to the rag-and-bottle man, as well as to the marine-store dealer. The name is derived from the black wooden doll, in white apparel, which generally hangs dangling over the door of the marine-store shops, or of the "rag-and-bottles," but more frequently the last-mentioned. This type of the business is sometimes swung above their doors by those who are not dolly-shop keepers. The dolly-shops are essentially pawn-shops, and pawn-shops for the very poorest. There are many articles which the regular pawnbrokers decline to accept as pledges. Among these things are blankets, rugs, clocks, flock-beds, common pictures, "translated" boots, mended trowsers, kettles, saucepans, trays, &c. Such things are usually styled "lumber." A poor person driven to the necessity of raising a few pence, and unwilling to part finally with his lumber, goes to the dolly-man, and for the merest trifle advanced, deposits one or other of the articles I have mentioned, or something similar. For an advance of 2*d.* or 3*d.*, a halfpenny a week is charged, but the charge is the same if the pledge be redeemed next day. If the interest be paid at the week's end, another 1*d.* is occasionally advanced, and no extra charge exacted for interest. If the interest be not paid at the week or fortnight's end, the article is forfeited, and is sold at a large profit by the dolly-shop man. For 4*d.* or 6*d.* advanced, the weekly interest is 1*d.*; for 9*d.* it is 1½*d.*; for 1*s.* it is 2*d.*, and 2*d.* on each 1*s.* up to 5*s.*, beyond which sum the "dolly" will rarely go; in fact, he will rarely advance as much. Two poor Irish flower girls, whom I saw in the course of my inquiry into that part of street-traffic, had in the winter very often to pledge the rug under which they slept at a dolly-shop in the morning for 6*d.*, in order to provide themselves with stock-money to buy forced violets, and had to redeem it on their return in the evening, when they could, for 7*d.* Thus 6*d.* a week was sometimes paid for a daily advance of that sum. Some of these "*illicit*" pawnbrokers even give tickets.

This incidental mention of what is really an immense trade, as regards the number of pledges, is all that is necessary under the present head of inquiry, but I purpose entering into this branch of the subject fully and minutely when I come to treat of the class of "distributors."

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The *iniquities* to which the poor are subject are positively monstrous. A halfpenny a day interest on a loan of 2*d.* is at the rate of 7280 *per cent. per annum!*

Of the Buyers of Kitchen-Stuff, Grease, and Dripping.

This body of traders cannot be classed as street-buyers, so that only a brief account is here necessary. The buyers are not now chance people, itinerant on any round, as at one period they were to a great extent, but they are the proprietors of the rag and bottle and marine-store shops, or those they employ.

In this business there has been a considerable change. Until of late years women, often wearing suspiciously large cloaks and carrying baskets, ventured into perhaps every area in London, and asked for the cook at every house where they thought a cook might be kept, and this often at early morning. If the well-cloaked woman was known, business could be transacted without delay: if she were a stranger, she recommended herself by offering very liberal terms for "kitchen-stuff." The cook's, or kitchen-maid's, or servant-of-all-work's "perquisites," were then generally disposed of to these collectors, some of whom were charwomen in the houses they resorted to for the purchase of the kitchen-stuff. They were often satisfied to purchase the dripping, &c., by the lump, estimating the weight and the value by the eye. In this traffic was frequently mixed up a good deal of pilfering, directly or indirectly. Silver spoons were thus disposed of. Candles, purposely broken and crushed, were often part of the grease; in the dripping, butter occasionally added to the weight; in the "stock" (the remains of meat boiled down for the making of soup) were sometimes portions of excellent meat fresh from the joints which had been carved at table; and among the broken bread, might be frequently seen small loaves, unbroken.

There is no doubt that this mode of traffic by itinerant charwomen, &c., is still carried on, but to a much smaller extent than formerly. The cook's perquisites are in many cases sold under the inspection of the mistress, according to agreement; or taken to the shop by the cook or some fellow-servant; or else sent for by the shopkeeper. This is done to check the confidential, direct, and immediate trade-intercourse between merely two individuals, the buyer and seller, by making the transaction more open and regular. I did not hear of any persons who merely purchase the kitchen-stuff, as street-buyers, and sell it at once to the tallow-melter or the soap-boiler; it appears all to find its way to the shops I have described, even when bought by charwomen; while the shopkeepers send for it or receive it in the way I have stated, so that there is but little of street traffic in the matter.

One of these shopkeepers told me that in this trading, as far as his own opinion went, there was as much trickery as ever, and that many gentlefolk quietly made up their minds to submit to it, while others, he said, "kept the house in hot water" by resisting it. I found, however, the general opinion to be, that when servants could only dispose of these things to known people, the responsibility of the buyer as well as the seller was increased, and acted as a preventive check.

The price for kitchen-stuff is 1*d.* and 1½*d.* the pound; for dripping—used by the poor as a substitute for butter—3½*d.* to 5*d.*

Of the Street-Buyers of Hare and Rabbit Skins.

These buyers are for the most part poor, old, or infirm people, and I am informed that the majority have been in some street business, and often as buyers, all their lives. Besides having derived this information from well-informed persons, I may point out that this is but a reasonable view of the case. If a mechanic, a labourer, or a gentleman's servant, resorts to the streets for his bread, or because he is of a vagrant "turn," he does not become a *buyer*, but a *seller*. Street-selling is the easier process. It is easy for a man to ascertain that oysters, for example, are sold wholesale at Billingsgate, and if he buy a bushel (as in the present summer) for 5*s.*, it is not difficult to find out how many he can afford for "a penny a lot." But the street-buyer must not only know what to *give*, for hare-skins for instance, but what he can depend upon *getting* from the hat-manufacturers, or hat-furriers, and upon having a regular market. Thus a double street-trade knowledge is necessary, and a novice will not care to meddle with any form of open-air traffic but the simplest. Neither is street-buying (old clothes excepted) generally cared for by adults who have health and strength.

In the course of a former inquiry I received an account of hareskin-buying from a woman, upwards of fifty, who had been in the trade, she told me, from childhood, "as was her mother before her." The husband, who was lame, and older than his wife, had been all *his* life a field-catcher of birds, and a street-seller of hearth-stones. They had been married 31 years, and resided in a garret of a house, in a street off Drury-lane—a small room, with a close smell about it. The room was not unfurnished—it was, in fact, crowded. There were bird-cages, with and without birds, over what *was* once a bed; for the bed, just prior to my visit, had been sold to pay the rent, and a month's rent was again in arrear; and there were bird-cages on the wall by the door, and bird-cages over the mantelshelf. There was furniture, too, and crockery; and a vile oil painting of "still life;" but an eye used to the furniture in the rooms of the poor could at once perceive that there was not *one* article which could be sold to a broker or marine-store dealer, or pledged at a pawn-shop. I was told the man and woman both drank hard. The woman said:—

"I've sold hareskins all my life, sir, and was born in London; but when hareskins isn't in, I sells flowers. I goes about now (in November) for my skins every day, wet or dry, and all day long—that is, till it's dark. To-day I've not laid out a penny, but then it's been such a day

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for rain. I reckon that if I gets hold of eighteen hare and rabbit skins in a day, that is my greatest day's work. I gives 2*d*. for good hares, what 's not riddled much, and sells them all for 2½*d*. I sells what I pick up, by the twelve or the twenty, if I can afford to keep them by me till that number 's gathered, to a Jew. I don't know what is done with them. I can't tell you just what use they 're for—something about hats." [The Jew was no doubt a hat-furrier, or supplying a hat-furrier.] "Jews gives us better prices than Christians, and buys readier; so I find. Last week I sold all I bought for 3*s*. 6*d*. I take some weeks as much as 8*s*. for what I pick up, and if I could get that every week I should think myself a lady. The profit left me a clear half-crown. There 's no difference in any perticler year—only that things gets worse. The game laws, as far as I knows, hasn't made no difference in my trade. Indeed, I can't say I knows anything about game laws at all, or hears anything consarning 'em. I goes along the squares and streets. I buys most at gentlemen's houses. We never calls at hotels. The servants, and the women that chars, and washes, and jobs, manages it there. Hareskins is in—leastways I c'lects them—from September to the end of March, when hares, they says, goes mad. I can't say what I makes one week with another—perhaps 2*s*. 6*d*. may be cleared every week."

These buyers go regular rounds, carrying the skins in their hands, and crying, "Any hare-skins, cook? Hareskins." It is for the most part a winter trade; but some collect the skins all the year round, as the hares are now vended the year through; but by far the most are gathered in the winter. Grouse may not be killed excepting from the 12th, and black-game from the 20th of August to the 10th of December; partridges from the 1st of September to the 1st of February; while the pheasant suffers a shorter season of slaughter, from the 1st of October to the 1st of February; but there is no time restriction as to the killing of hares or of rabbits, though custom causes a cessation for a few months.

A lame man, apparently between 50 and 60, with a knowing look, gave me the following account. When I saw him he was carrying a few tins, chiefly small dripping-pans, under his arm, which he offered for sale as he went his round collecting hare and rabbit-skins, of which he carried but one. He had been in the streets all his life, as his mother—he never knew any father—was a rag-gatherer, and at the same time a street-seller of the old brimstone matches and papers of pins. My informant assisted his mother to make and then to sell the matches. On her last illness she was received into St. Giles's workhouse, her son supporting himself out of it; she had been dead many years. He could not read, and had never been in a church or chapel in his life. "He had been married," he said, "for about a dozen years, and had a very good wife, who was also a street-trader until her death; but "we didn't go to church or anywhere to be married," he told me, in reply to my question, "for we really couldn't afford to pay the parson, and so we took one another's words. If it 's so good to go to church for being married, it oughtn't to cost a poor man nothing; he shouldn't be charged for being good. I doesn't do any business in town, but has my regular rounds. This is my Kentish and Camden-town day. I buys most from the servants at the bettermost houses, and I 'd rather buy of them than the missusses, for some missusses sells their own skins, and they often want a deal for 'em. Why, just arter last Christmas, a young lady in that there house (pointing to it), after ordering me round to the back-door, came to me with two hareskins. They certainly was fine skins—werry fine. I said I 'd give 4½*d*. 'Come now, my good man,' says she," and the man mimicked her voice, "'let me have no nonsense. I can't be deceived any longer, either by you or my servants; so give me 8*d*., and go about your business.' Well, I went about my business; and a woman called to buy them, and offered 4*d*. for the two, and the lady was so wild, the servant told me arter; howsomever she only got 4*d*. at last. She 's a regular screw, but a fine-dressed one. I don't know that there 's been any change in my business since hares was sold in the shops. If there 's more skins to sell, there 's more poor people to buy. I never tasted hares' flesh in my life, though I 've gathered so many of their skins. I 've smelt it when they 've been roasting them where I 've called, but don't think I could eat any. I live on bread and butter and tea, or milk sometimes in hot weather, and get a bite of fried fish or anything when I 'm out, and a drop of beer and a smoke when I get home, if I can afford it. I don't smoke in my own place, I uses a beer-shop. I pay 1*s*. 6*d*. a week for a small room; I want little but a bed in it, and have my own. I owe three weeks' rent now; but I do best both with tins and hareskins in the cold weather. Monday 's my best day. O, as to rabbit-skins, I do werry little in them. Them as sells them gets the skins. Still there *is* a few to be picked up; such as them as has been sent as presents from the country. Good rabbit-skins is about the same price as hares, or perhaps a halfpenny lower, take them all through. I generally clears 6*d*. a dozen on my hare and rabbit-skins, and sometimes 8*d*. Yes, I should say that for about eight months I gathers four dozen every week, often five dozen. I suppose I make 5*s*. or 6*s*. a week all the year, with one thing or other, and a lame man can't do wonders. I never begged in my life, but I 've twice had help from the parish, and that only when I was very bad (ill). O, I suppose I shall end in the great house."

There are, as closely as I can ascertain, at least 50 persons buying skins in the street; and calculating that each collects 50 skins weekly for 32 weeks of the year, we find 80,000 to be the total. This is a reasonable computation, for there are upwards of 102,000 hares consigned yearly to Newgate and Leadenhall markets; while the rabbits sold yearly in London amount to about

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1,000,000; but, as I have shown, very few of their skins are disposed of to street-buyers.

OF THE STREET-BUYERS OF WASTE (PAPER).

BEYOND all others the street-purchase of waste paper is the most curious of any in the hands of the class I now treat of. Some may have formed the notion that waste paper is merely that which is soiled or torn, or old numbers of newspapers, or other periodical publications; but this is merely a portion of the trade, as the subsequent account will show.

The men engaged in this business have not unfrequently an apartment, or a large closet, or recess, for the reception of their purchases of paper. They collect their paper street by street, calling upon every publisher, coffee-shop keeper, printer, or publican (but rarely on a publican), who may be a seller of "waste." I heard the refuse paper called nothing but "waste" after the general elliptical fashion. Attorneys' offices are often visited by these buyers, as are the offices of public men, such as tax or rate collectors, generally.

One man told me that until about ten years ago, and while he was a youth, he was employed by a relation in the trade to carry out waste paper sold to, or ordered by cheesemongers, &c., but that he never "collected," or bought paper himself. At last he thought he would start on his own account, and the first person he called upon, he said, was a rich landlady, not far from Hungerford-market, whom he saw sometimes at her bar, and who was always very civil. He took an opportunity to ask her if she "happened to have any waste in the house, or would have any in a week or so?" Seeing the landlady look surprised and not very well pleased at what certainly appeared an impertinent inquiry, he hastened to explain that he meant old newspapers, or anything that way, which he would be glad to buy at so much a pound. The landlady however took in but one daily and one weekly paper (both sent into the country when a day or so old), and having had no dealings with men of my informant's avocation, could not understand his object in putting such questions.

Every kind of paper is purchased by the "waste-men." One of these dealers said to me: "I've often in my time 'cleared out' a lawyer's office. I've bought old briefs, and other law papers, and 'forms' that weren't the regular forms then, and any d——d thing they had in my line. You'll excuse me, sir, but I couldn't help thinking what a lot of misery was caused, perhaps, by the cwts. of waste I've bought at such places. If my father hadn't got mixed up with law he wouldn't have been ruined, and his children wouldn't have had such a hard fight of it; so I hate law. All that happened when I was a child, and I never understood the rights or the wrongs of it, and don't like to think of people that's so foolish. I gave 1½*d.* a pound for all I bought at the lawyers, and done pretty well with it, but very likely that's the only good turn such paper ever did any one—unless it were the lawyers themselves."

The waste-dealers do not confine their purchases to the tradesmen I have mentioned. They buy of any one, and sometimes act as middlemen or brokers. For instance, many small stationers and newsvendors, sometimes tobacconists in no extensive way of trade, sometimes chandlers, announce by a bill in their windows, "Waste Paper Bought and Sold in any Quantity," while more frequently perhaps the trade is carried on, as an understood part of these small shopmen's business, without any announcement. Thus the shop-buyers have much miscellaneous waste brought to them, and perhaps for only some particular kind have they a demand by their retail customers. The regular itinerant waste dealer then calls and "clears out everything" the "everything" being not an unmeaning word. One man, who "did largely in waste," at my request endeavoured to enumerate all the kinds of paper he had purchased as waste, and the packages of paper he showed me, ready for delivery to his customers on the following day, confirmed all he said as he opened them and showed me of what they were composed. He had dealt, he said—and he took great pains and great interest in the inquiry, as one very curious, and was a respectable and intelligent man—in "books on *every* subject" [I give his own words] "on which a book can be written." After a little consideration he added: "Well, perhaps *every* subject is a wide range; but if there are any exceptions, it's on subjects not known to a busy man like me, who is occupied from morning till night every week day. The only worldly labour I do on a Sunday is to take my family's dinner to the bakehouse, bring it home after chapel, and read *Lloyd's Weekly*. I've had Bibles—the backs are taken off in the waste trade, or it wouldn't be fair weight—Testaments, Prayer-books, Companions to the Altar, and Sermons and religious works. Yes, I've had the Roman Catholic books, as is used in their public worship—at least so I suppose, for I never was in a Roman Catholic chapel. Well, it's hard to say about proportions, but in my opinion, as far as it's good for anything, I've not had *them* in anything like the proportion that I've had Prayer-books, and Watts' and Wesley's hymns. More shame; but you see, sir, perhaps a godly old man dies, and those that follow him care nothing for hymn-books, and so they come to such as me, for they're so cheap now they're not to be sold second-hand at all, I fancy. I've dealt in tragedies and comedies, old and new, cut and uncut—they're best uncut, for you can make them into sheets then—and farces, and books of the opera. I've had scientific and medical works of every possible kind, and histories, and travels, and lives, and memoirs. I needn't go through them—everything, from a needle to an anchor, as the saying is. Poetry, ay, many a hundred weight; Latin and Greek (sometimes), and French, and other foreign languages. Well now, sir, as you mention it, I think I never *did* have a Hebrew work; I think not, and I know the Hebrew letters when I see them. Black letter, not once in a couple of years; no, nor in three or four years, when I think of it. I have met with it, but I always take anything I've got that way to Mr. ——, the

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bookseller, who uses a poor man well. Don't you think, sir, I 'm complaining of poverty; though I have been very poor, when I was recovering from cholera at the first break-out of it, and I 'm anything but rich now. Pamphlets I 've had by the ton, in my time; I think we should both be tired if I could go through all they were about. Very many were religious, more 's the pity. I 've heard of a page round a quarter of cheese, though, touching a man's heart."

In corroboration of my informant's statement, I may mention that in the course of my inquiry into the condition of the fancy cabinet-makers of the metropolis, one elderly and very intelligent man, a first-rate artisan in skill, told me he had been so reduced in the world by the underselling of slop-masters (called "butchers" or "slaughterers," by the workmen in the trade), that though in his youth he could take in the *News* and *Examiner* papers (each he believed 9*d*. at that time, but was not certain), he could afford, and enjoyed, no reading when I saw him last autumn, beyond the book-leaves in which he received his quarter of cheese, his small piece of bacon or fresh meat, or his saveloys; and his wife schemed to go to the shops who "wrapped up their things from books," in order that he might have something to read after his day's work.

My informant went on with his specification: "Missionary papers of all kinds. Parliamentary papers, but not so often new ones, very largely. Railway prospectuses, with plans to some of them, nice engravings; and the same with other joint-stock companies. Children's copy-books, and cyphering-books. Old account-books of every kind. A good many years ago, I had some that must have belonged to a West End perfumer, there was such French items for Lady this, or the Honourable Captain that. I remember there was an Hon. Capt. G., and almost at every second page was '100 tooth-picks, 3*s*. 6*d*.' I think it was 3*s*. 6*d*.; in arranging this sort of waste one now and then gives a glance to it. Dictionaries of every sort, I 've had, but not so commonly. Music books, lots of them. Manuscripts, but only if they 're rather old; well, 20 or 30 years or so: I call that old. Letters on every possible subject, but not, in my experience, any very modern ones. An old man dies, you see, and his papers are sold off, letters and all; that's the way; get rid of all the old rubbish, as soon as the old boy's pointing his toes to the sky. What 's old letters worth, when the writers are dead and buried? why, perhaps 1½*d*. a pound, and it's a rattling big letter that will weigh half-an-ounce. O, it's a queer trade, but there 's many worse."

The letters which I saw in another waste-dealer's possession were 45 in number, a small collection, I was told; for the most part they were very dull and common-place. Among them, however, was the following, in an elegant, and I presume a female hand, but not in the modern fashionable style of handwriting. The letter is evidently old, the address is of West-end gentility, but I leave out name and other particularities:—

"Mrs. —— [it is not easy to judge whether the flourished letters are 'Mrs.' or 'Miss,' but certainly more like 'Mrs.'] Mrs. —— (Zoological Artist) presents her compliments to Mr. ——, and being commissioned to communicate with a gentleman of the name, recently arrived at Charing-cross, and presumed by description to be himself, in a matter of delicacy and confidence, indispensably verbal; begs to say, that if interested in the eeclaircissement and necessary to the same, she may be found in attendance, any afternoon of the current week, from 3 to 6 o'clock, and no other hours.

"—— street, —— square.

"Monday Morn. for the aftn., at home."

Among the books destined to a butcher, I found three perfect numbers of a sixpenny periodical, published a few years back. Three, or rather two and a half, numbers of a shilling periodical, with "coloured engravings of the fashions." Two (imperfect) volumes of French Plays, an excellent edition; among the plays were Athalie, Iphigénie, Phèdre, Les Frères Ennemis, Alexandre, Andromaque, Les Plaideurs, and Esther. A music sheet, headed "A lonely thing I would not be." A few pages of what seems to have been a book of tales: "Album d'un Sourd-Muet" (36 pages in the pamphlet form, quite new). All these constituted about twopennyworth to the butcher. Notwithstanding the variety of sources from which the supply is derived, I heard from several quarters that "waste never was so scarce" as at present; it was hardly to be had at all.

The purchasers of the waste-paper from the collectors are cheesemongers, buttermen, butchers, fishmongers, poulterers, pork and sausage-sellers, sweet-stuff-sellers, tobacconists, chandlers—and indeed all who sell provisions or such luxuries as I have mentioned in retail. Some of the wholesale provision houses buy very largely and sell the waste again to their customers, who pay more for it by such a medium of purchase, but they have it thus on credit. Any retail trader in provisions at all "in a large way," will readily buy six or seven cwt. at a time. The price given by them varies from 1½*d*. to 3½*d*. the pound, but it is very rarely either so low or so high. The average price may be taken at 18*s*. the cwt., which is not quite 2*d*. a pound, and at this rate I learn from the best-informed parties there are twelve tons sold weekly, or 1624 tons yearly (1,897,760 lbs.), at the cost of 11,232*l*. One man in the trade was confident the value of the waste paper sold could not be less than 12,000*l*. in a year.

There are about 60 men in this trade, nearly 50 of whom live entirely, as it was described to me, "by their waste," and bring up their families upon it. The others unite some other avocation with it. The earnings of the regular collectors vary from 15*s*. weekly to 35*s*. accordingly as they meet with a supply on favourable terms, or, as they call it, "a good pull in a lot of waste." They usually reside in a private room with a recess, or a second room, in which they sort, pack, and keep their paper.

One of these traders told me that he was satisfied that stolen paper seldom found its way, directly, into the collectors' hands, "particularly publisher's paper," he added. "Why, not long since there was a lot of sheets stolen from Alder-

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man Kelly's warehouse, and the thief didn't take them to a waste dealer; he knew better. He took them, sir, to a tradesman in a large respectable way over the water—a man that uses great lots of waste—and sold them at just what was handed to him: I suppose no questions asked. The thief was tried and convicted, but nothing was done to the buyer."

It must not be supposed that the waste-paper used by the London tradesmen costs no more than 12,000*l.* in a year. A large quantity is bought direct by butchers and others from poor persons going to them with a small quantity of their own accumulating, or with such things as copy-books.

Of the Street-Buyers of Umbrellas and Parasols.

The street-traders in old umbrellas and parasols are numerous, but the buying is but one part, and the least skilled part, of the business. Men, some tolerably well-dressed, some swarthy-looking, like gipsies, and some with a vagabond aspect, may be seen in all quarters of the town and suburbs, carrying a few ragged-looking umbrellas, or the sticks or ribs of umbrellas, under their arms, and crying "Umbrellas to mend," or "Any old umbrellas to sell?" The traffickers in umbrellas are also the crockmen, who are always glad to obtain them in barter, and who merely dispose of them at the Old Clothes Exchange, or in Petticoat-lane.

The umbrella-menders are known by an appellation of an appropriateness not uncommon in street language. They are *mushroom-fakers*. The form of the expanded umbrella resembles that of a mushroom, and it has the further characteristic of being rapidly or suddenly raised, the mushroom itself springing up and attaining its full size in a very brief space of time. The term, however, like all street or popular terms or phrases, has become very generally condensed among those who carry on the trade—they are now *mush-fakers*, a word which, to any one who has not heard the term in full, is as meaningless as any in the vocabulary of slang.

The mushroom-fakers will repair any umbrella on the owner's premises, and their work is often done adroitly, I am informed, and as often bunglingly, or, in the trade term, "botched." So far there is no traffic in the business, the mushroom-faker simply performing a piece of handicraft, and being paid for the job. But there is another class of street-folk who buy the old umbrellas in Petticoat-lane, or of the street buyer or collector, and "sometimes," as one of these men said to me, "we are our own buyers on a round." They mend the umbrellas—some of their wives, I am assured, being adepts as well as themselves—and offer them for sale on the approaches to the bridges, and at the corners of streets.

The street umbrella trade is really curious. Not so very many years back the use of an umbrella by a man was regarded as partaking of effeminacy, but now they are sold in thousands in the streets, and in the second-hand shops of Monmouth-street and such places. One of these street-traders told me that he had lately sold, but not to an extent which might encourage him to proceed, old silk umbrellas in the street for gentlemen to protect themselves from the rays of the sun.

The purchase of umbrellas is in a great degree mixed up with that of old clothes, of which I have soon to treat; but from what I have stated it is evident that the umbrella trade is most connected with street-artisanship, and under that head I shall describe it.

OF THE STREET-JEWS.

Although my present inquiry relates to London life in London streets, it is necessary that I should briefly treat of the Jews generally, as an integral, but distinct and peculiar part of street-life.

That this ancient people were engaged in what may be called street-traffic in the earlier ages of our history, as well as in the importation of spices, furs, fine leather, armour, drugs, and general merchandise, there can be no doubt; nevertheless concerning this part of the subject there are but the most meagre accounts.

Jews were settled in England as early as 730, and during the sway of the Saxon kings. They increased in number after the era of the Conquest; but it was not until the rapacity to which they were exposed in the reign of Stephen had in a great measure exhausted itself, and until the measures of Henry II. had given encouragement to commerce, and some degree of security to property in cities or congregated communities, that the Jews in England became numerous and wealthy. They then became active and enterprising attendants at fairs, where the greater portion of the internal trade of the kingdom was carried on, and especially the traffic in the more valuable commodities, such as plate, jewels, armour, cloths, wines, spices, horses, cattle, &c. The agents of the great prelates and barons, and even of the ruling princes, purchased what they required at these fairs. St. Giles's fair, held at St. Giles's hill, not far from Winchester, continued sixteen days. The fair was, as it were, a temporary city. There were streets of tents in every direction, in which the traders offered and displayed their wares. During the continuance of the fair, business was strictly prohibited in Winchester, Southampton, and in every place within seven miles of St. Giles's hill. Among the tent-owners at such fairs were the Jews.

At this period the Jews may be considered as one of the bodies of "merchant-strangers," as they were called, settled in England for purposes of commerce. Among the other bodies of these

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"strangers" were the German "merchants of the steel-yard," the Lombards, the Caursini of Rome, the "merchants of the staple," and others. These were all corporations, and thriving corporations (when unmolested), and the Jews had also their Jewerie, or Judaisme, not for a "corporation" merely, but also for the requirements of their faith and worship, and for their living together. The London Jewerie was established in a place of which no vestige of its establishment now remains beyond the name—the Old Jewry. Here was erected the first synagogue of the Jews in England, which was defaced or demolished, Maitland states, by the citizens, after they had slain 700 Jews (other accounts represent that number as greatly exaggerated). This took place in 1263, during one of the many disturbances in the uneasy reign of Henry III.

All this time the Jews amassed wealth by trade and usury, in spite of their being plundered and maltreated by the princes and other potentates—every one has heard of King John's having a Jew's teeth drawn—and in spite of their being reviled by the priests and hated by the people. The sovereigns generally encouraged "merchant-strangers." When the city of London, in 1289, petitioned Edward I. for "the expulsion of all merchant-strangers," that monarch answered, with all a monarch's peculiar regard for "great" men and "great" men only, "No! the merchant-strangers are useful and beneficial to the great men of the kingdom, and I will not expel them." But though the King encouraged, the people detested, *all* foreign traders, though not with the same intensity as they detested and contemned the Jews, for in *that* detestation a strong religious feeling was an element. Of this dislike to the merchant-strangers, very many instances might be cited, but I need give only one. In 1379, nearly a century after the banishment of the Jews, a Genoese merchant, a man of great wealth, petitioned Richard II. for permission to deposit goods for safe keeping in Southampton Castle, promising to introduce so large a share of the commerce of the East into England, that pepper should be 4*d*. a pound. "Yet the Londoners," writes Walsingham, but in the quaint monkish Latin of the day, "enemies to the prosperity of their country, hired assassins, who murdered the merchant in the street. After this, what stranger will trust his person among a people so faithless and so cruel? who will not dread our treachery, and abhor our name?"

In 1290, by a decree of Edward I., the Jews were banished out of England. The causes assigned for this summary act, were "their extortions, their debasing and diminishing the coin, and for other crimes." I need not enter into the merits or demerits of the Jews of that age, but it is certain that any ridiculous charge, any which it was impossible could be true, was an excuse for the plundering of them at the hands of the rich, and the persecution of them at the hands of the people. At the period of this banishment, their number is represented by the contemporaneous historians to have been about 16,000, a number most probably exaggerated, as perhaps all statements of the numbers of a people are when no statistical knowledge has been acquired. During this period of their abode in England, the Jews were protected as the villeins or bondsmen of the king, a protection disregarded by the commonalty, and only giving to the executive government greater facilities of extortion and oppression.

In 1655 an Amsterdam Jew, Rabbi Manasseh Ben-Israel, whose name is still highly esteemed among his countrymen, addressed Cromwell on the behalf of the Jews that they should be re-admitted into England with the sanction, and under the protection, of the law. Despite the absence of such sanction, they had resided and of course traded in this country, but in small numbers, and trading often in indirect and sometimes in contraband ways. Chaucer, writing in the days of Richard II., three reigns after their expulsion, speaks of Jews as living in England. It is reputed that, in the reigns of Elizabeth and the first James, they supplied, at great profit, the materials required by the alchymists for their experiments in the transmutation of metals. In Elizabeth's reign, too, Jewish physicians were highly esteemed in England. The Queen at one time confided the care of her health to RodrigoLopez, a Hebrew, who, however, was convicted of an attempt to poison his royal mistress. Francis I., of France, carried his opinion of Jewish medical skill to a great height; he refused on one occasion, during an illness, to be attended by the most eminent of the Israelitish physicians, because the learned man had just before been converted to Christianity. The most Christian king, therefore, applied to his ally, the Turkish sultan, Solyman II., who sent him "a true hardened Jew," by whose directions Francis drank asses' milk and recovered.

Cromwell's response to the application of Manasseh Ben Israel was favourable; but the opposition of the Puritans, and more especially of Prynne, prevented any public declaration on the subject. In 1656, however, the Jews began to arrive and establish themselves in England, but not until after the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, could it be said that, as a body, they were settled in England. They arrived from time to time, and without any formal sanction being either granted or refused. One reason alleged at the time was, that the Jews were well known to be money-lenders, and Charles and his courtiers were as well known money-borrowers!

I now come to the character and establishment of the Jews in the capacity in which I have more especially to describe them—as street-traders. There appears no reason to doubt that they commenced their principal street traffic, the collecting of old clothes, soon after their settlement in London. At any rate the cry and calling of the Jew old clothesman were so established, 30 or 40 years after their return, or early in the last century, that one of them is delineated in Tempest's "Cries of London," published about that period. In this work the street Jew is represented as very different in his appearance to that which he presents in our

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day. Instead of merely a dingy bag, hung empty over his arm, or carried, when partially or wholly filled, on his shoulder, he is depicted as wearing, or rather carrying, three cocked hats, one over the other, upon his head; a muff, with a scarf or large handkerchief over it, is attached to his right hand and arm, and two dress swords occupy his left hand. The apparel which he himself wears is of the full-skirted style of the day, and his long hair, or periwig, descends to his shoulders. This difference in appearance, however, between the street Jew of 1700 and of a century and a half later, is simply the effect of circumstances, and indicates no change in the character of the man. Were it now the fashion for gentlemen to wear muffs, swords, and cocked hats, the Jew would again have them in his possession.

During the eighteenth century the popular feeling ran very high against the Jews, although to the masses they were almost strangers, except as men employed in the not-very-formidable occupation of collecting and vending second-hand clothes. The old feeling against them seems to have lingered among the English people, and their own greed in many instances engendered other and lawful causes of dislike, by their resorting to unlawful and debasing pursuits. They were considered—and with that exaggeration of belief dear to any ignorant community—as an entire people of misers, usurers, extortioners, receivers of stolen goods, cheats, brothel-keepers, sheriff's-officers, clippers and sweaters of the coin of the realm, gaming-house keepers; in fine, the charges, or rather the accusations, of carrying on every disreputable trade, and none else, were "bundled at their doors." That there was too much foundation for many of these accusations, and still *is*, no reasonable Jew can now deny; that the wholesale prejudice against them was absurd, is equally indisputable.

So strong was this popular feeling against the Israelites, that it not only influenced, and not only controlled the legislature, but it coerced the Houses of Parliament to repeal, in 1754, an act which they had passed the previous session, and that act was merely to enable foreign Jews to be naturalised without being required to take the sacrament! It was at that time, and while the popular ferment was at its height, unsafe for a Hebrew old clothesman, however harmless a man, and however long and well known on his beat, to ply his street-calling openly; for he was often beaten and maltreated. Mobs, riots, pillagings, and attacks upon the houses of the Jews were frequent, and one of the favourite cries of the mob was certainly among the most preposterously stupid of any which ever tickled the ear and satisfied the mind of the ignorant:—

"No Jews!
No wooden shoes!!"

Some mob-leader, with a taste for rhyme, had in this distich cleverly blended the prejudice against the Jews with the easily excited but vague fears of a French invasion, which was in some strange way typified to the apprehensions of the vulgar as connected with slavery, popery, the compulsory wearing of wooden shoes (*sabots*), and the eating of frogs! And this sort of feeling was often revenged on the street Jew, as a man mixed up with wooden shoes! Cumberland, in the comedy of "The Jew," and some time afterwards Miss Edgeworth, in the tale of "Harrington and Ormond," and both at the request of Jews, wrote to moderate this rabid prejudice.

In what estimation the street, and, incidentally, all classes of Jews are held at the present time, will be seen in the course of my remarks; and in the narratives to be given. I may here observe, however, that among some the dominant feeling against the Jews on account of their faith still flourishes, as is shown by the following statement:—A gentleman of my acquaintance was one evening, about twilight, walking down Brydges-street, Covent-garden, when an elderly Jew was preceding him, apparently on his return from a day's work, as an old clothesman. His bag accidentally touched the bonnet of a dashing woman of the town, who was passing, and she turned round, abused the Jew, and spat at him, saying with an oath: "You old rags humbug! *You* can't do that!"—an allusion to a vulgar notion that Jews have been unable to do more than *slobber*, since spitting on the Saviour.

The number of Jews now in England is computed at 35,000. This is the result at which the Chief Rabbi arrived a few years ago, after collecting all the statistical information at his command. Of these 35,000, more than one-half, or about 18,000, reside in London. I am informed that there may now be a small increase to this population, but only small, for many Jews have emigrated—some to California. A few years ago—a circumstance mentioned in my account of the Street-Sellers of Jewellery—there were a number of Jews known as "hawkers," or "travellers," who traverse every part of England selling watches, gold and silver pencil-cases, eye-glasses, and all the more portable descriptions of jewellery, as well as thermometers, barometers, telescopes, and microscopes. This trade is now little pursued, except by the stationary dealers; and the Jews who carried it on, and who were chiefly foreign Jews, have emigrated to America. The foreign Jews who, though a fluctuating body, are always numerous in London, are included in the computation of 18,000; of this population two-thirds reside in the city, or the streets adjacent to the eastern boundaries of the city.

Of the Trades and Localities of the Street-Jews.

The trades which the Jews most affect, I was told by one of themselves, are those in which, as they describe it, "there's a chance;" that is, they prefer a trade in such commodity as is not subjected to a fixed price, so that there may be abundant scope for speculation, and something like a gambler's chance for profit or loss. In this way, Sir Walter Scott has said, trade has "all the fascination of gambling, without the moral guilt;" but the absence of moral guilt in connection with such trading is certainly dubious.

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The wholesale trades in foreign commodities which are now principally or solely in the hands of the Jews, often as importers and exporters, are, watches and jewels, sponges—fruits, especially green fruits, such as oranges, lemons, grapes, walnuts, cocoa-nuts, &c., and dates among dried fruits—shells, tortoises, parrots and foreign birds, curiosities, ostrich feathers, snuffs, cigars, and pipes; but cigars far more extensively at one time.

The localities in which these wholesale and retail traders reside are mostly at the East-end—indeed the Jews of London, as a congregated body, have been, from the times when their numbers were sufficient to institute a "settlement" or "colony," peculiar to themselves, always resident in the eastern quarter of the metropolis.

Of course a wealthy Jew millionaire—merchant, stock-jobber, or stock-broker—resides where he pleases—in a villa near the Marquis of Hertford's in the Regent's-park, a mansion near the Duke of Wellington's in Piccadilly, a house and grounds at Clapham or Stamford-hill; but these are exceptions. The quarters of the Jews are not difficult to describe. The trading-class in the capacity of shopkeepers, warehousemen, or manufacturers, are the thickest in Houndsditch, Aldgate, and the Minories, more especially as regards the "swag-shops" and the manufacture and sale of wearing apparel. The wholesale dealers in fruit are in Duke's-place and Pudding-lane (Thames-street), but the superior retail Jew fruiterers—some of whose shops are remarkable for the beauty of their fruit—are in Cheapside, Oxford-street, Piccadilly, and most of all in Covent-garden market. The inferior jewellers (some of whom deal with the first shops) are also at the East-end, about Whitechapel, Bevis-marks, and Houndsditch; the wealthier goldsmiths and watchmakers having, like other tradesmen of the class, their shops in the superior thoroughfares. The great congregation of working watchmakers is in Clerkenwell, but in that locality there are only a few Jews. The Hebrew dealers in second-hand garments, and second-hand wares generally, are located about Petticoat-lane, the peculiarities of which place I have lately described. The manufacturers of such things as cigars, pencils, and sealing-wax; the wholesale importers of sponge, bristles and toys, the dealers in quills and in "looking-glasses," reside in large private-looking houses, when display is not needed for purposes of business, in such parts as Maunsell-street, Great Prescott-street, Great Ailie-street, Leman-street, and other parts of the eastern quarter known as Goodman's-fields. The wholesale dealers in foreign birds and shells, and in the many foreign things known as "curiosities," reside in East Smithfield, Ratcliffe-highway, High-street (Shadwell), or in some of the parts adjacent to the Thames. In the long range of river-side streets, stretching from the Tower to Poplar and Blackwall, are Jews, who fulfil the many capacities of slop-sellers, &c., called into exercise by the requirements of seafaring people on their return from or commencement of a voyage. A few Jews keep boarding-houses for sailors in Shadwell and Wapping. Of the localities and abodes of the poorest of the Jews I shall speak hereafter.

Concerning the street-trades pursued by the Jews, I believe there is not at present a single one of which they can be said to have a monopoly; nor in any one branch of the street-traffic are there so many of the Jew traders as there were a few years back.

This remarkable change is thus to be accounted for. Strange as the fact may appear, the Jew has been undersold in the streets, and he has been beaten on what might be called his own ground—the buying of old clothes. The Jew boys, and the feebler and elder Jews, had, until some twelve or fifteen years back, almost the monopoly of orange and lemon street-selling, or street-hawking. The costermonger class had possession of the theatre doors and the approaches to the theatres; they had, too, occasionally their barrows full of oranges; but the Jews were the daily, assiduous, and itinerant street-sellers of this most popular of foreign, and perhaps of all, fruits. In their hopes of sale they followed any one a mile if encouraged, even by a few approving glances. The great theatre of this traffic was in the stage-coach yards in such inns as the Bull and Mouth, (St. Martin's-le-Grand), the Belle Sauvage (Ludgate-hill), the Saracen's Head (Snow-hill), the Bull (Aldgate), the Swan-with-two-Necks (Ladlane, City), the George and Blue Boar (Holborn), the White Horse (Fetter-lane), and other such places. They were seen too, "with all their eyes about them," as one informant expressed it, outside the inns where the coaches stopped to take up passengers—at the White Horse Cellar in Piccadilly, for instance, and the Angel and the (now defunct) Peacock in Islington. A commercial traveller told me that he could never leave town by any "mail" or "stage," without being besieged by a small army of Jew boys, who most pertinaciously offered him oranges, lemons, sponges, combs, pocket-books, pencils, sealing-wax, paper, many-bladed pen-knives, razors, pocket-mirrors, and shaving-boxes—as if a man could not possibly quit the metropolis without requiring a stock of such commodities. In the whole of these trades, unless in some degree in sponges and blacklead-pencils, the Jew is now out-numbered or displaced.

I have before alluded to the underselling of the Jew boy by the Irish boy in the street-orange trade; but the characteristics of the change are so peculiar, that a further notice is necessary. It is curious to observe that the most assiduous, and hitherto the most successful of street-traders, were supplanted, not by a more persevering or more skilful body of street-sellers, but simply by a more *starving* body.

Some few years since poor Irish people, and chiefly those connected with the culture of the land, "came over" to this country in great numbers, actuated either by vague hopes of "bettering themselves" by emigration, or working on the railways, or else influenced by the restlessness common to an impoverished people. These men, when unable to obtain em-

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THE JEW OLD-CLOTHES MAN.

CLO', CLO', CLO'.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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ployment, without scruple became street-sellers. Not only did the adults resort to street-traffic, generally in its simplest forms, such as hawking fruit, but the children, by whom they were accompanied from Ireland, in great numbers, were put into the trade; and if two or three children earned 2*d.* a day each, and their parents 5*d.* or 6*d.* each, or even 4*d.*, the subsistence of the family was better than they could obtain in the midst of the miseries of the southern and western part of the Sister Isle. An Irish boy of fourteen, having to support himself by street-trade, as was often the case, owing to the death of parents and to divers casualties, would undersell the Jew boys similarly circumstanced.

The Irish boy could live *harder* than the Jew—often in his own country he subsisted on a stolen turnip a day; he could lodge harder—lodge for 1*d.* a night in any noisome den, or sleep in the open air, which is seldom done by the Jew boy; he could dispense with the use of shoes and stockings—a dispensation at which his rival in trade revolted; he drank only water, or if he took tea or coffee, it was as a meal, and not merely as a beverage; to crown the whole, the city-bred Jew boy required some evening recreation, the penny or twopenny concert, or a game at draughts or dominoes; but this the Irish boy, country bred, never thought of, for *his* sole luxury was a deep sleep, and, being regardless or ignorant of all such recreations, he worked longer hours, and so sold more oranges, than his Hebrew competitor. Thus, as the Munster or Connaught lad could live on less than the young denizen of Petticoat-lane, he could sell at smaller profit, and did so sell, until gradually the Hebrew youths were displaced by the Irish in the street orange trade.

It is the same, or the same in a degree, with other street-trades, which were at one time all but monopolised by the Jew adults. Among these were the street-sale of spectacles and sponges. The prevalence of slop-work and slop-wages, and the frequent difficulty of obtaining properly-remunerated employment—the pinch of want, in short—have driven many mechanics to street-traffic; so that the numbers of street-traffickers have been augmented, while no small portion of the new comers have adopted the more knowing street avocations, formerly pursued only by the Jews.

Of the other class of street-traders who have interfered largely with the old-clothes trade, which, at one time, people seemed to consider a sort of birthright among the Jews, I have already spoken, when treating of the dealings of the crockmen in bartering glass and crockery-ware for second-hand apparel. These traders now obtain as many old clothes as the Jew clothes men themselves; for, with a great number of "ladies," the offer of an ornament of glass or spar, or of a beautiful and fragrant plant, is more attractive than the offer of a small sum of money, for the purchase of the left-off garments of the family.

The crockmen are usually strong and in the prime of youth or manhood, and are capable of carrying heavy burdens of glass or china-wares, for which the Jews are either incompetent or disinclined.

Some of the Jews which have been thus displaced from the street-traffic have emigrated to America, with the assistance of their brethren.

The principal street-trades of the Jews are now in sponges, spectacles, combs, pencils, accordions, cakes, sweetmeats, drugs, and fruits of all kinds; but, in all these trades, unless perhaps in drugs, they are in a minority compared with the "Christian" street-sellers.

There is not among the Jew street-sellers generally anything of the concubinage or cohabitation common among the costermongers. Marriage is the rule.

Of the Jew Old-Clothes Men.

Fifty years ago the appearance of the street Jews, engaged in the purchase of second-hand clothes, was different to what it is at the present time. The Jew then had far more of the distinctive garb and aspect of a foreigner. He not unfrequently wore the gabardine, which is never seen now in the streets, but some of the long loose frock coats worn by the Jew clothes' buyers resemble it. At that period, too, the Jew's long beard was far more distinctive than it is in this hirsute generation.

In other respects the street Jew is unchanged. Now, as during the last century, he traverses every street, square, and road, with the monotonous cry, sometimes like a bleat, of "Clo'! Clo'!" On this head, however, I have previously remarked, when describing the street Jew of a hundred years ago.

In an inquiry into the condition of the old-clothes dealers a year and a half ago, a Jew gave me the following account. He told me, at the commencement of his statement, that he was of opinion that his people were far more speculative than the Gentiles, and therefore the English liked better to deal with them. "Our people," he said, "will be out all day in the wet, and begrudge themselves a bit of anything to eat till they go home, and then, may be, they 'll gamble away their crown, just for the love of speculation." My informant, who could write or speak several languages, and had been 50 years in the business, then said, "I am no bigot; indeed I do not care where I buy my meat, so long as I can get it. I often go into the Minories and buy some, without looking to how it has been killed, or whether it has a seal on it or not."

He then gave me some account of the Jewish children, and the number of men in the trade, which I have embodied under the proper heads. The itinerant Jew clothes man, he told me, was generally the son of a former old-clothes man, but some were cigar-makers, or pencil-makers, taking to the clothes business when those trades were slack; but that nineteen out of twenty had been born to it. If the parents of the Jew boy are poor, and the boy a sharp lad, he generally commences business at ten years of age, by selling lemons, or some trifle in the streets, and so, as he

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expressed it, the boy "gets a round," or street-connection, by becoming known to the neighbourhoods he visits. If he sees a servant, he will, when selling his lemons, ask if she have any old shoes or old clothes, and offer to be a purchaser. If the clothes should come to more than the Jew boy has in his pocket, he leaves what silver he has as "an earnest upon them," and then seeks some regular Jew clothes man, who will advance the purchase money. This the old Jew agrees to do upon the understanding that he is to have "half Rybeck," that is, a moiety of the profit, and then he will accompany the boy to the house, to pass his judgment on the goods, and satisfy himself that the stripling has not made a blind bargain, an error into which he very rarely falls. After this he goes with the lad to Petticoat-lane, and there they share whatever money the clothes may bring over and above what has been paid for them. By such means the Jew boy gets his knowledge of the old-clothes business; and so quick are these lads generally, that in the course of two months they will acquire sufficient experience in connection with the trade to begin dealing on their own account. There are some, he told me, as sharp at 15 as men of 50.

"It is very seldom," my informant stated, "very seldom indeed, that a Jew clothes man takes away any of the property of the house he may be called into. I expect there's a good many of 'em," he continued, for he sometimes spoke of his co-traders, as if they were not of his own class, "is fond of cheating—that is, they won't mind giving only 2*s.* for a thing that's worth 5*s.* They are fond of money, and will do almost anything to get it. Jews are perhaps the most money-loving people in all England. There are certainly some old-clothes men who will buy articles at such a price that they must know them to have been stolen. Their rule, however, is to ask no questions, and to get as cheap an article as possible. A Jew clothes man is seldom or never seen in liquor. They gamble for money, either at their own homes or at public-houses. The favourite games are tossing, dominoes, and cards. I was informed, by one of the people, that he had seen as much as 30*l.* in silver and gold lying upon the ground when two parties had been playing at throwing three halfpence in the air. On a Saturday, some gamble away the morning and the greater part of the afternoon." [Saturday, I need hardly say, is the Hebrew Sabbath.] "They meet in some secret back place, about ten, and begin playing for 'one a time'—that is, tossing up three halfpence, and staking 1*s.* on the result. Other Jews, and a few Christians, will gather round and bet. Sometimes the bets laid by the Jew bystanders are as high as 2*l.* each; and on more than one occasion the old-clothes men have wagered as much as 50*l.*, but only after great gains at gambling. Some, if they *can*, will cheat, by means of a halfpenny with a head or a tail on both sides, called a 'gray.' The play lasts till the Sabbath is nearly over, and then they go to business or the theatre. They seldom or never say a word while they are losing, but merely stamp on the ground; it is dangerous, though, to interfere when luck runs against them. The rule is, when a man is losing to let him alone. I have known them play for three hours together, and nothing be said all that time but 'head' or 'tail.' They seldom go to synagogue, and on a Sunday evening have card parties at their own houses. They seldom eat anything on their rounds. The reason is, not because they object to eat meat killed by a Christian, but because they are afraid of losing a 'deal,' or the chance of buying a lot of old clothes by delay. They are generally too lazy to light their own fires before they start of a morning, and nineteen out of twenty obtain their breakfasts at the coffee-shops about Houndsditch.

"When they return from their day's work they have mostly some stew ready, prepared by their parents or wife. If they are not family men they go to an eating-house. This is sometimes a Jewish house, but if no one is looking they creep into a Christian 'cook-shop,' not being particular about eating 'tryfer'—that is, meat which has been killed by a Christian. Those that are single generally go to a neighbour and agree with him to be boarded on the Sabbath; and for this the charge is generally about 2*s.* 6*d.* On a Saturday there's cold fish for breakfast and supper; indeed, a Jew would pawn the shirt off his back sooner than go without fish then; and in holiday-time he *will* have it, if he has to get it out of the stones. It is not reckoned a holiday unless there's fish."

"Forty years ago I have made as much as 5*l.* in a week by the purchase of old clothes in the streets," said a Jew informant. "Upon an average then, I could earn weekly about 2*l.* But now things are different. People are more wide awake. Every one knows the value of an old coat now-a-days. The women know more than the men. The general average, I think, take the good weeks with the bad throughout the year, is about 1*l.* a week; some weeks we get 2*l.*, and some scarcely nothing."

I was told by a Jewish professional gentleman that the account of the *spirit* of gambling prevalent among his people was correct, but the amounts said to be staked, he thought, rare or exaggerated.

The Jew old-clothes men are generally far more cleanly in their habits than the poorer classes of English people. Their hands they always wash before their meals, and this is done whether the party be a strict Jew or "Meshumet," a convert, or apostate from Judaism. Neither will the Israelite ever use the same knife to cut his meat that he previously used to spread his butter, and he will not even put his meat on a plate that has had butter on it; nor will he use for his soup the spoon that has had melted butter in it. This objection to mix butter with meat is carried so far, that, after partaking of the one, Jews will not eat of the other for the space of two hours. The Jews are generally, when married, most exemplary family men. There are few fonder fathers than they are, and they will starve themselves sooner than their wives and children should want. Whatever their faults may be, they are good

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fathers, husbands, and sons. Their principal characteristic is their extreme love of money; and, though the strict Jew does not trade himself on the Sabbath, he may not object to employ either one of his tribe, or a Gentile, to do so for him.

The capital required for commencing in the old-clothes line is generally about 1*l.* This the Jew frequently borrows, especially after holiday-time, for then he has generally spent all his earnings, unless he be a provident man. When his stock-money is exhausted, he goes either to a neighbour or to a publican in the vicinity, and borrows 1*l.* on the Monday morning, "to strike a light with," as he calls it, and agrees to return it on the Friday evening, with 1*s.* interest for the loan. This he always pays back. If he was to sell the coat off his back he would do this, I am told, because to fail in so doing would be to prevent his obtaining any stock-money for the future. With this capital he starts on his rounds about eight in the morning, and I am assured he will frequently begin his work without tasting food, rather than break into the borrowed stock-money. Each man has his particular walk, and never interferes with that of his neighbour; indeed, while upon another's beat he will seldom cry for clothes. Sometimes they go half "Rybeck" together—that is, they will share the profits of the day's business, and when they agree to do this the one will take one street, and the other another. The lower the neighbourhood the more old clothes are there for sale. At the east end of the town they like the neighbourhoods frequented by sailors, and there they purchase of the girls and the women the sailors' jackets and trowsers. But they buy most of the Petticoat-lane, the Old-Clothes Exchange, and the marine-store dealers; for as the Jew clothes man never travels the streets by night-time, the parties who then have old clothes to dispose of usually sell them to the marine-store or second-hand dealers over-night, and the Jew buys them in the morning. The first thing that he does on his rounds is to seek out these shops, and see what he can pick up there. A very great amount of business is done by the Jew clothes man at the marine-store shops at the west as well as at the east end of London.

At the West-end the itinerant clothes men prefer the mews at the back of gentlemen's houses to all other places, or else the streets where the little tradesmen and small genteel families reside. My informant assured me that he had once bought a Bishop's hat of his lordship's servant for 1*s.* 6*d.* on a Sunday morning.

These traders, as I have elsewhere stated, live at the East-end of the town. The greater number of them reside in Portsoken Ward, Houndsditch; and their favourite localities in this district are either Cobb's-yard, Roper's-building, or Wentworth-street. They mostly occupy small houses, about 4*s.* 6*d.* a week rent, and live with their families. They are generally sober men. It is seldom that a Jew leaves his house and owes his landlord money; and if his goods should be seized the rest of his tribe will go round and collect what is owing.

The rooms occupied by the old-clothes men are far from being so comfortable as those of the English artizans whose earnings are not superior to the gains of these clothes men. Those which I saw had all a littered look; the furniture was old and scant, and the apartment seemed neither shop, parlour, nor bed-room. For domestic and family men, as some of the Jew old-clothes men are, they seem very indifferent to the comforts of a home.

I have spoken of "Tryfer," or meat killed in the Christian fashion. Now, the meat killed according to the Jewish law is known as "Coshar," and a strict Jew will eat none other. In one of my letters in the *Morning Chronicle* on the meat markets of London, there appeared the following statement, respecting the Jew butchers in Whitechapel-market.

"To a portion of the meat here exposed for sale, may be seen attached the peculiar seal which shows that the animal was killed conformably to the Jewish rites. According to the injunctions of this religion the beast must die from its throat being cut, instead of being knocked on the head. The slaughterer of the cattle for Jewish consumption, moreover, must be a Jew. Two slaughterers are appointed by the Jewish authorities of the synagogue, and they can employ others, who must be likewise Jews, as assistants. The slaughterers I saw were quiet-looking and quiet-mannered men. When the animal is slaughtered and skinned, an examiner (also appointed by the synagogue) carefully inspects the 'inside.' 'If the lights be grown to the ribs,' said my informant, who had had many years' experience in this branch of the meat trade, 'or if the lungs have any disease, or if there be any disease anywhere, the meat is pronounced unfit for the food of the Jews, and is sent entire to a carcase butcher to be sold to the Christians. This, however, does not happen once in 20 times.' To the parts exposed for sale, when the slaughtering has been according to the Jewish law, there is attached a leaden seal, stamped in Hebrew characters with the name of the examining party sealing. In this way, as I ascertained from the slaughterers, are killed weekly from 120 to 140 bullocks, from 400 to 500 sheep and lambs, and about 30 calves. All the parts of the animal thus slaughtered may be and are eaten by the Jews, but three-fourths of the purchase of this meat is confined, as regards the Jews, to the fore-quarters of the respective animals; the hind-quarters, being the choicer parts, are sent to Newgate or Leadenhall-markets for sale on commission." The Hebrew butchers consider that the Christian mode of slaughter is a far less painful death to the ox than was the Jewish.

I am informed that of the Jew Old-Clothes Men there are now only from 500 to 600 in London; at one time there might have been 1000. Their average earnings may be something short of 20*s.* a week in second-hand clothes alone; but the gains are difficult to estimate.

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OF A JEW STREET-SELLER.

AN elderly man, who, at the time I saw him, was vending spectacles, or bartering them for old clothes, old books, or any second-hand articles, gave me an account of his street-life, but it presented little remarkable beyond the not unusual vicissitudes of the lives of those of his class.

He had been in every street-trade, and had on four occasions travelled all over England, selling quills, sealing-wax, pencils, sponges, braces, cheap or superior jewellery, thermometers, and pictures. He had sold barometers in the mountainous parts of Cumberland, sometimes walking for hours without seeing man or woman. "*I liked it then,*" he said, "*for I was young and strong, and didn't care to sleep twice in the same town.* I was afterwards in the old-clothes line. I buy a few odd hats and light things still, but I'm not able to carry heavy weights, as my breath is getting rather short." [I find that the Jews generally object to the more laborious kinds of street-traffic.] "Yes, I've been twice to Ireland, and sold a good many quills in Dublin, for I crossed over from Liverpool. Quills and wax were a great trade with us once; now it's quite different. I've had as much as 60*l.* of my own, and that more than half-a-dozen times, but all of it went in speculations. Yes, some went in gambling. I had a share in a gaming-booth at the races, for three years. O, I dare say that's more than 20 years back; but we did very little good. There was such fees to pay for the tent on a race-ground, and often such delays between the races in the different towns, and bribes to be given to the town-officers—such as town-sergeants and chief constables, and I hardly know who—and so many expenses altogether, that the profits were mostly swamped. Once at Newcastle races there was a fight among the pitmen, and our tent was in their way, and was demolished almost to bits. A deal of the money was lost or stolen. I don't know how much, but not near so much as my partners wanted to make out. I wasn't on the spot just at the time. I got married after that, and took a shop in the second-hand clothes line in Bristol, but my wife died in child-bed in less than a year, and the shop didn't answer; so I got sick of it, and at last got rid of it. O, I work both the country and London still. I shall take a turn into Kent in a day or two. I suppose I clear between 10*s.* and 20*s.* a week in anything, and as I've only myself, I do middling, and am ready for another chance if any likely speculation offers. I lodge with a relation, and sometimes live with his family. No, I never touch any meat but 'Coshar.' I suppose my meat now costs me 6*d.* or 7*d.* a day, but it has cost me ten times that—and 2*d.* for beer in addition."

I am informed that there are about 50 adult Jews (besides old-clothes men) in the streets selling fruit, cakes, pencils, spectacles, sponge, accordions, drugs, &c.

OF THE JEW-BOY STREET-SELLERS.

I HAVE ascertained, and from sources where no ignorance on the subject could prevail, that there are now in the streets of London, rather more than 100 Jew-boys engaged principally in fruit and cake-selling in the streets. Very few Jewesses are itinerant street-sellers. Most of the older Jews thus engaged have been street-sellers from their boyhood. The young Jews who ply in street-callings, however, are all men in matters of traffic, almost before they cease, in years, to be children. In addition to the Jew-boy street-sellers above enumerated, there are from 50 to 100, but usually about 50, who are occasional, or "casual" street-traders, vending for the most part cocoa-nuts and grapes, and confining their sales chiefly to the Sundays.

On the subject of the street-Jew boys, a Hebrew gentleman said to me: "When we speak of street-Jew boys, it should be understood, that the great majority of them are but little more conversant with or interested in the religion of their fathers, than are the costermonger boys of whom you have written. They are Jews by the accident of their birth, as others in the same way, with equal ignorance of the assumed faith, are Christians."

I received from a Jew boy the following account of his trading pursuits and individual aspirations. There was somewhat of a thickness in his utterance, otherwise his speech was but little distinguishable from that of an English street-boy. His physiognomy was decidedly Jewish, but not of the handsomer type. His hair was light-coloured, but clean, and apparently well brushed, without being oiled, or, as I heard a street-boy style it, "greased"; it was long, and he said his aunt told him it "wanted cutting sadly;" but he "liked it that way;" indeed, he kept dashing his curls from his eyes, and back from his temples, as he was conversing, as if he were somewhat vain of doing so. He was dressed in a corduroy suit, old but not ragged, and wore a tolerably clean, very coarse, and altogether buttonless shirt, which he said "was made for one bigger than me, sir." He had bought it for 9½*d.* in Petticoat-lane, and accounted it a bargain, as its wear would be durable. He was selling sponges when I saw him, and of the commonest kind, offering a large piece for 3*d.*, which (he admitted) would be rubbed to bits in no time. This sponge, I should mention, is frequently "dressed" with sulphuric acid, and an eminent surgeon informed me that on his servant attempting to clean his black dress coat with a sponge that he had newly bought in the streets, the colour of the garment, to his horror, changed to a bright purple. The Jew boy said—

"I believe I'm twelve. I've been to school, but it's long since, and my mother was very ill then, and I was forced to go out in the streets to have a chance. I never was kept to school. I can't read; I've forgot all about it. I'd rather now that I could read, but very likely I could soon learn if I could only spare time, but if I stay long in the house I feel sick; it's not healthy. O, no, sir, inside or out it would be all the same to me, just to make a living and keep my health. I can't say how long it is since I began to sell, it's a good long time; one must do some-

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thing. I could keep myself now, and do sometimes, but my father -- I live with him (my mother 's dead) is often laid up. Would you like to see him, sir? He knows a deal. No, he can't write, but he can read a little. Can I speak Hebrew? Well, I know what you mean. O, no, I can't. I don't go to synagogue; I haven't time. My father goes, but only sometimes; so he says, and he tells me to look out, for we must both go by-and-by." [I began to ask him what he knew of Joseph, and others recorded in the Old Testament, but he bristled up, and asked if I wanted to make a Meshumet (a convert) of him?] "I have sold all sorts of things," he continued, "oranges, and lemons, and sponges, and nuts, and sweets. I should like to have a real good ginger-beer fountain of my own; but I must wait, and there 's many in the trade. I only go with boys of my own sort. I sell to all sorts of boys, but that's nothing. Very likely they 're Christians, but that 's nothing to me. I don't know what 's the difference between a Jew and Christian, and I don't want to talk about it. The Meshumets are never any good. Anybody will tell you that. Yes, I like music and can sing a bit. I get to a penny and sometimes a two-penny concert. No, I haven't been to Sussex Hall—I know where it is—I shouldn't understand it. You get in for nothing, that's one thing. I've heard of Baron Rothschild. He has more money than I could count in shillings in a year. I don't know about his wanting to get into parliament, or what it means; but he 's sure to do it or anything else, with his money. He's very charitable, I've heard. I don't know whether he's a German Jew, or a Portegee, or what. He 's a cut above me, a precious sight. I only wish he was my uncle. I can't say what I should do if I had his money. Perhaps I should go a travelling, and see everything everywhere. I don't know how long the Jews have been in England; always perhaps. Yes, I know there 's Jews in other countries. This sponge is Greek sponge, but I don't know where it 's grown, only it 's in foreign parts. Jerusalem! Yes, I 've heard of it. I 'm of no tribe that I know of. I buy what I eat about Petticoat-lane. No, I don't like fish, but the stews, and the onions with them is beautiful for two-pence; you may get a pennor'th. The pickles—cowcumbers is best—are stunning. But they 're plummiest with a bit of cheese or anything cold—that 's my opinion, but you may think different. Pork! Ah! No, I never touched it; I 'd as soon eat a cat; so would my father. No, sir, I don't think pork smells nice in a cook-shop, but some Jew boys, as I knows, thinks it does. I don't know why it shouldn't be eaten, only that it 's wrong to eat it. No, I never touched a ham-sandwich, but other Jew boys have, and laughed at it, I know.

"I don't know what I make in a week. I think I make as much on one thing as on another. I 've sold strawberries, and cherries, and gooseberries, and nuts and walnuts in the season. O, as to what I make, that 's nothing to nobody. Sometimes 6*d.* a day, sometimes 1*s.*; sometimes a little more, and sometimes nothing. No, I never sells inferior things if I can help it, but if one hasn't stock-money one must do as one can, but it isn't so easy to try it on. There was a boy beaten by a woman not long since for selling a big pottle of strawberries that was rubbish all under the toppers. It was all strawberry leaves, and crushed strawberries, and such like. She wanted to take back from him the two-pence she 'd paid for it, and got hold of his pockets and there was a regular fight, but she didn't get a farthing back though she tried her very hardest, 'cause he slipped from her and hooked it. So you see it 's dangerous to try it on." [This last remark was made gravely enough, but the lad told of the feat with such manifest glee, that I'm inclined to believe that he himself was the culprit in question.] "Yes, it was a Jew boy it happened to, but other boys in the streets is just the same. Do I like the streets? I can't say I do, there's too little to be made in them. *No, I wouldn't like to go to school, nor to be in a shop, nor be anybody's servant but my own.* O, I don't know what I shall be when I'm grown up. I shall take my chance like others."

OF THE PURSUITS, DWELLINGS, TRAFFIC, ETC., OF THE JEW-BOY STREET-SELLERS.

To speak of the street Jew-boys as regards their traffic, manners, haunts, and associations, is to speak of the same class of boys who may not be employed regularly in street-sale, but are the comrades of those who are; a class, who, on any cessation of their employment in cigar manufactories, or indeed any capacity, will apply themselves temporarily to street-selling, for it seems to these poor and uneducated lads a sort of natural vocation.

These youths, *uncontrolled* or *incontrollable* by their parents (who are of the lowest class of the Jews, and who often, I am told, care little about the matter, so long as the child can earn his own maintenance), frequently in the evenings, after their day's work, resort to coffee-shops, in preference even to a cheap concert-room. In these places they amuse themselves as men might do in a tavern where the landlord leaves his guests to their own caprices. Sometimes one of them reads aloud from some exciting or degrading book, the lads who are unable to read listening with all the intentness with which many of the uneducated attend to any one reading. The reading is, however, not unfrequently interrupted by rude comments from the listeners. If a newspaper be read, the "police," or "crimes," are mostly the parts preferred. But the most approved way of passing the evening, among the Jew boys, is to play at draughts, dominoes, or cribbage, and to bet on the play. Draughts and dominoes are unpractised among the costermonger boys, but some of the young Jews are adepts in those games.

A gentleman who took an interest in the Jew lads told me that he had often heard the sort of reading and comments I have described, when he had called to talk to and perhaps expostulate with these youths in a coffee-shop, but he informed me that they seldom regarded any expostulation, and

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seemed to be little restrained by the presence of a stranger, the lads all muttering and laughing in a box among themselves. I saw seven of them, a little after eight in the evening, in a coffee-shop in the London-road,—although it is not much of a Jewish locality,—and two of them were playing at draughts for coffee, while the others looked on, betting halfpennies or pennies with all the eagerness of gamblers, unrestrained in their expressions of delight or disappointment as they thought they were winning or losing, and commenting on the moves with all the assurance of connoisseurship; sometimes they squabbled angrily and then suddenly dropped their voices, as the master of the coffee-shop had once or twice cautioned them to be quiet.

The dwellings of boys such as these are among the worst in London, as regards ventilation, comfort, or cleanliness. They reside in the courts and recesses about Whitechapel and Petticoat-lane, and generally in a garret. If not orphans they usually dwell with their father. I am told that the care of a mother is almost indispensable to a poor Jew boy, and having that care he seldom becomes an outcast. The Jewesses and Jew girls are rarely itinerant street-sellers—not in the proportion of one to twelve, compared with the men and boys; in this respect therefore the street Jews differ widely from the English costermongers and the street Irish, nor are the Hebrew females even stall-keepers in the same proportion.

One Jew boy's lodging which I visited was in a back garret, low and small. The boy lived with his father (a street-seller of fruit), and the room was very bare. A few sacks were thrown over an old palliass, a blanket seemed to be used for a quilt; there were no fire-irons nor fender; no cooking utensils. Beside the bed was an old chest, serving for a chair, while a board resting on a trestle did duty for a table (this was once, I presume, a small street-stall). The one not very large window was thick with dirt and patched all over. Altogether I have seldom seen a more wretched apartment. The man, I was told, was addicted to drinking.

The callings of which the Jew boys have the monopoly are not connected with the sale of any especial article, but rather with such things as present a variety from those ordinarily offered in the streets, such as cakes, sweetmeats, fried fish, and (in the winter) elder wine. The cakes known as "boolers"—a mixture of egg, flour, and candied orange or lemon peel, cut very thin, and with a slight colouring from saffron or something similar—are now sold principally, and used to be sold exclusively, by the Jew boys. Almond cakes (little round cakes of crushed almonds) are at present vended by the Jew boys, and their sponge biscuits are in demand. All these dainties are bought by the street-lads of the Jew pastry-cooks. The difference in these cakes, in their sweetmeats, and their elder wine, is that there is a dash of spice about them not ordinarily met with. It is the same with the fried fish, a little spice or pepper being blended with the oil. In the street-sale of pickles the Jews have also the monopoly; these, however, are seldom hawked, but generally sold from windows and door-steads. The pickles are cucumbers or gherkins, and onions—a large cucumber being 2*d*., and the smaller 1*d*. and ½*d*.

The faults of the Jew lad are an eagerness to make money by any means, so that he often grows up a cheat, a trickster, a receiver of stolen goods, though seldom a thief, for he leaves that to others. He is content to profit by the thief's work, but seldom *steals* himself, however he may cheat. Some of these lads become rich men; others are vagabonds all their lives. None of the Jew lads confine themselves to the sale of any one article, nor do they seem to prefer one branch of street-traffic to another. Even those who cannot read are exceedingly quick.

I may here observe in connection with the receipt of stolen goods, that I shall deal with this subject in my account of the LONDON THIEVES. I shall also show the connection of Jewesses and Jews with the *prostitution of the metropolis*, in my forthcoming exposition of the LONDON PROSTITUTES.

OF THE STREET JEWESSES AND STREET JEW-GIRLS.

I HAVE mentioned that the Jewesses and the young Jew girls, compared with the adult Jews and Jew boys, are not street-traders in anything like the proportion which the females were found to bear to the males among the Irish street-folk and the English costermongers. There are, however, a few Jewish females who are itinerant street-sellers as well as stall keepers, in the proportion, perhaps, of one female to seven or eight males. The majority of the street Jew-girls whom I saw on a round were accompanied by boys who were represented to be their brothers, and I have little doubt such was the facts, for these young Jewesses, although often pert and ignorant, are not unchaste. Of this I was assured by a medical gentleman who could speak with sufficient positiveness on the subject.

Fruit is generally sold by these boys and girls together, the lad driving the barrow, and the girl inviting custom and handing the purchases to the buyers. In tending a little stall or a basket at a regular pitch, with such things as cherries or strawberries, the little Jewess differs only from her street-selling sisters in being a brisker trader. The stalls, with a few old knives or scissors, or odds and ends of laces, that are tended by the Jew girls in the streets in the Jewish quarters (I am told there are not above a dozen of them) are generally near the shops and within sight of their parents or friends. One little Jewess, with whom I had some conversation, had not even heard the name of the Chief Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Adler, and knew nothing of any distinction between German and Portuguese Jews; she had, I am inclined to believe, never heard of either. I am told that the whole, or nearly the whole, of these young female traders reside with parents or friends, and that there is among them far less than the average number of runaways. One Jew told me he thought that the young female members of his tribe did

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not tramp with the juveniles of the other sex—no, not in the proportion of one to a hundred in comparison, he said with a laugh, with "young women of the Christian persuasion." My informant had means of knowing this fact, as although still a young man, he had traversed the greater part of England hawking perfumery, which he had abandoned as a bad trade. A wire-worker, long familiar with tramping and going into the country—a man upon whose word I have every reason to rely—told me that he could not remember a single instance of his having seen a young Jewess "travelling" with a boy.

There are a few adult Jewesses who are itinerant traders, but very few. I met with one who carried on her arm a not very large basket, filled with glass wares; chiefly salt-cellars, cigar-ash plates, blue glass dessert plates, vinegar-cruets, and such like. The greater part of her wares appeared to be blue, and she carried nothing but glass. She was a good-looking and neatly-dressed woman. She peeped in at each shop-door, and up at the windows of every private house, in the street in which I met her, crying, "Clo', old clo'!" She bartered her glass for old clothes, or bought the garments, dealing principally in female attire, and almost entirely with women. She declined to say anything about her family or her circumstances, except that she had nothing that way to complain about, but—when I had used some names I had authority to make mention of—she said she would, with pleasure, tell me all about her trade, which she carried on rather than do nothing. "When I hawk," she said with an English accent, her face being unmistakeably Jewish, "I hawk only good glass, and it can hardly be called hawking, as I swop it for more than I sell it. I always ask for the mistress, and if she wants any of my glass we come to a bargain if we can. O, it's ridiculous to see what things some ladies—I suppose they must be called ladies—offer for my glass. Children's green or blue gauze veils, torn or faded, and not worth picking up, because no use whatever; old ribbons, not worth dyeing, and old frocks, not worth washing. People say, 'as keen as a Jew,' but ladies can't think we're very keen when they offer us such rubbish. I do most at the middle kind of houses, both shops and private. I sometimes give a little money for such a thing as a shawl, or a fur tippet, as well as my glass—but only when I can't help it—to secure a bargain. Sometimes, but not often, I get the old thing and a trifle for my glass. Occasionally I buy outright. I don't do much, there's so many in the line, and I don't go out regularly. I can't say how many women are in my way—very few; O, I do middling. I told you I had no complaints to make. I don't calculate my profits or what I sell. My family do that and I don't trouble myself."

Of the Synagogues and the Religion of the Street and other Jews.

The Jews in this country are classed as "Portuguese" and "German." Among them are no distinctions of tribes, but there is of rites and ceremonies, as is set forth in the following extract (which shows also the mode of government) from a Jewish writer: "The Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of Jews, who are also called Sephardin (from the word Sepharad, which signifies Spain in Hebrew), are distinct from the German and Polish Jews in their ritual service. The prayers both daily and for the Sabbath materially differ from each other, and the festival prayers differ still more. Hence the Portuguese Jews have a distinct prayer-book, and the German Jews likewise.

"The fundamental laws are equally observed by both sects, but in the ceremonial worship there exists numerous differences. The Portuguese Jews eat some food during the Passover, which the German Jews are prohibited doing by *some* Rabbis, but their authority is not acknowledged by the Portuguese Rabbis. Nor are the present ecclesiastical authorities in London of the two sects the same. The Portuguese Jews have their own Rabbis, and the German have their own. The German Jews are much more numerous than the Portuguese; the chief Rabbi of the German Jews is the Rev. Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, late Chief Rabbi of Hanover, who wears no beard, and dresses in the German costume. The presiding Rabbi of the Portuguese Jews is the Rev. David Meldola, a native of Leghorn; his father filled the same office in London. Each chief Rabbi is supported by three other Rabbis, called Dayamin, which signifies in Hebrew 'Judges.' Every Monday and Thursday the Chief Rabbi of the German Jews, Dr. Adler, supported by his three colleagues, sits for two hours in the Rabbinical College (Beth Hamedrash), Smith's-buildings, Leadenhall-street, to attend to all applications from the German Jews, which may be brought before him, and which are decided according to the Jewish law. Many disputes between Jews in religious matters are settled in this manner; and if the Lord Mayor or any other magistrate is told that the matter has already been settled by the Jewish Rabbi he seldom interferes. This applies only to civil and not to criminal cases. The Portuguese Jews have their own hospital and their own schools. Both congregations have their representatives in the Board of Deputies of British Jews, which board is acknowledged by government, and is triennial. Sir Moses Montefiore, a Jew of great wealth, who distinguished himself by his mission to Damascus, during the persecution of the Jews in that place, and also by his mission to Russia, some years ago, is the President of the Board. All political matters, calling for communications with government, are within the province of that useful board."

The Jews have eight synagogues in London, besides some smaller places which may perhaps, adopting the language of another church, be called synagogues of ease. The great synagogue in Duke's-place (a locality of which I have often had to speak) is the largest, but the new synagogue, St. Helen's, Bishopgate, is the one which most betokens the wealth of the worshippers. It is

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rich with ornaments, marble, and painted glass; the pavement is of painted marble, and presents a perfect round, while the ceiling is a half dome. There are besides these the Hamburg Synagogue, in Fenchurch-street; the Portuguese Synagogue, in Bevis-marks; two smaller places, in Cutler-street and Gun-yard, Houndsditch, known as Polish Synagogues; the Maiden-lane (Covent-garden), Synagogue; the Western Synagogue, St. Alban's-place, Pall-mall; and the West London Synagogue of British Jews, Margaret-street, Cavendish-square. The last-mentioned is the most aristocratic of the synagogues. The service there is curtailed, the ritual abbreviated, and the days of observance of the Jewish festival reduced from two to one. This alteration is strongly protested against by the other Jews, and the practices of this synagogue seem to show a yielding to the exactions or requirements of the wealthy. In the old days, and in almost every country in Europe, it was held to be sinful even for a king—reverenced and privileged as such a potentate then was—to prosecute any undertaking before he heard mass. In some states it was said in reproach of a noble or a sovereign, "he breakfasts before he hears mass," and, to meet the impatience of the Great, "hunting masses," as they were styled, or epitomes of the full service, were introduced. The Jews, some eight or nine years back in this country, seem to have followed this example; such was the case, at least, as regards London and the wealthier of the professors of this ancient faith.

The synagogues are not well attended, the congregations being smaller in proportion to the population than those of the Church of England. Neither, during the observance of the Jewish worship, is there any especial manifestation of the service being regarded as of a sacred and divinely-ordained character. There is a buzzing talk among the attendants during the ceremony, and an absence of seriousness and attention. Some of the Jews, however, show the greatest devotion, and the same may be said of the Jewesses, who sit apart in the synagogues, and are not required to attend so regularly as the men.

I should not have alluded to this absence of the solemnities of devotion, as regards the congregations of the Hebrews, had I not heard it regretted by Hebrews themselves. "It is shocking," one said. Another remarked, "To attend the synagogue is looked upon too much as a matter of *business;* but perhaps there is the same spirit in some of the Christian churches."

As to the street-Jews, religion is little known among them, or little cared for. They are indifferent to it—not to such a degree, indeed, as the costermongers, for they are not so ignorant a class—but yet contrasting strongly in their neglect with the religious intensity of the majority of the Roman Catholic Irish of the streets. In common justice I must give the remark of a Hebrew merchant with whom I had some conversation on the subject:—"I can't say much about street-Jews, for my engagements lead me away from them, and I don't know much about street-Christians. But if out of a hundred Jews you find that only ten of them care for their religion, how many out of a hundred Christians of any sort will care about theirs? Will ten of them care? If you answer, but they are only nominal Christians, my reply is, the Jews are only nominal Jews—Jews by birth, and not by faith."

Among the Jews I conversed with—and of course only the more intelligent understood, or were at all interested in, the question—I heard the most contemptuous denunciation of all converts from Judaism. One learned informant, who was by no means blind to the short-comings of his own people, expressed his conviction that no Jew had ever been really *converted.* He had abandoned his faith from interested motives. On this subject I am not called upon to express any opinion, and merely mention it to show a prevalent feeling among the class I am describing.

The street-Jews, including the majority of the more prosperous and most numerous class among them, the old-clothes men, are far from being religious in feeling, or well versed in their faith, and are, perhaps, in that respect on a level with the mass of the members of the Church of England; I say of the Church of England, because of that church the many who do not profess religion are usually accounted members.

In the Rabbinical College, I may add, is the finest Jewish library in the world. It has been collected for several generations under the care of the Chief Rabbis. The public are admitted, having first obtained tickets, given gratuitously, at the Chief Rabbi's residence in Crosby-square.

OF THE POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE JEWS.

PERHAPS there is no people in the world, possessing the average amount of intelligence in busy communities, who care so little for politics as the general body of the Jews. The wealthy classes may take an interest in the matter, but I am assured, and by those who know their countrymen well, that even with them such a quality as patriotism is a mere word. This may be accounted for in a great measure, perhaps, from an hereditary feeling. The Jew could hardly be expected to love a land, or to strive for the promotion of its general welfare, where he felt he was but a sojourner, and where he was at the best but tolerated and often proscribed. But this feeling becomes highly reprehensible when it extends—as I am assured it does among many of the rich Jews—to their own people, for whom, apart from conventionalities, say my informants, *they care nothing whatever;* for so long as they are undisturbed in money-getting at home, their brethren may be persecuted all over the world, while the rich Jew merely shrugs his shoulders. An honourable exception, however, exists in Sir Moses Montefiore, who has honourably distinguished himself in the relief of his persecuted brethren on more than one occasion. The great of the earth no longer spit upon the gabardine of the Jewish millionaire, nor do they draw his teeth to get his money, but the great Jew capitalists, with powerful influence in

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many a government, do not seek to direct that influence for the bettering of the lot of their poorer brethren, who, at the same time, brook the restrictions and indignities which they have to suffer with a perfect philosophy. In fact, the Jews have often been the props of the courts who have persecuted them; that is to say, two or three Jewish firms occasionally have not hesitated to lend millions to the governments by whom they and their people have been systematically degraded and oppressed.

I was told by a Hebrew gentleman (a professional man) that so little did the Jews themselves care for "Jewish emancipation," that he questioned if one man in ten, actuated solely by his own feelings, would trouble himself to walk the length of the street in which he lived to secure Baron Rothschild's admission into the House of Commons. This apathy, my informant urged with perfect truth, in nowise affected the merits of the question, though he was convinced it formed a great obstacle to Baron Rothschild's success; "for governments," he said, "won't give boons to people who don't care for them; and, though this is called a boon, I look upon it as only a *right*."

When such is the feeling of the comparatively wealthier Jews, no one can wonder that I found among the Jewish street-sellers and old-clothes men with whom I talked on the subject—and their more influential brethren gave me every facility to prosecute my inquiry among them—a perfect indifference to, and nearly as perfect an ignorance of, politics. Perhaps no men buy so few newspapers, and read them so little, as the Jews generally. The street-traders, when I alluded to the subject, said they read little but the "Police Reports."

Among the body of the Jews there is little love of Literature. They read far less (let it be remembered I have acquired all this information from Jews themselves, and from men who could not be mistaken in the matter), and are far less familiar with English authorship, either historical or literary, than are the poorer English artizans. Neither do the wealthiest classes of the Jews care to foster literature among their own people. One author, a short time ago, failing to interest the English Jews, to promote the publication of his work, went to the United States, and his book was issued in Philadelphia, the city of Quakers!

The Amusements of the Jews—and here I speak more especially of the street or open-air traders—are the theatres and concert-rooms. The City of London Theatre, the Standard Theatre, and other playhouses at the East-end of London, are greatly resorted to by the Jews, and more especially by the younger members of the body, who sometimes constitute a rather obstreperous gallery. The cheap concerts which they patronize are generally of a superior order, for the Jews are fond of music, and among them have been many eminent composers and performers, so that the trash and jingle which delights the costermonger class would not please the street Jew boys; hence their concerts are superior to the general run of cheap concerts, and are almost always "got up" by their own people.

Sussex-hall, in Leadenhall-street, is chiefly supported by Israelites; there the "Jews' and General Literary and Scientific Institution" is established, with reading-rooms and a library; and there lectures, concerts, &c., are given as at similar institutions. Of late, on every Friday evening, Sussex-hall has been thrown open to the general public, without any charge for admission, and lectures have been delivered gratuitously, on literature, science, art, and general subjects, which have attracted crowded audiences. The lecturers are chiefly Jews, but the lectures are neither theological nor sectarian. The lecturers are Mr. M. H. Bresslau, the Rev. B. H. Ascher, Mr. J. L. Levison (of Brighton), and Mr. Clarke, a merchant in the City, a Christian, whose lectures are very popular among the Jews. The behaviour of the Jew attendants, and the others, the Jews being the majority, is decorous. They seem "to like to receive information," I was told; and a gentleman connected with the hall argued that this attention showed a readiness for proper instruction, when given in an attractive form, which favoured the opinion that the young Jews, when not thrown in childhood into the vortex of money-making, were very easily teachable, while their natural quickness made them both ready and willing to be taught.

My old-clothes buying informant mentioned a Jewish eating-house. I visited one in the Jew quarter, but saw nothing to distinguish it from Christian resorts of the same character and cheapness (the "plate" of good hot meat costing 4*d*., and vegetables 1*d*.), except that it was fuller of Jews than of Christians, by three to two, perhaps, and that there was no "pork" in the waiter's specification of the fare.

Of the Charities, Schools, and Education of the Jews.

The Jewish charities are highly honourable to the body, for they allow none of their people to live or die in a parish workhouse. It is true that among the Jews in London there are many individuals of immense wealth; but there are also many rich Christians who care not one jot for the need of their brethren. It must be borne in mind also, that not only do the Jews voluntarily support their own poor and institutions, but they contribute—compulsorily it is true—their quota to the support of the English poor and church; and, indeed, pay their due proportion of all the parliamentary or local imposts. This is the more honourable and the more remarkable among the Jews, when we recollect their indisputable greed of money.

If a Jew be worn out in his old age, and unable to maintain himself, he is either supported by the contributions of his friends, or out of some local or general fund, or provided for in some asylum, and all this seems to be done with a less than ordinary fuss and display, so that the

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recipient of the charity feels himself more a pensioner than a pauper.

The Jews' Hospital, in the Mile-end Road, is an extensive building, into which feeble old men and destitute children of both sexes are admitted. Here the boys are taught trades, and the girls qualified for respectable domestic service. The Widows' Home, in Duke-street, Aldgate, is for poor Hebrew widows. The Orphan Asylum, built at the cost of Mr. A. L. Moses, and supported by subscription, now contains 14 girls and 8 boys; a school is attached to the asylum, which is in the Tenter Ground, Goodman's-fields. The Hand-in-Hand Asylum, for decayed old people, men and women, is in Duke's-place, Aldgate. There are likewise alms-houses for the Jews, erected also by Mr. A. L. Moses, at Mile-end, and other alms-houses, erected by Mr. Joel Emanuel, in Wellclose-square, near the Tower. There are, further, three institutions for granting marriage dowers to fatherless children; an institution in Bevis-marks, for the burial of the poor of the congregation. "Beth Holim;" a house for the reception of the sick poor, and of poor lying-in women belonging to the congregation of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews; "Magasim Zobim," for lending money to aid apprenticeships among boys, to fit girls for good domestic service, and for helping poor children to proceed to foreign parts, when it is believed that the change will be advantageous to them; and "Noten Lebem Larcebim;" to distribute bread to the poor of the congregation on the day preceding the Sabbath.

I am assured that these institutions are well-managed, and that, if the charities are abused by being dispensed to undeserving objects, it is usually with the knowledge of the managers, who often let the abuse pass, as a smaller evil than driving a man to theft or subjecting him to the chance of starvation. One gentleman, familiar with most of these establishments, said to me with a laugh, "I believe, if you have had any conversation with the gentlemen who manage these matters, you will have concluded that they are not the people to be imposed upon very easily."

There are seven Jewish schools in London, four in the city, and three at the West-end, all supported by voluntary contributions. The Jews' Free School, in Bell-lane, Spitalfields, is the largest, and is adapted for the education of no fewer than 1200 boys and girls. The late Baroness de Rothschild provided clothing, yearly, for all the pupils in the school. In the Infant School, Houndsditch, are about 400 little scholars. There are also the Orphan Asylum School, previously mentioned; the Western Jewish schools, for girls, in Dean-street, and, for boys, in Greek-street, Soho, but considered as one establishment; and the West Metropolitan School, for girls, in Little Queen-street, and, for boys, in High Holborn, also considered as one establishment.

Notwithstanding these means of education, the body of the poorer, or what in other callings might be termed the working-classes, are not even tolerably well educated; they are indifferent to the matter. With many, the multiplication table seems to constitute what they think the acme of all knowledge needful to a man. The great majority of the Jew boys, in the street, cannot read. A smaller portion can read, but so imperfectly that their ability to read detracts nothing from their ignorance. So neglectful or so necessitous (but I heard the ignorance attributed to neglect far more frequently than necessity) are the poorer Jews, and so soon do they take their children away from school, "to learn and do something for themselves," and so irregular is their attendance, on the plea that the time cannot be spared, and the boy must do something for himself, that many children leave the free-schools not only about as ignorant as when they entered them, but almost with an incentive to continued ignorance; for they knew nothing of reading, except that to acquire its rudiments is a pain, a labour, and a restraint. On some of the Jew boys the vagrant spirit is strong; they *will* be itinerants, if not wanderers,—though this is a spirit in no way confined to the Jew boys.

Although the wealthier Jews may be induced to give money towards the support of their poor, I heard strong strictures passed upon them concerning their indifference towards their brethren in all other respects. Even if they subscribed to a school, they never cared whether or not it was attended, and that, much as was done, far more was in the power of so wealthy and distinct a people. "This is all the more inexcusable," was said to me by a Jew, "because there are so many rich Jews in London, and if they exerted and exercised a broader liberality, as they might in instituting Jewish colleges, for instance, to promote knowledge among the middle-classes, and if they cared more about employing their own people, their liberality would be far more fully felt than similar conduct in a Christian, because they have a smaller sphere to influence. As to employing their own people, there are numbers of the rich Jews who will employ any stranger in preference, if he work a penny a week cheaper. This sort of *clan* employment," continued my Jew informant, "should never be exclusive, but there might, I think, be a judicious preference."

I shall now proceed to set forth an account of the sums yearly subscribed for purposes of education and charity by the Jews.

The Jews' Free School in Spitalfields is supported by voluntary contributions to the amount of about 1200*l.* yearly. To this sum a few Christians contribute, as to some other Hebrew institutions (which I shall specify), while Jews often are liberal supporters of Christian public charities—indeed, some of the wealthier Jews are looked upon by the members of their own faith as inclined to act more generously where Christian charities, with the prestige of high aristocratic and fashionable patronage, are in question, than towards their own institutions. To the Jews' Free School the Court of Common Council of the Corporation of London lately granted 100*l.*, through the exertions of Mr. Benjamin S. Phillips, of Newgate-street, a

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member of the court. The Baroness Lionel de Rothschild (as I have formerly stated of the late Baroness) supplies clothing for the scholars. The school is adapted for the reception of 1200 boys and girls in equal proportion; about 900 is the average attendance.

The Jews' Infant School in Houndsditch, with an average attendance approaching 400, is similarly supported at a cost of from 800*l.* to 1000*l.* yearly.

The Orphan Asylum School, in Goodman's-fields, receives a somewhat larger support, but in the expenditure is the cost of an asylum (before mentioned, and containing 22 inmates). The funds are about 1500*l.* yearly. Christians subscribe to this institution also—Mr. Frederick Peel, M.P., taking great interest in it. The attendance of pupils is from 300 to 400.

It might be tedious to enumerate the other schools, after having described the principal; I will merely add, therefore, that the yearly contributions to each are from 700*l.* to 1000*l.*, and the pupils taught in each from 200 to 400. Of these further schools there are four already specified.

The Jews' Hospital, at Mile End, is maintained at a yearly cost of about 3000*l.*, to which Christians contribute, but not to a twentieth of the amount collected. The persons benefited are worn-out old men, and destitute children, while the number of almspeople is from 150 to 200 yearly.

The other two asylums, &c., which I have specified, are maintained at a cost of about 800*l.* each, as a yearly average, and the Almshouses, three in number, at about half that sum. The persons relieved by these last-mentioned institutions number about 250, two-thirds, or thereabouts, being in the asylums.

The Loan Societies are three: the Jewish Ladies Visiting and Benevolent Loan Society; the Linusarian Loan Society (why called Linusarian a learned Hebrew scholar could not inform me, although he had asked the question of others); and the Magasim Zobim (the Good Deeds), a Portuguese Jews' Loan Society.

The business of these three societies is conducted on the same principle. Money is lent on personal or any security approved by the managers, and no interest is charged to the borrower. The amount lent yearly is from 600*l.* to 700*l.* by each society, the whole being repaid and with sufficient punctuality; a few weeks' "grace" is occasionally allowed in the event of illness or any unforeseen event. The Loan Societies have not yet found it necessary to proceed against any of their debtors; my informant thought this forbearance extended over six years.

There is not among the Jewish street-traders, as among the costermongers and others, a class forming part, or having once formed part of themselves, and living by usury and loan mongering, where they have amassed a few pounds. Whatever may be thought of the Jews' usurious dealings as regards the general public, the poorer classes of their people are not subjected to the exactions of usury, with all its clogs to a struggling man's well-doing. Sometimes the amount required by an old-clothes man, or other street-trader, is obtained by or for him at one of these loan societies. Sometimes it is advanced by the usual buyer of the second-hand garments collected by the street-Jew. No security in such cases is given beyond—strange as it may sound—the personal honour of an old-clothes man! An experienced man told me, that taking all the class of Jew street-sellers, who are a very fluctuating body, with the exception of the old-clothes men, the sum thus advanced as stock-money to them might be seldom less in any one year than 300*l.*, and seldom more than 500*l.* There is a a prevalent notion that the poorer Jews, when seeking charity, are supplied with goods for street-sale by their wealthy brethren, and never with money—this appears to be unfounded.

Now to sum up the above items we find that the yearly cost of the Jewish schools is about 7000*l.*, supplying the means of instruction to 3000 children (out of a population of 18,000 of all ages, one-half of whom, perhaps, are under 20 years). The yearly outlay in the asylums, &c., is, it appears, 5800*l.* annually, benefiting or maintaining about 420 individuals (at a cost of nearly 14*l.* per head). If we add no more than 200*l.* yearly for the minor charities or institutions I have previously alluded to, we find 14,000*l.* expended annually in the public schools and charities of the Jews of London, independently of about 2000*l.*, which is the amount of the loans to those requiring temporary aid.

We have before seen that the number of Jews in London is estimated by the best informed at about 18,000; hence it would appear that the charitable donations of the Jews of London amount on an average to a little less than 1*l.* per head. Let us compare this with the benevolence of the Christians. At the same ratio the sum devoted to the charities of England and Wales should be very nearly 16,000,000*l.*, but, according to the most liberal estimates, it does not reach half that amount; the rent of the land and other fixed property, together with the interest of the money left for charitable purposes in England and Wales, is 1,200,000*l.* If, however, we add to the voluntary contributions the sum raised compulsorily by assessment in aid of the poor (about 7,000,000*l.* per annum), the ratio of the English Christian's contributions to his needy brethren throughout the country will be very nearly the same as that of the Jew's. Moreover, if we turn our attention to the benevolent bequests and donations of the Christians of London, we shall find that their munificence does not fall far short of that of the metropolitan Jews. The gross amounts of the charitable contributions of London are given below, together with the numbers of institutions; and it will thus be seen that the sum devoted to such purposes amounts to no less than 1,764,733*l.*, or upwards of a million and three-quarters sterling for a population of about two millions!

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	Income derived from voluntary contributions.	Income derived from property.
12 General medical hospitals	£31,265	£111,641
50 Medical charities for special purposes	27,974	68,690
35 General dispensaries	11,470	2,954
12 Preservation of life and public morals	8,730	2,773
18 Reclaiming the fallen and staying the progress of crime	16,299	13,737
14 Relief of general destitution and distress	20,646	8,234
12 Relief of specified distress	19,473	10,408
14 Aiding the resources of the industrious	4,677	2,569
11 For the blind, deaf, and dumb	11,965	22,797
103 Colleges, hospitals, and other asylums for the aged	5,857	77,190
16 Charitable pension societies	15,790	3,199
74 Charitable and provident, chiefly for specified classes	19,905	83,322
31 Asylums for orphans and other necessitous children	55,466	25,549
10 Educational foundations	15,000	78,112
4 Charitable modern ditto	4,000	9,300
40 School societies, religious books, church aiding, and Christian visitings, &c.	159,853	158,336
35 Bible and missionary	494,494	63,058
491 Total	1,022,864	741,869

In connection with the statistical part of this subject I may mention that the Chief Rabbis each receive 1200*l.* a year; the Readers of the Synagogues, of whom there are twelve in London, from 300*l.* to 400*l.* a year each; the Secretaries of the Synagogues, of whom there are also twelve, from 200*l.* to 300*l.* each; the twelve under Secretaries from 100*l.* to 150*l.*; and six Dayanim 100*l.* a year each. These last-mentioned officers are looked upon by many of the Jews, as the "poor curates" may be by the members of the Church of England — as being exceedingly under-paid. The functions of the Dayanim have been already mentioned, and, I may add, that they must have received expensive scholarly educations, as for about four hours daily they have to read the Talmud in the places of worship.

The yearly payment of these sacerdotal officials, then, independent of other outlay, amounts to about 11,700*l.*; this is raised from the profits of the seats in the synagogues and voluntary contributions, donations, subscriptions, bequests, &c., among the Jews.

I have before spoken of a Board of Deputies, in connection with the Jews, and now proceed to describe its constitution. It is not a parliament among the Jews, I am told, nor a governing power, but what may be called a directing or regulating body. It is authorized by the body of Jews, and recognised by her Majesty's Government, as an established corporation, with powers to treat and determine on matters of civil and political policy affecting the condition of the Hebrews in this country, and interferes in no way with religious matters. It is neither a metropolitan nor a local nor a detached board, but, as far as the Jews in England may be so described, a national board. This board is elected triennially. The electors are the "seat-holders" in the Jewish synagogues; that is to say, they belong to the class of Jews who promote the support of the synagogues by renting seats, and so paying towards the cost of those establishments.

There are in England, Ireland, and Scotland, about 1000 of these seat-holders exercising the franchise, or rather entitled to exercise it, but many of them are indifferent to the privilege, as is often testified by the apathy shown on the days of election. Perhaps three-fourths of the privileged number may vote. The services of the representatives are gratuitous, and no qualification is required, but the elected are usually the leading metropolitan Jews. The proportion of the electors voting is in the ratio of the deputies elected. London returns 12 deputies; Liverpool, 2; Manchester, 2; Birmingham, 2; Edinburgh, Dublin, (the only places in either Scotland or Ireland returning deputies), Dover, Portsmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, Canterbury, Norwich, Swansea, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and two other places (according to the number of seat-holders), each one deputy, thus making up the number to 30. On election days the attendance, as I have said, is often small, but fluctuating according to any cause of excitement, which, however, is but seldom.

The question which has of late been discussed by this Board, and which is now under consideration, and negotiation with the Education Commissioners of her Majesty's Privy Council, is the obtaining a grant of money in the same proportion as it has been granted to other educational establishments. Nothing has as yet been given to the Jewish schools, and the matter is still undetermined.

With religious or sacerdotal questions the Board of Deputies does not, or is not required to meddle; it leaves all such matters to the bodies or tribunals I have mentioned. Indeed the deputies concern themselves only with what may be called the *public* interests of the Jews, both as a part of the community and as a distinct people. The Jewish institutions, however, are not an exception to the absence of unanimity among the professors of the same creeds, for the members of the Reform Synagogue in Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, are not recognised as entitled to vote, and do not vote, accordingly, in the election of the Jewish deputies. Indeed, the Reform members, whose synagogue was established eight years ago, were formally excommunicated by a declaration of the late Chief Rabbi, but this seems now to be regarded as a mere matter of form, for the members have lately partaken of all the rites to which orthodox Jews are entitled.

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OF THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES, FASTS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS.

THE funeral ceremonies of the Jews are among the things which tend to preserve the distinctness and peculiarity of this people. Sometimes, though now rarely, the nearest relatives of the deceased wear sackcloth (a coarse crape), and throw ashes and dust on their hair, for the term during which the corpse remains unburied, this term being the same as among Christians. When the corpse is carried to the Jews' burial-ground for interment the coffin is frequently opened, and the corpse addressed, in a Hebrew formula, by any relative, friend, or acquaintance who may be present. The words are to the following purport: "If I have done anything that might be offensive—pardon, pardon, pardon." After that the coffin is carried round the burial-ground in a circuit, children chanting the 90th Psalm in its original Hebrew, "a prayer of Moses, the man of God." The passages which the air causes to be most emphatic are these verses:—

"3. Thou turnest man to destruction; and sayest, Return, ye children of men.

"4. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.

"5. Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up.

"6. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth.

"10. The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away."

The coffin is then carried into a tent, and the funeral prayers, in Hebrew, are read. When it has been lowered into the grave, the relatives, and indeed all the attendants at the interment, fill up the grave, shovelling in the earth. In the Jews' burial-ground are no distinctions, no vaults or provisions for aristocratic sepulture. The very rich and the very poor, the outcast woman and the virtuous and prosperous gentlewoman, "grossly familiar, side by side consume." A Jewish funeral is a matter of high solemnity.

The burial fees are 12*s.* for children, and from 2*l.* to 3*l.* for adults. These fees are not the property of the parties officating, but form a portion of the synagogue funds for general purposes, payment of officers, &c. No fees are charged to the relatives of poor Jews.

Two fasts are rigidly observed by the Jews, and even by those Jews who are usually indifferent to the observances of their religion. These are the Black Fast, in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the White Fast, in commemoration of the atonement. On each of those occasions the Jews abstain altogether from food for 24 hours, or from sunset to sunset.

OF THE JEW STREET-SELLERS OF ACCORDIONS, AND OF THEIR STREET MUSICAL PURSUITS.

I CONCLUDE my account of the Street-Jews with an account of the accordion sellers.

Although the Jews, as a people, are musical, they are little concerned at present either in the sale of musical instruments in the streets, or in street-music or singing. Until within a few years, however, the street-sale of accordions was carried on by itinerant Jews, and had previously been carried on most extensively in the country, even in the far north of England. Some years back well-dressed Jews "travelled" with stocks of accordions. In many country towns and in gentlemen's country mansions, in taverns, and schools also, these accordions were then a novelty. The Jew could play on the instrument, and carried a book of instructions, which usually formed part of the bargain, and by the aid of which, he made out, any one, even without previous knowledge of the practical art of music, could easily teach himself—nothing but a little practice in fingering being wanted to make a good accordion-player. At first the accordions sold by the Jew hawkers were good, two guineas being no unusual price to be paid for one, even to a street-seller, while ten and twenty shillings were the lower charges. But the accordions were in a few years "made slop," cheap instruments being sent to this country from Germany, and sold at less than half their former price, until the charge fell as low as 3*s.* 6*d.* or even 2*s.* 6*d.*—but only for "rubbish," I was told. When the fragility and inferior musical qualities of these instruments came to be known, it was found almost impossible to sell in the streets even superior instruments, however reasonable in price, and thus the trade sunk to a nonentity. So little demand is there now for these instruments that no pawnbroker, I am assured, will advance money on one, however well made.

The itinerant accordion trade was always much greater in the country than in London, for in town, I was told, few would be troubled to try, or even listen, to the tones of an accordion played by a street-seller, at their own doors, or in their houses. While there were 100 or 120 Jews hawking accordions in the country, there would not be 20 in London, including even the suburbs, where the sale was the best.

Calculating that, when the trade was at its best, 130 Jews hawked accordions in town and country, and that each sold three a week, at an average price of 20*s.* each, or six in a week at an average price of 10*s.* each, the profit being from 50 to 100 per cent., we find upwards of 20,000*l.* expended in the course of the year in accordions of which, however, little more than a sixth part, or about 3000*l.*, was expended in London. This was only when the trade had all the recommendations of novelty, and in the following year perhaps not half the amount was realized. One informant thought that the year 1828–9 was the best for the sale of these instruments, but he spoke only from memory. At the present time I could not find or hear of one street-Jew selling accordions; I re-

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member, however, having seen one within the present year. Most of the Jews who travelled with them have emigrated.

It is very rarely indeed that, fond as the Jews are of music, any of them are to be found in the bands of street-musicians, or of such street-performers as the Ethiopian serenaders. If there be any, I was told, they were probably not pure Jews, but of Christian parentage on one side or the other, and not associating with their own people. At the cheap concert-rooms, however, Jews are frequently singers, but rarely the Jewesses, while some of the twopenny concerts at the East-end are got up and mainly patronized by the poorer class of Jews. Jews are also to be found occasionally among the supernumeraries of the theatres; but, when not professionally engaged, these still live among their own people. I asked one young Jew who occasionally sang at a cheap concert-room, what description of songs they usually sung, and he answered "all kinds." He, it seems, sang comic songs, but his friend Barney, who had just left him, sang sentimental songs. He earned 1*s.* and sometimes 2*s.*, but more frequently 1*s.*, three or four nights in the week, as he had no regular engagement. In the daytime he worked at cigar-making, but did not like it, it was "*so confining*." He had likewise sung, but gratuitously, at concerts got up for the benefit of any person "bad off." He knew nothing of the science and art of music. Of the superior class of Jew vocalists and composers, it is not of course necessary here to speak, as they do not come within the scope of my present subject. Of Hebrew youths thus employed in cheap and desultory concert-singing, there are in the winter season, I am told, from 100 to 150, few, if any, depending entirely upon their professional exertions, but being in circumstances similar to those of my young informant.

Of the Street-Buyers of Hogs'-Wash.

The trade in hogs'-wash, or in the refuse of the table, is by no means insignificant. The street-buyers are of the costermonger class, and some of them have been costermongers, and "when not kept going regular on wash," I was told, are "costers still," but with the advantage of having donkeys, ponies, or horses and carts, and frequently shops, as the majority of the wash-buyers have; for they are often greengrocers as well as costermongers.

The hogs' food obtained by these street-folk, or, as I most frequently heard it called, the "wash," is procured from the eating-houses, the coffee-houses which are also eating-houses (with "hot joints from 12 to 4"), the hotels, the club-houses, the larger mansions, and the public institutions. It is composed of the scum and lees of all broths and soups; of the washings of cooking utensils, and of the dishes and plates used at dinners and suppers; of small pieces of meat left on the plates of the diners in taverns, clubs, or cook-shops; of pieces of potato, or any remains of vegetables; of any viands, such as puddings, left in the plates in the same manner; of gristle; of pieces of stale bread, or bread left at table; occasionally of meat kept, whether cooked or uncooked, until "blown," and unfit for consumption (one man told me that he had found whole legs of mutton in the wash he bought from a great eating-house, but very rarely): of potato-peelings; of old and bad potatoes; of "stock," or the remains of meat stewed for soup, which was not good enough for sale to be re-used by the poor; of parings of every kind of cheese or meat; and of the many things which are considered "only fit for pigs."

It is not always, however, that the unconsumed food of great houses or of public bodies (where the dinners are a part of the institution) goes to the wash-tub. At Buckingham-palace, I am told, it is given to poor people who have tickets for the receipt of it. At Lincoln's-inn the refuse or leavings of the bar dinners are sold to men who retail them, usually small chandlers, and the poor people, who have the means, buy this broken meat very readily at 4*d.*, 6*d.*, and 8*d.* the pound, which is cheap for good cooked meat. Pie-crust, obtained by its purveyors in the same way, is sold, perhaps with a small portion of the contents of the pie, in penny and twopenny-worths. A man familiar with this trade told me that among the best customers for this kind of second-hand food were women of the town of the poorer class, who were always ready, whenever they had a few pence at command, to buy what was tasty, cheap, and ready-cooked, because "they hadn't no trouble with it, but only just to eat it."

One of the principal sources of the "wash" supply is the cook-shops, or eating-houses, where the "leavings" on the plates are either the perquisites of the waiters or waitresses, or looked sharply after by master or mistress. There are also in these places the remains of soups, and the potato-peelings, &c., of which I have spoken, together with the keen appropriation to a profitable use of every crumb and scrap—when it is a portion of the gains of a servant, or when it adds to the receipts of the proprietor. In calculating the purchase-value of the good-will of an eating-house, the "wash" is as carefully considered as is the number of daily guests.

One of the principal street-buyers from the eating-houses, and in several parts of town, is Jemmy Divine, of Lambeth. He is a pig-dealer, but also sells his wash to others who keep pigs. He sends round a cart and horse under the care of a boy, or of a man, whom he may have employed, or drives it himself, and he often has more carts than one. In his cart are two or three tubs, well secured, so that they may not be jostled out, into which the wash is deposited. He contracts by the week, month, or quarter, with hotel-keepers and others, for their wash, paying from 10*l.* to as high as 50*l.* a year, about 20*l.* being an average for well-frequented taverns and "dining-rooms." The wash-tubs on the premises of these buyers are often offensive, sometimes sending forth very sour smells.

In Sharp's-alley, Smithfield, is another man buying quantities of wash, and buying fat and

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grease extensively. There is one also in Prince's-street, Lambeth, who makes it his sole business to collect hogs'-wash; he was formerly a coal-heaver and wretchedly poor, but is now able to make a decent livelihood in this trade, keeping a pony and cart. He generally keeps about 30 pigs, but also sells hogs' food retail to any pig-keeper, the price being 4*d.* to 6*d.* a pailfull, according to the quality, as the collectors are always anxious to have the wash "rich," and will not buy it if cabbage-leaves or the parings of green vegetables form a part of it. This man and the others often employ lads to go round for wash, paying them 2*s.* a week, and finding them in board. They are the same class of boys as those I have described as coster-boys, and are often strong young fellows. These lads—or men hired for the purpose—are sometimes sent round to the smaller cook-shops and to private houses, where the wash is given to them for the trouble of carrying it away, in preference to its being thrown down the drain. Sometimes only 1*d.* a pail is paid by the street-buyer, provided the stuff be taken away punctually and regularly. These youths or men carry pails after the fashion of a milkman.

The supply from the workhouses is very large. It is often that the paupers do not eat all the rice-pudding allowed, or all the bread, while soup is frequently left, and potatoes; and these leavings are worthless, except for pig-meat, as they would soon turn sour. It is the same, though not to the same extent, in the prisons.

What I have said of some of the larger eating-houses relates also to the club-houses.

There are a number of wash-buyers in the suburbs, who purchase, or obtain their stock gratuitously, at gentlemen's houses, and retail it either to those who feed pigs as a business, or else to the many, I was told, who live a little way out of town, and "like to grow their own bacon." Many of these men perform the work themselves, without a horse and cart, and are on their feet every day and all day long, except on Sundays, carrying hogs'-wash from the seller, or to the buyer. One man, who had been in this trade at Woolwich, told me that he kept pigs at one time, but ceased to do so, as his customers often murmured at the thin quality of the wash, declaring that he gave all the best to his own animals.

If it be estimated that there are 200 men daily buying hogs'-wash in London and the suburbs, within 15 miles, and that each collects only 20 pails per day, paying 2*d.* per pail (thus allowing for what is collected without purchase), we find 10,400*l.* expended annually in buying hogs'-wash.

Of the Street-Buyers of Tea-Leaves.

An extensive trade, but less extensive, I am informed, than it was a few years ago, is carried on in tea-leaves, or in the leaves of the herb after their having been subjected, in the usual way, to decoction. These leaves are, so to speak, re-manufactured, in spite of great risk and frequent exposure, and in defiance of the law. The 17th Geo. III., c. 29, is positive and stringent on the subject:—

"Every person, whether a dealer in or seller of tea, or not, who shall dye or fabricate any sloe-leaves, liquorice-leaves *or the leaves of tea that have been used*, or the leaves of the ash, elder or other tree, shrub or plant, in imitation of tea, or who shall mix or colour such leaves with terra Japonica, copperas, sugar, molasses, clay, logwood or other ingredient, or who shall sell or expose to sale, or have in custody, any such adulterations in imitation of tea, shall for every pound forfeit, on conviction, by the oath of one witness, before one justice, 5*l.*; or, on non-payment, be committed to the House of Correction for not more than twelve or less than six months."

The same act also authorizes a magistrate, on the oath of an excise officer, or any one, by whom he suspects this illicit trade to be carried on, to seize the herbs, or spurious teas, and the whole apparatus that may be found on the premises, the herbs to be burnt and the other articles sold, the proceeds of such a sale, after the payment of expenses, going half to the informer and half to the poor of the parish.

It appears evident, from the words of this act which I have *italicised*, that the use of tea-leaves for the robbery of the public and the defrauding of the revenue has been long in practice. The extract also shows what other cheats were formerly resorted to—the substitutes most popular with the tea-manufacturers at one time being sloe-leaves. If, however, one-tenth of the statements touching the applications of the leaves of the sloe-tree, and of the juice of its sour, astringent fruit, during the war-time, had any foundation in truth, the sloe must have been regarded commercially as one of the most valuable of our native productions, supplying our ladies with their tea, and our gentlemen with their port-wine.

Women and men, three-fourths of the number being women, go about buying tea-leaves of the female servants in the larger, and of the shop-keepers' wives in the smaller, houses. But the great purveyors of these things are the char-women. In the houses where they char the tea-leaves are often reserved for them to be thrown on the carpets when swept, as a means of allaying the dust, or else they form a part of their perquisites, and are often asked for if not offered. The mistress of a coffee-shop told me that her charwoman, employed in cleaning every other morning, had the tea-leaves as a part of her remuneration, or as a matter of course. What the charwoman did with them her employer never inquired, although she was always anxious to obtain them, and she referred me to the poor woman in question. I found her in a very clean apartment on the second floor of a decent house in Somers-town; a strong hale woman, with what may be called an industrious look. She was middle-aged, and a widow, with one daughter, then a nursemaid in the neighbourhood, and had regular employment.

"Yes," she said, "I get the tea-leaves whenever I can, and the most at two coffee-shops that I work at, but neither of them have so many as they used to have. I think it's because cocoa's come so much to be asked for in them, and so

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they sell less tea. I buy tea-leaves only at one place. It's a very large family, and I give the servant 4*d.* and sometimes 3*d.* or 2*d.* a fortnight for them, but I'm nothing in pocket, for the young girl is a bit of a relation of mine, and it's like a trifle of pocket-money for her. She gives a penny every time she goes to her chapel, and so do I; there's a box for it fixed near the door. O yes, her mistress knows I buy them, for her mistress knew me before she was married, and that's about 15 or 16 years since. When I've got this basin (producing it) full I sell it, generally for 4*d.* I don't know what the leaves in it will weigh, and I have never sold them by weight, but I believe some have. Perhaps they might weigh, as damp as some of them are, about a pound. I sell them to a chandler now. I have sold them to a rag-and-bottle-shop. I've had men and women call upon me and offer to buy them, but not lately, and I never liked the looks of them, and never sold them any. I don't know what they're wanted for, but I've heard that they're mixed with new tea. I have nothing to do with that. I get them honestly and sell them honestly, and that's all I can say about it. Every little helps, and if rich people won't pay poor people properly, then poor people can't be expected to be very nice. But I don't complain, and that's all I know about it."

The chandler in question knew nothing of the trade in tea-leaves, he said; he bought none, and he did not know that any of the shopkeepers did, and he could not form a notion what they could be wanted for, if it wasn't to sweep carpets!

This mode of buying or collecting is, I am told the commonest mode of any, and it certainly presents some peculiarities. The leaves which are to form the spurious tea are collected, in great measure, by a class who are perhaps more likely than any other to have themselves to buy and drink the stuff which they have helped to produce! By charwomen and washer-women a "nice cup of tea" in the afternoon during their work is generally classed among the comforts of existence, yet they are the very persons who sell the tea-leaves which are to make their "much prized beverage." It is curious to reflect also, that as tea-leaves are used indiscriminately for being re-made into what is considered new tea, what must be the strength of our tea in a few years. Now all housewives complain that twice the quantity of tea is required to make the infusion of the same strength as formerly, and if the collection of old tea-leaves continues, and the refuse leaves are to be dried and re-dried perpetually, surely we must get to use pounds where we now do ounces.

A man formerly in the tea-leaf business, and very anxious not to be known—but upon whose information, I am assured from a respectable source, full reliance may be placed—gave me the following account:—

"My father kept a little shop in the general line, and I helped him; so I was partly brought up to the small way. But I was adrift by myself when I was quite young—18 or so perhaps. I can read and write well enough, but I was rather of too gay a turn to be steady. Besides, father was very poor at times, and could seldom pay me anything, if I worked ever so. He was very fond of his belly too, and I've known him, when he's had a bit of luck, or a run of business, go and stuff hisself with fat roast pork at a cook-shop till he could hardly waddle, and then come home and lock hisself upstairs in his bed-room and sleep three parts of the afternoon. (My mother was dead.) But father was a kind-hearted man for all that, and for all his roast pork, was as thin as a whipping-post. I kept myself when I left him, just off and on like, by collecting grease, and all that; it can't be done so easy now, I fancy; so I got into the tea-leaf business, but father had nothing to do with it. An elderly sort of a woman who I met with in my collecting, and who seemed to take a sort of fancy to me, put me up to the leaves. She was an out-and-out hand at anything that way herself. Then I bought tea-leaves with other things, for I suppose for four or five years. How long ago is it? O, never mind, sir, a few years. I bought them at many sorts of houses, and carried a box of needles, and odds and ends, as a sort of introduction. There wasn't much of that wanted though, for I called, when I could, soon in the mornings before the family was up, and some ladies don't get up till 10 or 11 you know. The masters wasn't much; it was the mistresses I cared about, because they are often such Tartars to the maids and always a-poking in the way.

"I've tried to do business in the great lords' houses in the squares and about the parks, but there was mostly somebody about there to hinder you. Besides, the servants in such places are often on board wages, and often, when they're not on board wages, find their own tea and sugar, and little of the tea-leaves is saved when every one has a separate pot of tea; so there's no good to be done there. Large houses in trade where a number of young men is boarded, drapers or grocers, is among the best places, as there is often a housekeeper there to deal with, and no mistress to bother. I always bought by the lot. If you offered to weigh you would not be able to clear anything, as they'd be sure to give the leaves a extra wetting. I put handfulls of the leaves to my nose, and could tell from the smell whether they were hard drawn or not. When they isn't hard drawn they answer best, and them I put to one side. I had a bag like a lawyer's blue bag, with three divisions in it, to put my leaves into, and so keep them 'sunder. Yes, I've bought of charwomen, but somehow I think they did'nt much admire selling to me. I hardly know how I made them out, but one told me of another. They like the shops better for their leaves, I think; because they can get a bit of cheese, or snuff, or candles for them there; though I don't know much about the shop-work in this line. I've often been tried to be took in by the servants. I've found leaves in the lot offered to me to buy what was all dusty, and had been used for sweeping; and if I'd sold them with my stock they'd have been stopped out of the next

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money. I've had tea-leaves given me by servants oft enough, for I used to sweetheart them a bit, just to get over them; and they've laughed, and asked me whatever I could want with them. As for price, why, I judged what a lot was worth, and gave accordingly—from 1*d.* to 1*s.* I never gave more than 1*s.* for any one lot at a time, and that had been put to one side for me in a large concern, for about a fortnight I suppose. I can't say how many people had been tea'd on them. If it was a housekeeper, or anybody that way, that I bought of, there was never anything said about what they was wanted for. What *did* I want them for? Why, to sell again; and though him as I sold them to never said so, I knew they was to dry over again. I know nothing about who he was, or where he lived. The woman I told you of sent him to me. I suppose I cleared about 10*s.* a week on them, and did a little in other things beside; perhaps I cleared rather more than 10*s.* on leaves some weeks, and 5*s.* at others. The party as called upon me once a week to buy my leaves was a very polite man, and seemed quite the gentleman. There was no weighing. He examined the lot, and said 'so much.' He wouldn't stand 'bating, or be kept haggling; and his money was down, and no nonsense. What cost me 5*s.* I very likely got three half-crowns for. It was no great trade, if you consider the trouble. I've sometimes carried the leaves that he'd packed in papers, and put into a carpet-bag, where there was others, to a coffee-shop; they always had 'till called for' marked on a card then. I asked no questions, but just left them. There was two, and sometimes four boys, as used to bring me leaves on Saturday nights. I think they was charwomen's sons, but I don't know for a positive, and I don't know how they made me out. I think I was one of the tip-tops of the trade at one time; some weeks I've laid out a sov. (sovereign) in leaves. I haven't a notion how many's in the line, or what's doing now; but much the same I've no doubt. I'm glad *I've* done with it."

I am told by those who are as well-informed on the subject as is perhaps possible, when a surreptitious and dishonest traffic is the subject of inquiry, that less spurious tea is sold, there are more makers of it. Two of the principal manufacturers have of late, however, been prevented carrying on the business by the intervention of the excise officers. The spurious tea-men are also the buyers of "wrecked tea," that is, of tea which has been part of the salvage of a wrecked vessel, and is damaged or spoiled entirely by the salt water. This is re-dried and dyed, so as to appear fresh and new. It is dyed with Prussian blue, which gives it what an extensive tea-dealer described to me as an "intensely fine green." It is then mixed with the commonest Gunpowder teas and with the strongest Young Hysons, and has always a kind of "metallic" smell, somewhat like that of a copper vessel after friction in its cleaning. These teas are usually sold at 4*s.* the pound.

Sloe-leaves for spurious tea, as I have before stated, were in extensive use, but this manufacture ceased to exist about 20 years ago. Now the spurious material consists only of the old tea-leaves, at least so far as experienced tradesmen know. The adulteration is, however, I am assured, more skilfully conducted than it used to be, and its staple is of far easier procuration. The law, though it makes the use of old tea-leaves, as components of what is called tea, punishable, is nevertheless silent as to their sale or purchase; they can be collected, therefore, with a comparative impunity.

The tea-leaves are dried, dyed (or re-dyed), and shrivelled on plates of hot metal, carefully tended. The dyes used are those I have mentioned. These teas, when mixed, are hawked in the country, but not in town, and are sold to the hawkers at 7 lbs. for 21*s.* The quarters of pounds are retailed at 1*s.* A tea-dealer told me that he could recognise this adulterated commodity, but it was only a person skilled in teas who could do so, by its *coarse* look. For green tea—the mixture to which the prepared leaves are mostly devoted—the old tea is blended with the commonest Gunpowders and Hysons. No dye, I am told, is required when black tea is thus re-made; but I know that plumbago is often used to simulate the bloom. The inferior shopkeepers sell this adulterated tea, especially in neighbourhoods where the poor Irish congregate, or any of the lowest class of the poor English.

To obtain the statistics of a trade which exists in spite not only of the vigilance of the excise and police officers but of public reprobation, and which is essentially a secret trade, is not possible. I heard some, who were likely to be well-informed, conjecture—for it cannot honestly be called more than a conjecture—that between 500 and 1000 lbs., perhaps 700 lbs., of old tea-leaves were made up weekly in London; but of this he thought that about an eighth was spoilt by burning in the process of drying.

Another gentleman, however, thought that, at the very least, double the above quantity of old tea-leaves was weekly manufactured into new tea. According to his estimate, and he was no mean authority, no less than 1500 lbs. weekly, or 78,000 lbs. per annum of this trash are yearly poured into the London market. The average consumption of tea is about 1¼ lb. per annum for each man, woman, or child in the kingdom; coffee being the *principal* unfermented beverage of the poor. Those, however, of the poorest who drink tea consume about two ounces per week (half an ounce serving them twice), or one pound in the course of every two months. This makes the annual consumption of the adult tea-drinking poor amount to 6 lbs., and it is upon this class the spurious tea is chiefly foisted.

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OF THE STREET-FINDERS OR COLLECTORS.

THESE men, for by far the great majority are men, may be divided, according to the nature of their occupations, into three classes:—

1. The bone-grubbers and rag-gatherers, who are, indeed, the same individuals, the pure-finders, and the cigar-end and old wood collectors.

2. The dredgermen, the mud-larks, and the sewer-hunters.

3. The dustmen and nightmen, the sweeps and the scavengers.

The first class go abroad daily to *find* in the streets, and carry away with them such things as bones, rags, "pure" (or dogs'-dung), which no one appropriates. These they sell, and on that sale support a wretched life. The second class of people are also as strictly *finders*; but their industry, or rather their labour, is confined to the river, or to that subterranean city of sewerage unto which the Thames supplies the great outlets. These persons may not be immediately connected with the *streets* of London, but their pursuits are carried on in the open air (if the sewer-air may be so included), and are all, at any rate, out-of-door avocations. The third class is distinct from either of these, as the labourers comprised in it are not finders, but *collectors* or *removers* of the dirt and filth of our streets and houses, and of the soot of our chimneys.

The two first classes also differ from the third in the fact that the sweeps, dustmen, scavengers, &c., are paid (and often large sums) for the removal of the refuse they collect; whereas the bone-grubbers, and mud-larks, and pure-finders, and dredgermen, and sewer-hunters, get for their pains only the value of the articles they gather.

Herein, too, lies a broad distinction between the street-finder, or collector, and the street-buyer: though both deal principally with refuse, the buyer *pays* for what he is permitted to take away; whereas the finder or collector is either paid (like the sweep), or else he neither pays nor is paid (like the bone-grubber), for the refuse that he removes.

The third class of street-collectors also presents another and a markedly distinctive characteristic. They act in the capacity of servants, and do not depend upon chance for the result of their day's labour, but are put to stated tasks, being employed and paid a fixed sum for their work. To this description, however, some of the sweeps present an exception; as when the sweep works on his own account, or, as it is worded, "is his own master."

The public health requires the periodical cleaning of the streets, and the removal of the refuse matter from our dwellings; and the man who contracts to carry on this work is decidedly a street-collector; for on what he collects or removes depends the amount of his remuneration. Thus a wealthy contractor for the public scavengery, is as entirely one of the street-folk as the unskilled and ignorant labourer he employs. The master lives, and, in many instances, has become rich, on the results of his street employment; for, of course, the actual workmen are but as the agents or sources of his profit. Even the collection of "pure" (dogs'-dung) in the streets, if conducted by the servants of any tanner or leather dresser, either for the purposes of his own trade or for sale to others, might be the occupation of a wealthy man, deriving a small profit from the labour of each particular collector. The same may also be said of bone-grubbing, or any similar occupation, however insignificant, and now abandoned to the outcast.

Were the collection of mud and dust carried on by a number of distinct individuals—that is to say, were each individual dustman and scavenger to collect on his own account, there is no doubt that no *one man* could amass a fortune by such means—while if the collection of bones and rags and even dogs'-dung were carried on "in the large way," that is to say, by a number of individual collectors working for one "head man," even the picking up of the most abject refuse of the metropolis might become the source of great riches.

The bone-grubber and the mud-lark (the searcher for refuse on the banks of the river) differ little in their pursuits or in their characteristics, excepting that the mud-larks are generally boys, which is more an accidental than a definite distinction. The grubbers are with a few exceptions stupid, unconscious of their degradation, and with little anxiety to be relieved from it. They are usually taciturn, but this taciturn habit is common to men whose callings, if they cannot be called solitary, are pursued with little communication with others. I was informed by a man who once kept a little beer-shop near Friar-street, Southwark Bridge-road (where then and still, he thought, was a bone-grinding establishment), that the bone-grubbers who carried their sacks of bones thither sometimes had a pint of beer at his house when they had received their money. They usually sat, he told me, silently looking at the corners of the floor—for they rarely lifted their eyes up—as if they were expecting to see some bones or refuse there available for their bags. Of this inertion, perhaps fatigue and despair may be a part. I asked some questions of a man of this class whom I saw pick up in a road in the suburbs something that appeared to have been a coarse canvas apron, although it was wet after a night's rain and half covered with mud. I inquired of him what he thought about when he trudged along looking on the ground on every side. His answer was, "Of nothing, sir." I believe that no better description could be given of that vacuity of mind or mental inactivity which seems to form a part of the most degraded callings. The minds of such men, even without an approach to idiotcy, appear to be a blank. One characteristic of these poor fellows, bone-grubbers and mud-larks, is that they

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THE MUD-LARK.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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are very poor, although I am told some of them, the older men, have among the poor the reputation of being misers. It is not unusual for the youths belonging to these callings to live with their parents and give them the amount of their earnings.

The sewer-hunters are again distinct, and a far more intelligent and adventurous class; but they work in gangs. They must be familiar with the course of the tides, or they might be drowned at high water. They must have quick eyes too, not merely to descry the objects of their search, but to mark the points and bearings of the subterraneous roads they traverse; in a word, "to know their way underground." There is, moreover, some spirit of daring in venturing into a dark, solitary sewer, the chart being only in the memory, and in braving the possibility of noxious vapours, and the by no means insignificant dangers of the rats infesting these places.

The dredgermen, the finders of the water, are again distinct, as being watermen, and working in boats. In some foreign parts, in Naples, for instance, men carrying on similar pursuits are also divers for anything lost in the bay or its confluent waters. One of these men, known some years ago as "the Fish," could remain (at least, so say those whom there is no reason to doubt) three hours under the water without rising to the surface to take breath. He was, it is said, web-footed, naturally, and partially web-fingered. The King of the Two Sicilies once threw a silver cup into the sea for "the Fish" to bring up and retain as a reward, but the poor diver was never seen again. It was believed that he got entangled among the weeds on the rocks, and so perished. The dredgermen are necessarily well acquainted with the sets of the tide and the course of the currents in the Thames. Every one of these men works on his own account, being as it were a "small master," which, indeed, is one of the great attractions of open-air pursuits. The dredgermen also depend for their maintenance upon the sale of what they find, or the rewards they receive.

It is otherwise, however, as was before observed, with the third class of the street-finders, or rather collectors. In all the capacities of dustmen, nightmen, scavengers, and sweeps, the employers of the men are *paid* to do the work, the proceeds of the street-collection forming only a portion of the employer's remuneration. The sweep has the soot in addition to his 6*d.* or 1*s.*; the master scavenger has a payment from the parish funds to sweep the streets, though the clearance of the cesspools, &c., in private houses, may be an individual bargain. The whole refuse of the streets belongs to the contractor to make the best of, but it must be cleared away, and so must the contents of a dust-bin; for if a mass of dirt become offensive, the householder may be indicted for a nuisance, and municipal by-laws require its removal. It is thus made a matter of compulsion that the dust be removed from a private house; but it is otherwise with the soot. Why a man should be permitted to let soot accumulate in his chimney—perhaps exposing himself, his family, his lodgers, and his neighbours to the dangers of fire, it may not be easy to account for, especially when we bear in mind that the same man may not accumulate cabbage-leaves and fish-tails in his yard.

The dustmen are of the plodding class of labourers, mere labourers, who require only bodily power, and possess little or no mental development. Many of the agricultural labourers are of this order, and the dustman often seems to be the stolid ploughman, modified by a residence in a city, and engaged in a peculiar calling. They are generally uninformed, and no few of them are dustmen because their fathers were. The same may be said of nightmen and scavengers. At one time it was a popular, or rather a vulgar notion that many dustmen had become possessed of large sums, from the plate, coins, and valuables they found in clearing the dust-bins — a manifest absurdity; but I was told by a marine-store dealer that he had known a young woman, a dustman's daughter, sell silver spoons to a neighbouring marine-store man, who was "not very particular."

The circumstances and character of the chimney-sweeps have, since Parliament "put down" the climbing boys, undergone considerable change. The sufferings of many of the climbing boys were very great. They were often ill-lodged, ill-fed, barely-clad, forced to ascend hot and narrow flues, and subject to diseases—such as the chimney-sweep's cancer—peculiar to their calling. The child hated his trade, and was easily tempted to be a thief, for prison was an asylum; or he grew up a morose tyrannical fellow as journeyman or master. Some of the young sweeps became very bold thieves and house-breakers, and the most remarkable, as far as personal daring is concerned: the boldest feat of escape from Newgate was performed by a youth who had been brought up a chimney-sweep. He climbed up the two bare rugged walls of a corner of the interior of the prison, in the open air, to the height of some 60 feet. He had only the use of his hands, knees, and feet, and a single slip, from fear or pain, would have been death; he surmounted a parapet after this climbing, and gained the roof, but was recaptured before he could get clear away. He was, moreover, a sickly, and reputed a cowardly, young man, and ended his career in this country by being transported.

A master sweep, now in middle age, and a man "well to do," told me that when a mere child he had been apprenticed out of the workhouse to a sweep, such being at that time a common occurrence. He had undergone, he said, great hardships while learning his business, and was long, from the indifferent character of his class, ashamed of being a sweep, both as journeyman and master; but the sweeps were so much improved in character now, that he no longer felt himself disgraced in his calling.

The sweeps are more intelligent than the mere ordinary labourers I have written of under this head, but they are, of course, far from being an educated body.

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The further and more minute characteristics of the curious class of street-finders or collectors will be found in the particular details and statements.

Among the finders there is perhaps the greatest poverty existing, they being the very lowest class of all the street-people. Many of the very old live on the hard dirty crusts they pick up out of the roads in the course of their rounds, washing them and steeping them in water before they eat them. Probably that vacuity of mind which is a distinguishing feature of the class is the mere atony or emaciation of the mental faculties proceeding from—though often producing in the want of energy that it necessarily begets—the extreme wretchedness of the class. But even their liberty and a crust—as it frequently literally is—appears preferable to these people to the restrictions of the workhouse. Those who are unable to comprehend the inertia of both body and mind begotten by the despair of long-continued misfortune are referred to page 357 of the first volume of this work, where it will be found that a tinman, in speaking of the misery connected with the early part of his street-career, describes the effect of extreme want as producing not only an absence of all hope, but even of a desire to better the condition. Those, however, who have studied the mysterious connection between body and mind, and observed what different creatures they themselves are before and after dinner, can well understand that a long-continued deficiency of food must have the same weakening effect on the muscles of the mind and energy of the thoughts and will, as it has on the limbs themselves.

Occasionally it will be found that the utter abjectness of the bone-grubbers has arisen from the want of energy begotten by intemperate habits. The workman has nothing but this same energy to live upon, and the permanent effect of stimulating liquors is to produce an amount of depression corresponding to the excitement momentarily caused by them in the frame. The operative, therefore, who spends his earnings on "drink," not only squanders them on a brutalising luxury, but deprives himself of the power, and consequently of the disposition, to work for more, and hence that idleness, carelessness, and neglect which are the distinctive qualities of the drunkard, and sooner or later compass his ruin.

For the poor wretched children who are reared to this the lowest trade of all, surely even the most insensible and unimaginative must feel the acutest pity. There is, however, this consolation: I have heard of none, with the exception of the more prosperous sewer-hunters and dredgermen, who have remained all their lives at street-finding. Still there remains much to be done by all those who are impressed with a sense of the trust that has been confided to them, in the possession of those endowments which render their lot in this world so much more easy than that of the less lucky street-finders.

Bone-Grubbers and Rag-Gatherers.

The habits of the bone-grubbers and rag-gatherers, the "pure," or dogs'-dung collectors, and the cigar-end finders, are necessarily similar. All lead a wandering, unsettled sort of life, being compelled to be continually on foot, and to travel many miles every day in search of the articles in which they deal. They seldom have any fixed place of abode, and are mostly to be found at night in one or other of the low lodging-houses throughout London. The majority are, moreover, persons who have been brought up to other employments, but who from some failing or mishap have been reduced to such a state of distress that they were obliged to take to their present occupation, and have never after been able to get away from it.

Of the whole class it is considered that there are from 800 to 1000 resident in London, one-half of whom, at the least, sleep in the cheap lodging-houses. The Government returns estimate the number of mendicants' lodging-houses in London to be upwards of 200. Allowing two bone-grubbers and pure-finders to frequent each of these lodging-houses, there will be upwards of 400 availing themselves of such nightly shelters. As many more, I am told, live in garrets and ill-furnished rooms in the lowest neighbourhoods. There is no instance on record of any of the class renting even the smallest house for himself.

Moreover there are in London during the winter a number of persons called "trampers," who employ themselves at that season in street-finding. These people are in the summer country labourers of some sort, but as soon as the harvest and potato-getting and hop-picking are over, and they can find nothing else to do in the country, they come back to London to avail themselves of the shelter of the night asylums or refuges for the destitute (usually called "straw-yards" by the poor), for if they remained in the provinces at that period of the year they would be forced to have recourse to the unions, and as they can only stay one night in each place they would be obliged to travel from ten to fifteen miles per day, to which in the winter they have a strong objection. They come up to London in the winter, not to look for any regular work or employment, but because they know that they can have a nightly shelter, and bread night and morning for nothing, during that season, and can during the day collect bones, rags, &c. As soon as the "straw-yards" close, which is generally about the beginning of April, the "trampers" again start off to the country in small bands of two or three, and without any fixed residence keep wandering about all the summer, sometimes begging their way through the villages and sleeping in the casual wards of the unions, and sometimes, when hard driven, working at hay-making or any other light labour.

Those among the bone-grubbers who do not belong to the regular "trampers" have been either navvies, or men who have not been able to obtain employment at their own business, and have been driven to it by necessity as a means of obtaining a little bread for the time being, and without any intention of pursuing the calling regularly; but, as I have said, when once in the

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business they cannot leave it, for at least they make certain of getting a few halfpence by it, and their present necessity does not allow them time to look after other employment. There are many of the street-finders who are old men and women, and many very young children who have no other means of living. Since the famine in Ireland vast numbers of that unfortunate people, particularly boys and girls, have been engaged in gathering bones and rags in the streets.

The bone-picker and rag-gatherer may be known at once by the greasy bag which he carries on his back. Usually he has a stick in his hand, and this is armed with a spike or hook, for the purpose of more easily turning over the heaps of ashes or dirt that are thrown out of the houses, and discovering whether they contain anything that is saleable at the rag-and-bottle or marine-store shop. The bone-grubber generally seeks out the narrow back streets, where dust and refuse are cast, or where any dust-bins are accessible. The articles for which he chiefly searches are rags and bones—rags he prefers—but waste metal, such as bits of lead, pewter, copper, brass, or old iron, he prizes above all. Whatever he meets with that he knows to be in any way saleable he puts into the bag at his back. He often finds large lumps of bread which have been thrown out as waste by the servants, and occasionally the housekeepers will give him some bones on which there is a little meat remaining; these constitute the morning meal of most of the class. One of my informants had a large rump of beef bone given to him a few days previous to my seeing him, on which "there was not less than a pound of meat."

The bone-pickers and rag-gatherers are all early risers. They have all their separate beats or districts, and it is most important to them that they should reach their district before any one else of the same class can go over the ground. Some of the beats lie as far as Peckham, Clapham, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Bow, Stratford, and indeed all parts within about five miles of London. In summer time they rise at two in the morning, and sometimes earlier. It is not quite light at this hour—but bones and rags can be discovered before daybreak. The "grubbers" scour all quarters of London, but abound more particularly in the suburbs. In the neighbourhood of Petticoat-lane and Ragfair, however, they are the most numerous on account of the greater quantity of rags which the Jews have to throw out. It usually takes the bone-picker from seven to nine hours to go over his rounds, during which time he travels from 20 to 30 miles with a quarter to a half hundredweight on his back. In the summer he usually reaches home about eleven of the day, and in the winter about one or two. On his return home he proceeds to sort the contents of his bag. He separates the rags from the bones, and these again from the old metal (if he be lucky enough to have found any). He divides the rags into various lots, according as they are white or coloured; and if he have picked up any pieces of canvas or sacking, he makes these also into a separate parcel. When he has finished the sorting he takes his several lots to the rag-shop or the marine-store dealer, and realizes upon them whatever they may be worth. For the white rags he gets from 2*d.* to 3*d.* per pound, according as they are clean or soiled. The white rags are very difficult to be found; they are mostly very dirty, and are therefore sold with the coloured ones at the rate of about 5 lbs. for 2*d.* The bones are usually sold with the coloured rags at one and the same price. For fragments of canvas or sacking the grubber gets about three-farthings a pound; and old brass, copper, and pewter about 4*d.* (the marine-store keepers say 5*d.*), and old iron one farthing per pound, or six pounds for 1*d.* The bone-grubber thinks he has done an excellent day's work if he can earn 8*d.*; and some of them, especially the very old and the very young, do not earn more than from 2*d.* to 3*d.* a day. To make 10*d.* a day, at the present price of rags and bones, a man must be remarkably active and strong,—"ay! and lucky, too," adds my informant. The average amount of earnings, I am told, varies from about 6*d.* to 8*d.* per day, or from 3*s.* to 4*s.* a week; and the highest amount that a man, the most brisk and persevering at the business, can by any possibility earn in one week is about 5*s.*, but this can only be accomplished by great good fortune and industry—the usual weekly gains are about half that sum. In bad weather the bone-grubber cannot do so well, because the rags are wet, and then they cannot sell them. The majority pick up bones only in wet weather; those who *do* gather rags during or after rain are obliged to wash and dry them before they can sell them. The state of the shoes of the rag and bone-picker is a very important matter to him; for if he be well shod he can get quickly over the ground; but he is frequently lamed, and unable to make any progress from the blisters and gashes on his feet, occasioned by the want of proper shoes.

Sometimes the bone-grubbers will pick up a stray sixpence or a shilling that has been dropped in the street. "The handkerchief I have round my neck," said one whom I saw, "I picked up with 1*s.* in the corner. The greatest prize I ever found was the brass cap of the nave of a coach-wheel; and I *did* once find a quarter of a pound of tobacco in Sun-street, Bishopsgate. The best bit of luck of all that I ever had was finding a cheque for 12*l.* 15*s.* lying in the gateway of the mourning-coach yard in Titchborne-street, Haymarket. I was going to light my pipe with it, indeed I picked it up for that purpose, and then saw it was a cheque. It was on the London and County Bank, 21, Lombard-street. I took it there, and got 10*s.* for finding it. I went there in my rags, as I am now, and the cashier stared a bit at me. The cheque was drawn by a Mr. Knibb, and payable to a Mr. Cox. I *did* think I should have got the odd 15*s.* though."

It has been stated that the average amount of the earnings of the bone-pickers is 6*d.* per day, or 3*s.* per week, being 7*l.* 16*s.* per annum for each person. It has also been shown that the number

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of persons engaged in the business may be estimated at about 800; hence the earnings of the entire number will amount to the sum of 20*l.* per day, or 120*l.* per week, which gives 6240*l.* as the annual earnings of the bone-pickers and rag-gatherers of London. It may also be computed that each of the grubbers gathers on an average 20 lbs. weight of bone and rags; and reckoning the bones to constitute three-fourths of the entire weight, we thus find that the gross quantity of these articles gathered by the street-finders in the course of the year, amounts to 3,744,000 lbs. of bones, and 1,240,000 lbs. of rags.

Between the London and St. Katherine's Docks and Rosemary Lane, there is a large district interlaced with narrow lanes, courts, and alleys ramifying into each other in the most intricate and disorderly manner, insomuch that it would be no easy matter for a stranger to work his way through the interminable confusion without the aid of a guide, resident in and well conversant with the locality. The houses are of the poorest description, and seem as if they tumbled into their places at random. Foul channels, huge dust-heaps, and a variety of other unsightly objects, occupy every open space, and dabbling among these are crowds of ragged dirty children who grub and wallow, as if in their native element. None reside in these places but the poorest and most wretched of the population, and, as might almost be expected, this, the cheapest and filthiest locality of London, is the head-quarters of the bone-grubbers and other street-finders. I have ascertained on the best authority, that from the centre of this place, within a circle of a mile in diameter, there dwell not less than 200 persons of this class. In this quarter I found a bone-grubber who gave me the following account of himself:—

"I was born in Liverpool, and when about 14 years of age, my father died. He used to work about the Docks, and I used to run on errands for any person who wanted me. I managed to live by this after my father's death for three or four years. I had a brother older than myself, who went to France to work on the railroads, and when I was about 18 he sent for me, and got me to work with himself on the Paris and Rouen Railway, under McKenzie and Brassy, who had the contract. I worked on the railroads in France for four years, till the disturbance broke out, and then we all got notice to leave the country. I lodged at that time with a countryman, and had 12*l.*, which I had saved out of my earnings. This sum I gave to my countryman to keep for me till we got to London, as I did not like to have it about me, for fear I'd lose it. The French people paid our fare from Rouen to Havre by the railway, and there put us on board a steamer to Southampton. There was about 50 of us altogether. When we got to Southampton, we all went before the mayor; we told him about how we had been driven out of France, and he gave us a shilling a piece; he sent some one with us, too, to get us a lodging, and told us to come again the next day. In the morning the mayor gave every one who was able to walk half-a-crown, and for those who were not able he paid their fare to London on the railroad. I had a sore leg at the time, and I came up by the train, and when I gave up my ticket at the station, the gentleman gave me a shilling more. I couldn't find the man I had given my money to, because he had walked up; and I went before the Lord Mayor to ask his advice; he gave me 2*s.* 6*d.* I looked for work everywhere, but could get nothing to do; and when the 2*s.* 6*d.* was all spent, I heard that the man who had my money was on the London and York Railway in the country; however, I couldn't get that far for want of money then; so I went again before the Lord Mayor, and he gave me two more, but told me not to trouble him any further. I told the Lord Mayor about the money, and then he sent an officer with me, who put me into a carriage on the railway. When I got down to where the man was at work, he wouldn't give me a farthing; I had given him the money without any witness bring present, and he said I could do nothing, because it was done in another country. I staid down there more than a week trying to get work on the railroad, but could not. I had no money and was nearly starved, when two or three took pity on me, and made up four or five shillings for me, to take me back again to London. I tried all I could to get something to do, till the money was nearly gone; and then I took to selling lucifers, and the fly-papers that they use in the shops, and little things like that; but I could do no good at this work, there was too many at it before me, and they knew more about it than I did. At last, I got so bad off I didn't know what to do; but seeing a great many about here gathering bones and rags, I thought I'd do so too—a poor fellow must do something. I was advised to do so, and I have been at it ever since. I forgot to tell you that my brother died in France. We had good wages there, four francs a day, or 3*s.* 4*d.* English; I don't make more than 3*d.* or 4*d.* and sometimes 6*d.* a day at bone-picking. I don't go out before daylight to gather anything, because the police takes my bag and throws all I've gathered about the street to see if I have anything stolen in it. I never stole anything in all my life, indeed I'd do anything before I'd steal. Many a night I've slept under an arch of the railway when I hadn't a penny to pay for my bed; but whenever the police find me that way, they make me and the rest get up, and drive us on, and tell us to keep moving. I don't go out on wet days, there's no use in it, as the things won't be bought. I can't wash and dry them, because I'm in a lodging-house. There's a great deal more than a 100 bone-pickers about here, men, women, and children. The Jews in this lane and up in Petticoat-lane give a good deal of victuals away on the Saturday. They sometimes call one of us in from the street to light the fire for them, or take off the kettle, as they must not do anything themselves on the Sabbath; and then they put some food on the footpath, and throw rags and bones into the street for us, because they must not hand anything to us. There are some about here who get a couple of shillings' worth of goods, and go on

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board the ships in the Docks, and exchange them for bones and bits of old canvas among the sailors; I 'd buy and do so too if I only had the money, but can't get it. The summer is the worst time for us, the winter is much better, for there is more meat used in winter, and then there are more bones." (Others say differently.) "I intend to go to the country this season, and try to get something to do at the hay-making and harvest. I make about 2s. 6d. a week, and the way I manage is this: sometimes I get a piece of bread about 12 o'clock, and I make my breakfast of that and cold water; very seldom I have any dinner,—unless I earn 6d. I can't get any,—and then I have a basin of nice soup, or a penn'orth of plum-pudding and a couple of baked 'tatoes. At night I get ½d. worth of coffee, ½d. worth of sugar, and 1½d. worth of bread, and then I have 2d. a night left for my lodging; I always try to manage that, for I 'd do anything sooner than stop out all night. I 'm always happy the day when I make 4d., for then I know I won't have to sleep in the street. The winter before last, there was a straw-yard down in Black Jack's-alley, where we used to go after six o'clock in the evening, and get ½ lb. of bread, and another ½ lb. in the morning, and then we'd gather what we could in the daytime and buy victuals with what we got for it. We were well off then, but the straw-yard wasn't open at all last winter. There used to be 300 of us in there of a night, a great many of the dock-labourers and their families were there, for no work was to be got in the docks; so they weren't able to pay rent, and were obliged to go in. I 've lost my health since I took to bone-picking, through the wet and cold in the winter, for I 've scarcely any clothes, and the wet gets to my feet through the old shoes; this caused me last winter to be nine weeks in the hospital of the Whitechapel workhouse."

The narrator of this tale seemed so dejected and broken in spirit, that it was with difficulty his story was elicited from him. He was evidently labouring under incipient consumption. I have every reason to believe that he made a truthful statement,—indeed, he did not appear to me to have sufficient intellect to invent a falsehood. It is a curious fact, indeed, with reference to the London street-finders generally, that they seem to possess less rational power than any other class. They appear utterly incapable of trading even in the most trifling commodities, probably from the fact that buying articles for the purpose of selling them at a profit, requires an exercise of the mind to which they feel themselves incapable. Begging, too, requires some ingenuity or tact, in order to move the sympathies of the well-to-do, and the street-finders being incompetent for this, they work on day after day as long as they are able to crawl about in pursuit of their unprofitable calling. This cannot be fairly said of the younger members of this class, who are sent into the streets by their parents, and many of whom are afterwards able to find some more reputable and more lucrative employment. As a body of people, however, young and old, they mostly exhibit the same stupid, half-witted appearance.

To show how bone-grubbers occasionally manage to obtain shelter during the night, the following incident may not be out of place. A few mornings past I accidentally encountered one of this class in a narrow back lane; his ragged coat—the colour of the rubbish among which he toiled—was greased over, probably with the fat of the bones he gathered, and being mixed with the dust it seemed as if the man were covered with bird-lime. His shoes—torn and tied on his feet with pieces of cord—had doubtlessly been picked out of some dust-bin, while his greasy bag and stick unmistakably announced his calling. Desirous of obtaining all the information possible on this subject, I asked him a few questions, took his address, which he gave without hesitation, and bade him call on me in the evening. At the time appointed, however, he did not appear; on the following day therefore I made way to the address he had given, and on reaching the spot I was astonished to find the house in which he had said he lived was uninhabited. A padlock was on the door, the boards of which were parting with age. There was not a whole pane of glass in any of the windows, and the frames of many of them were shattered or demolished. Some persons in the neighbourhood, noticing me eyeing the place, asked whom I wanted. On my telling the man's name, which it appeared he had not dreamt of disguising, I was informed that he had left the day before, saying he had met the landlord in the morning (for such it turned out he had fancied me to be), and that the gentleman had wanted him to come to his house, but he was afraid to go lest he should be sent to prison for breaking into the place. I found, on inspection, that the premises, though locked up, could be entered by the rear, one of the window-frames having been removed, so that admission could be obtained through the aperture. Availing myself of the same mode of ingress, I proceeded to examine the premises. Nothing could well be more dismal or dreary than the interior. The floors were rotting with damp and mildew, especially near the windows, where the wet found easy entrance. The walls were even slimy and discoloured, and everything bore the appearance of desolation. In one corner was strewn a bundle of dirty straw, which doubtlessly had served the bone-grubber for a bed, while scattered about the floor were pieces of bones, and small fragments of dirty rags, sufficient to indicate the calling of the late inmate. He had had but little difficulty in removing his property, seeing that it consisted solely of his bag and his stick.

The following paragraph concerning the chiffoniers or rag-gatherers of Paris appeared in the London journals a few weeks since:—

"The fraternal association of rag-gatherers (chiffoniers) gave a grand banquet on Saturday last (21st of June). It took place at a public-house called the *Pot Tricolore*, near the *Barrière de Fontainbleau*, which is frequented by the rag-gathering fraternity. In this house there are three rooms, each of which is specially devoted to the use of different classes of rag-gatherers: one, the least dirty, is called the 'Chamber of Peers,'

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and is occupied by the first class—that is, those who possess a basket in a good state, and a crook ornamented with copper; the second, called the 'Chamber of Deputies,' belonging to the second class, is much less comfortable, and those who attend it have baskets and crooks not of first-rate quality; the third room is in a dilapidated condition, and is frequented by the lowest class of rag-gatherers who have no basket or crook, and who place what they find in the streets in a piece of sackcloth. They call themselves the '*Réunion des Vrais Prolétaires*.' The name of each room is written in chalk above the door; and generally such strict etiquette is observed among the rag-gatherers that no one goes into the apartment not occupied by his own class. At Saturday's banquet, however, all distinctions of rank were laid aside, and delegates of each class united fraternally. The president was the oldest rag-gatherer in Paris; his age is 88, and he is called 'the Emperor.' The banquet consisted of a sort of *olla podrida*, which the master of the establishment pompously called *gibelotte*, though of what animal it was composed it was impossible to say. It was served up in huge earthen dishes, and before it was allowed to be touched payment was demanded and obtained; the other articles were also paid for as soon as they were brought in; and a deposit was exacted as a security for the plates, knives, and forks. The wine, or what did duty as such, was contained in an earthen pot called the *Petit Père Noir*, and was filled from a gigantic vessel named *Le Moricaud*. The dinner was concluded by each guest taking a small glass of brandy. Business was then proceeded to. It consisted in the reading and adoption of the statutes of the association, followed by the drinking of numerous toasts to the president, to the prosperity of rag-gathering, to the union of rag-gatherers, &c. A collection amounting to 6*f*. 75*c*. was raised for sick members of the fraternity. The guests then dispersed; but several of them remained at the counter until they had consumed in brandy the amount deposited as security for the crockery, knives, and forks."

Of the "Pure"-Finders.

Dogs'-dung is called "Pure," from its cleansing and purifying properties.

The name of "Pure-finders," however, has been applied to the men engaged in collecting dogs'-dung from the public streets only, within the last 20 or 30 years. Previous to this period there appears to have been no men engaged in the business, old women alone gathered the substance, and they were known by the name of "bunters," which signifies properly gatherers of rags; and thus plainly intimates that the rag-gatherers originally added the collecting of "Pure" to their original and proper vocation. Hence it appears that the bone-grubbers, rag-gatherers, and pure-finders, constituted formerly but one class of people, and even now they have, as I have stated, kindred characteristics.

The pure-finders meet with a ready market for all the dogs'-dung they are able to collect, at the numerous tanyards in Bermondsey, where they sell it by the stable-bucket full, and get from 8*d*. to 10*d*. per bucket, and sometimes 1*s*. and 1*s*. 2*d*. for it, according to its quality. The "dry limy-looking sort" fetches the highest price at some yards, as it is found to possess more of the alkaline, or purifying properties; but others are found to prefer the dark moist quality. Strange as it may appear, the preference for a particular kind has suggested to the finders of Pure the idea of adulterating it to a very considerable extent; this is effected by means of mortar broken away from old walls, and mixed up with the whole mass, which it closely resembles; in some cases, however, the mortar is rolled into small balls similar to those found. Hence it would appear, that there is no business or trade, however insignificant or contemptible, without its own peculiar and appropriate tricks.

The pure-finders are in their habits and mode of proceeding nearly similar to the bone-grubbers. Many of the pure-finders are, however, better in circumstances, the men especially, as they earn more money. They are also, to a certain extent, a better educated class. Some of the regular collectors of this substance have been mechanics, and others small tradesmen, who have been reduced. Those pure-finders who have "a good connection," and have been granted permission to cleanse some kennels, obtain a very fair living at the business, earning from 10*s*. to 15*s*. a week. These, however, are very few; the majority have to seek the article in the streets, and by such means they can obtain only from 6*s*. to 10*s*. a week. The average weekly earnings of this class are thought to be about 7*s*. 6*d*.

From all the inquiries I have made on this subject, I have found that there cannot be less than from 200 to 300 persons constantly engaged solely in this business. There are about 30 tanyards large and small in Bermondsey, and these all have their regular Pure collectors from whom they obtain the article. Leomont and Roberts's, Bavingtons', Beech's, Murrell's, Cheeseman's, Powell's, Jones's, Jourdans', Kent's, Moorcroft's, and Davis's, are among the largest establishments, and some idea of the amount of business done in some of these yards may be formed from the fact, that the proprietors severally employ from 300 to 500 tanners. At Leomont and Roberts's there are 23 regular street-finders, who supply them with pure, but this is a large establishment, and the number supplying them is considered far beyond the average quantity; moreover, Messrs. Leomont and Roberts do more business in the particular branch of tanning in which the article is principally used, viz., in dressing the leather for book-covers, kid-gloves, and a variety of other articles. Some of the other tanyards, especially the smaller ones, take the substance only as they happen to want it, and others again employ but a limited number of hands. If, therefore, we strike an average, and reduce the number supplying each of the several yards to eight, we shall have 240 persons regularly engaged in the business: besides these, it may be said that numbers of the starving and destitute Irish have taken to picking up the ma-

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terial, but not knowing where to sell it, or how to dispose of it, they part with it for 2*d.* or 3*d.* the pailfull to the regular purveyors of it to the tan-yards, who of course make a considerable profit by the transaction. The children of the poor Irish are usually employed in this manner, but they also pick up rags and bones, and anything else which may fall in their way.

I have stated that some of the pure-finders, especially the men, earn a considerable sum of money per week; their gains are sometimes as much as 15*s.*; indeed I am assured that seven years ago, when they got from 3*s.* to 4*s.* per pail for the pure, that many of them would not exchange their position with that of the best paid mechanic in London. Now, however, the case is altered, for there are twenty now at the business for every one who followed it then; hence each collects so much the less in quantity, and, moreover, from the competition gets so much less for the article. Some of the collectors at present do not earn 3*s.* per week, but these are mostly old women who are feeble and unable to get over the ground quickly; others make 5*s.* and 6*s.* in the course of the week, while the most active and those who clean out the kennels of the dog fanciers may occasionally make 9*s.* and 10*s.* and even 15*s.* a week still, but this is of very rare occurrence. Allowing the finders, one with the other, to earn on an average 5*s.* per week, it would give the annual earnings of each to be 13*l.*, while the income of the whole 200 would amount to 50*l.* a week, or 2600*l.* per annum. The kennel "pure" is not much valued, indeed many of the tanners will not even buy it, the reason is that the dogs of the "fanciers" are fed on almost anything, to save expense; the kennel cleaners consequently take the precaution of mixing it with what is found in the street, previous to offering it for sale.

The pure-finder may at once be distinguished from the bone-grubber and rag-gatherer; the latter, as I have before mentioned, carries a bag, and usually a stick armed with a spike, while he is most frequently to be met with in back streets, narrow lanes, yards and other places, where dust and rubbish are likely to be thrown out from the adjacent houses. The pure-finder, on the contrary, is often found in the open streets, as dogs wander where they like. The pure-finders always carry a handle basket, generally with a cover, to hide the contents, and have their right hand covered with a black leather glove; many of them, however, dispense with the glove, as they say it is much easier to wash their hands than to keep the glove fit for use. The women generally have a large pocket for the reception of such rags as they may chance to fall in with, but they pick up those only of the very best quality, and will not go out of their way to search even for them. Thus equipped they may be seen pursuing their avocation in almost every street in and about London, excepting such streets as are now cleansed by the "street orderlies," of whom the pure-finders grieviously complain, as being an unwarrantable interference with the privileges of their class.

The pure collected is used by leather-dressers and tanners, and more especially by those engaged in the manufacture of morocco and kid leather from the skins of old and young goats, of which skins great numbers are imported, and of the roans and lambskins which are the sham morocco and kids of the "slop" leather trade, and are used by the better class of shoemakers, book-binders, and glovers, for the inferior requirements of their business. Pure is also used by tanners, as is pigeon's dung, for the tanning of the thinner kinds of leather, such as calf-skins, for which purpose it is placed in pits with an admixture of lime and bark.

In the manufacture of moroccos and roans the pure is rubbed by the hands of the workman into the skin he is dressing. This is done to "purify" the leather, I was told by an intelligent leather-dresser, and from that term the word "pure" has originated. The dung has astringent as well as highly alkaline, or, to use the expression of my informant, "scouring," qualities. When the pure has been rubbed into the flesh and grain of the skin (the "flesh" being originally the interior, and the "grain" the exterior part of the cuticle), and the skin, thus purified, has been hung up to be dried, the dung removes, as it were, all such moisture as, if allowed to remain, would tend to make the leather unsound or imperfectly dressed. This imperfect dressing, moreover, gives a disgreeable smell to the leather—and leather-buyers often use both nose and tongue in making their purchases—and would consequently prevent that agreeable odour being imparted to the skin which is found in some kinds of morocco and kid. The peculiar odour of the Russia leather, so agreeable in the libraries of the rich, is derived from the bark of young birch trees. It is now manufactured in Bermondsey.

Among the morocco manufacturers, especially among the old operatives, there is often a scarcity of employment, and they then dress a few roans, which they hawk to the cheap warehouses, or sell to the wholesale shoemakers on their own account. These men usually reside in small garrets in the poorer parts of Bermondsey, and carry on their trade in their own rooms, using and keeping the pure there; hence the "homes" of these poor men are peculiarly uncomfortable, if not unhealthy. Some of these poor fellows or their wives collect the pure themselves, often starting at daylight for the purpose; they more frequently, however, buy it of a regular finder.

The number of pure-finders I heard estimated, by a man well acquainted with the tanning and other departments of the leather trade, at from 200 to 250. The finders, I was informed by the same person, collected about a pailfull a day, clearing 6*s.* a week in the summer—1*s.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* being the charge for a pailfull; in the short days of winter, however, and in bad weather, they could not collect five pailfulls in a week.

In the wretched locality already referred to as lying between the Docks and Rosemary-lane, redolent of filth and pregnant with pestilential diseases, and whither all the outcasts of the metropolitan

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population seem to be drawn, either in the hope of finding fitting associates and companions in their wretchedness (for there is doubtlessly something attractive and agreeable to them in such companionship), or else for the purpose of hiding themselves and their shifts and struggles for existence from the world,—in this dismal quarter, and branching from one of the many narrow lanes which interlace it, there is a little court with about half-a-dozen houses of the very smallest dimensions, consisting of merely two rooms, one over the other. Here in one of the upper rooms (the lower one of the same house being occupied by another family and apparently *filled* with little ragged children), I discerned, after considerable difficulty, an old woman, a pure finder. When I opened the door the little light that struggled through the small window, the many broken panes of which were stuffed with old rags, was not sufficient to enable me to perceive who or what was in the room. After a short time, however, I began to make out an old chair standing near the fire-place, and then to discover a poor old woman resembling a bundle of rags and filth stretched on some dirty straw in the corner of the apartment. The place was bare and almost naked. There was nothing in it except a couple of old tin kettles and a basket, and some broken crockeryware in the recess of the window. To my astonishment I found this wretched creature to be, to a certain extent, a "superior" woman; she could read and write well, spoke correctly, and appeared to have been a person of natural good sense, though broken up with age, want, and infirmity, so that she was characterized by all that dull and hardened stupidity of manner which I have noticed in the class. She made the following statement:—

"I am about 60 years of age. My father was a milkman, and very well off; he had a barn and a great many cows. I was kept at school till I was thirteen or fourteen years of age; about that time my father died, and then I was taken home to help my mother in the business. After a while things went wrong; the cows began to die, and mother, alleging she could not manage the business herself, married again. I soon found out the difference. Glad to get away, anywhere out of the house, I married a sailor, and was very comfortable with him for some years; as he made short voyages, and was often at home, and always left me half his pay. At last he was pressed, when at home with me, and sent away; I forget now where he was sent to, but I never saw him from that day to this. The only thing I know is that some sailors came to me four or five years after, and told me that he deserted from the ship in which he had gone out, and got on board the *Neptune*, East Indiaman, bound for Bombay, where he acted as boatswain's mate; some little time afterwards, he had got intoxicated while the ship was lying in harbour, and, going down the side to get into a bumboat, and buy more drink, he had fallen overboard and was drowned. I got some money that was due to him from the India House, and, after that was all gone, I went into service, in the Mile-end Road. There I stayed for several years, till I met my second husband, who was bred to the water, too, but as a waterman on the river. We did very well together for a long time, till he lost his health. He became paralyzed like, and was deprived of the use of all one side, and nearly lost the sight of one of his eyes; this was not very conspicuous at first, but when we came to get pinched, and to be badly off, then any one might have seen that there was something the matter with his eye. Then we parted with everything we had in the world; and, at last, when we had no other means of living left, we were advised to take to gathering 'Pure.' At first I couldn't endure the business; I couldn't bear to eat a morsel, and I was obliged to discontinue it for a long time. My husband kept at it though, for he could do *that* well enough, only he couldn't walk as fast as he ought. He couldn't lift his hands as high as his head, but he managed to work under him, and so put the Pure in the basket. When I saw that he, poor fellow, couldn't make enough to keep us both, I took heart and went out again, and used to gather more than he did; that's fifteen years ago now; the times were good then, and we used to do very well. If we only gathered a pail-full in the day, we could live very well; but we could do much more than that, for there wasn't near so many at the business then, and the Pure was easier to be had. For my part I can't tell where all the poor creatures have come from of late years; the world seems growing worse and worse every day. They have pulled down the price of Pure, that's certain; but the poor things must do something, they can't starve while there's anything to be got. Why, no later than six or seven years ago, it was as high as 3*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* a pail-full, and a ready sale for as much of it as you could get; but now you can only get 1*s.* and in some places 1*s.* 2*d.* a pail-full; and, as I said before, there are so many at it, that there is not much left for a poor old creature like me to find. The men that are strong and smart get the most, of course, and some of them do very well, at least they manage to live. Six years ago, my husband complained that he was ill, in the evening, and lay down in the bed—we lived in Whitechapel then—he took a fit of coughing, and was smothered in his own blood. O dear" (the poor old soul here ejaculated), "what troubles I have gone through! I had eight children at one time, and there is not one of them alive now. My daughter lived to 30 years of age, and then she died in childbirth, and, since then, I have had nobody in the wide world to care for me—none but myself, all alone as I am. After my husband's death I couldn't do much, and all my things went away, one by one, until I've nothing but bare walls, and that's the reason why I was vexed at first at your coming in, sir. I was yesterday out all day, and went round Aldgate, Whitechapel, St. George's East, Stepney, Bow, and Bromley, and then came home; after that, I went over to Bermondsey, and there I got only 6*d.* for my pains. To-day I wasn't out at all; I wasn't well; I had a bad headache, and I'm so much afraid of the fevers that are all about

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here—though I don't know why I should be afraid of them—I was lying down, when you came, to get rid of my pains. There's such a dizziness in my head now, I feel as if it didn't belong to me. No, I have earned no money to-day. I have had a piece of dried bread that I steeped in water to eat. I haven't eat anything else to-day; but, pray, sir, don't tell anybody of it. I could never bear the thought of going into the 'great house' [workhouse]; I'm so used to the air, that I'd sooner die in the street, as many I know have done. I've known several of our people, who have sat down in the street with their basket alongside them, and died. I knew one not long ago, who took ill just as she was stooping down to gather up the Pure, and fell on her face; she was taken to the London Hospital, and died at three o'clock in the morning. I'd sooner die like them than be deprived of my liberty, and be prevented from going about where I liked. No, I'll never go into the workhouse; my master is kind to me" [the tanner whom she supplies]. "When I'm ill, he sometimes gives me a sixpence; but there's one gentleman has done us great harm, by forcing so many into the business. He's a poor-law guardian, and when any poor person applies for relief, he tells them to go and gather Pure, and that he'll buy it of them (for he's in the line), and so the parish, you see, don't have to give anything, and that's one way that so many have come into the trade of late, that the likes of me can do little or no good at it. Almost every one I've ever known engaged at Pure-finding were people who were better off once. I knew a man who went by the name of Brown, who picked up Pure for years before I went to it; he was a very quiet man; he used to lodge in Blue Anchor-yard, and seldom used to speak to anybody. We two used to talk together sometimes, but never much. One morning he was found dead in his bed; it was of a Tuesday morning, and he was buried about 12 o'clock on the Friday following. About 6 o'clock on that afternoon, three or four gentlemen came searching all through this place, looking for a man named Brown, and offering a reward to any who would find him out; there was a whole crowd about them when I came up. One of the gentlemen said that the man they wanted had lost the first finger of his right hand, and then I knew that it was the man that had been buried only that morning. Would you believe it, Mr. Brown was a real gentleman all the time, and had a large estate, of I don't know how many thousand pounds, just left him, and the lawyers had advertised and searched everywhere for him, but never found him, you may say, till he was dead. We discovered that his name was not Brown; he had only taken that name to hide his real one, which, of course, he did not want any one to know. I've often thought of him, poor man, and all the misery he might have been spared, if the good news had only come a year or two sooner."

Another informant, a Pure-collector, was originally in the Manchester cotton trade, and held a lucrative situation in a large country establishment. His salary one year exceeded 250*l.*, and his regular income was 150*l.* "This," he says, "I lost through drink and neglect. My master was exceedingly kind to me, and has even assisted me since I left his employ. He bore with me patiently for many years, but the love of drink was so strong upon me that it was impossible for him to keep me any longer." He has often been drunk, he tells me, for three months together; and he is now so reduced that he is ashamed to be seen. When at his master's it was his duty to carve and help the other assistants belonging to the establishment, and his hand used to shake so violently that he has been ashamed to lift the gravy spoon.

At breakfast he has frequently waited till all the young men had left the table before he ventured to taste his tea; and immediately, when he was alone, he has bent his head down to his cup to drink, being utterly incapable of raising it to his lips. He says he is a living example of the degrading influence of drink. All his friends have deserted him. He has suffered enough, he tells me, to make him give it up. He earned the week before I saw him 5*s.* 2*d.*; and the week before that, 6*s.*

Before leaving me I prevailed upon the man to "take the pledge." This is now eighteen months ago, and I have not seen him since.

Of the Cigar-end Finders.

There are, strictly speaking, none who make a living by picking up the ends of cigars thrown away as useless by the smokers in the streets, but there are very many who employ themselves from time to time in collecting them. Almost all the street-finders, when they meet with such things, pick them up, and keep them in a pocket set apart for that purpose. The men allow the ends to accumulate till they amount to two or three pounds weight, and then some dispose of them to a person residing in the neighbourhood of Rosemary-lane, who buys them all up at from 6*d.* to 10*d.* per pound, according to their length and quality. The long ends are considered the best, as I am told there is more sound tobacco in them, uninjured by the moisture of the mouth. The children of the poor Irish, in particular, scour Ratcliff-highway, the Commercial-road, Mile-end-road, and all the leading thoroughfares of the East, and every place where cigar smokers are likely to take an evening's promenade. The quantity that each of them collects is very trifling indeed—perhaps not more than a handful during a morning's search. I am informed, by an intelligent man living in the midst of them, that these children go out in the morning not only to gather cigar-ends, but to pick up out of dust bins, and from amongst rubbish in the streets, the smallest scraps and crusts of bread, no matter how hard or filthy they may be. These they put into a little bag which they carry for the purpose, and, after they have gone their rounds and collected whatever they can, they take the cigar-ends to the man who buys them—sometimes getting not more than a halfpenny or a penny for their morning's collection. With this they buy a halfpenny or a penny-

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worth of oatmeal, which they mix up with a large quantity of water, and after washing and steeping the hard and dirty crusts, they put them into the pot or kettle and boil all together. Of this mass the whole family partake, and it often constitutes all the food they taste in the course of the day. I have often seen the bone-grubbers eat the black and soddened crusts they have picked up out of the gutter.

It would, indeed, be a hopeless task to make any attempt to get at the number of persons who occasionally or otherwise pick up cigar-ends with the view of selling them again. For this purpose almost all who ransack the streets of London for a living may be computed as belonging to the class; and to these should be added the children of the thousands of destitute Irish who have inundated the metropolis within the last few years, and who are to be found huddled together in all the low neighbourhoods in every suburb of the City. What quantity is collected, or the amount of money obtained for the ends, there are no means of ascertaining.

Let us, however, make a conjecture. There are in round numbers 300,000 inhabited houses in the metropolis; and allowing the married people living in apartments to be equal in number to the unmarried "housekeepers," we may compute that the number of families in London is about the same as the inhabited houses. Assuming one young or old gentleman in every ten of these families to smoke one cigar per diem in the public thoroughfares, we have 30,000 cigar-ends daily, or 210,000 weekly cast away in the London streets. Now, reckoning 150 cigars to go to a pound, we may assume that each end so cast away weighs about the thousandth part of a pound; consequently the gross weight of the ends flung into the gutter will, in the course of the week, amount to about 2 cwt.; and calculating that only a sixth part of these are picked up by the finders, it follows that there is very nearly a ton of refuse tobacco collected annually in the metropolitan thoroughfares.

The aristocratic quarters of the City and the vicinity of theatres and casinos are the best for the cigar-end finders. In the Strand, Regent-street, and the more fashionable thoroughfares, I am told, there are many ends picked up; but even in these places they do not exclusively furnish a means of living to any of the finders. All the collectors sell them to some other person, who acts as middle-man in the business. How he disposes of the ends is unknown, but it is supposed that they are resold to some of the large manufacturers of cigars, and go to form the component part of a new stock of the "best Havannahs;" or, in other words, they are worked up again to be again cast away, and again collected by the finders, and so on perhaps, till the millennium comes. Some suppose them to be cut up and mixed with the common smoking tobacco, and others that they are used in making snuff. There are, I am assured, five persons residing in different parts of London, who are known to purchase the cigar-ends.

In Naples the sale of cigar-ends is a regular street-traffic, the street-seller carrying them in a small box suspended round the neck. In Paris, also, *le Remasseur de Cigares* is a well-known occupation: the "ends" thus collected are sold as cheap tobacco to the poor. In the low lodging-houses of London the ends, when dried, are cut up, and frequently vended by the finders to such of their fellow-lodgers as are anxious to enjoy their pipe at the cheapest possible rate.

Of the Old Wood Gatherers.

All that has been said of the cigar-end finders may, in a great measure, apply to the wood-gatherers. No one can make a living exclusively by the gathering of wood, and those who *do* gather it, gather as well rags, bones, and bits of metal. They gather it, indeed, as an adjunct to their other findings, on the principle that "every little helps." Those, however, who most frequently look for wood are the very old and feeble, and the very young, who are both unable to travel far, or to carry a heavy burden, and they may occasionally be seen crawling about in the neighbourhood of any new buildings in the course of construction, or old ones in the course of demolition, and picking up small odds and ends of wood and chips swept out amongst dirt and shavings; these they deposit in a bag or basket which they carry for that purpose. Should there happen to be what they call "pulling-down work," that is, taking down old houses, or palings, the place is immediately beset by a number of wood-gatherers, young and old, and in general all the poor people of the locality join with them, to obtain their share of the spoil. What the poor get they take home and burn, but the wood-gatherers sell all they procure for some small trifle.

Some short time ago a portion of the wood-pavement in the city was being removed; a large number of the old blocks, which were much worn and of no further use, were thrown aside, and became the perquisite of the wood-gatherers. During the repair of the street, the spot was constantly besieged by a motley mob of men, women, and children, who, in many instances, struggled and fought for the wood rejected as worthless. This wood they either sold for a trifle as they got it, or took home and split, and made into bundles for sale as firewood.

All the mudlarks (of whom I shall treat specially) pick up wood and chips on the bank of the river; these they sell to poor people in their own neighbourhood. They sometimes "find" large pieces of a greater weight than they can carry; in such cases they get some other mudlark to help them with the load, and the two "go halves" in the produce. The only parties among the street-finders who do not pick up wood are the Pure-collectors and the sewer-hunters, or, as they call themselves, shore-workers, both of whom pass it by as of no value.

It is impossible to estimate the quantity of wood which is thus gathered, or what the amount may be which the collector realizes in the course of the year.

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Of the Dredgers, or River Finders.

The dredgermen of the Thames, or river finders, naturally occupy the same place with reference to the street-finders, as the purlmen or river beer-sellers do to those who get their living by selling in the streets. It would be in itself a curious inquiry to trace the origin of the manifold occupations in which men are found to be engaged in the present day, and to note how promptly every circumstance and occurrence was laid hold of, as it happened to arise, which appeared to have any tendency to open up a new occupation, and to mark the gradual progress, till it became a regularly-established employment, followed by a separate class of people, fenced round by rules and customs of their own, and who at length grew to be both in their habits and peculiarities plainly distinct from the other classes among whom they chanced to be located.

There has been no historian among the dredgers of the Thames to record the commencement of the business, and the utmost that any of the river-finders can tell is that his father had been a dredger, and so had his father before him, and that *that's* the reason why they are dredgers also. But no such people as dredgers were known on the Thames in remote days; and before London had become an important trading port, where nothing was likely to be got for the searching, it is not probable that people would have been induced to search. In those days, the only things searched for in the river were the bodies of persons drowned, accidentally or otherwise. For this purpose, the Thames fishermen of all others, appeared to be the best adapted. They were on the spot at all times, and had various sorts of tackle, such as nets, lines, hooks, &c. The fishermen well understood everything connected with the river, such as the various sets of the tide, and the nature of the bottom, and they were therefore on such occasions invariably applied to for these purposes.

It is known to all who remember anything of Old London Bridge, that at certain times of the tide, in consequence of the velocity with which the water rushed through the narrow apertures which the arches then afforded for its passage, to bring a boat in safety through the bridge was a feat to be attempted only by the skilful and experienced. This feat was known as "shooting" London Bridge; and it was no unusual thing for accidents to happen even to the most expert. In fact, numerous accidents occurred at this bridge, and at such times valuable articles were sometimes lost, for which high rewards were offered to the finder. Here again the fishermen came into requisition, the small drag-net, which they used while rowing, offering itself for the purpose; for, by fixing an iron frame round the mouth of the drag-net, this part of it, from its specific gravity, sunk first to the bottom, and consequently scraped along as they pulled forward, collecting into the net everything that came in its way; when it was nearly filled, which the rower always knew by the weight, it was hauled up to the surface, its contents examined, and the object lost generally recovered.

It is thus apparent that the fishermen of the Thames were the men originally employed as dredgermen; though casually, indeed, at first, and according as circumstances occurred requiring their services. By degrees, however, as the commerce of the river increased, and a greater number of articles fell overboard from the shipping, they came to be more frequently called into requisition, and so they were naturally led to adopt the dredging as part and parcel of their business. Thus it remains to the present day.

The fishermen all serve a regular apprenticeship, as they say themselves, "duly and truly" for seven years. During the time of their apprenticeship they are (or rather, in former times they *were*) obliged to sleep in their master's boat at night to take care of his property, and were subject to many other curious regulations, which are foreign to this subject.

I have said that the fishermen of the Thames to the present day unite the dredging to their proper calling. By this I mean that they employ themselves in fishing during the summer and autumn, either from Barking Creek downwards, or from Chelsea Reach upwards, catching dabs, flounders, eels, and other sorts of fish for the London markets. But in winter when the days are short and cold, and the weather stormy, they prefer stopping at home, and dredging the bed of the river for anything they may chance to find. There are others, however, who have started wholly in the dredging line, there being no hindrance or impediment to any one doing so, nor any licence required for the purpose: these dredge the river winter and summer alike, and are, in fact, the only real dredgermen of the present day living solely by that occupation.

There are in all about 100 dredgermen at work on the river, and these are located as follows:—

	Dredger-men.
From Putney to Vauxhall there are .	20
From Vauxhall to London Bridge . .	40
From London Bridge to Deptford . .	20
And from Deptford to Gravesend . .	20
	100

All these reside, in general, on the south side of the Thames, the two places most frequented by them being Lambeth and Rotherhithe. They do not, however, confine themselves to the neighbourhoods wherein they reside, but extend their operations to all parts of the river, where it is likely that they may pick up anything; and it is perfectly marvellous with what rapidity the intelligence of any accident calculated to afford them employment is spread among them; for should a loaded coal barge be sunk over night, by daylight the next morning every dredgerman would be sure to be upon the spot, prepared to collect what he could from the wreck at the bottom of the river.

The boats of the dredgermen are of a peculiar shape. They have no stern, but are the same

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fore and aft. They are called Peter boats, but not one of the men with whom I spoke had the least idea as to the origin of the name. These boats are to be had at almost all prices, according to their condition and age—from 30s. to 20l. The boats used by the fishermen dredgermen are decidedly the most valuable. One with the other, perhaps the whole may average 10l. each; and this sum will give 1000l. as the value of the entire number. A complete set of tackle, including drags, will cost 2l., which comes to 200l. for all hands; and thus we have the sum of 1200l. as the amount of capital invested in the dredging of the Thames.

It is by no means an easy matter to form any estimate of the earnings of the dredgermen, as they are a matter of mere chance. In former years, when Indiamen and all the foreign shipping lay in the river, the river finders were in the habit of doing a good business, not only in their own line, through the greater quantities of rope, bones, and other things which then were thrown or fell overboard, but they also contrived to smuggle ashore great quantities of tobacco, tea, spirits, and other contraband articles, and thought it a bad day's work when they did not earn a pound independent of their dredging. An old dredger told me he had often in those days made 5l. before breakfast time. After the excavation of the various docks, and after the larger shipping had departed from the river, the finders were obliged to content themselves with the chances of mere dredging; and even then, I am informed, they were in the habit of earning one week with another throughout the year, about 25s. per week, each, or 6500l. per annum among all. Latterly, however, the earnings of these men have greatly fallen off, especially in the summer, for then they cannot get so good a price for the coal they find as in the winter—6d. per bushel being the summer price; and, as they consider three bushels a good day's work, their earnings at this period of the year amount only to 1s. 6d. per day, excepting when they happen to pick up some bones or pieces of metal, or to find a dead body for which there is a reward. In the winter, however, the dredgermen can readily get 1s. per bushel for all the coals they find; and far more coals are to be found then than in summer, for there are more colliers in the river, and far more accidents at that season. Coal barges are often sunk in the winter, and on such occasions they make a good harvest. Moreover there is the finding of bodies, for which they not only get the reward, but 5s., which they call inquest money; together with many other chances, such as the finding of money and valuables among the rubbish they bring up from the bottom; but as the last-mentioned are accidents happening throughout the year, I am inclined to think that they have understated the amount which they are in the habit of realizing even in the summer.

The dredgers, as a class, may be said to be altogether uneducated, not half a dozen out of the whole number being able to read their own name, and only one or two to write it; this select few are considered by the rest as perfect prodigies. "Lor bless you!" said one, "I ony wish you'd 'ear Bill S—— read; I ony jist wish you'd 'ear him. Why that ere Bill can read faster nor a dog can trot. And, what's more, I seed him write an ole letter hisself, ev'ry word on it! What do you think o' that now?" The ignorance of the dredgermen may be accounted for by the men taking so early to the water; the bustle and excitement of the river being far more attractive to them than the routine of a school. Almost as soon as they are able to do anything, the dredgermen's boys are taken by their fathers afloat to assist in picking out the coals, bones, and other things of any use, from the midst of the rubbish brought up in their drag-nets; or else the lads are sent on board as assistants to one or other of the fishermen during their fishing voyages. When once engaged in this way it has been found impossible afterwards to keep the youths from the water; and if they have learned anything previously they very soon forget it.

It might be expected that the dredgers, in a manner depending on chance for their livelihood, and leading a restless sort of life on the water, would closely resemble the costermongers in their habits; but it is far otherwise. There can be no two classes more dissimilar, except in their hatred of restraint. The dredgers are sober and steady; gambling is unknown amongst them; and they are, to an extraordinary degree, laborious, persevering, and patient. They are in general men of short stature, but square built, strong, and capable of enduring great fatigue, and have a silent and thoughtful look. Being almost always alone, and studying how they may best succeed in finding what they seek, marking the various sets of the tide, and the direction in which things falling into the water at a particular place must necessarily be carried, they become the very opposite to the other river people, especially to the watermen, who are brawling and clamorous, and delight in continually "chaffing" each other. In consequence of the sober and industrious habits of the dredgermen their homes are, as they say, "pretty fair" for working men, though there is nothing very luxurious to be found in them, nor indeed anything beyond what is absolutely necessary. After their day's work, especially if they have "done well," these men smoke a pipe over a pint or two of beer at the nearest public-house, get home early to bed, and if the tide answers may be found on the river patiently dredging away at two or three o'clock in the morning.

Whenever a loaded coal barge happens to sink, as I have already intimated, it is surprising how short a time elapses before that part of the river is alive with the dredgers. They flock thither from all parts. The river on such occasions presents a very animated appearance. At first they are all in a group, and apparently in confusion, crossing and re-crossing each other's course; some with their oars pulled in while they examine the contents of their nets, and empty the coals into the bottom of their boats; others rowing and tugging against the stream, to obtain an advan-

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tageous position for the next cast; and when they consider they have found this, down go the dredging nets to the bottom, and away they row again with the stream, as if pulling for a wager, till they find by the weight of their net that it is full; then they at once stop, haul it to the surface, and commence another course. Others who have been successful in getting their boats loaded may be seen pushing away from the main body, and making towards the shore. Here they busily employ themselves, with what help they can get, in emptying the boat of her cargo—carrying it ashore in old coal baskets, bushel measures, or anything else which will suit their purpose; and when this is completed they pull out again to join their comrades, and commence afresh. They continue working thus till the returning tide puts an end to their labours, but these are resumed after the tide has fallen to a certain depth; and so they go on, working night and day while there is anything to be got.

The dredgerman and his boat may be immediately distinguished from all others; there is nothing similar to them on the river. The sharp cutwater fore and aft, and short rounded appearance of the vessel, marks it out at once from the skiff or wherry of the waterman. There is, too, always the appearance of labour about the boat, like a ship returning after a long voyage, daubed and filthy, and looking sadly in need of a thorough cleansing. The grappling irons are over the bow, resting on a coil of rope; while the other end of the boat is filled with coals, bones, and old rope, mixed with the mud of the river. The ropes of the dredging net hang over the side. A short stout figure, with a face soiled and blackened with perspiration, and surmounted by a tarred sou'-wester, the body habited in a soiled check shirt, with the sleeves turned up above the elbows, and exhibiting a pair of sunburnt brawny arms, is pulling at the sculls, not with the ease and lightness of the waterman, but toiling and tugging away like a galley slave, as he scours the bed of the river with his dredging net in search of some hoped-for prize.

The dredgers, as was before stated, are the men who find almost all the bodies of persons drowned. If there be a reward offered for the recovery of a body, numbers of the dredgers will at once endeavour to obtain it, while if there be no reward, there is at least the inquest money to be had—beside other chances. What these chances are may be inferred from the well-known fact, that no body recovered by a dredgerman ever happens to have any money about it, when brought to shore. There may, indeed, be a watch in the fob or waistcoat pocket, for that article would be likely to be traced. There may, too, be a purse or pocket-book forthcoming, but somehow it is invariably empty. The dredgers cannot by any reasoning or argument be made to comprehend that there is anything like dishonesty in emptying the pockets of a dead man. They consider them as their just perquisites. They say that any one who finds a body does precisely the same, and that if they did not do so the police would. After having had all the trouble and labour, they allege that they have a much better right to whatever is to be got, than the police who have had nothing whatever to do with it. There are also people who shrewdly suspect that some of the coals from the barges lying in the river, very often find their way into the dredgers' boats, especially when the dredgers are engaged in night-work; and there are even some who do not hold them guiltless of, now and then, when opportunity offers, smuggling things ashore from many of the steamers coming from foreign parts. But such things, I repeat, the dredgers consider in the fair way of their business.

One of the most industrious, and I believe one of the most skilful and successful of this peculiar class, gave me the following epitome of his history.

"Father was a dredger, and grandfather afore him; grandfather was a dredger and a fisherman too. A'most as soon as I was able to crawl, father took me with him in the boat to help him to pick the coals, and bones, and other things out of the net, and to use me to the water. When I got bigger and stronger, I was sent to the parish school, but I didn't like it half as well as the boat, and couldn't be got to stay two days together. At last I went above bridge, and went along with a fisherman, and used to sleep in the boat every night. I liked to sleep in the boat; I used to be as comfortable as could be. Lor bless you! there's a tilt to them boats, and no rain can't git at you. I used to lie awake of a night in them times, and listen to the water slapping ag'in the boat, and think it fine fun. I might a got bound 'prentice, but I got aboard a smack, where I stayed three or four year, and if I'd a stayed there, I'd a liked it much better. But I heerd as how father was ill, so I com'd home, and took to the dredging, and am at it off and on ever since. I got no larnin', how could I? There's ony one or two of us dredgers as knows anything of larnin', and they're no better off than the rest. Larnin's no use to a dredger, he hasn't got no time to read; and if he had, why it wouldn't tell him where the holes and furrows is at the bottom of the river, and where things is to be found. To be sure there's holes and furrows at the bottom. I know a good many. I know a furrow off Lime'us Point, no wider nor the dredge, and I can go there, and when others can't git anything but stones and mud, I can git four or five bushel o' coal. You see they lay there; they get in with the set of the tide, and can't git out so easy like. Dredgers don't do so well now as they used to do. You know Pelican Stairs? well, before the Docks was built, when the ships lay there, I could go under Pelican Pier and pick up four or five shilling of a morning. What was that tho' to father? I hear him say he often made 5*l.* afore breakfast, and nobody ever the wiser. Them were fine times! there was a good livin' to be picked up on the water them days. About ten year ago, the fishermen at Lambeth, them as sarves their time 'duly and truly' thought to put us off the water, and went afore the Lord Mayor, but they couldn't do nothink after all. They do better nor us, as they go

fishin' all the summer, when the dredgin' is bad, and come back in winter. Some on us down here" [Rotherhithe] "go a deal-portering in the summer, or unloading 'tatoes, or anything else we can get; when we have nothin' else to do, we go on the river. Father don't dredge now, he's too old for that; it takes a man to be strong to dredge, so father goes to ship scrapin'. He on'y sits on a plank outside the ship, and scrapes off the old tar with a scraper. We does very well for all that—why he can make his half a bull a day [2*s.* 6*d.*] when he gits work, but that's not always; howsomever I helps the old man at times, when I'm able. I've found a good many bodies. I got a many rewards, and a tidy bit of inquest money. There's 5*s.* 6*d.* inquest money at Rotherhithe, and on'y a shillin' at Deptford; I can't make out how that is, but that's all they give, I know. I never finds anythink on the bodies. Lor bless you! people don't have anythink in their pockets when they gits drowned, they are not such fools as all that. Do you see them two marks there on the back of my hand? Well, one day—I was on'y young then—I was grabblin' for old rope in Church Hole, when I brings up a body, and just as I was fixing the rope on his leg to tow him ashore, two swells comes down in a skiff, and lays hold of the painter of my boat, and tows me ashore. The hook of the drag went right thro' the trowsers of the drowned man and my hand, and I couldn't let go no how, and tho' I roared out like mad, the swells didn't care, but dragged me into the stairs. When I got there, my arm, and the corpse's shoe and trowsers, was all kivered with my blood. What do you think the gents said?—why, they told me as how they had done me good, in towin' the body in, and ran away up the stairs. Tho' times ain't near so good as they was, I manages purty tidy, and hasn't got no occasion to hollor much; but there's some of the dredgers as would hollor, if they was ever so well off."

Of the Sewer-Hunters.

Some few years ago, the main sewers, having their outlets on the river side, were completely open, so that any person desirous of exploring their dark and uninviting recesses might enter at the river side, and wander away, provided he could withstand the combination of villanous stenches which met him at every step, for many miles, in any direction. At that time it was a thing of very frequent occurrence, especially at the spring tides, for the water to rush into the sewers, pouring through them like a torrent, and then to burst up through the gratings into the streets, flooding all the low-lying districts in the vicinity of the river, till the streets of Shadwell and Wapping resembled a Dutch town, intersected by a series of muddy canals. Of late, however, to remedy this defect, the Commissioners have had a strong brick wall built within the entrance to the several sewers. In each of these brick walls there is an opening covered by a strong iron door, which hangs from the top and is so arranged that when the tide is low the rush of the water and other filth on the inner side, forces it back and allows the contents of the sewer to pass into the river, whilst when the tide rises the door is forced so close against the wall by the pressure of the water outside that none can by any possibility enter, and thus the river neighbourhoods are secured from the deluges which were heretofore of such frequent occurrence.

Were it not a notorious fact, it might perhaps be thought impossible, that men could be found who, for the chance of obtaining a living of some sort or other, would, day after day, and year after year, continue to travel through these underground channels for the offscouring of the city; but such is the case even at the present moment. In former times, however, this custom prevailed much more than now, for in those days the sewers were entirely open and presented no obstacle to any one desirous of entering them. Many wondrous tales are still told among the people of men having lost their way in the sewers, and of having wandered among the filthy passages—their lights extinguished by the noisome vapours—till, faint and overpowered, they dropped down and died on the spot. Other stories are told of sewer-hunters beset by myriads of enormous rats, and slaying thousands of them in their struggle for life, till at length the swarms of the savage things overpowered them, and in a few days afterwards their skeletons were discovered picked to the very bones. Since the iron doors, however, have been placed on the main sewers a prohibition has been issued against entering them, and a reward of 5*l.* offered to any person giving information so as to lead to the conviction of any offender. Nevertheless many still travel through these foul labyrinths, in search of such valuables as may have found their way down the drains.

The persons who are in the habit of searching the sewers, call themselves "shore-men" or "shore-workers." They belong, in a certain degree, to the same class as the "mud-larks," that is to say, they travel through the mud along shore in the neighbourhood of ship-building and ship-breaking yards, for the purpose of picking up copper nails, bolts, iron, and old rope. The shore-men, however, do not collect the lumps of coal and wood they meet with on their way, but leave them as the proper perquisites of the mud-larks. The sewer-hunters were formerly, and indeed are still, called by the name of "Toshers," the articles which they pick up in the course of their wanderings along shore being known among themselves by the general term "tosh," a word more particularly applied by them to anything made of copper. These "Toshers" may be seen, especially on the Surrey side of the Thames, habited in long greasy velveteen coats, furnished with pockets of vast capacity, and their nether limbs encased in dirty canvas trowsers, and any old slops of shoes, that may be fit only for wading through the mud. They carry a bag on their back, and in their hand a pole seven or eight feet long, on one end of which there is a large iron hoe. The uses of this instrument are various; with it they try the ground wherever it appears unsafe, before venturing on it, and, when

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assured of its safety, walk forward steadying their footsteps with the staff. Should they, as often happens, even to the most experienced, sink in some quagmire, they immediately throw out the long pole armed with the hoe, which is always held uppermost for this purpose, and with it seizing hold of any object within their reach, are thereby enabled to draw themselves out; without the pole, however, their danger would be greater, for the more they struggled to extricate themselves from such places, the deeper they would sink; and even with it, they might perish, I am told, in some part, if there were nobody at hand to render them assistance. Finally, they make use of this pole to rake about the mud when searching for iron, copper, rope, and bones. They mostly exhibit great skill in discovering these things in unlikely places, and have a knowledge of the various sets of the tide, calculated to carry articles to particular points, almost equal to the dredgermen themselves. Although they cannot "pick up" as much now as they formerly did, they are still able to make what they call a fair living, and can afford to look down with a species of aristocratic contempt on the puny efforts of their less fortunate brethren the "mudlarks."

To enter the sewers and explore them to any considerable distance is considered, even by those acquainted with what is termed "working the shores," an adventure of no small risk. There are a variety of perils to be encountered in such places. The brick-work in many parts—especially in the old sewers—has become rotten through the continual action of the putrefying matter and moisture, and parts have fallen down and choked up the passage with heaps of rubbish; over these obstructions, nevertheless, the sewer-hunters have to scramble "in the best way they can." In such parts they are careful not to touch the brick-work over head, for the slightest tap might bring down an avalanche of old bricks and earth, and severely injure them, if not bury them in the rubbish. Since the construction of the new sewers, the old ones are in general abandoned by the "hunters;" but in many places the former channels cross and re-cross those recently constructed, and in the old sewers a person is very likely to lose his way. It is dangerous to venture far into any of the smaller sewers branching off from the main, for in this the "hunters" have to stoop low down in order to proceed; and, from the confined space, there are often accumulated in such places, large quantities of foul air, which, as one of them stated, will "cause instantious death." Moreover, far from there being any romance in the tales told of the rats, these vermin are really numerous and formidable in the sewers, and have been known, I am assured, to attack men when alone, and even sometimes when accompanied by others, with such fury that the people have escaped from them with difficulty. They are particularly ferocious and dangerous, if they be driven into some corner whence they cannot escape, when they will immediately fly at any one that opposes their progress. I received a similar account to this from one of the London flushermen. There are moreover, in some quarters, ditches or trenches which are filled as the water rushes up the sewers with the tide; in these ditches the water is retained by a sluice, which is shut down at high tide, and lifted again at low tide, when it rushes down the sewers with all the violence of a mountain torrent, sweeping everything before it. If the sewer-hunter be not close to some branch sewer, so that he can run into it, whenever the opening of these sluices takes place, he must inevitably perish. The trenches or water reservoirs for the cleansing of the sewers are chiefly on the south side of the river, and, as a proof of the great danger to which the sewer-hunters are exposed in such cases, it may be stated, that not very long ago, a sewer on the south side of the Thames was opened to be repaired; a long ladder reached to the bottom of the sewer, down which the bricklayer's labourer was going with a hod of bricks, when the rush of water from the sluice, struck the bottom of the ladder, and instantly swept away ladder, labourer, and all. The bricklayer fortunately was enjoying his "pint and pipe" at a neighbouring public-house. The labourer was found by my informant, a "shore-worker" near the mouth of the sewer quite dead, battered, and disfigured in a frightful manner. There was likewise great danger in former times from the rising of the tide in the sewers, so that it was necessary for the shore-men to have quitted them before the water had got any height within the entrance. At present, however, this is obviated in those sewers where the main is furnished with an iron door towards the river.

The shore-workers, when about to enter the sewers, provide themselves, in addition to the long hoe already described, with a canvas apron, which they tie round them, and a dark lantern similar to a policeman's; this they strap before them on their right breast, in such a manner that on removing the shade, the bull's-eye throws the light straight forward when they are in an erect position, and enables them to see everything in advance of them for some distance; but when they stoop, it throws the light directly under them, so that they can then distinctly see any object at their feet. The sewer-hunters usually go in gangs of three or four for the sake of company, and in order that they may be the better able to defend themselves from the rats. The old hands who have been often up (and every gang endeavours to include at least one experienced person), travel a long distance, not only through the main sewers, but also through many of the branches. Whenever the shore-men come near a street grating, they close their lanterns and watch their opportunity of gliding silently past unobserved, for otherwise a crowd might collect over head and intimate to the policeman on duty, that there were persons wandering in the sewers below. The shore-workers never take dogs with them, lest their barking when hunting the rats might excite attention. As the men go along they search the bottom of the sewer, raking away the mud with their hoe, and pick, from between the crevices of the brick-work, money, or anything else that may have lodged there. There

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are in many parts of the sewers holes where the brick-work has been worn away, and in these holes clusters of articles are found, which have been washed into them from time to time, and perhaps been collecting there for years; such as pieces of iron, nails, various scraps of metal, coins of every description, all rusted into a mass like a rock, and weighing from a half hundred to two hundred weight altogether. These "conglomerates" of metal are too heavy for the men to take out of the sewers, so that if unable to break them up, they are compelled to leave them behind; and there are very many such masses, I am informed, lying in the sewers at this moment, of immense weight, and growing larger every day by continual additions. The shore-men find great quantities of money—of copper money especially; sometimes they dive their arm down to the elbow in the mud and filth and bring up shillings, sixpences, half-crowns, and occasionally half-sovereigns and sovereigns. They always find the coins standing edge uppermost between the bricks in the bottom, where the mortar has been worn away. The sewer-hunters occasionally find plate, such as spoons, ladles, silver-handled knives and forks, mugs and drinking cups, and now and then articles of jewellery; but even while thus "in luck" as they call it, they do not omit to fill the bags on their backs with the more cumbrous articles they meet with—such as metals of every description, rope and bones. There is always a great quantity of these things to be met with in the sewers, they being continually washed down from the cesspools and drains of the houses. When the sewer-hunters consider they have searched long enough, or when they have found as much as they can conveniently take away, the gang leave the sewers and, adjourning to the nearest of their homes, count out the money they have picked up, and proceed to dispose of the old metal, bones, rope, &c.; this done, they then, as they term it, "whack" the whole lot; that is, they divide it equally among all hands. At these divisions, I am assured, it frequently occurs that each member of the gang will realise from 30*s.* to 2*l.*—this at least *was* a frequent occurrence some few years ago. Of late, however, the shore-men are obliged to use far more caution, as the police, and especially those connected with the river, who are more on the alert, as well as many of the coal-merchants in the neighbourhood of the sewers, would give information if they saw any suspicious persons approaching them.

The principal localities in which the shore-hunters reside are in Mint-square, Mint-street, and Kent-street, in the Borough—Snow's-fields, Bermondsey—and that never-failing locality between the London Docks and Rosemary-lane which appears to be a concentration of all the misery of the kingdom. There were known to be a few years ago nearly 200 sewer-hunters, or "toshers," and, incredible as it may appear, I have satisfied myself that, taking one week with another, they could not be said to make much short of 2*l.* per week. Their probable gains, I was told, were about 6*s.* per day all the year round. At this rate the property recovered from the sewers of London would have amounted to no less than 20,000*l.* per annum, which would make the amount of property lost down the drains of each house amount to 1*s.* 4*d.* a year. The shore-hunters of the present day greatly complain of the recent restrictions, and inveigh in no measured terms against the constituted authorities. "They won't let us in to work the shores," say they, "'cause there's a little danger. They fears as how we'll get suffocated, at least they tells us so; but they don't care if we get starved! no, they doesn't mind nothink about that."

It is, however, more than suspected that these men find plenty of means to evade the vigilance of the sewer officials, and continue quietly to reap a considerable harvest, gathered whence it might otherwise have rotted in obscurity.

The sewer-hunters, strange as it may appear, are certainly smart fellows, and take decided precedence of all the other "finders" of London, whether by land or water, both on account of the greater amount of their earnings, and the skill and courage they manifest in the pursuit of their dangerous employment. But like all who make a living as it were by a game of chance, plodding, carefulness, and saving habits cannot be reckoned among their virtues; they are improvident, even to a proverb. With their gains, superior even to those of the better-paid artizans, and far beyond the amount received by many clerks, who have to maintain a "respectable appearance," the shore-men might, with but ordinary prudence, live well, have comfortable homes, and even be able to save sufficient to provide for themselves in their old age. Their practice, however, is directly the reverse. They no sooner make a "haul," as they say, than they adjourn to some low public-house in the neighbourhood, and seldom leave till empty pockets and hungry stomachs drive them forth to procure the means for a fresh debauch. It is principally on this account that, despite their large gains, they are to be found located in the most wretched quarter of the metropolis.

It might be supposed that the sewer-hunters (passing much of their time in the midst of the noisome vapours generated by the sewers, the odour of which, escaping upwards from the gratings in the streets, is dreaded and shunned by all as something pestilential) would exhibit in their pallid faces the unmistakable evidence of their unhealthy employment. But this is far from the fact. Strange to say, the sewer-hunters are strong, robust, and healthy men, generally florid in their complexion, while many of them know illness only by name. Some of the elder men, who head the gangs when exploring the sewers, are between 60 and 80 years of age, and have followed the employment during their whole lives. The men appear to have a fixed belief that the odour of the sewers contributes in a variety of ways to their general health; nevertheless, they admit that accidents occasionally occur from the air in some places being fully impregnated with mephitic gas.

I found one of these men, from whom I derived

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much information, and who is really an active intelligent man, in a court off Rosemary-lane. Access is gained to this court through a dark narrow entrance, scarcely wider than a doorway, running beneath the first floor of one of the houses in the adjoining street. The court itself is about 50 yards long, and not more than three yards wide, surrounded by lofty wooden houses, with jutting abutments in many of the upper stories that almost exclude the light, and give them the appearance of being about to tumble down upon the heads of the intruders. This court is densely inhabited; every room has its own family, more or less in number; and in many of them, I am assured, there are two families residing, the better to enable the one to whom the room is let to pay the rent. At the time of my visit, which was in the evening, after the inmates had returned from their various employments, some quarrel had arisen among them. The court was so thronged with the friends of the contending individuals and spectators of the fight that I was obliged to stand at the entrance, unable to force my way through the dense multitude, while labourers and street-folk with shaggy heads, and women with dirty caps and fuzzy hair, thronged every window above, and peered down anxiously at the affray. There must have been some hundreds of people collected there, and yet all were inhabitants of this very court, for the noise of the quarrel had not yet reached the street. On wondering at the number, my informant, when the noise had ceased, explained the matter as follows: "You see, sir, there 's more than 30 houses in this here court, and there 's not less than eight rooms in every house; now there 's nine or ten people in some of the rooms, I knows, but just say four in every room, and calculate what that there comes to." I did, and found it, to my surprise, to be 960. "Well," continued my informant, chuckling and rubbing his hands in evident delight at the result, "you may as well just tack a couple a hundred on to the tail o' them for make-weight, as we 're not werry pertikler about a hundred or two one way or the other in these here places."

In this court, up three flights of narrow stairs that creaked and trembled at every footstep, and in an ill-furnished garret, dwelt the shore-worker —a man who, had he been careful, according to his own account at least, might have money in the bank and be the proprietor of the house in which he lived. The sewer-hunters, like the street-people, are all known by some peculiar nickname, derived chiefly from some personal characteristic. It would be a waste of time to inquire for them by their right names, even if you were acquainted with them, for none else would know them, and no intelligence concerning them could be obtained; while under the title of Lanky Bill, Long Tom, One-eyed George, Short-armed Jack, they are known to every one.

My informant, who is also dignified with a title, or as he calls it a "handle to his name," gave me the following account of himself: "I was born in Birmingham, but afore I recollects anythink, we came to London. The first thing I remembers is being down on the shore at Cuckold's P'int, when the tide was out and up to my knees in mud, and a gitting down deeper and deeper every minute till I was picked up by one of the shore-workers. I used to git down there every day, to look at the ships and boats a sailing up and down; I 'd niver be tired a looking at them at that time. At last father 'prenticed me to a blacksmith in Bermondsey, *and then I could'nt git down to the river when I liked, so I got to hate the forge and the fire, and blowing the bellows, and could'nt stand the confinement no how,—at last I cuts and runs.* After some time they gits me back agin, but I cuts agin. I was determined not to stand it. I wouldn't go home for fear I 'd be sent back, so I goes down to Cuckold's P'int and there I sits near half the day, when who should I see but the old un as had picked me up out of the mud when I was a sinking. I tells him all about it, and he takes me home along with hisself, and gits me a bag and an o, and takes me out next day, and shows me what to do, and shows me the dangerous places, and the places what are safe, and how to rake in the mud for rope, and bones, and iron, and that 's the way I comed to be a shore-worker. Lor' bless you, I 've worked Cuckold's P'int for more nor twenty year. I know places where you 'd go over head and ears in the mud, and jist alongside on 'em you may walk as safe as you can on this floor. But it don't do for a stranger to try it, he 'd wery soon git in, and it 's not so easy to git out agin, I can tell you. I stay'd with the old un a long time, and we used to git lots o' tin, specially when we 'd go to work the sewers. I liked that well enough. I could git into small places where the old un couldn't, and when I 'd got near the grating in the street, I 'd search about in the bottom of the sewer; I 'd put down my arm to my shoulder in the mud and bring up shillings and half-crowns, and lots of coppers, and plenty other things. I once found a silver jug as big as a quart pot, and often found spoons and knives and forks and every thing you can think of. Bless your heart the smells nothink; it 's a roughish smell at first, but nothink near so bad as you thinks, 'cause, you see, there 's sich lots o' water always a coming down the sewer, and the air gits in from the gratings, and that helps to sweeten it a bit. There 's some places, 'specially in the old sewers, where they say there 's foul air, and they tells me the foul air 'ill cause instantious death, but I niver met with anythink of the kind, and I think if there was sich a thing I should know somethink about it, for I 've worked the sewers, off and on, for twenty year. When we comes to a narrow-place as we don't know, we takes the candle out of the lantern and fastens it on the hend of the o, and then runs it up the sewer, and if the light stays in, we knows as there a'n't no danger. We used to go up the city sewer at Blackfriars-bridge, but that 's stopped up now; it 's boarded across inside. The city wouldn't let us up if they knew it, 'cause of the danger, they say, but they don't care if we hav'n't got nothink to eat nor a place to put our heads in, while there 's plenty of money

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lying there and good for nobody. If you was caught up it and brought afore the Lord Mayor, he 'd give you fourteen days on it, as safe as the bellows, so a good many on us now is afraid to wenture in. We don't wenture as we used to, but still it 's done at times. There 's a many places as I knows on where the bricks has fallen down, and that there 's dangerous; it 's so delaberated that if you touches it with your head or with the bend of the o, it 'ill all come down atop o' you. I 've often seed as many as a hundred rats at once, and they 're woppers in the sewers, I can tell you; them there water rats, too, is far more ferociouser than any other rats, and they 'd think nothink of tackling a man, if they found they couldn't get away no how, but if they can why they runs by and gits out o' the road. I knows a chap as the rats tackled in the sewers; they bit him hawfully: you must ha' heard on it; it was him as the watermen went in arter when they heard him a-shouting as they was a rowin' by. Only for the watermen the rats would ha' done for him, safe enough. Do you recollect hearing on the man as was found in the sewers about twelve year ago?—oh you must—the rats eat every bit of him, and left nothink but his bones. I knowed him well, he was a riglar shore-worker.

"The rats is wery dangerous, that 's sartain, but we always goes three or four on us together, and the varmint 's too wide awake to tackle us then, for they know they 'd git off second best. You can go a long way in the sewers if you like; I don't know how far. I niver was at the end on them myself, for a cove can't stop in longer than six or seven hour, 'cause of the tide; you must be out before that 's up. There 's a many branches on ivery side, but we don't go into all; we go where we know, and where we 're always sure to find somethink. I know a place now where there 's more than two or three hundred weight of metal all rusted together, and plenty of money among it too; but it 's too heavy to carry it out, so it 'ill stop there I s'pose till the world comes to an end. I often brought out a piece of metal half a hundred in weight, and took it under the harch of the bridge, and broke it up with a large stone to pick out the money. I 've found sovereigns and half sovereigns over and over agin, and three on us has often cleared a couple of pound apiece in one day out of the sewers. But we no sooner got the money than the publican had it. I only wish I 'd back all the money I 've guv to the publican, and I wouldn't care how the wind blew for the rest of my life. I never thought about taking a hammer along with me into the sewer, no; I never thought I 'd want it. You can't go in every day, the tides don't answer, and they 're so pertikler now, far more pertikler than formerly; if you was known to touch the traps, you 'd git hauled up afore the beak. It 's done for all that, and though there *is* so many eyes about. The "Johnnys" on the water are always on the look out, and if they sees any on us about, we has to cut our lucky. We shore-workers sometimes does very well other ways. When we hears of a fire anywheres, we goes and watches where they shoots the rubbish, and then we goes and sifts it over, and washes it afterwards, then all the metal sinks to the bottom. The way we does it is this here: we takes a barrel cut in half, and fills it with water, and then we shovels in the siftings, and stirs 'em round and round and round with a stick; then we throws out that water and puts in some fresh, and stirs that there round agin; arter some time the water gets clear, and every thing heavy 's fell to the bottom, and then we sees what it is and picks it out. I 've made from a pound to thirty shilling a day, at that there work on lead alone. The time the Parliament Houses was burnt, the rubbish was shot in Hyde Park, and Long J— and I goes to work it, and while we were at it, we did'nt make less nor three pounds apiece a day; we found sovereigns and half sovereigns, and lots of silver half melted away, and jewellery, such as rings, and stones, and brooches; but we never got half paid for them. I found two sets of bracelets for a lady's arms, and took 'em to a jeweller, and he tried them jist where the "great" heat had melted the catch away, and found they was only metal double plated, or else he said as how he 'd give us thirty pounds for them; howsomever, we takes them down to a Jew in Petticoat-lane, who used to buy things of us, and he gives us 7*l.* 10*s.* for 'em. We found so many things, that at last Long J— and I got to quarrel about the "whacking;" there was cheatin' a goin' on; it wasn't all fair and above board as it ought to be, so we gits to fightin', and kicks up sich a jolly row, that they wouldn't let us work no more, and takes and buries the whole on the rubbish. There 's plenty o' things under the ground along with it now, if anybody could git at them. There was jist two loads o' rubbish shot at one time in Bishop Bonner's-fields, which I worked by myself, and what do you think I made out of that there?—why I made 3*l.* 5*s.* The rubbish was got out of a cellar, what hadn't been stirred for fifty year or more, so I thinks there ought to be somethink in it, and I keeps my eye on it, and watches where it 's shot; then I turns to work, and the first thing I gits hold on is a chain, which I takes to be copper; it was so dirty, but it turned out to be all solid goold, and I gets 1*l.* 5*s.* for it from the Jew; arter that I finds lots o' coppers, and silver money, and many things besides. *The reason I likes this sort of life is, 'cause I can sit down when I likes, and nobody can't order me about. When I 'm hard up, I knows as how I must work, and then I goes at it like sticks a breaking;* and tho' the times isn't as they was, I can go now and pick up my four or five bob a day, where another wouldn't know how to get a brass farden."

There is a strange tale in existence among the shore-workers, of a race of wild hogs inhabiting the sewers in the neighbourhood of Hampstead. The story runs, that a sow in young, by some accident got down the sewer through an opening, and, wandering away from the spot, littered and reared her offspring in the drain, feeding on the offal and garbage washed into it continually. Here, it is alleged, the breed multiplied exceedingly, and

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THE LONDON DUSTMAN.

DUST HOI! DUST HOI!

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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have become almost as ferocious as they are numerous. This story, apocryphal as it seems, has nevertheless its believers, and it is ingeniously argued, that the reason why none of the subterranean animals have been able to make their way to the light of day is, that they could only do so by reaching the mouth of the sewer at the river-side, while, in order to arrive at that point, they must necessarily encounter the Fleet ditch, which runs towards the river with great rapidity, and as it is the obstinate nature of a pig to swim *against* the stream, the wild hogs of the sewers invariably work their way back to their original quarters, and are thus never to be seen. What seems strange in the matter is, that the inhabitants of Hampstead never have been known to see any of these animals pass beneath the gratings, nor to have been disturbed by their gruntings. The reader of course can believe as much of the story as he pleases, and it is right to inform him that the sewer-hunters themselves have never yet encountered any of the fabulous monsters of the Hampstead sewers.

Of the Mud-Larks.

There is another class who may be termed river-finders, although their occupation is connected only with the shore; they are commonly known by the name of "mud-larks," from being compelled, in order to obtain the articles they seek, to wade sometimes up to their middle through the mud left on the shore by the retiring tide. These poor creatures are certainly about the most deplorable in their appearance of any I have met with in the course of my inquiries. They may be seen of all ages, from mere childhood to positive decrepitude, crawling among the barges at the various wharfs along the river; it cannot be said that they are clad in rags, for they are scarcely half covered by the tattered indescribable things that serve them for clothing; their bodies are grimed with the foul soil of the river, and their torn garments stiffened up like boards with dirt of every possible description.

Among the mud-larks may be seen many old women, and it is indeed pitiable to behold them, especially during the winter, bent nearly double with age and infirmity, paddling and groping among the wet mud for small pieces of coal, chips of wood, or any sort of refuse washed up by the tide. These women always have with them an old basket or an old tin kettle, in which they put whatever they chance to find. It usually takes them a whole tide to fill this receptacle, but when filled, it is as much as the feeble old creatures are able to carry home.

The mud-larks generally live in some court or alley in the neighbourhood of the river, and, as the tide recedes, crowds of boys and little girls, some old men, and many old women, may be observed loitering about the various stairs, watching eagerly for the opportunity to commence their labours. When the tide is sufficiently low they scatter themselves along the shore, separating from each other, and soon disappear among the craft lying about in every direction. This is the case on both sides of the river, as high up as there is anything to be found, extending as far as Vauxhall-bridge, and as low down as Woolwich. The mud-larks themselves, however, know only those who reside near them, and whom they are accustomed to meet in their daily pursuits; indeed, with but few exceptions, these people are dull, and apparently stupid; this is observable particularly among the boys and girls, who, when engaged in searching the mud, hold but little converse one with another. The men and women may be passed and repassed, but they notice no one; they never speak, but with a stolid look of wretchedness they plash their way through the mire, their bodies bent down while they peer anxiously about, and occasionally stoop to pick up some paltry treasure that falls in their way.

The mud-larks collect whatever they happen to find, such as coals, bits of old-iron, rope, bones, and copper nails that drop from ships while lying or repairing along shore. Copper nails are the most valuable of all the articles they find, but these they seldom obtain, as they are always driven from the neighbourhood of a ship while being new-sheathed. Sometimes the younger and bolder mud-larks venture on sweeping some empty coal-barge, and one little fellow with whom I spoke, having been lately caught in the act of so doing, had to undergo for the offence seven days' imprisonment in the House of Correction: this, he says, he liked much better than mud-larking, for while he staid there he wore a coat and shoes and stockings, and though he had not over much to eat, he certainly was never afraid of going to bed without anything at all—as he often had to do when at liberty. He thought he would try it on again in the winter, he told me, saying, it would be so comfortable to have clothes and shoes and stockings then, and not be obliged to go into the cold wet mud of a morning.

The coals that the mud-larks find, they sell to the poor people of the neighbourhood at 1*d.* per pot, holding about 14 lbs. The iron and bones and rope and copper nails which they collect, they sell at the rag-shops. They dispose of the iron at 5 lbs. for 1*d.*, the bones at 3 lbs. a 1*d.*, rope a ½*d.* per lb. wet, and ¾*d.* per lb. dry, and copper nails at the rate of 4*d.* per lb. They occasionally pick up tools, such as saws and hammers; these they dispose of to the seamen for biscuit and meat, and sometimes sell them at the rag-shops for a few halfpence. In this manner they earn from 2½*d.* to 8*d.* per day, but rarely the latter sum; their average gains may be estimated at about 3*d.* per day. The boys, after leaving the river, sometimes scrape their trousers, and frequent the cab-stands, and try to earn a trifle by opening the cab-doors for those who enter them, or by holding gentlemen's horses. Some of them go, in the evening, to a ragged school, in the neighbourhood of which they live; more, as they say, because other boys go there, than from any desire to learn.

At one of the stairs in the neighbourhood of the pool, I collected about a dozen of these unfortunate children; there was not one of them

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over twelve years of age, and many of them were but six. It would be almost impossible to describe the wretched group, so motley was their appearance, so extraordinary their dress, and so stolid and inexpressive their countenances. Some carried baskets, filled with the produce of their morning's work, and others old tin kettles with iron handles. Some, for want of these articles, had old hats filled with the bones and coals they had picked up; and others, more needy still, had actually taken the caps from their own heads, and filled them with what they had happened to find. The muddy slush was dripping from their clothes and utensils, and forming a puddle in which they stood. There did not appear to be among the whole group as many filthy cotton rags to their backs as, when stitched together, would have been sufficient to form the material of one shirt. There were the remnants of one or two jackets among them, but so begrimed and tattered that it would have been difficult to have determined either the original material or make of the garment. On questioning one, he said his father was a coal-backer; he had been dead eight years; the boy was nine years old. His mother was alive; she went out charing and washing when she could get any such work to do. She had 1s. a day when she could get employment, but that was not often; he remembered once to have had a pair of shoes, but it was a long time since. "It is very cold in winter," he said, "to stand in the mud without shoes," but he did not mind it in summer. He had been three years mud-larking, and supposed he should remain a mud-lark all his life. What else could he be? for there was nothing else that he knew *how* to do. Some days he earned 1*d*., and some days 4*d*.; he never earned 8*d*. in one day, that would have been a "jolly lot of money." He never found a saw or a hammer, he "only wished" he could, they would be glad to get hold of them at the dolly's. He had been one month at school before he went mud-larking. Some time ago he had gone to the ragged-school; but he no longer went there, for he forgot it. He could neither read nor write, and did not think he could learn if he tried "ever so much." He didn't know what religion his father and mother were, nor did know what religion meant. God was God, he said. He had heard he was good, but didn't know what good he was to him. He thought he was a Christian, but he didn't know what a Christian was. He had heard of Jesus Christ once, when he went to a Catholic chapel, but he never heard tell of who or what he was, and didn't "particular care" about knowing. His father and mother were born in Aberdeen, but he didn't know where Aberdeen was. London was England, and England, he said, was in London, but he couldn't tell in what part. He could not tell where he would go to when he died, and didn't believe any one could tell *that*. Prayers, he told me, were what people said to themselves at night. *He* never said any, and didn't know any; his mother sometimes used to speak to him about them, but he could never learn any. His mother didn't go to church or to chapel, because she had no clothes. All the money he got he gave to his mother, and she bought bread with it, and when they had no money they lived the best way they could.

Such was the amount of intelligence manifested by this unfortunate child.

Another was only seven years old. He stated that his father was a sailor who had been hurt on board ship, and been unable to go to sea for the last two years. He had two brothers and a sister, one of them older than himself; and his elder brother was a mud-lark like himself. The two had been mud-larking more than a year; they went because they saw other boys go, and knew that they got money for the things they found. They were often hungry, and glad to do anything to get something to eat. Their father was not able to earn anything, and their mother could get but little to do. They gave all the money they earned to their mother. They didn't gamble, and play at pitch and toss when they had got some money, but some of the big boys did on the Sunday, when they didn't go a mud-larking. He couldn't tell why they did nothing on a Sunday, "only they didn't;" though sometimes they looked about to see where the best place would be on the next day. He didn't go to the ragged school; he should like to know how to read a book, though he couldn't tell what good it would do him. He didn't like mud-larking, would be glad of something else, but didn't know anything else that he could do.

Another of the boys was the son of a dock labourer,—casually employed. He was between seven and eight years of age, and his sister, who was also a mud-lark, formed one of the group. The mother of these two was dead, and there were three children younger than themselves.

The rest of the histories may easily be imagined, for there was a painful uniformity in the stories of all the children: they were either the children of the very poor, who, by their own improvidence or some overwhelming calamity, had been reduced to the extremity of distress, or else they were orphans, and compelled from utter destitution to seek for the means of appeasing their hunger in the mud of the river. That the majority of this class are ignorant, and without even the rudiments of education, and that many of them from time to time are committed to prison for petty thefts, cannot be wondered at. Nor can it even excite our astonishment that, once within the walls of a prison, and finding how much more comfortable it is than their previous condition, they should return to it repeatedly. As for the females growing up under such circumstances, the worst may be anticipated of them; and in proof of this I have found, upon inquiry, that very many of the unfortunate creatures who swell the tide of prostitution in Ratcliff-highway, and other low neighbourhoods in the East of London, have originally been mud-larks; and only remained at that occupation till such time as they were capable of adopting the more easy and more lucrative life of the prostitute.

As to the numbers and earnings of the mud-

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larks, the following calculations fall short of, rather than exceed, the truth. From Execution Dock to the lower part of Limehouse Hole, there are 14 stairs or landing-places, by which the mud-larks descend to the shore in order to pursue their employment. There are about as many on the opposite side of the water similarly frequented.

At King James' Stairs, in Wapping Wall, which is nearly a central position, from 40 to 50 mud-larks go down daily to the river; the mud-larks "using" the other stairs are not so numerous. If, therefore, we reckon the number of stairs on both sides of the river at 28, and the average number of mud-larks frequenting them at 10 each, we shall have a total of 280.' Each mud-lark, it has been shown, earns on an average 3*d.* a day, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per week; so that the annual earnings of each will be 3*l.* 18*s.*, or say 4*l.*, a year, and hence the gross earnings of the 280 will amount to rather more than 1000*l.* per annum.

But there are, in addition to the mud-larks employed in the neighbourhood of what may be called the pool, many others who work down the river at various places as far as Blackwall, on the one side, and at Deptford, Greenwich, and Woolwich, on the other. These frequent the neighbourhoods of the various "yards" along shore, where vessels are being built; and whence, at certain times, chips, small pieces of wood, bits of iron, and copper nails, are washed out into the river. There is but little doubt that this portion of the class earn much more than the mud-larks of the pool, seeing that they are especially convenient to the places where the iron vessels are constructed; so that the presumption is, that the number of mud-larks "at work" on the banks of the Thames (especially if we include those above bridge), and the value of the property extracted by them from the mud of the river, may be fairly estimated at double that which is stated above, or say 550 gaining 2000*l.* per annum.

As an illustration of the doctrines I have endeavoured to enforce throughout this publication, I cite the following history of one of the above class. It may serve to teach those who are still sceptical as to the degrading influence of circumstances upon the poor, that many of the humbler classes, if placed in the same easy position as ourselves, would become, perhaps, quite as "respectable" members of society.

The lad of whom I speak was discovered by me now nearly two years ago "mud-larking" on the banks of the river near the docks. He was a quick, intelligent little fellow, and had been at the business, he told me, about three years. He had taken to mud-larking, he said, because his clothes were too bad for him to look for anything better. He worked every day, with 20 or 30 boys, who might all be seen at day-break with their trowsers tucked up, groping about, and picking out the pieces of coal from the mud on the banks of the Thames. He went into the river up to his knees, and in searching the mud he often ran pieces of glass and long nails into his feet. When this was the case, he went home and dressed the wounds, but returned to the river-side directly, "for should the tide come up," he added, "without my having found something, why I must starve till next low tide." In the very cold weather he and his other shoeless companions used to stand in the hot water that ran down the river side from some of the steam-factories, to warm their frozen feet.

At first he found it difficult to keep his footing in the mud, and he had known many beginners fall in. He came to my house, at my request, the morning after my first meeting with him. It was the depth of winter, and the poor little fellow was nearly destitute of clothing. His trousers were worn away up to his knees, he had no shirt, and his legs and feet (which were bare) were covered with chilblains. On being questioned by me he gave the following account of his life:—

He was fourteen years old. He had two sisters, one fifteen and the other twelve years of age. His father had been dead nine years. The man had been a coal-whipper, and, from getting his work from one of the publican employers in those days, had become a confirmed drunkard. When he married he held a situation in a warehouse, where his wife managed the first year to save 4*l.* 10*s.* out of her husband's earnings; but from the day he took to coal-whipping she had never saved one halfpenny, indeed she and her children were often left to starve. The man (whilst in a state of intoxication) had fallen between two barges, and the injuries he received had been so severe that he had lingered in a helpless state for three years before his death. After her husband's decease the poor woman's neighbours subscribed 1*l.* 5*s.* for her; with this sum she opened a greengrocer's shop, and got on very well for five years.

When the boy was nine years old his mother sent him to the Red Lion school at Green-bank, near Old Gravel-lane, Ratcliffe-highway; she paid 1*d.* a week for his learning. He remained there for a year; then the potato-rot came, and his mother lost upon all she bought. About the same time two of her customers died 30*s.* in her debt; this loss, together with the potato-disease, completely ruined her, and the whole family had been in the greatest poverty from that period. Then she was obliged to take all her children from their school, that they might help to keep themselves as best they could. Her eldest girl sold fish in the streets, and the boy went to the river-side to "pick up" his living. The change, however, was so great that shortly afterwards the little fellow lay ill eighteen weeks with the ague. As soon as the boy recovered his mother and his two sisters were "taken bad" with a fever. The poor woman went into the "Great House,' and the children were taken to the Fever Hospital. When the mother returned home she was too weak to work, and all she had to depend on was what her boy brought from the river. They had nothing to eat and no money until the little fellow had been down to the shore and picked up some coals, selling them for a trifle. "And hard enough he had to work for what he got, poor boy," said his mother to me on a future

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occasion, sobbing; "still he never complained, but was quite proud when he brought home enough for us to get a bit of meat with; and when he has sometimes seen me down-hearted, he has clung round my neck, and assured me that one day God would see us cared for if I would put my trust in Him." As soon as his mother was well enough she sold fruit in the streets, or went out washing when she could get a day's work.

The lad suffered much from the pieces of broken glass in the mud. Some little time before I met with him he had run a copper nail into his foot. This lamed him for three months, and his mother was obliged to carry him on her back every morning to the doctor. As soon, however, as he could "hobble" (to use his mother's own words) he went back to the river, and often returned (after many hours' hard work in the mud) with only a few pieces of coal, not enough to sell even to get them a bit of bread. One evening, as he was warming his feet in the water that ran from a steam factory, he heard some boys talking about the Ragged School in High-street, Wapping.

"They was saying what they used to learn there," added the boy. "They asked me to come along with them for it was great fun. They told me that all the boys used to be laughing and making game of the master. They said they used to put out the gas and chuck the slates all about. They told me, too, that there was a good fire there, so I went to have a warm and see what it was like. When I got there the master was very kind to me. They used to give us tea-parties, and to keep us quiet they used to show us the magic lantern. I soon got to like going there, and went every night for six months. There was about 40 or 50 boys in the school. The most of them was thieves, and they used to go thieving the coals out of barges along shore, and cutting the ropes off ships, and going and selling it at the rag-shops. They used to get ¾*d.* a lb. for the rope when dry, and ½*d.* when wet. Some used to steal pudding out of shops and hand it to those outside, and the last boy it was handed to would go off with it. They used to steal bacon and bread sometimes as well. About half of the boys at the school was thieves. Some had work to do at ironmongers, lead-factories, engineers, soap-boilers, and so on, and some had no work to do and was good boys still. After we came out of school at nine o'clock at night, some of the bad boys would go a thieving, perhaps half-a-dozen and from that to eight would go out in a gang together. There was one big boy of the name of C——; he was 18 years old, and is in prison now for stealing bacon; I think he is in the House of Correction. This C—— used to go out of school before any of us, and wait outside the door as the other boys came out. Then he would call the boys he wanted for his gangs on one side, and tell them where to go and steal. He used to look out in the daytime for shops where things could be 'prigged,' and at night he would tell the boys to go to them. He was called the captain of the gangs. He had about three gangs altogether with him, and there were from six to eight boys in each gang. The boys used to bring what they stole to C——, and he used to share it with them. I belonged to one of the gangs. There were six boys altogether in my gang; the biggest lad, that knowed all about the thieving, was the captain of the gang I was in, and C—— was captain over him and over all of us.

"There was two brothers of them; you seed them, sir, the night you first met me. The other boys, as was in my gang, was B—— B——, and B—— L——, and W—— B——, and a boy we used to call 'Tim;' these, with myself, used to make up one of the gangs, and we all of us used to go a thieving every night after school-hours. When the tide would be right up, and we had nothing to do along shore, we used to go thieving in the daytime as well. It was B—— B——, and B—— L——, as first put me up to go thieving; they took me with them, one night, up the lane [New Gravel-lane], and I see them take some bread out of a baker's, and they wasn't found out; and, after that, I used to go with them regular. Then I joined C——'s gang; and, after that, C—— came and told us that his gang could do better than ourn, and he asked us to join our gang to his'n, and we did so. Sometimes we used to make 3*s.* or 4*s.* a day; or about 6*d.* apiece. While waiting outside the school-doors, before they opened, we used to plan up where we would go thieving after school was over. I was taken up once for thieving coals myself, but I was let go again."

I was so much struck with the boy's truthfulness of manner, that I asked him, *would*, he really lead a different life, if he saw a means of so doing? He assured me he would, and begged me earnestly to try him. Upon his leaving me, 2*s.* were given him for his trouble. This small sum (I afterwards learned) kept the family for more than a fortnight. The girl laid it out in sprats (it being then winter-time); these she sold in the streets.

I mentioned the fact to a literary friend, who interested himself in the boy's welfare; and eventually succeeded in procuring him a situation at an eminent printer's. The subjoined letter will show how the lad conducted himself while there.

"Whitefriars, April 22, 1850.

"Messrs. Bradbury and Evans beg to say that the boy J. C. has conducted himself in a very satisfactory manner since he has been in their employment."

The same literary friend took the girl into his service. She is in a situation still, though not in the same family.

The boy now holds a good situation at one of the daily newspaper offices. So well has he behaved himself, that, a few weeks since, his wages were increased from 6*s.* to 9*s.* per week. His mother (owing to the boy's exertions) has now a little shop, and is doing well.

This simple story requires no comments, and is narrated here in the hope that it may teach many to know how often the poor boys reared in the gutter are thieves, merely because society forbids them being honest lads.

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OF THE LONDON DUSTMEN, NIGHTMEN, SWEEPS, AND SCAVENGERS.

THESE men constitute a large body, and are a class who, all things considered, do their work silently and efficiently. Almost without the cognisance of the mass of the people, the refuse is removed from our streets and houses; and London, as if in the care of a tidy housewife, is *always* being cleaned. Great as are the faults and absurdities of many parts of our system of public cleansing, nevertheless, when compared with the state of things in any continental capital, the superiority of the metropolis of Great Britain is indisputable.

In all this matter there is little merit to be attributed to the workmen, except that they may be well drilled; for the majority of them are as much machines, apart from their animation, as are the cane and whalebone made to cleanse the chimney, or the clumsy-looking machine which, in its progress, is a vehicular scavenger, sweeping as it goes.

These public cleansers are to be thus classified:—

1. Dustmen, or those who empty and remove the collection of ashes, bones, vegetables, &c., deposited in the dust-bins, or other refuse receptacles throughout the metropolis.

2. Nightmen, or those who remove the contents of the cesspools.

3. Sweeps, or those who remove the soot from the chimneys.

4. Scavengers, or those who remove the dirt from the streets, roads, and markets.

Let me, however, before proceeding further with the subject, lay before the reader the following important return as to the extent and contents of this prodigious city: for this document I am indebted to the Commissioners of Police, gentlemen from whom I have derived the most valuable information since the commencement of my inquiries, and to whose courtesy and consideration I am anxious to acknowledge my many obligations.

RETURN SHOWING THE EXTENT, POPULATION, AND POLICE FORCE IN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT AND THE CITY OF LONDON IN SEPTEMBER, 1850.

	Metropolitan Police District *.			City of London ‡.	Grand Total.
	Inner District †.	Outer District.	Total.		
Area . . . . . (in square miles)	91	609½	700½	1¾	702¼
Parishes	82	136	218	97	315
Streets, Roads, &c., (length of, in miles)	1,700	1,936	3,636	50	3,686
Number of Houses inhabited . .	289,912	59,995	349,907	15,613	365,520
„ „ uninhabited .	11,868	1,437	13,305	387	13,692
„ „ being built .	4,634	1,097	5,731	23	5,754
Population	1,986,629	350,331	2,336,960	125,000	2,461,960
Police Force	4,844	660	5,504	568	6,072

18*th September*, 1850.

* The Metropolitan Police District comprises a circle, the radius of which is 15 miles from Charing Cross; the extreme boundary on the N. includes the parish of Cheshunt and South Mimms; on the S., Epsom; on the E., Dagenham and Crayford; and on the W., Uxbridge and Staines.

† The inner district includes the parish of St. John, Hampstead, on the N.; Tooting and Streatham on the S.; Ealing and Brentford on the W.; and Greenwich on the E.

The Registrar General's District is equal, or nearly so, to the Inner Metropolitan Police District.

‡ The City of London is bounded on the S. by the River, on the E. by Whitechapel, on the W. by Chancery Lane, and N. by Finsbury.

The total here given can hardly be considered as the dimensions of the metropolis; though, where the capital begins and ends, it is difficult to say. If, however, London be regarded as concentring within the Inner Police District, then, adding the extent and contents of that district to those of the City, as above detailed, we have the subjoined statement as to the dimensions and inhabitants of the

Metropolis Proper.

Area	92¾ square miles.
Parishes . . .	179
Length of street, roads, &c.	1750 miles.
Number of inhabited houses . .	305,525
Ditto uninhabited . .	12,255
Ditto being built . .	4657
Population . .	2,111,629
Police force . . .	5412

But if the extent of even this "inner district" be so vast as almost to overpower the mind with its magnitude—if its population be greater than that of the entire kingdom of Hanover, and almost equal to that of the republic of Switzerland—if its houses be so numerous that placed side by side they would form one continuous line of dwellings from its centre to Moscow—if its streets and roads be nearly equal in length to one quarter of the diameter of the earth itself,—what a task must the cleansing of such a bricken wilderness be, and yet, assuredly, though it be by far the greatest, it is at the same time by far the cleanest city in the world.

The removal of the refuse of a large town is, perhaps, one of the most important of social operations. Not only is it necessary for the well-being of a vast aggregation of people that the

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ordure should be removed from both within and around their dwellings as soon as it is generated, but nature, ever working in a circle and reproducing in the same ratio as she destroys, has made this same ordure not only the cause of present disease when allowed to remain within the city, but the means of future health and sustenance when removed to the fields.

In a leading article in the *Morning Chronicle*, written about two years since, I said—

"That man gets his bones from the rocks and his muscles from the atmosphere, is beyond all doubt. The iron in his blood and the lime in his teeth were originally in the soil. But these could not be in his body unless they had previously formed part of his food. And yet we can neither live on air nor on stones. We cannot grow fat upon lime, and iron is positively indigestible in our stomachs. It is by means of the vegetable creation alone that we are enabled to convert the mineral into flesh and blood. The only apparent use of herbs and plants is to change the inorganic earth, air, and water, into organic substances fitted for the nutrition of animals. The little lichen, which, by means of the oxalic acid that it secretes, decomposes the rocks to which it clings, and fits their lime for 'assimilation' with higher organisms, is, as it were, but the primitive bone-maker of the world. By what subtle transmutation inorganic nature is changed into organic, and dead inert matter quickened with life, is far beyond us even to conjecture. Suffice it that an express apparatus is required for the process—a special mechanism to convert the '*crust* of the earth,' as it is called, into food for man and beast.

"Now, in Nature everything moves in a circle—perpetually changing, and yet ever returning to the point whence it started. Our bodies are continually decomposing and recomposing—indeed, the very process of breathing is but one of decomposition. As animals live on vegetables, even so is the refuse of the animal the vegetable's food. The carbonic acid which comes from our lungs, and which is poison for us to inhale, is not only the vital air of plants, but positively their nutriment. With the same wondrous economy that marks all creation, it has been ordained that what is unfitted for the support of the superior organisms, is of all substances the best adapted to give strength and vigour to the inferior. That which we excrete as pollution to our system, they secrete as nourishment to theirs. Plants are not only Nature's scavengers but Nature's purifiers. They remove the filth from the earth, as well as disinfect the atmosphere, and fit it to be breathed by a higher order of beings. Without the vegetable creation the animal could neither have been nor be. Plants not only fitted the earth originally for the residence of man and the brute, but to this day they continue to render it habitable to us. For this end their nature has been made the very antithesis to ours. The process by which we live is the process by which they are destroyed. That which supports respiration in us produces putrefaction in them. What our lungs throw off, their lungs absorb—what our bodies reject, their roots imbibe.

"Hence, in order that the balance of waste and supply should be maintained—that the principle of universal compensation should be kept up, and that what is rejected by us should go to the sustenance of plants, Nature has given us several instinctive motives to remove our refuse from us. She has not only constituted that which we egest the most loathsome of all things to our senses and imagination, but she has rendered its effluvium highly pernicious to our health—sulphuretted hydrogen being at once the most deleterious and offensive of all gases. Consequently, as in all other cases where the great law of Nature has to be enforced by special sanctions, a double motive has been given us to do that which it is necessary for us to do, and thus it has been made not only advantageous to us to remove our refuse to the fields, but positively detrimental to our health, and disgusting to our senses, to keep it in the neighbourhood of our houses.

"In every well-regulated State, therefore, an effective and rapid means for carrying off the ordure of the people to a locality where it may be fruitful instead of destructive, becomes a most important consideration. Both the health and the wealth of the nation depend upon it. If to make two blades of wheat grow where one grew before is to confer a benefit on the world, surely to remove that which will enable us at once to do this, and to purify the very air which we breathe, as well as the water which we drink, must be a still greater boon to society. It is, in fact, to give the community not only a double amount of food, but a double amount of health to enjoy it. We are now beginning to understand this. Up to the present time we have only thought of removing our refuse—the idea of using it never entered our minds. It was not until science taught us the dependence of one order of creation upon another, that we began to see that what appeared worse than worthless to us was Nature's capital—*wealth set aside for future production*."

In connection with this part of the subject, viz., the use of human refuse, I would here draw attention to those erroneous notions, as to the multiplication of the people, which teach us to look upon the increase of the population beyond certain limits as the greatest possible evil that can befall a community. Population, it is said, multiplies itself in a geometrical ratio, whereas the produce of the land is increased only in arithmetical proportion; that is to say, while the people are augmented after the rate of—

2 4 8 16 32 64

the quantity of food for them can be extended only in the following degrees:—

2 4 6 8 10 12

The cause of this is said to be that, after a certain stage in the cultivation of the soil, the increase of the produce from land is not in proportion to the increase of labour devoted to it; that is to say, doubling the labour does not double the crop; and hence it is asserted that the human race increasing at a quicker rate than the food, insufficient sustenance must be the necessary lot

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of a portion of the people in every densely-populated community.

That men of intelligence and education should have been persuaded by so plausible a doctrine at the time of its first promulgation may be readily conceived, for then the notions concerning organic chemistry were vague in the extreme, and the great universal law of Waste and Supply remained to be fully developed; but that men pretending to the least scientific knowledge should in these days be found advocating the Population Theory is only another of the many proofs of the indisposition of even the strongest minds to abandon their pet prejudices. Assuredly Malthus and Liebig are incompatible. If the new notions as to the chemistry of vegetation be true, then must the old notions as to population be utterly unfounded. If what we excrete plants secrete—if what we exhale they inspire—if our refuse is their food—then it follows that to increase the population is to increase the quantity of manure, while to increase the manure is to augment the food of plants, and consequently the plants themselves. If the plants nourish us, we at least nourish them. It seems never to have occurred to the economists that plants themselves required sustenance, and consequently they never troubled themselves to inquire whence they derived the elements of their growth. Had they done this they would never have even expected that a double quantity of mere labour upon the soil should have doubled the produce; but they would rather have seen that it was utterly impossible for the produce to be doubled without the food in the soil being doubled likewise; that is to say, they would have perceived that plants could not, whatever the labour exerted upon their cultivation, extract the elements of their organization from the earth and air, unless those elements previously existed in the land and atmosphere in which they grew, and that such elements, moreover, could not exist there without some organic being to egest them.

This doctrine of the universal Compensation extending throughout the material world, and more especially through the animal and vegetable kingdom, is, perhaps, one of the grandest and most consoling that science has yet revealed to us, making each mutually dependent on the other, and so contributing each to the other's support. Moreover it is the more comforting, as enabling us almost to demonstrate the falsity of a creed which is opposed to every generous impulse of our nature, and which is utterly irreconcilable with the attributes of the Creator.

"Thanks to organic chemistry," I said two years ago in the *Morning Chronicle*, "we are beginning to wake up. Science has taught us that the removal of the ordure of towns to the fields is a question that concerns not only our health, but, what is a far more important consideration with us, our breeches pockets. What we, in our ignorance, had mistaken for refuse of the vilest kind, we have now learned to regard as being, with reference to its fertilizing virtues, 'a precious ore, running in rich veins beneath the surface of our streets.' Whereas, if allowed to reek and seethe in cesspools within scent of our very hearths, or to pollute the water that we use to quench our thirst and cook our food, it becomes, like all wealth badly applied, converted into 'poison:' as Romeo says of gold to the apothecary—

> 'Doing more murders in this loathsome world
> Than those poor compounds which thou mayst not sell.'

"Formerly, in our eagerness to get rid of the pollution, we had literally not looked beyond our noses: hence our only care was to carry off the nuisance from the immediate vicinity of our own residences. It was no matter to us what became of it, so long as it did not taint the atmosphere around us. This the very instincts of our nature had made objectionable to us; so we laid down just as many drains and sewers as would carry our night-soil to the nearest stream; and thus, instead of poisoning the air that we breathed, we poisoned the water that we drank. Then, as the town extended—for cities, like mosaic work, are put together piecemeal—street being dovetailed to street, like county to county in our children's geographical puzzles—each new row of houses tailed on its drains to those of its neighbours, without any inquiry being made as to whether they were on the same level or not. The consequence of this is, that the sewers in many parts of our metropolis are subject to an ebb and flood like their central stream, so that the pollution which they remove at low-water, they regularly bring back at high-water to the very doors of the houses whence they carried it.

"According to the average of the returns, from 1841 to 1846, we are paying two millions every year for guano, bone-dust, and other foreign fertilizers of our soil. In 1845, we employed no fewer than 683 ships to bring home 220,000 tons of animal manure from Ichaboe alone; and yet we are every day emptying into the Thames 115,000 tons of a substance which has been proved to be possessed of even greater fertilizing powers. With 200 tons of the sewage that we are wont to regard as refuse, applied to the irrigation of one acre of meadow land, seven crops, we are told, have been produced in the year, each of them worth from 6*l.* to 7*l.*; so that, considering the produce to have been doubled by these means, we have an increase of upwards of 20*l.* per acre per annum effected by the application of that refuse to the surface of our fields. This return is at the rate of 10*l.* for every 100 tons of sewage; and, since the total amount of refuse discharged into the Thames from the sewers of the metropolis is, in round numbers, 40,000,000 tons per annum, it follows that, according to such estimate, we are positively wasting 4,000,000*l.* of money every year; or, rather, *it costs us that amount to poison the waters about us.* Or, granting that the fertilizing power of the metropolitan refuse is—as it is said to be—as great for arable as for pasture-lands, then for every 200 tons of manure that we now cast away, we might have an increase of at least 20 bushels of corn per acre. Consequently the entire 40,000,000 tons of sewage, if

applied to fatten the land instead of to poison the water, would, at such a rate of increase, swell our produce to the extent of 4,000,000 bushels of wheat per annum. Calculating then that each of these bushels would yield 16 quartern loaves, it would follow that we fling into the Thames no less than 246,000,000 lbs. of bread every year; or, still worse, by pouring into the river that which, if spread upon our fields, would enable thousands to live, we convert the elements of life and health into the germs of disease and death, changing into slow but certain poisons that which, in the subtle transmutation of organic nature, would become acres of life-sustaining grain." I shall have more to say subsequently on this waste and its consequences.

These considerations show how vastly important it is that in the best of all possible ways we should *collect*, *remove*, and *use* the scavengery and excrementitious matter of our streets and houses.

Now the removal of the refuse of London is no slight task, consisting, as it does, of the cleansing of 1750 miles of streets and roads; of collecting the dust from 300,000 dust-bins; of emptying (according to the returns of the Board of Health) the same number of cesspools, and sweeping near upon 3,000,000 chimneys.

A task so vast it might naturally be imagined would give employment to a number of hands, and yet, if we trusted the returns of the Occupation Abstract of 1841, the whole of these stupendous operations are performed by a limited number of individuals.

RETURN OF THE NUMBER OF SWEEPS, DUSTMEN, AND NIGHTMEN IN THE METROPOLIS, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1841.

	Total.	Males.		Females.	
		20 years and upwards.	Under 20.	20 years and upwards.	Under 20.
Chimney Sweepers	1033	619	370	44	
Scavengers and Nightmen . . .	254	227	10	17	

I am informed by persons in the trade that the "females" here mentioned as chimney-sweepers, and scavengers, and nightmen, must be such widows or daughters of sweeps and nightmen as have succeeded to their businesses, for that no women *work* at such trades; excepting, perhaps, in the management and care of the soot, in assisting to empty and fill the bags. Many females, however, are employed in sifting dust, but the calling of the dustman and dustwoman is not so much as noticed in the population returns.

According to the occupation abstract of the previous decennial period, the number of males of 20 years and upwards (for none others were mentioned) pursuing the same callings in the metropolis in 1831, were as follows:—

Soot and chimney-sweepers . . . 421
Nightmen and scavengers . . . 130

Hence the increase in the adult male operatives belonging to these trades, between 1831 and 1841, was, for Chimney-sweeps, 198; and Scavengers and Nightmen, 97.

But these returns are preposterously incorrect. In the first place it was not until 1842 that the parliamentary enactment prohibiting the further employment of climbing-boys for the purpose of sweeping chimneys came into operation. At that time the number of inhabited houses in the metropolis was in round numbers 250,000, and calculating these to have contained only eight rooms each, there would have been at the least 2,000,000 chimneys to sweep. Now, according to the government returns above cited—the London climbing-boys (for the masters did not and could not climb) in 1841 numbered only 370; at which rate there would have been but one boy to no less than 5400 chimneys! Pursuing the same mode of testing the validity of the "official" statements, we find, as the nightmen generally work in gangs of four, that each of the 63, or say 64, gangs comprised in the census returns, would have had 4000 cesspools to empty of their contents; while, working both as scavengers and nightmen (for, according to the census, they were the *only* individuals following those occupations in London), they would after their nocturnal labours have had about 27 miles of streets and roads to cleanse—a feat which would certainly have thrown the scavengering prowess of Hercules into the shade.

Under the respective heads of the dustmen, nightmen, sweeps, and scavengers, I shall give an account of the numbers, &c., employed, and a resumé of the whole. It will be sufficient here to mention that my investigations lead to the conclusion that, of men working as dustmen (a portion of whom are employed as nightmen and scavengers) there are at present about 1800 in the metropolis. The census of 1841, as I have pointed out, mentions no dustman whatever!

But I have so often had instances of the defects of this national numbering of the people that I have long since ceased to place much faith in its returns connected with the humbler grades of labour. The costermongers, for example, I estimate at about 10,000, whereas the government reports, as has been before mentioned, ignore the very existence of such a class of people, and make the entire hawkers, hucksters, and pedlars of the metropolis to amount to no more than 2045. Again, the London "coal labourers, heavers, and porters" are said, in the census of 1841, to be

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only 1700 in number; I find, however, that there are no less than 1800 "registered" coal-whippers, and as many coal porters; so that I am in no way inclined to give great credence to the "official enumerations." The difficulties which beset the perfection of such a document are almost insuperable, and I have already heard of returns for the forthcoming document, made by ignorant people as to their occupations, which already go far to nullify the facts in connection with the employment of the ignorant and profligate classes of the metropolis.

Before quitting this part of the subject, viz., the extent of surface, the length of streets, and the number of houses throughout the metropolis requiring to be continually cleansed of their refuse, as well as the number of people as continually engaged in so cleansing them, let me here append the last returns of the Registrar General, copied from the census of 1851, as to the dimensions and contents of the metropolis according to that functionary, so that they may be compared with those of the metropolitan police before given.

In Weale's "*London Exhibited*," which is by far the most comprehensive description of the metropolis that I have seen, it is stated that it is "only possible to adopt a general idea of the giant city," as its precise boundaries and extent cannot be defined. On the north of the Thames, we are told, London extends to Edmonton and Finchley; on the west it stretches to Acton and Hammersmith; on the east it reaches Leyton and Ham; while on the south of the Thames the metropolis is said to embrace Wandsworth, Streatham, Lewisham, Woolwich, and Plumstead. "To each of these points," says Mr. Weale, but upon what authority he does not inform us, "continuous streets of houses reach; but the solid mass of houses lies within narrow bounds—with these several long arms extending from it. The greatest length of street, from east to west," he adds, "is about fourteen miles, and from north to south about thirteen miles. The solid mass is about seven miles by four miles, so that the ground covered with houses is not less than 20 square miles."

Mr. McCulloch, in his "*London in* 1850-51," has a passage to the same effect. He says, "The continued and rapid increase of buildings renders it difficult to ascertain the extent of the metropolis at any particular period. If we include in it those parts only that present a solid mass of houses, its length from east to west may be taken at six miles, and its breadth from north to south at about three miles and a half. There is, however, a nearly continuous line of houses from Blackwall to Chelsea, a distance of about seven miles, and from Walworth to Holloway, of four and a half miles. The extent of surface covered by buildings is estimated at about sixteen square miles, or above 10,000 acres, so that M. Say, the celebrated French economist, did not really indulge in hyperbole when he said, '*Londres n'est plus une ville: c'est une province couverte de maisons!*' (London is no longer a town: it is a province covered with houses)."

The Government authorities, however, appear to have very different notions from either of the above gentlemen as to the extent of the metropolis.

The limits of London, as at present laid down by the Registrar General, include 176 parishes, besides several precincts, liberties, and extra-parochial places, comprising altogether about 115 square miles. According to the old bills of mortality, London formerly included only 148 parishes, which were located as follows:—

Parishes within the walls of the city	97
Parishes without the walls	17
Parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster	10
Out parishes in Middlesex and Surrey	24
	148

The parishes which have been annexed to the above at different periods since the commencement of the present century are:—

Parishes added by the late Mr. Rickman (see Pop. Abstracts, 1801-31) (including Chelsea, Kensington, Paddington, St. Marylebone, and St. Pancras)	5
Parishes added by the Registrar General, 1838 (including Hammersmith, Fulham, Stoke Newington, Stratford-le-Bow, Bromley, Camberwell, Deptford, Greenwich, and Woolwich)	10
Parishes added by the Registrar General in 1844 (including Clapham, Battersea, Wandsworth, Putney, Lower Tooting, and Streatham)	6
Parishes added by the Registrar General in 1846 (comprising Hampstead, Charlton, Plumstead, Eltham, Lee, Kidbroke, and Lewisham)	7
Total number of parishes in the metropolis, as defined by the Registrar General	176

The extent of London, according to the limits assigned to it at the several periods above mentioned, was—

	Stat. Acres.	Sq. miles.
London within the old bills of mortality, from 1726	21,080	32
London, within the limits adopted by the late Mr. Rickman, 1801-31	29,850	46
London, within the limits adopted by the Registrar General, 1838-43	44,850	70
London, within the limits adopted by the Registrar General, 1844-46	55,650	87
London, within the limits adopted by the Registrar General in 1847-51	74,070	115

"London," observes Mr. Weale, "has now swallowed up many cities, towns, villages, and separate jurisdictions. The four commonwealths, or kingdoms, of the Middle Saxons, East Saxons, the South Rick, and the Kentwaras, once ruled over

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its surface. It now embraces the episcopal cities of London and Westminster, the towns of Woolwich, Deptford, and Wandsworth, the watering places of Hampstead, Highgate, Islington, Acton, and Kilburn, the fishing town of Barking, the once secluded and ancient villages of Ham, Hornsey, Sydenham, Lee, Kensington, Fulham, Lambeth, Clapham, Paddington, Hackney, Chelsea, Stoke Newington, Newington Butts, Plumstead, and many others.

The 176 parishes now included by the Registrar General within the boundaries of the metropolis, are arranged by him into five districts, of which the areas, population, and number of inhabited houses were on the 31st of March, 1851, as undermentioned:—

TABLE SHOWING THE AREA, NUMBER OF INHABITED HOUSES, AND POPULATION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE METROPOLIS, 1841–51.

Divisions of Metropolis.	Statute Acres.	Population.		Inhabited Houses.	
		1841.	1851.	1841.	1851.
West Districts.					
Kensington	7,860	74,898	119,990	10,962	17,292
Chelsea	780	40,243	56,543	5,648	7,629
St. George's, Hanover-square	1,090	66,657	73,207	7,630	8,795
Westminster	840	56,802	65,609	6,439	6,647
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	260	25,132	24,557	2,439	2,323
St. James's, Westminster	165	37,457	36,426	3,590	3,460
North Districts.					
Marylebone	1,490	138,383	157,679	14,169	15,955
Hampstead (added 1846)	2,070	10,109	11,986	1,411	1,719
Pancras	2,600	129,969	167,198	14,766	18,731
Islington	3,050	55,779	95,154	8,508	13,558
Hackney	3,950	42,328	58,424	7,192	9,861
Central Districts.					
St. Giles's	250	54,378	54,062	4,959	4,778
Strand	163	43,667	44,446	4,327	3,938
Holborn	188	44,532	46,571	4,603	4,517
Clerkenwell	320	56,799	64,705	6,946	7,259
St. Luke's	240	49,908	54,058	6,385	6,421
East London	†230 (East and West London together)	39,718	44,407	4,796	4,785
West London		29,188	28,829	3,010	2,745
London, City of	‡370	56,009	55,908	7,921	7,329
East Districts.					
Shoreditch	620	83,564	109,209	12,642	15,433
Bethnal Green	760	74,206	90,170	11,782	13,370
Whitechapel	316	71,879	79,756	8,834	8,832
St. George's in the East	230	41,416	48,375	5,985	6,151
Stepney	2,518	90,831	110,669	14,364	16,346
Poplar	1,250	31,171	47,157	5,066	6,882
South Districts.					
St. Saviour's, Southwark	*	33,027	35,729	4,659	4,613
St. Olave's, Southwark	*	19,869	19,367	2,523	2,365
Bermondsey	620	35,002	48,128	5,674	7,095
St. George's, Southwark	*590	46,718	51,825	6,663	7,005
Newington	630	54,693	64,805	9,370	10,468
Lambeth	3,640	116,072	139,240	17,791	20,520
Wandsworth (added 1843)	10,800	39,918	50,770	6,459	8,290
Camberwell	4,570	39,931	54,668	6,843	9,417
Rotherhithe	690	13,940	17,778	2,420	2,834
Greenwich	4,570	81,125	99,404	11,995	14,423
Lewisham (added 1846)	16,350	23,051	34,831	3,966	5,936
Total London Division	74,070	1,948,369	2,361,640	262,737	307,722

* The area of the districts of St. Saviour and St. Olave is included in that returned for St. George, Southwark.
† The area here stated is that of the city without the walls, and includes White Friars precinct and Holy Trinity, Minories, both belonging to other districts.
‡ This area is that of the city within the walls, and does not include White Friars, which belongs to the district.

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In order to be able to compare the average density of the population in the various parts of London, I have made a calculation as to the number of persons and houses to the acre, as well as the number of inhabitants to each house. I have also computed the annual rate of increase of the population from 1841–51, in the several localities here mentioned, and append the result. It will be seen that, while what are popularly known as the suburbs have increased, both in houses and population, at a considerable rate, some of the more central parts of London, on the contrary, have decreased not only in the number of people, but in the number of dwellings as well. This has been the case in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. James's, Westminster, St. Giles's, and the City of London.

TABLE SHOWING THE INCREASE OF THE POPULATION AND INHABITED HOUSES, AS WELL AS THE RATES OF THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AND HOUSES TO EACH ACRE, AND THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO EACH HOUSE IN THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE METROPOLIS IN 1841–51.

	Yearly Increase of Population per annum, from 1841–51.	Yearly Increase of Inhabited Houses, from 1841–51.	Number of People to the Acre, 1851.	Number of Inhabited Houses to the Acre, 1851.	Number of Persons to each House, 1851.
WEST DISTRICTS.					
Kensington	4,509·2	633·0	15·2	2·2	6·9
Chelsea	1,630·0	198·1	72·4	9·7	7·4
St. George's, Hanover-square	655·0	11·6	67·1	8·0	8·3
Westminster	880·7	20·8	80·4	8·2	9·8
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	57·5*	11·6*	94·3	8·9	10·5
St. James's, Westminster	103·1*	13·0*	220·7	20·9	10·5
NORTH DISTRICTS.					
Marylebone	1,926·6	178·6	105·8	10·3	9·8
Hampstead	187·7	30·8	5·7	·8	6·9
St. Pancras	3,722·9	396·5	64·3	7·2	8·9
Islington	3,937·5	505·0	31·5	4·4	7·0
Hackney	1,609·6	719·2	14·7	2·3	5·9
CENTRAL DISTRICTS.					
St. Giles's	31·6*	18·1	216·2	19·1	11·3
Strand	77·9	38·9*	272·2	24·1	11·2
Holborn	203·9	8·6*	247·7	24·0	10·3
Clerkenwell	790·6	31·3	202·2	22·6	8·9
St. Luke's	415·0	3·6	225·2	26·7	8·4
East and West London	433·0	27·6*	318·4	32·7	9·7
London City	10·1	59·2*	151·0	19·8	7·6
EAST DISTRICTS.					
Shoreditch	2,564·5	279·1	176·1	24·8	7·0
Bethnal-green	1,596·4	158·8	118·6	17·5	6·7
Whitechapel	787·7	·2*	252·3	27·9	9·0
St. George's-in-the-East	695.9	16·6	210·3	26·7	7·8
Stepney	1,983·8	198·2	43·9	6·4	6·7
Poplar	1,598·6	181·6	37·7	5·5	6·8
SOUTH DISTRICTS.					
St. Saviour's, St. Olave's, and St. George's, Southwark	730·7	13·8	181·2	23·7	7·6
Bermondsey	1,312·6	142·1	77·6	11·2	6·7
Newington	1,011·2	109·8	102·8	16·6	6·1
Lambeth	2,316·8	272·9	38·2	5·6	6·7
Wandsworth	1,085·2	183·1	4·7	·7	6·1
Camberwell	1,473·7	257·4	12·4	2·0	5·8
Rotherhithe	383·8	41·4	25·7	4·1	6·2
Greenwich	1,827·9	242·8	21·7	3·1	6·8
Lewisham	1,178·0	197·0	2·1	·3	5·6
Total for all London	41,327·1	4,498·5	31·8	4·1	7·6

* The population and number of inhabited houses in these districts has decreased annually to this extent since 1841.

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By the above table we perceive that St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. James's, Westminster, St. Giles's, the Strand, and the City have all decreased both in population and houses since 1841. The population has diminished most of all in St. James's, and the houses the most in the City. The suburban districts, however, such as Chelsea, Marylebone, St. Pancras, Islington, Hackney, Shoreditch, Bethnal-green, Stepney, Poplar, Bermondsey, Newington, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Camberwell, Greenwich, and Lewisham, have all increased greatly within the last ten years, both in dwellings and people. The greatest increase of the population, as well as houses, has been in Kensington, where the yearly addition has been 4500 people, and 630 houses.

The more densely-populated districts are, St. James's, Westminster, St. Giles's, the Strand, Holborn, Clerkenwell, St. Luke, Whitechapel, and St. George's-in-the-East, in all of which places there are upwards of 200 people to the acre, while in East and West London, in which the population is the most dense of all, the number of people exceeds 300 to the acre. The least densely populated districts are Hampstead, Wandsworth, and Lewisham, where the people are not more than six, and as few as two to the acre.

The districts in which there are the greatest number of houses to a given space, are St. James's, Westminster, the Strand, Holborn, Clerkenwell, St. Luke's, Shoreditch, and St. George's-in-the-East, in all of which localities there are upwards of 20 dwellings to each acre of ground, while in East and West London, which is the most closely built over of all, the number of houses to each acre are as many as 32. Hampstead and Lewisham appear to be the most open districts; for there the houses are not more than eight and three to every ten acres of ground.

The localities in which the houses are the most crowded with inmates are the Strand and St. Giles's, where there are more than eleven people to each house, and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and St. James's, Westminster, and Holborn, where each house has on an average ten inmates, while in Lewisham and Wandsworth the houses are the least crowded, for there we find only five people to every house.

Now, comparing this return with that of the metropolitan police, we have the following results as to the extent and contents of the Metropolis Proper:—

	According to Registrar General.	According to Metropolitan Police.
Area (in statute acres)	74,070	58,880
Parishes	176	179
Number of inhabited houses	307,722	305,525
Population	2,361,640	2,111,629

Hence it will be seen that both the extent and contents of these two returns differ most materially.

1st. The superficies of the Registrar General's metropolis is very nearly 13 square miles, or 15,190 statute acres, greater than the metropolis of the police commissioners.

2nd. The number of inhabited houses is 2197 more in the one than in the other.

3rd. The population of London, according to the Registrar General's limits, is 250,011, or a quarter of a million, more than it is according to the limits of the metropolitan police.

It were much to be desired that some more definite and scientific mode, not only of limiting, but of dividing the metropolis, were to be adopted. At present there are, perhaps, as many different metropolises, so to speak, and as many different modes of apportioning the several parts of the whole into districts, as there are public bodies whose operations are specially confined to the capital. The Registrar General has, as we have seen, one metropolis divided into western, northern, central, eastern, and southern districts. The metropolitan police commissioners have another metropolis apportioned into its A divisions, B divisions, and so forth; and the Post Office has a third metropolis parcelled out in a totally different manner; while the London City Mission, the Scripture Readers, the Ragged Schools, and the many other similar metropolitan institutions, all seem to delight in creating a distinct metropolis for themselves, thus tending to make the statistical "confusion worse confounded."

Of the Dustmen of London.

Dust and rubbish accumulate in houses from a variety of causes, but principally from the residuum of fires, the white ash and cinders, or small fragments of unconsumed coke, giving rise to by far the greater quantity. Some notion of the vast amount of this refuse annually produced in London may be formed from the fact that the consumption of coal in the metropolis is, according to the official returns, 3,500,000 tons per annum, which is at the rate of a little more than 11 tons per house; the poorer families, it is true, do not burn more than 2 tons in the course of the year, but then many such families reside in the same house, and hence the average will appear in no way excessive. Now the ashes and cinders arising from this enormous consumption of coal would, it is evident, if allowed to lie scattered about in such a place as London, render, ere long, not only the back streets, but even the important thoroughfares, filthy and impassable. Upon the Officers of the various parishes, therefore, has devolved the duty of seeing that the refuse of the fuel consumed throughout London is removed almost as fast as produced; this they do by entering into an agreement for the clearance of the "dust-bins" of the parishioners as often as required, with some person who possesses all necessary appliances for the purpose—such as horses, carts, baskets, and shovels, together with a plot of waste ground whereon to deposit the refuse. The persons with whom this agreement is made are called "dust-contractors," and are generally men of considerable wealth.

The collection of "dust," is now, more properly speaking, the removal of it. The collection of an

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article implies the voluntary seeking after it, and this the dustmen can hardly be said to do; for though they parade the streets shouting for the dust as they go, they do so rather to fulfil a certain duty they have undertaken to perform than in any expectation of profit to be derived from the sale of the article.

Formerly the custom was otherwise; but then, as will be seen hereafter, the residuum of the London fuel was far more valuable. Not many years ago it was the practice for the various master dustmen to send in their tenders to the vestry, on a certain day appointed for the purpose, offering to pay a considerable sum yearly to the parish authorities for liberty to collect the dust from the several houses. The sum formerly paid to the parish of Shadwell, for instance, though not a very extensive one, amounted to between 400*l.* or 500*l.* per annum; but then there was an immense demand for the article, and the contractors were unable to furnish a sufficient supply from London; ships were frequently freighted with it from other parts, especially from Newcastle and the northern ports, and at that time it formed an article of considerable international commerce—the price being from 15*s.* to 1*l.* per chaldron. Of late years, however, the demand has fallen off greatly, while the supply has been progressively increasing, owing to the extension of the metropolis, so that the Contractors have not only declined paying anything for liberty to collect it, but now stipulate to receive a certain sum for the removal of it. It need hardly be stated that the parishes always employ the man who requires the least money for the performance of what has now become a matter of duty rather than an object of desire. Some idea may be formed of the change which has taken place in this business, from the fact, that the aforesaid parish of Shadwell, which formerly received the sum of 450*l.* per annum for liberty to collect the dust, now pays the Contractor the sum of 240*l.* per annum for its removal.

The Court of Sewers of the City of London, in 1846, through the advice of Mr. Cochrane, the president of the National Philanthropic Association, were able to obtain from the contractors the sum of 5000*l.* for liberty to clear away the dirt from the streets and the dust from the bins and houses in that district. The year following, however, the contractors entered into a combination, and came to a resolution not to bid so high for the privilege; the result was, that they obtained their contracts at an expense of 2200*l.* By acting on the same principle in the year after, they not only offered no premium whatever for the contract, but the City Commissioners of Sewers were obliged to pay them the sum of 300*l.* for removing the refuse, and at present the amount paid by the City is as much as 4900*l.*! This is divided among four great contractors, and would, if equally apportioned, give them 1250*l.* each.

I subjoin a list of the names of the principal contractors and the parishes for which they are engaged:—

DISTRICTS CONTRACTED FOR.	NAMES OF CONTRACTORS.
Four divisions of the City.	Redding. Rook. J. Sinnott. J. Gould.
Finsbury square	J. Gould.
St. Luke's	H. Dodd.
Shoreditch	Ditto
Norton Folgate	J. Gould.
Bethnal-green	E. Newman.
Holborn	Pratt and Sewell.
Hatton-garden	Ditto.
Islington	Stroud, Brickmaker.
St. Martin's	Wm. Sinnott, Junior.
St. Mary-le-Strand	J. Gore.
St. Sepulchre	Ditto.
Savoy	Ditto.
St. Clement Danes	Rook.
St. James's, Clerkenwell	H. Dodd.
St. John's, ditto	J. Gould.
St. Margaret's, Westminster	W. Hearne.
St. John's, ditto	Stapleton and Holdsworth.
Lambeth	W. Hearne.
Chelsea	C. Humphries.
St. Marylebone	J. Gore.
Blackfriars-bridge	Jenkins.
St. Paul's, Covent-garden	W. Sinnott.
Piccadilly	H. Tame.
Regent-street and Pall-mall	W. Ridding.
St. George's, Hanover-sq.	H. Tame.
Paddington	C. Humphries.
Camden-town	Milton.
St. Pancras, S.W. Division	W. Stapleton.
Southampton estate	C. Starkey.
Skinner's ditto	H. North.
Brewer's ditto	C. Starkey.
Cromer ditto	Ditto.
Calthorpe ditto	Ditto.
Bedford ditto	Gore.
Doughty ditto	Martin.
Union ditto	J. Gore.
Foundling ditto	Pratt and Sewell.
Harrison ditto	Martin.
St. Ann's, Soho	J. Gore.
Whitechapel	Parsons.
Goswell-street	Redding.
Commercial-road, East	J. Sinnott.
Mile-end	Newman.
Borough	Hearne.
Bermondsey	The parish.
Kensington	H. Tame.
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields and St. George's, Bloomsbury	Redding.
Shadwell	Westley.
St. George's-in-the-East	Ditto.
Battle-bridge	Starkey.
Berkeley-square	Clutterbuck.
St. George's, Pimlico	Redding.
Woods and Forests	Ditto.
St. Botolph	Westley.
St. John's, Wapping	Ditto.
Somers-town	H. North.
Kentish-town	J. Gore.
Rolls (Liberty of the)	Pratt and Sewell.
Edward-square, Kensington	C. Humphries.

All the metropolitan parishes now pay the contractors various amounts for the removal of the dust, and I am credibly informed that there is a system of underletting and jobbing in the dust contracts extensively carried on. The contractor for a certain parish is often a different person from the master doing the work, and who is unknown in the contract. Occasionally the work would appear to be subdivided and underlet a second time.

The parish of St. Pancras is split into no less than 21 districts, each district having a separate and independent "Board," who are generally at war with each other, and make separate contracts for their several divisions. This is also the case in other large parishes, and these and other considerations confirm me in the conclusion that of large and small

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dust-contractors, job-masters, and middle-men, of one kind or the other, throughout the metropolis, there cannot be less than the number I have stated—90. With the exception of Bermondsey, there are no parishes who remove their own dust.

It is difficult to arrive at any absolute statement as to the gross amount paid by the different parishes for the removal of the entire dust of the metropolis. From Shadwell the contractor, as we have seen, receives 250*l.*; from the city the four contractors receive as much as 5000*l.*; but there are many small parishes in London which do not pay above a tithe of the last-mentioned sum. Let us, therefore, assume, that one with another, the several metropolitan parishes pay 200*l.* a year each to the dust contractor. According to the returns before given, there are 176 parishes in London. Hence, the gross amount paid for the removal of the entire dust of the metropolis will be between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* per annum.

The removal of the dust throughout the metropolis, is, therefore, carried on by a number of persons called Contractors, who undertake, as has been stated, for a certain sum, to cart away the refuse from the houses as frequently as the inhabitants desire it. To ascertain the precise numbers of these contractors is a task of much greater difficulty than might at first be conceived.

The London Post Office Directory gives the following number of tradesmen connected with the removal of refuse from the houses and streets of the metropolis.

Dustmen	9
Scavengers	10
Nightmen	14
Sweeps	32

But these numbers are obviously incomplete, for even a cursory passenger through London must have noticed a greater number of names upon the various dust carts to be met with in the streets than are here set down.

A dust-contractor, who has been in the business upwards of 20 years, stated that, from his knowledge of the trade, he should suppose that at present there might be about 80 or 90 contractors in the metropolis. Now, according to the returns before given, there are within the limits of the Metropolitan Police District 176 parishes, and comparing this with my informant's statement, that many persons contract for more than one parish (of which, indeed, he himself is an instance), there remains but little reason to doubt the correctness of his supposition—that there are, in all, between 80 or 90 dust-contractors, large and small, connected with the metropolis. Assuming the aggregate number to be 88, there would be one contractor to every two parishes.

These dust-contractors are likewise the contractors for the cleansing of the streets, except where that duty is performed by the Street-Orderlies; they are also the persons who undertake the emptying of the cesspools in their neighbourhood; the latter operation, however, is effected by an arrangement between themselves and the landlords of the premises, and forms no part of their parochial contracts. At the office of the Street Orderlies in Leicester Square, they have knowledge of only 30 contractors connected with the metropolis; but this is evidently defective, and refers to the "large masters" alone; leaving out of all consideration, as it does, the host of small contractors scattered up and down the metropolis, who are able to employ only two or three carts and six or seven men each; many of such small contractors being merely master sweeps who have managed to "get on a little in the world," and who are now able to contract, "in a small way," for the removal of dust, street-sweepings, and night-soil. Moreover, many of even the "great contractors" being unwilling to venture upon an outlay of capital for carts, horses, &c., when their contract is only for a year, and may pass at the end of that time into the hands of any one who may underbid them—many such, I repeat, are in the habit of underletting a portion of their contract to others possessing the necessary appliances, or of entering into partnership with them. The latter is the case in the parish of Shadwell, where a person having carts and horses shares the profits with the original contractor. The agreement made on such occasions is, of course, a secret, though the practice is by no means uncommon; indeed, there is so much secrecy maintained concerning all matters connected with this business, that the inquiry is beset with every possible difficulty. The gentleman who communicated to me the amount paid by the parish of Shadwell, and who informed me, moreover, that parishes in his neighbourhood paid twice and three times more than Shadwell did, hinted to me the difficulties I should experience at the commencement of my inquiry, and I have certainly found his opinion correct to the letter. I have ascertained that in one yard intimidation was resorted to, and the men were threatened with instant dismissal if they gave me any information but such as was calculated to mislead.

I soon discovered, indeed, that it was impossible to place any reliance on what the contractors said; and here I may repeat that the indisputable result of my inquiries has been to meet with far more deception and equivocation from employers generally than from the employed; working men have little or no motive for mis-stating their wages; they know well that the ordinary rates of remuneration for their labour are easily ascertainable from other members of the trade, and seldom or never object to produce accounts of their earnings, whenever they have been in the habit of keeping such things. With employers, however, the case is far different; to seek to ascertain from them the profits of their trade is to meet with evasion and prevarication at every turn; they seem to feel that their gains are dishonestly large, and hence resort to every means to prevent them being made public. That I have met with many honourable exceptions to this rule, I most cheerfully acknowledge; but that the *majority* of tradesmen are neither so frank, communicative, or truthful, as the men in their employ, the whole of my investigations go to prove. I have already, in the *Morning Chronicle*, recorded the character of my interviews with an eminent Jew slop-tailor, an

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army clothier, and an enterprising free-trade staymaker (a gentleman who subscribed his 100 guineas to the League), and I must in candour confess that now, after two years' experience, I have found the industrious poor a thousand-fold more veracious than the trading rich.

With respect to the amount of business done by these contractors, or gross quantity of dust collected by them in the course of the year, it would appear that each employs, on an average, about 20 men, which makes the number of men employed as dustmen through the streets of London amount to 1800. This, as has been previously stated, is grossly at variance with the number given in the Census of 1841, which computes the dustmen in the metropolis at only 254. But, as I said before, I have long ceased to place confidence in the government returns on such subjects. According to the above estimate of 254, and deducting from this number the 88 master-dustmen, there would be only 166 labouring men to empty the 300,000 dust-bins of London, and as these men always work in couples, it follows that every two dustmen would have to remove the refuse from about 3600 houses; so that assuming each bin to require emptying once every six weeks they would have to cart away the dust from 2400 houses every month, or 600 every week, which is at the rate of 100 a day! and as each dust-bin contains about half a load, it would follow that at this rate each cart would have to collect 50 loads of dust daily, whereas 5 loads is the average day's work.

Computing the London dust-contractors at 90, and the inhabited houses at 300,000, it follows that each contractor would have 3333 houses to remove the refuse from. Now it has been calculated that the ashes and cinders alone from each house average about three loads per annum, so that each contractor would have, in round numbers, 10,000 loads of dust to remove in the course of the year. I find, from inquiries, that every two dustmen carry to the yard about five loads a day, or about 1500 loads in the course of the year, so that at this rate, there must be between six and seven carts, and twelve and fourteen collectors employed by each master. But this is exclusive of the men employed in the yards. In one yard that I visited there were fourteen people busily employed. Six of these were women, who were occupied in sifting, and they were attended by three men who shovelled the dust into their sieves, and the foreman, who was hard at work loosening and dragging down the dust from the heap, ready for the "fillers-in." Besides these there were two carts and four men engaged in conveying the sifted dust to the barges alongside the wharf. At a larger dust-yard, that formerly stood on the banks of the Regent's-canal, I am informed that there were sometimes as many as 127 people at work. It is but a small yard, indeed, which has not 30 to 40 labourers connected with it. The lesser dust-yards have generally from four to eight sifters, and six or seven carts. There must, therefore, be employed in even a small yard twelve collectors or cartmen, six sifters, and three fillers-in, besides the foreman or forewoman, making altogether 22 persons; so that, computing the contractors at 90, and allowing 20 men to be employed by each, there would be 1800 men thus occupied in the metropolis, which appears to be very near the truth.

One who has been all his life connected with the business estimated that there must be about ten dustmen to each metropolitan parish, large and small. In Marylebone he believed there were eighteen dust-carts, with two men to each, out every day; in some small parishes, however, two men are sufficient. There would be more men employed, he said, but some masters contracted for two or three parishes, and so "kept the same men going," working them hard, and enlarging their regular rounds. Calculating, then, that ten men are employed to each of the 176 metropolitan parishes, we have 1760 dustmen in London. The suburban parishes, my informant told me, were as well "dustmaned" as any he knew; for the residents in such parts were more particular about their dust than in busier places.

It is curious to observe how closely the number of men engaged in the collection of the "dust" from the coals burnt in London agrees, according to the above estimate, with the number of men engaged in delivering the coals to be burnt. The coal-whippers, who "discharge the colliers," are about 1800, and the coal-porters, who carry the coals from the barges to the merchants' wagons, are about the same in number. The amount of residuum from coal after burning cannot, of course, be equal either in bulk or weight to the original substance; but considering that the collection of the dust is a much slower operation than the delivery of the coals, the difference is easily accounted for.

We may arrive, approximately, at the quantity of dust annually produced in London, in the following manner:—

The consumption of coal in London, per annum, is about 3,500,000 tons, exclusive of what is brought to the metropolis per rail. Coals are made up of the following component parts, viz. (1) the inorganic and fixed elements; that is to say, the ashes, or the bones, as it were, of the fossil trees, which cannot be burnt; (2) coke, or the residuary carbon, after being deprived of the volatile matter; (3) the volatile matter itself given off during combustion in the form of flame and smoke.

The relative proportions of these materials in the various kinds of coals are as follows.—

	Carbon, per cent.	Volatile, per cent.	Ashes, per cent.
Cannel or gas coals.	40 to 60	60 to 40	10
Newcastle or "house" coals.	57	37	5
Lancashire and Yorkshire coals.	50 to 60	35 to 40	4
South Welsh or "steam" coals.	81 to 85	11 to 15	3
Anthracite or "stone" coals.	80 to 95	None	a little.

In the metropolis the Newcastle coal is chiefly

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used, and this, we perceive, yields five per cent. ashes and about 57 per cent. carbon. But a considerable part of the carbon is converted into carbonic acid during combustion; if, therefore, we assume that two-thirds of the carbon are thus consumed, and that the remaining third remains behind in the form of cinder, we shall have about 25 per cent. of "dust" from every ton of coal. On inquiry of those who have had long experience in this matter, I find that a ton of coal may be fairly said on an average to yield about one-fourth its weight in dust; hence the gross amount of "dust" annually produced in London would be 900,000 tons, or about three tons per house per annum.

It is impossible to obtain any definite statistics on this part of the subject. Not one in every ten of the contractors keeps any account of the amount that comes into the "yard." An intelligent and communicative gentleman whom I consulted on this matter, could give me no information on this subject that was in any way satisfactory. I have, however, endeavoured to check the preceding estimate in the following manner. There are in London upwards of 300,000 inhabited houses, and each house furnishes a certain quota of dust to the general stock. I have ascertained that an average-sized house will produce, in the course of a year, about three cart-loads of dust, while each cart holds about 40 bushels (baskets),—what the dustmen call a chaldron. There are, of course, many houses in the metropolis which furnish three and four times this amount of dust, but against these may be placed the vast preponderance of small and poor houses in London and the suburbs, where there is not one quarter of the quantity produced, owing to the small amount of fuel consumed. Estimating, then, the average annual quantity of dust from each house at three loads, or chaldrons, and the houses at 300,000, it follows that the gross quantity collected throughout the metropolis will be about 900,000 chaldrons per annum.

The next part of the subject is—what becomes of this vast quantity of dust—to what use it is applied.

The dust thus collected is used for two purposes, (1) as a manure for land of a peculiar quality; and (2) for making bricks. The fine portion of the house-dust called "soil," and separated from the "brieze," or coarser portion, by sifting, is found to be peculiarly fitted for what is called breaking up a marshy heathy soil at its first cultivation, owing not only to the dry nature of the dust, but to its possessing in an eminent degree a highly separating quality, almost, if not quite, equal to sand. In former years the demand for this finer dust was very great, and barges were continually in the river waiting their turn to be loaded with it for some distant part of the country. At that time the contractors were unable to supply the demand, and easily got 1*l.* per chaldron for as much as they could furnish, and then, as I have stated, many ships were in the habit of bringing cargoes of it from the North, and of realizing a good profit on the transaction. Of late years, however—and particularly, I am told, since the repeal of the corn-laws—this branch of the business has dwindled to nothing. The contractors say that the farmers do not cultivate their land now as they used; it will not pay them, and instead, therefore, of bringing fresh land into tillage, and especially such as requires this sort of manure, they are laying down that which they previously had in cultivation, and turning it into pasture grounds. It is principally on this account, say the contractors, that we cannot sell the dust we collect so well or so readily as formerly. There are, however, some cargoes of the dust still taken, particularly to the lowlands in the neighbourhood of Barking, and such other places in the vicinity of the metropolis as are enabled to realize a greater profit, by growing for the London markets. Nevertheless, the contractors are obliged now to dispose of the dust at 2*s.* 6*d.* per chaldron, and sometimes less.

The finer dust is also used to mix with the clay for making bricks, and barge-loads are continually shipped off for this purpose. The fine ashes are added to the clay in the proportion of one-fifth ashes to four-fifths clay, or 60 chaldrons to 240 cubic yards, which is sufficient to make 100,000 bricks (where much sand is mixed with the clay a smaller proportion of ashes may be used). This quantity requires also the addition of about 15 chaldrons, or, if mild, of about 12 chaldrons of "brieze," to aid the burning. The ashes are made to mix with the clay by collecting it into a sort of reservoir fitted up for the purpose; water in great quantities is let in upon it, and it is then stirred till it resembles a fine thin paste, in which state the dust easily mingles with every part of it. In this condition it is left till the water either soaks into the earth, or goes off by evaporation, when the bricks are moulded in the usual manner, the dust forming a component part of them.

The ashes, or cindered matter, which are thus dispersed throughout the substance of the clay, become, in the process of burning, gradually ignited and consumed. But the "brieze" (from the French *briser*, to break or crush), that is to say, the coarser portion of the coal ash, is likewise used in the burning of the bricks. The small spaces left among the lowest courses of the bricks in the kiln, or "clamp," are filled with "brieze," and a thick layer of the same material is spread on the top of the kilns, when full. Frequently the "brieze" is mixed with small coals, and after having been burnt the ashes are collected, and then mixed with the clay to form new bricks. The highest price at present given for "brieze" is 3*s.* per ton.

The price of the dust used by the brickmakers has likewise been reduced; this the contractors account for by saying that there are fewer brick-fields than formerly near London, as they have been nearly all built over. They assert, that while the amount of dust and cinders has increased proportionately to the increase of the houses, the demand for the article has decreased in a like ratio; and that, moreover, the greater portion

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of the bricks now used in London for the new buildings come from other quarters. Such dust, however, as the contractors sell to the brick-makers, they in general undertake, for a certain sum, to cart to the brick-fields, though it often happens that the brick-makers' carts coming into town with their loads of bricks to new buildings, call on their return at the dust-yards, and carry thence a load of dust or cinders back, and so save the price of cartage.

But during the operation of sifting the dust, many things are found which are useless for either manure or brick-making, such as oyster shells, old bricks, old boots and shoes, old tin kettles, old rags and bones, &c. These are used for various purposes.

The bricks, &c., are sold for sinking beneath foundations, where a thick layer of concrete is spread over them. Many old bricks, too, are used in making new roads, especially where the land is low and marshy. The old tin is sold to trunk-makers to form the japanned fastenings for the corners of their boxes, as well as to other persons, who re-manufacture it into a variety of articles. The old shoes are sold to the London shoemakers, who use them as stuffing between the in-sole and the outer one; but by far the greater quantity is sold to the manufacturers of Prussian blue, that substance being formed out of refuse animal matter. The rags and bones are of course disposed of at the usual places—the marine-store shops.

A dust-heap, therefore, may be briefly said to be composed of the following things, which are severally applied to the following uses:—

1. "Soil," or fine dust, sold to brickmakers for making bricks, and to farmers for manure, especially for clover.

2. "Brieze," or cinders, sold to brickmakers, for burning bricks.

3. Rags, bones, and old metal, sold to marine-store dealers.

4. Old tin and iron vessels, sold to trunk-makers, for "clamps," &c.

5. Old bricks and oyster shells, sold to builders, for sinking foundations, and forming roads.

6. Old boots and shoes, sold to Prussian-blue manufacturers.

7. Money and jewellery, kept, or sold to Jews.

The dust-yards, or places where the dust is collected and sifted, are generally situated in the suburbs, and they may be found all round London, sometimes occupying open spaces adjoining back streets and lanes, and surrounded by the low mean houses of the poor; frequently, however, they cover a large extent of ground in the fields, and there the dust is piled up to a great height in a conical heap, and having much the appearance of a volcanic mountain. The reason why the dust-heaps are confined principally to the suburbs is, that more space is to be found in the outskirts than in a thickly-peopled and central locality. Moreover, the fear of indictments for nuisance has had considerable influence in the matter, for it was not unusual for the yards in former times, to be located within the boundaries of the city. They are now, however, scattered round London, and always placed as near as possible to the river, or to some canal communicating therewith. In St. George's, Shadwell, Ratcliffe, Limehouse, Poplar, and Blackwall, on the north side of the Thames, and in Redriffe, Bermondsey, and Rotherhithe, on the south, they are to be found near the Thames. The object of this is, that by far the greater quantity of the soil or ashes is conveyed in sailing-barges, holding from 70 to 100 tons each, to Feversham, Sittingbourne, and other places in Kent, which are the great brick-making manufactories for London. These barges come up invariably loaded with bricks, and take home in return a cargo of soil. Other dust-yards are situated contiguous to the Regent's and the Surrey canal; and for the same reason as above stated—for the convenience of water carriage. Moreover, adjoining the Limehouse cut, which is a branch of the Lea River, other dust-yards may be found; and again travelling to the opposite end of the metropolis, we discover them not only at Paddington on the banks of the canal, but at Maiden-lane in a similar position. Some time since there was an immense dust-heap in the neighbourhood of Gray's-inn-lane, which sold for 20,000*l.*; but that was in the days when 15*s.* and 1*l.* per chaldron could easily be procured for the dust. According to the present rate, not a tithe of that amount could have been realized upon it.

A visit to any of the large metropolitan dust-yards is far from uninteresting. Near the centre of the yard rises the highest heap, composed of what is called the "soil," or finer portion of the dust used for manure. Around this heap are numerous lesser heaps, consisting of the mixed dust and rubbish carted in and shot down previous to sifting. Among these heaps are many women and old men with sieves made of iron, all busily engaged in separating the "brieze" from the "soil." There is likewise another large heap in some other part of the yard, composed of the cinders or "brieze" waiting to be shipped off to the brickfields. The whole yard seems alive, some sifting and others shovelling the sifted soil on to the heap, while every now and then the dust-carts return to discharge their loads, and proceed again on their rounds for a fresh supply. Cocks and hens keep up a continual scratching and cackling among the heaps, and numerous pigs seem to find great delight in rooting incessantly about after the garbage and offal collected from the houses and markets.

In a dust-yard lately visited the sifters formed a curious sight; they were almost up to their middle in dust, ranged in a semicircle in front of that part of the heap which was being "worked;" each had before her a small mound of soil which had fallen through her sieve and formed a sort of embankment, behind which she stood. The appearance of the entire group at their work was most peculiar. Their coarse dirty cotton gowns were tucked up behind them, their arms were bared above their elbows, their black bonnets crushed and battered like

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those of fish-women; over their gowns they wore a strong leathern apron, extending from their necks to the extremities of their petticoats, while over this, again, was another leathern apron, shorter, thickly padded, and fastened by a stout string or strap round the waist. In the process of their work they pushed the sieve from them and drew it back again with apparent violence, striking it against the outer leathern apron with such force that it produced each time a hollow sound, like a blow on the tenor drum. All the women present were middle aged, with the exception of one who was very old—68 years of age she told me—and had been at the business from a girl. She was the daughter of a dustman, the wife, or woman of a dustman, and the mother of several young dustmen—sons and grandsons—all at work at the dust-yards at the east end of the metropolis.

We now come to speak of the labourers engaged in collecting, sifting, or shipping off the dust of the metropolis.

The dustmen, scavengers, and nightmen are, to a certain extent, the same people. The contractors generally agree with the various parishes to remove both the dust from the houses and the mud from the streets, and the men in their employ being indiscriminately engaged in these two diverse occupations, collecting the dust to-day, and often cleansing the streets on the morrow, are designated either dustmen or scavengers, according to their particular avocation at the moment. The case is somewhat different, however, with respect to the nightmen. There is no such thing as a contract with the parish for removing the nightsoil. This is done by private agreement with the landlord of the premises whence the soil has to be removed. When a cesspool requires emptying, the occupying tenant communicates with the landlord, who makes an arrangement with a dust-contractor or sweep-nightman for this purpose. This operation is totally distinct from the regular or daily labour of the dust contractors' men, who receive extra pay for it; sometimes one set go out at night and sometimes another, according either to the selection of the master or the inclination of the men. There are, however, some dustmen who have never been at work as nightmen, and could not be induced to do so, from an invincible antipathy to the employment; still, such instances are few, for the men generally go whenever they can, and occasionally engage in nightwork for employers unconnected with their masters. It is calculated that there are some hundreds of men employed nightly in the removal of the nightsoil of the metropolis during the summer and autumn, and as these men have often to work at dust-collecting or cleansing the streets on the following day, it is evident that the same persons cannot be thus employed every night; accordingly the ordinary practice is for the dustmen to "take it in turns," thus allowing each set to be employed every third night, and to have two nights' rest in the interim.

The men, therefore, who collect the dust on one day may be cleaning the streets on the next, especially during wet weather, and engaged at night, perhaps, twice during the week, in removing nightsoil; so that it is difficult to arrive at any precise notion as to the number of persons engaged in any one of these branches *per se*.

But these labourers not only work indiscriminately at the collection of dust, the cleansing of the streets, or the removal of nightsoil, but they are employed almost as indiscriminately at the various branches of the dust business; with this qualification, however, that few men apply themselves continuously to any one branch of the business. The labourers employed in a dust-yard may be divided into two classes: those paid by the contractor; and those paid by the foreman or forewoman of the dust-heap, commonly called hill-man or hill-woman.

They are as follows:—

I. LABOURERS PAID BY THE CONTRACTORS, OR,
1. *Yard foreman*, or superintendent. This duty is often performed by the master, especially in small contracts.
2. *Carters* or *dust-collectors*. These are called "fillers" and "carriers," from the practice of one of the men who go out with the cart filling the basket, and the other carrying it on his shoulder to the vehicle.
3. Loaders of carts in the dust-yard for shipment.
4. Carriers of cinders to the cinder-heap, or bricks to the brick-heap.
5. Foreman or forewoman of the heap.

II. LABOURERS PAID BY THE HILL-MAN OR HILL-WOMAN.
1. *Sifters*, who are generally women, and mostly the wives or concubines of the dustmen, but sometimes the wives of badly-paid labourers.
2. *Fillers-in*, or shovellers of dust into the sieves of the sifters (one man being allowed to every two or three women).
3. *Carriers* of bones, rags, metal, and other perquisites to the various heaps; these are mostly children of the dustmen.

A medium-sized dust-yard will employ about twelve collectors, three fillers-in, six sifters, and one foreman or forewoman; while a large yard will afford work to about 150 people.

There are four different modes of payment prevalent among the several labourers employed at the metropolitan dust-yards:—(1) by the day; (2) by the piece or load; (3) by the lump; (4) by perquisites.

1st. The foreman of the yard, where the master does not perform this duty himself, is generally one of the regular dustmen picked out by the master, for this purpose. He is paid, the sum of 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, or 15*s.* per week. In large yards there are sometimes two and even three yard-foremen at the same rate of wages. Their duty is merely to superintend the work. They do not labour themselves, and their exemption in this respect is considered, and indeed looked on by themselves, as a sort of premium for good services.

2nd. The carters or collectors are generally

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THE LONDON SWEEP.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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paid 9*d.* per load for every load they bring into the yard. This is, of course, piece work, for the more hours the men work the more loads will they be enabled to bring, and the more pay will they receive. There are some yards where the carters get only 6*d.* per load, as, for instance, at Paddington. The Paddington men, however, are not considered inferior workmen to the rest of their fellows, but merely to be worse paid. In 1826, or 25 years ago, the carters had 1*s.* 6*d.* per load; but at that time the contractors were able to get 1*l.* per chaldron for the soil and "brieze" or cinders; then it began to fall in value, and according to the decrease in the price of these commodities, so have the wages of the dust-collectors been reduced. It will be at once seen that the reduction in the wages of the dustmen bears no proportion to the reduction in the price of soil and cinders, but it must be borne in mind that whereas the contractors formerly paid large sums for liberty to collect the dust, they now are paid large sums to remove it. This in some measure helps to account for the apparent disproportion, and tends, perhaps, to equalize the matter. The carters, therefore, have 4½*d.* each, per load when best paid. They consider from four to six loads a good day's work, for where the contract is large, extending over several parishes, they often have to travel a long way for a load. It thus happens that while the men employed by the Whitechapel contractor can, when doing their utmost, manage to bring only four loads a day to the yard, which is situated in a place called the "ruins" in Lower Shadwell, the men employed by the Shadwell contractor can easily get eight or nine loads in a day. Five loads are about an average day's work, and this gives them 1*s.* 10½*d.* per day each, or 11*s.* 3*d.* per week. In addition to this, the men have their perquisites "in aid of wages." The collectors are in the habit of getting beer or money in lieu thereof, at nearly all the houses from which they remove the dust, the public being thus in a manner compelled to make up the rate of wages, which should be paid by the employer, so that what is given to benefit the men really goes to the master, who invariably reduces the wages to the precise amount of the perquisites obtained. This is the main evil of the "perquisite system of payment" (a system of which the mode of paying waiters may be taken as the special type). As an instance of the injurious effects of this mode of payment in connection with the London dustmen, the collectors are forced, as it were, to extort from the public that portion of their fair earnings of which their master deprives them; hence, how can we wonder they make it a rule when they receive neither beer nor money from a house to make as great a mess as possible the next time they come, scattering the dust and cinders about in such a manner, that, sooner than have any trouble with them, people mostly give them what they look for? One of the most intelligent men with whom I have spoken, gave me the following account of his perquisites for the last week, viz.: Monday, 5½*d.*; Tuesday, 6*d.*; Wednesday, 4½*d.*; Thursday, 7*d.*; Friday, 5½*d.*; and Saturday, 5*d.* This he received in money, and was independent of beer. He had on the same week drawn five loads each day, to the yard, which made his gross earnings for the week, wages and perquisites together, to be 14*s.* 0½*d.* which he considers to be a fair average of his weekly earnings as connected with dust.

3rd. The loaders of the carts for shipment are the same persons as those who collect the dust, but thus employed for the time being. The pay for this work is by the "piece" also, 2*d.* per chaldron between four persons being the usual rate, or ½*d.* per man. The men engaged at this work have no perquisites. The barges into which they shoot the soil or "brieze," as the case may be, hold from 50 to 70 chaldrons, and they consider the loading of one of these barges a good day's work. The average cargo is about 60 chaldrons, which gives them 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, or somewhat more than their average earnings when collecting.

4th. The carriers of cinders to the cinder heap. I have mentioned that, ranged round the sifters in the dust-yard, are a number of baskets, into which are put the various things found among the dust, some of these being the property of the master, and others the perquisites of the hill man or woman, as the case may be. The cinders and old bricks are the property of the master, and to remove them to their proper heaps boys are employed by him at 1*s.* per day. These boys are almost universally the children of dustmen and sifters at work in the yard, and thus not only help to increase the earnings of the family, but qualify themselves to become the dustmen of a future day.

5th. The hill-man or hill-woman. The hill-man enters into an agreement with the contractor to sift *all* the dust in the yard throughout the year at so much per load and perquisites. The usual sum per load is 6*d.*, nor have I been able to ascertain that any of these people undertake to do it at a less price. Such is the amount paid by the contractor for Whitechapel. The perquisites of the hill-man or hill-woman, are rags, bones, pieces of old metal, old tin or iron vessels, old boots and shoes, and one-half of the money, jewellery, or other valuables that may be found by the sifters.

The hill-man or hill-woman employs the following persons, and pays them at the following rates.

1st. The sifters are paid 1*s.* per day when employed, but the employment is not constant. The work cannot be pursued in wet weather, and the services of the sifters are required only when a large heap has accumulated, as they can sift much faster than the dust can be collected. The employment is therefore precarious; the payment has not, for the last 30 years at least, been more than 1*s.* per day, but the perquisites were greater. They formerly were allowed one-half of whatever was found; of late years, however, the hill-man has gradually reduced the perquisites "first one thing and then another," until the only one they have now remaining is half of whatever money or other valuable article may be found in the process of sifting. These valuables the sifters often pocket, if able to do so unperceived, but if discovered in the attempt, they are immediately discharged.

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2nd. "The fillers-in," or shovellers of dust into the sieves of sifters, are in general any poor fellows who may be straggling about in search of employment. They are sometimes, however, the grown-up boys of dustmen, not yet permanently engaged by the contractor. These are paid 2*s.* per day for their labour, but they are considered more as casualty men, though it often happens, if "hands" are wanted, that they are regularly engaged by the contractors, and become regular dustmen for the remainder of their lives.

3rd. The little fellows, the children of the dustmen, who follow their mothers to the yard, and help them to pick rags, bones, &c., out of the sieve and put them into the baskets, as soon as they are able to carry a basket between two of them to the separate heaps, are paid 3*d.* or 4*d.* per day for this work by the hill-man.

The wages of the dustmen have been increased within the last seven years from 6*d.* per load to 8*d.* among the large contractors—the "small masters," however, still continue to pay 6*d.* per load. This increase in the rate of remuneration was owing to the men complaining to the commissioners that they were not able to live upon what they earned at 6*d.*; an enquiry was made into the truth of the men's assertion, and the result was that the commisioners decided upon letting the contracts to such parties only as would undertake to pay a fair price to their workmen. The contractors, accordingly, increased the remuneration of the labourers; since that principal masters have paid 8*d.* per load to the collectors. It is right I should add, that I could not hear—though I made special enquiries on the subject—that the wages had been in any one instance reduced since Free-trade has come into operation.

The usual hours of labour vary according to the mode of payment. The "collectors," or men out with the cart, being paid by the load, work as long as the light lasts; the "fillers-in" and sifters, on the other hand, being paid by the day, work the ordinary hours, viz., from six to six, with the regular intervals for meals.

The summer is the worst time for all hands, for then the dust decreases in quantity; the collectors, however, make up for the "slackness" at this period by nightwork, and, being paid by the "piece" or load at the dust business, are not discharged when their employment is less brisk.

It has been shown that the dustmen who perambulate the streets usually collect five loads in a day; this, at 9*d.* per load, leaves them about 1*s.* 10½*d.* each, and so makes their weekly earnings amount to about 11*s.* 3*d.* per week. Moreover, there are the "perquisites" from the houses whence they remove the dust; and further, the dust-collectors are frequently employed at the night-work, which is always a distinct matter from the dust-collecting, &c., and paid for independent of their regular weekly wages, so that, from all I can gather, the average wages of the men appear to be nearer 1*l.* a week than 15*s.* Some admitted to me, that in busy times they often earned 25*s.* a week.

Then, again, dustwork, as with the weaving of silk, is a kind of family work. The husband, wife, and children (unfortunately) all work at it. The consequence is, that the earnings of the whole have to be added together in order to arrive at a notion of the aggregate gains.

The following may therefore be taken as a fair average of the earnings of a dustman and his family *when in full employment.* The elder boys when able to earn 1*s.* a day set up for themselves, and do not allow their wages to go into the common purse.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Man, 5 loads per day, or 30 loads per week, at 4½*d.* per load	0	11	3			
Perquisites, or beer money	0	2	9½			
Night-work for 2 nights a week	0	5	0			
				0	19	0½
Woman, or sifter, per week, at 1*s.* per day	0	6	0			
Perquisites, say 3*d.* a day	0	1	6			
				0	7	6
Child, 3*d.* per day, carrying rags, bones, &c.				0	1	6
Total				1	8	0½

These are the earnings, it should be borne in mind, of a family in full employment. Perhaps it may be fairly said that the earnings of the single men are, on an average, 15*s.* a week, and 1*l.* for the family men all the year round.

Now, when we remember that the wages of many agricultural labourers are but 8*s.* a week, and the earnings of many needlewomen not 6*d.* a day, it must be confessed that the remuneration of the dustmen, and even of the dustwomen, is comparatively high. This certainly is not due to what Adam Smith, in his chapter on the Difference of Wages, terms the "disagreeableness of the employment." "The wages of labour," he says, "vary with the ease or hardship, the cleanliness or dirtiness, the honourableness or dishonourableness, of the employment." Nevertheless it will be seen—when we come to treat of the nightmen—that the most offensive, and perhaps the least honourable, of all trades, is far from ranking among the best paid, as it should, if the above principle held good. That the disagreeableness of the occupation may in a measure tend to decrease the competition among the labourers, there cannot be the least doubt, but that it will consequently induce, as political economy would have us believe, a larger amount of wages to accrue to each of the labourers, is certainly another of the many assertions of that science which must be pronounced "not proven." For the dustmen are paid, if anything, less, and certainly not more, than the usual rate of payment to the London labourers; and if the earnings rank high, as times go, it is because all the members of the family, from the very earliest age, are able to work at the business, and so add to the general gains.

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The dustmen are, generally speaking, an hereditary race; when children they are reared in the dust-yard, and are habituated to the work gradually as they grow up, after which, almost as a natural consequence, they follow the business for the remainder of their lives. These may be said to be born-and-bred dustmen. The numbers of the regular men are, however, from time to time recruited from the ranks of the many ill-paid labourers with which London abounds. When hands are wanted for any special occasion an employer has only to go to any of the dock-gates, to find at all times hundreds of starving wretches anxiously watching for the chance of getting something to do, even at the rate of 4*d.* per hour. As the operation of emptying a dust-bin requires only the ability to handle a shovel, which every labouring man can manage, all workmen, however unskilled, can at once engage in the occupation; and it often happens that the men thus casually employed remain at the calling for the remainder of their lives. There are no houses of call whence the men are taken on when wanting work. There are certainly public-houses, which are denominated houses of call, in the neighbourhood of every dust-yard, but these are merely the drinking shops of the men, whither they resort of an evening after the labour of the day is accomplished, and whence they are furnished in the course of the afternoon with beer; but such houses cannot be said to constitute the dustman's "labour-market," as in the tailoring and other trades, they being never resorted to as hiring-places, but rather used by the men only when hired. If a master have not enough "hands" he usually inquires among his men, who mostly know some who—owing, perhaps, to the failure of their previous master in getting his usual contract—are only casually employed at other places. Such men are immediately engaged in preference to others; but if these cannot be found, the contractors at once have recourse to the system already stated.

The manner in which the dust is collected is very simple. The "filler" and the "carrier" perambulate the streets with a heavily-built high box cart coated with a thick crust of filth, and drawn by a clumsy-looking horse. These men used, before the passing of the late Street Act, to ring a dull-sounding bell so as to give notice to housekeepers of their approach, but now they merely cry, in a hoarse unmusical voice, "Dust oy-eh!" Two men accompany the cart, which is furnished with a short ladder and two shovels and baskets. These baskets one of the men fills from the dust-bin, and then helps them alternately, as fast as they are filled, upon the shoulder of the other man, who carries them one by one to the cart, which is placed immediately alongside the pavement in front of the house where they are at work. The carrier mounts up the side of the cart by means of the ladder, discharges into it the contents of the basket on his shoulder, and then returns below for the other basket which his mate has filled for him in the interim. This process is pursued till all is cleared away, and repeated at different houses till the cart is fully loaded; then the men make the best of their way to the dust-yard, where they shoot the contents of the cart on to the heap, and again proceed on their regular rounds.

The dustmen, in their appearance, very much resemble the waggoners of the coal-merchants. They generally wear knee-breeches, with ancle boots or gaiters, short dirty smockfrocks or coarse gray jackets, and fantail hats. In one particular, however, they are at first sight distinguishable from the coal-merchants' men, for the latter are invariably black from coal dust, while the dustmen, on the contrary, are gray with ashes.

In their personal appearance the dustmen are mostly tall stalwart fellows; there is nothing sickly-looking about them, and yet a considerable part of their time is passed in the yards and in the midst of effluvia most offensive, and, if we believe "zymotic theorists," as unhealthy to those unaccustomed to them; nevertheless, the children, who may be said to be reared in the yard and to have inhaled the stench of the dust-heap with their first breath, are healthy and strong. It is said, moreover, that during the plague in London the dustmen were the persons who carted away the dead, and it remains a tradition among the class to the present day, that not one of them died of the plague, even during its greatest ravages. In Paris, too, it is well known, that, during the cholera of 1849, the quarter of Belleville, where the night-soil and refuse of the city is deposited, escaped the freest from the pestilence; and in London the dustmen boast that, during both the recent visitations of the cholera, they were altogether exempt from the disease. "Look at that fellow, sir!" said one of the dust-contractors to me, pointing to his son, who was a stout red-cheeked young man of about twenty. "Do you see anything ailing about him? Well, he has been in the yard since he was born. There stands my house just at the gate, so you see he hadn't far to travel, and when quite a child he used to play and root away here among the dust all his time. I don't think he ever had a day's illness in his life. The people about the yard are all used to the smell and don't complain about it. It's all stuff and nonsense, all this talk about dust-yards being unhealthy. I've never done anything else all my days and I don't think I look very ill. I shouldn't wonder now but what I'd be set down as being fresh from the sea-side by those very fellows that write all this trash about a matter that they don't know just *that* about;" and he snapped his fingers contemptuously in the air, and, thrusting both hands into his breeches pockets, strutted about, apparently satisfied that he had the best of the argument. He was, in fact, a stout, jolly, red-faced man. Indeed, the dustmen, as a class, appear to be healthy, strong men, and extraordinary instances of longevity are common among them. I heard of one dustman who lived to be 115 years; another, named Wood, died at 100; and the well-known Richard Tyrrell died only a short time back at the advanced age of 97. The misfortune is, that we have no large series of facts on this subject, so that the longevity and

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health of the dustmen might be compared with those of other classes.

In almost all their habits the Dustmen are similar to the Costermongers, with the exception that they seem to want their cunning and natural quickness, and that they have little or no predilection for gaming. Costermongers, however, are essentially traders, and all trade is a species of gambling—the risking of a certain sum of money to obtain more; hence spring, perhaps, the gambling propensities of all low traders, such as costers, and Jew clothes-men; and hence, too, that natural sharpness which characterizes the same classes. The dustmen, on the contrary, have regular employment and something like regular wages, and therefore rest content with what they can earn in their usual way of business.

Very few of them understand cards, and I could not learn that they ever play at "pitch and toss." I remarked, however, a number of parallel lines such as are used for playing "shove halfpenny," on a deal table in the tap-room frequented by them. The great amusement of their evenings seems to be, to smoke as many pipes of tobacco and drink as many pots of beer as possible.

I believe it will be found that all persons in the habit of driving horses, such as cabmen, 'busmen, stage-coach drivers, &c., are peculiarly partial to intoxicating drinks. The cause of this I leave others to determine, merely observing that there would seem to be two reasons for it: the first is, their frequent stopping at public-houses to water or change their horses, so that the idea of drinking is repeatedly suggested to their minds even if the practice be not *expected* of them; while the second reason is, that being out continually in the wet, they resort to stimulating liquors as a preventive to "colds" until at length a habit of drinking is formed. Moreover, from the mere fact of passing continually through the air, they are enabled to drink a greater quantity with comparative impunity. Be the cause, however, what it may, the dustmen spend a large proportion of their earnings in drink. There is always some public-house in the neighbourhood of the dust-yard, where they obtain credit from one week to another, and here they may be found every night from the moment their work is done, drinking, and smoking their long pipes—their principal amusement consisting in "chaffing" each other. This "chaffing" consists of a species of scurrilous jokes supposed to be given and taken in good part, and the noise and uproar occasioned thereby increases as the night advances, and as the men get heated with liquor. Sometimes the joking ends in a general quarrel; the next morning, however, they are all as good friends as ever, and mutually agree in laying the blame on the "cussed drink."

One-half, at least, of the dustmen's earnings, is, I am assured, expended in drink, both man and woman assisting in squandering their money in this way. They usually live in rooms for which they pay from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per week rent, three or four dust-men and their wives frequently lodging in the same house. These rooms are cheerless-looking, and almost unfurnished—and are always situate in some low street or lane not far from the dust-yard. The men have rarely any clothes but those in which they work. For their breakfast the dustmen on their rounds mostly go to some cheap coffee-house, where they get a pint or half-pint of coffee, taking their bread with them as a matter of economy. Their midday meal is taken in the public-house, and is almost always bread and cheese and beer, or else a saveloy or a piece of fat pork or bacon, and at night they mostly "wind up" by deep potations at their favourite house of call.

There are many dustmen now advanced in years born and reared at the East-end of London, who have never in the whole course of their lives been as far west as Temple-bar, who know nothing whatever of the affairs of the country, and who have never attended a place of worship. As an instance of the extreme ignorance of these people, I may mention that I was furnished by one of the contractors with the address of a dustman whom his master considered to be one of the most intelligent men in his employ. Being desirous of hearing his statement from his own lips I sent for the man, and after some conversation with him was proceeding to note down what he said, when the moment I opened my note-book and took the pencil in my hand, he started up, exclaiming,—"No, no! I'll have none of that there work—I'm not such a b—— fool as you takes me to be—I doesn't understand it, I tells you, and I'll not have it, now that's plain;" —and so saying he ran out of the room, and descended the entire flight of stairs in two jumps. I followed him to explain, but unfortunately the pencil was still in one hand and the book in the other, and immediately I made my appearance at the door he took to his heels, again with three others who seemed to be waiting for him there. One of the most difficult points in my labours is to make such men as these comprehend the object or use of my investigations.

Among 20 men whom I met in one yard, there were only five who could read, and only two out of that five could write, even imperfectly. These two are looked up to by their companions as prodigies of learning and are listened to as oracles, on all occasions, being believed to understand every subject thoroughly. It need hardly be added, however, that their acquirements are of the most meagre character.

The dustmen are very partial to a song, and always prefer one of the doggrel street ballads, with what they call a "jolly chorus" in which, during their festivities, they all join with stentorian voices. At the conclusion there is usually a loud stamping of feet and rattling of quart pots on the table, expressive of their approbation.

The dustmen never frequent the twopenny hops, but sometimes make up a party for the "theaytre." They generally go in a body with their wives, if married, and their "gals," if single. They are always to be found in the gallery, and greatly enjoy the melodramas performed at the second-class minor theatres, especially if there be plenty of murdering scenes in them. The Garrick, previous to its being burnt, was a favourite

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resort of the East-end dustmen. Since that period they have patronized the Pavilion and the City of London.

The politics of the dustmen are on a par with their literary attainments—they cannot be said to have any. I cannot say that they are Chartists, for they have no very clear knowledge of what "the charter" requires. They certainly have a confused notion that it is something against the Government, and that the enactment of it would make them all right; but as to the nature of the benefits which it would confer upon them, or in what manner it would be likely to operate upon their interest, they have not, as a body, the slightest idea. They have a deep-rooted antipathy to the police, the magistrates, and all connected with the administration of justice, looking upon them as their natural enemies. They associate with none but themselves; and in the public-houses where they resort there is a room set apart for the special use of the "dusties," as they are called, where no others are allowed to intrude, except introduced by one of themselves, or at the special desire of the majority of the party, and on such occasions the stranger is treated with great respect and consideration.

As to the morals of these people, it may easily be supposed that they are not of an over-street character. One of the contractors said to me, "I 'd just trust one of them as far as I could fling a bull by the tail; *but then*," he added, with a callousness that proved the laxity of discipline among the men was due more to his neglect of his duty to them than from any special perversity on their parts, *"that's none of my business; they do my work, and that's all I want with them, and all I care about.* You see they 're not like other people, they 're reared to it. Their fathers before them were dustmen, and when lads they go into the yard as sifters, and when they grow up they take to the shovel, and go out with the carts. They learn all they know in the dust-yards, and you may judge from that what their learning is likely to be. If they find anything among the dust you may be sure that neither you nor I will ever hear anything about it; ignorant as they are, they know a little too much for that. They know, as well as here and there one, where the dolly-shop is; *but, as I said before, that's none of my business. Let every one look out for themselves, as I do, and then they need not care for any one."* [With such masters professing such principles—though it should be stated that the sentiments expressed on this occasion are but similar to what I hear from the lower class of traders every day—how can it be expected that these poor fellows can be above the level of the mere beasts of burden that they use.] "As to their women," continued the master, "I don't trouble my head about such things. I believe the dustmen are as good to them as other men; and I 'm sure their wives would be as good as other women, if they only had the chance of the best. But you see they 're all such fellows for drink that they spend most of their money that way, and then starve the poor women, and knock them about at a shocking rate, so that they have the life of dogs, or worse. I don't wonder at anything they do. Yes, they 're all married, as far as I know; that is, they live together as man and wife, though they 're not very particular, certainly, about the ceremony. The fact is, a regular dustman don't understand much about such matters, and, I believe, don't care much, either."

From all I could learn on this subject, it would appear that, for one dustman that is married, 20 live with women, but remain constant to them; indeed, both men and women abide faithfully by each other, and for this reason—the woman earns nearly half as much as the man. If the men and women were careful and prudent, they might, I am assured, live well and comfortable; but by far the greater portion of the earnings of both go to the publican, for I am informed, on competent authority, that a dustman will not think of sitting down for a spree without his woman. The children, as soon as they are able to go into the yard, help their mothers in picking out the rags, bones, &c., from the sieve, and in putting them in the basket. They are never sent to school, and as soon as they are sufficiently strong are mostly employed in some capacity or other by the contractor, and in due time become dustmen themselves. Some of the children, in the neighbourhood of the river, are mud-larks, and others are bone-grubbers and rag-gatherers, on a small scale; neglected and thrown on their own resources at an early age, without any but the most depraved to guide them, it is no wonder to find that many of them turn thieves. To this state of the case there are, however, some few exceptions.

Some of the dustmen are prudent well-behaved men and have decent homes; many of this class have been agricultural labourers, who by distress, or from some other cause, have found their way to London. This was the case with one whom I talked with: he had been a labourer in Essex, employed by a farmer named Izzod, whom he spoke of as being a kind good man. Mr. Izzod had a large farm on the Earl of Mornington's estate, and after he had sunk his capital in the improvement of the land, and was about to reap the fruits of his labour and his money, the farmer was ejected at a moment's notice, beggared and broken-hearted. This occurred near Roydon, in Essex. The labourer, finding it difficult to obtain work in the country, came to London, and, discovering a cousin of his engaged in a dust-yard, got employed through him at the same place, where he remains to the present day. This man was well clothed, he had good strong lace boots, gray worsted stockings, a stout pair of corduroy breeches, a short smockfrock and fantail. He has kept himself aloof, I am told, from the drunkenness and dissipation of the dustmen. He says that many of the new hands that get to dustwork are mechanics or people who have been "better off," and that these get thinking about what they have been, till to drown their care they take to drinking, and

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often become, in the course of a year or so, worse than the "old hands" who have been reared to the business and have "nothing at all to think about."

Among the dustmen there is no "Society" nor "Benefit Club," specially devoted to the class—no provident institution whence they can obtain "relief" in the event of sickness or accident. The consequence is that, when ill or injured, they are obliged to obtain letters of admission to some of the hospitals, and there remain till cured. In cases of total incapacity for labour, their invariable refuge is the workhouse; indeed they look forward (whenever they foresee at all) to this asylum as their resting-place in old age, with the greatest equanimity, and talk of it as "the house" par excellence, or as "the big house," "the great house," or "the old house." There are, however, scattered about in every part of London numerous benefit clubs made up of working-men of every description, such as Old Friends, Odd Fellows, Foresters, and Birmingham societies, and with some one or other of these the better class of dustmen are connected. The general rule, however, is, that the men engaged in this trade belong to no benefit club whatever, and that in the season of their adversity they are utterly unprovided for, and consequently become burdens to the parishes wherein they happen to reside.

I visited a large dust-yard at the east end of London, for the purpose of getting a statement from one of the men. My informant was, at the time of my visit, shovelling the sifted soil from one of the lesser heaps, and, by a great effort of strength and activity, pitching each shovel-full to the top of a lofty mound, somewhat resembling a pyramid. Opposite to him stood a little woman, stoutly made, and with her arms bare above the elbow; she was his partner in the work, and was pitching shovel-full for shovel-full with him to the summit of the heap. She wore an old soiled cotton gown, open in front, and tucked up behind in the fashion of the last century. She had clouts of old rags tied round her ancles to prevent the dust from getting into her shoes, a sort of coarse towel fastened in front for an apron, and a red handkerchief bound tightly round her head. In this trim she worked away, and not only kept pace with the man, but often threw two shovels for his one, although he was a tall, powerful fellow. She smiled when she saw me noticing her, and seemed to continue her work with greater assiduity. I learned that she was deaf, and spoke so indistinctly that no stranger could understand her. She had also a defect in her sight, which latter circumstance had compelled her to abandon the sifting, as she could not well distinguish the various articles found in the dust-heap. The poor creature had therefore taken to the shovel, and now works with it every day, doing the labour of the strongest men.

From the man above referred to I obtained the following statement:—"Father vos a dustie;—vos at it all his life, and grandfather afore him for I can't tell how long. Father vos allus a rum 'un;—sich a beggar for lush. Vhy I'm blowed if he vouldn't lush as much as half-a-dozen on 'em can lush now; somehow the dusties hasn't got the stuff in 'em as they used to have. A few year ago the fellers 'u'd think nothink o' lushin avay for five or six days without niver going anigh their home. I niver vos at a school in all my life; I don't know what it's good for. It may be wery well for the likes o' you, but I doesn't know it 'u'd do a dustie any good. You see, ven I'm not out with the cart, I digs here all day; and p'raps I'm up all night, and digs avay agen the next day. Vot does I care for reading, or anythink of that there kind, ven I gets home arter my vork? I tell you vot I likes, though! vhy, I jist likes two or three pipes o' baccer, and a pot or two of good heavy and a song, and then I tumbles in with my Sall, and I'm as happy as here and there von. That there Sall of mine's a stunner—a riglar stunner. There ain't never a voman can sift a heap quickerer nor my Sall. Sometimes she yarns as much as I does; the only thing is, she's sitch a beggar for lush, that there Sall of mine, and then she kicks up sitch jolly rows, you niver see the like in your life. That there's the only fault, as I know on, in Sall; but, barring that, she's a hout-and-houter, and worth a half-a-dozen of t' other sifters—pick 'em out vare you likes. No, we ain't married 'zactly, though it's all one for all that. I sticks to Sall, and Sall sticks to I, and there's an end on 't:—vot is it to any von? I rec'lects a-picking the rags and things out of mother's sieve, when I were a young 'un, and a putting 'em all in the heap jist as it might be there. I vos allus in a dust-yard. I don't think I could do no how in no other place. You see I vouldn't be 'appy like; I only knows how to vork at the dust 'cause I'm used to it, and so vos father afore me, and I'll stick to it as long as I can. I yarns about half-a-bull [2*s.* 6*d.*] a day, take one day with another. Sall sometimes yarns as much, and ven I goes out at night I yarns a bob or two more, and so I gits along pretty tidy; sometimes yarnin more and sometimes yarnin less. I niver vos sick as I knows on; I've been queerish of a morning a good many times, but I doesn't call that sickness; it's only the lush and nothink more. The smells nothink at all, ven you gits used to it. Lor' bless you! you'd think nothink on it in a veek's time,—no, no more nor I do. There's tventy on us vorks here—riglar. I don't think there's von on 'em 'cept Scratchey Jack can read, but he can do it stunning; he's out vith the cart now, but he's the chap as can patter to you as long as he likes."

Concerning the capital and income of the Lonnon dust business, the following estimate may be given as to the amount of property invested in and accruing to the trade.

It has been computed that there are 90 contractors, large and small; of these upwards of two-thirds, or about 35, may be said to be in a considerable way of business, possessing many carts and horses, as well as employing a large body of people; some yards have as many as 150 hands connected with them. The remaining 55 masters are composed of "small men," some of whom are

known as "running dustmen," that is to say, persons who collect the dust without any sanction from the parish; but the number belonging to this class has considerably diminished since the great deterioration in the price of "brieze." Assuming, then, that the great and little master dustmen employ on an average between six and seven carts each, we have the following statement as to the

CAPITAL OF THE LONDON DUST TRADE.

600 Carts, at 20*l*. each . . .	£12,000
600 Horses, at 25*l*. each . . .	15,000
600 Sets of harness, at 2*l*. per set.	1,200
600 Ladders, at 5*s*. each . . .	150
1200 Baskets, at 2*s*. each . . .	120
1200 Shovels, at 2*s*. each . . .	120
Being a total capital of . .	£28,590

If, therefore, we assert that the capital of this trade is between 25,000*l*. and 30,000*l*. in value, we shall not be far wrong either way.

Of the annual income of the same trade, it is almost impossible to arrive at any positive results; but, in the absence of all authentic information on the subject, we may make the subjoined conjecture.

INCOME OF THE LONDON DUST TRADE.

Sum paid to contractors for the removal of dust from the 176 metropolitan parishes, at 200*l*. each parish .	£35,200
Sum obtained for 900,000 loads of dust, at 2*s*. 6*d*. per load . . .	112,500
	£147,700

Thus it would appear that the total income of the dust trade may be taken at between 145,000*l*. and 150,000*l*. per annum.

Against this we have to set the yearly outgoings of the business, which may be roughly estimated as follows:—

EXPENDITURE OF THE LONDON DUST TRADE.

Wages of 1800 labourers, at 10*s*. a week each (including sifters and carriers)	£46,800
Keep of 600 horses, at 10*s*. a week each	15,600
Wear and tear of stock in trade .	4000
Rent for 90 yards, at 100*l*. a year each (large and small) . . .	9000
	£75,400

The above estimates give us the following aggregate results:—

Total yearly incomings of the London dust trade	£147,700
Total yearly out-goings . .	75,400
Total yearly profit	£72,300

Hence it would appear that the profits of the dust-contractors are very nearly at the rate of 100*l*. per cent. on their expenditure. I do not think I have over estimated the incomings, or under estimated the out-goings; at least I have striven to avoid doing so, in order that no injustice might be done to the members of the trade.

This aggregate profit, when divided among the 90 contractors, will make the clear gains of each master dustman amount to about 800*l*. per annum: of course some derive considerably more than this amount, and some considerably less.

OF THE LONDON SEWERAGE AND SCAVENGERY.

THE subject I have now to treat—principally as regards street-labour, but generally in its sanitary, social, and economical bearings—may really be termed vast. It is of the cleansing of a capital city, with its thousands of miles of streets and roads *on* the surface, and its thousands of miles of sewers and drains *under* the surface of the earth. And first let me deal with the subject in a historical point of view.

Public scavengery or street-cleansing, from the earliest periods of our history, since municipal authority regulated the internal economy of our cities, has been an object of some attention. In the records of all our civic corporations may be found bye-laws, or some equivalent measure, to enforce the cleansing of the streets. But these regulations were little enforced. It was ordered that the streets should be swept, but often enough men were not employed by the authorities to sweep them; until after the great fire of London, and in many parts for years after that, the tradesman's apprentice swept the dirt from the front of his master's house, and left it in the street, to be removed at the leisure of the scavenger. This was in the streets most famous for the wealth and commercial energy of the inhabitants. The streets inhabited by the poor, until about the beginning of the present century, were rarely swept at all. The unevenness of the pavement, the accumulation of wet and mud in rainy weather, the want of foot-paths, and sometimes even of grates and kennels, made Cowper, in one of his letters, describe a perambulation of some of these streets as "going by water."

Even this state of things was, however, an improvement. In the accounts of the London street-broils and fights, from the reign of Henry III., more especially during the war of the Roses, down to the civil war which terminated in the beheading of Charles I., mention is more or less made of the combatants having availed themselves of the shelter of the rubbish in the streets. These mounds of rubbish were then kinds of street-barricades, opposing the progress of passengers, like the piles of overturned omnibuses and other vehicles of the modern French street-combatants. There is no doubt that in the older times these mounds were composed, first, of the earth dug out for the foundation of some building, or the sinking of some well, or (later on) the formation of some drain; for these works were often long in hand, not only from the interruptions of civil strife and from want of funds, but from indifference, owing to the long delay in

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their completion, and were often altogether abandoned. After dusk the streets of the capital of England could not be traversed without lanterns or torches. This was the case until the last 40 or 50 years in nearly all the smaller towns of England, but there the darkness was the principal obstacle; in the inferior parts of "Old London," however, there were the additional inconveniences of broken limbs and robbery.

It would be easy to adduce instances from the olden writers in proof of all the above statements, but it seems idle to cite proofs of what is known to all.

The care of the streets, however, as regards the removal of the dirt, or, as the weather might be, the dust and mud, seems never to have been much of a national consideration. It was left to the corporations and the parishes. Each of these had its own especial arrangements for the collection and removal of dirt in its own streets; and as each parochial or municipal system generally differed in some respect or other, taken as a whole, there was no one general mode or system adopted. To all this the street-management of our own days, in the respect of scavengery, and, as I shall show, of sewerage, presents a decided improvement. This improvement in street-management is not attributable to any public agitation—to any public, and, far less, national manifestation of feeling. It was debated sometimes in courts of Common Council, in ward and parochial meetings, but the public generally seem to have taken no express interest in the matter. The improvement seems to have established itself gradually from the improved tastes and habits of the people.

Although *generally* left to the local powers, the subject of street-cleansing and management, however, has not been *entirely* overlooked by parliament. Among parliamentary enactments is the measure best known as "Michael Angelo Taylor's Act," passed early in the present century, which requires all householders every morning to remove from the front of their premises any snow which may have fallen during the night, &c., &c.; the late Police Acts also embrace subordinately the subject of street-management.

On the other hand the sewers have long been the object of national care. "The daily great damages and losses which have happened in many and divers parts of this realm" (I give the spirit of the preamble of several Acts of Parliament), "as well by the reason of the outrageous flowings, surges, and course of the river in and upon the marsh grounds and other low places, heretofore through public wisdom won and made profitable for the great commonwealth of this realm, as also by occasion of land waters and other outrageous springs in and upon meadows, pastures, and other low grounds adjoining to rivers, floods, and other water-courses," caused parliamentary attention to be given to the subject.

Until towards the latter part of the last century, however, the streets even of the better order were often flooded during heavy and continuous rains, owing to the sewers and drains having been choked, so that the sewage forced its way through the gratings into the streets and yards, flooding all the underground apartments and often the ground floors of the houses, as well as the public thoroughfares with filth.

It is not many months since the neighbourhood of so modern a locality as Waterloo-bridge was flooded in this manner, and boats were used in the Belvidere and York-roads. On the 1st of August, 1846, after a tremendous storm of thunder, hail, and rain, miles of the capital were literally under water; hundreds of publicans' beer-cellars contained far more water than beer, and the damage done was enormous. These facts show that though much has been accomplished towards the efficient sewerage of the metropolis, much remains to be accomplished still.

The first statute on the subject of the public sewerage was as early as the 9th year of the reign of Henry III. There were enactments, also, in most of the succeeding reigns, but they were all partial and conflicting, and related more to local desiderata than to any system of sewerage for the public benefit, until the reign of Henry VIII., when the "Bill of Sewers" was passed (in 1531). This act provided for a more general system of sewerage in the cities and towns of the kingdom, requiring the main channels to be of certain depths and dimensions, according to the localities, situation, &c. In many parts of the country the sewerage is still carried on according to the provisions in the act of Henry VIII., but those provisions were modified, altered, or "explained," by many subsequent statutes.

Any uniformity which might have arisen from the observance of the same principles of sewerage was effectually checked by the measures adopted in London, more especially during the last 100 years. As the metropolis increased new sewerage became necessary, and new local bodies were formed for its management. These were known as the Commissions of Sewers, and the members of those bodies acted independently one of another, under the authority of their own Acts of Parliament, each having its own board, engineers, clerks, officers, and workmen. Each commission was confined to its own district, and did what was accounted best for its own district with little regard to any general plan of sewerage, so that London was, and in a great measure is, sewered upon different principles, as to the size of the sewers and drains, the rates of inclination, &c. &c. In 1847 there were eight of these districts and bodies: the City of London, the Tower Hamlets, Saint Katherine's, Poplar and Blackwall, Holborn and Finsbury, Westminster and part of Middlesex, Surrey and Kent, and Greenwich. In 1848 these several bodies were concentrated by act of parliament, and entitled the "Metropolitan Commission of Sewers;" but the City of London, as appears to be the case with every parliamentary measure affecting the metropolis, presents an exception, as it retains a separate jurisdiction, and is not under the control of the general commissioners, to whom parliament has given authority over such matters.

The management of the metropolitan scaven-

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gery and sewerage, therefore, differs in this respect. The scavengery is committed to the care of the several parishes, each making its own contract; the sewerage is consigned by Parliament to a body of commissioners. In both instances, however, the expenses are paid out of local rates.

I shall now proceed to treat of each of these subjects separately, beginning with the cleansing of the streets.

Of the Streets of London.

There are now three modes of pavement in the streets of the metropolis.

1. *The stone pavement* (commonly composed of Aberdeen granite).
2. *The macadamized pavement*, or rather *road*.
3. *The wood pavement*.

The stone pavement has generally, in the several towns of England, been composed of whatever material the quarries or rocks of the neighbourhood supplied, limestone being often thus used. In some places, where there were no quarries available, the stones of a river or rivulet-side were used, but these were rounded and slippery, and often formed but a rugged pathway. For London pavement, the neighbourhood not being rich in stone quarries, granite has usually been brought by water from Scotland, and a small quantity from Guernsey for the pavement of the streets. The stone pavement is made by the placing of the granite stones, hewn and shaped ready for the purpose, side by side, with a foundation of concrete. The concrete now used for the London street-pavement is Thames ballast, composed of shingles, or small stones, and mixed with lime, &c.

Macadamization was not introduced into the *streets* of London until about 25 years ago. Before that, it had been carried to what was accounted a great degree of perfection on many of the principal mail and coach roads. Some 50 miles on the Great North Road, or that between London and Carlisle, were often pointed out as an admirable specimen of road-making on Mac Adam's principles. This road was well known in the old coaching days as Leming-lane, running from Boroughbridge to Greta Bridge, in Yorkshire.

The first thoroughfare in London which was macadamized, a word adapted from the name of Sir W. Mac Adam, the originator or great improver of the system, was St. James's-square; after that, some of the smaller streets in the aristocratic parishes of St. James and St. George were thus paved, and then, but not without great opposition, Piccadilly. The opposition to the macadamizing of the latter thoroughfare assumed many forms. Independently of the conflicting statements as to extravagance and economy, it was urged by the opponents, that the dust and dirt of the new style of paving would cause the street to be deserted by the aristocracy—that the noiselessness of the traffic would cause the deaths of the deaf and infirm—that the aristocracy promoted this new-fangled street-making, that they might the better "sleep o' nights," regardless of all else. One writer especially regretted that the Duke of Queensberry, popularly known as "Old Q.," who resided at the western end of Piccadilly, had not lived to enjoy, undisturbed by vulgar noises, his bed of down, until it was his hour to rise and take his bath of perfumed milk! In short, there was all the fuss and absurdity which so often characterise local contests.

The macadamized street is made by a layer of stones, broken small and regular in size, and spread evenly over the road, so that the pressure and friction of the traffic will knead, grind, crush, and knit them into one compact surface. Until road-making became better understood, or until the early part of the present century, the roads even in the suburbs immediately connected with London, such as Islington, Kingsland, Stoke Newington, and Hackney, were "repaired when they wanted it." If there were a "rut," or a hole, it was filled up or covered over with stones, and as the drivers usually avoided such parts, for the sake of their horses' feet, another rut was speedily formed alongside of the original one. Under the old system, road-mending was patch-work; defects were sought to be remedied, but there was little or no knowledge of constructing or of reconstructing the surface as a whole.

The wood pavement came last, and was not established, even partially, until eleven or twelve years ago. One of the earliest places so paved was the Old Bailey, in order that the noise of the street-traffic might be deadened in the Criminal Courts. The same plan was adopted alongside some of the churches, and other public buildings, where external quietude, or, at any rate, diminished noise, was desired. At the first, there were great complaints made, and frequent expostulations addressed to the editors of the newspapers, as to the slipperiness of the wooden ways. The wood pavement is formed of blocks of wood, generally deal, fitted to one another by grooves, by joints, or by shape, for close adjustment. They are placed on the road over a body of concrete, in the same way as granite.

"In constructing roads, or rather streets, through towns or cities, where the amount of traffic is considerable, it will be found desirable," says Mr. Law, in his 'Treatise on the Constructing and Repairing of Roads,' "to pave their surface. The advantages belonging to pavements in such situations over macadamized roads are considerable; where the latter are exposed to an incessant and heavy traffic, their surface becomes rapidly worn, rendering constant repairs requisite, which are not only attended with very heavy expense, but also render the road very unpleasant for being travelled upon while being done; they also require much more attention in the way of scraping or sweeping, and in raking in ruts. And some difficulty would be experienced in towns to find places in which the materials, which would be constantly wanted for repairing the road, could be deposited. In dry weather the macadamized road would always be dusty, and in wet weather it would be covered with mud. The only advantage which such a road really possesses

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over a pavement is the less noise produced by carriages in passing over it; but this advantage is very small when the pavement is properly laid."

Concerning wood pavements the same gentleman says, "Of late years wood has been introduced as a material for paving streets, and has been rather extensively employed both in Russia and America. It has been tried in various parts of London, and generally with small success, the cause of its failure being identical with the cause of the enormous sums being spent annually in the repairs of the streets generally, namely, the want of a proper foundation; a want which was sooner felt with wood than with granite, in consequence of the less weight and inertia of the wood. The comfort resulting from the use of wooden pavement, both to those who travelled, and those who lived in the streets, from the diminished jolting and noise, was so great, that it is just matter of surprise that so little care was taken in forming that which a very little consideration would have shown to be indispensable to its success, namely, a good foundation. Slipperiness of its surface, in particular states of the weather, was also found to be a disadvantage belonging to wooden pavement; but means might be devised which would render its surface at all times safe, and afford a secure footing for horses. As regards durability, it has scarcely been used for a sufficient period to allow a comparison being made with other materials, but from the result of some observations communicated by Mr. Hope to the Scottish Society of Arts, it appears that wooden blocks when placed with the end of the grain exposed, wear *less than granite*. At first sight, this result might appear questionable, but it is a well-ascertained fact that, where wood and iron move in contact in machinery, the iron generally wears more rapidly than the wood, the reason appearing to be, that the surface of the wood soon becomes covered with particles of dust and grit, which become partially embedded in it, and, while they serve to protect the wood, convert its surface into a species of file, which rapidly wears away whatever it rubs against."

Such then are the different modes of constructing the London roads or streets. I shall now endeavour to show the relative length, and relative cost of the streets thus severally prepared for the commercial, professional, and pleasurable transit of the metropolis.

The comparative extent of the macadamized, of the stone, and of the wood pavement of the streets of the metropolis has not as yet been ascertained, for no general account has appeared condensing the reports, returns, accounts, &c., of the several specific bodies of management into one grand total.

It is, however, possible to arrive at an approximation as to the comparative extent I have spoken of; and in this attempt at approximation, in the absence of all means of a definite statistical computation, I have had the assistance of an experienced and practical surveyor, familiar with the subject.

Macadamization prevails beyond the following boundaries:—

North of the New-road and of its extension, as the City-road, and westward of the New-road's junction with Lisson-grove.

Westward of Park-lane and of the West-end parks.

Eastward of Brick-lane (Spitalfields) and of the Whitechapel High-street.

Southward (on the Surrey side) from the New-cut and Long-lane, Bermondsey, and both in the eastern and western direction of Southwark, Lambeth, and the other southern parishes.

Stone pavement, on the other hand, prevails in the district which may be said to be within this boundary, bearing down upon the Thames in all directions.

It is, doubtlessly, the fact that in both the districts thus indicated exceptions to the general rule may prevail—that in one, for instance, there may be some miles of macadamized way, and in the other some miles of granite pavements; but such exceptions, I am told by a Commissioner of Paving, may fairly be dismissed as balancing each other.

The wooden pavement, I am informed on the same authority, does not now comprise five miles of the London thoroughfares; little notice, therefore, need be taken of it.

The miles of streets in the City in which stone only affords the street medium of locomotion are 50. The stone pavement in the localities outside of this area are six times, or approaching to seven times, the extent of that in the City. I have no actual admeasurement to demonstrate this point, for none exists, and no private individual can offer to measure hundreds of miles of streets in order to ascertain the composition of their surface. But the calculation has been made for me by a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the subject, and well acquainted with the general relative proportion of the defined districts, parishes, and boroughs of the metropolis.

We have thus the following result, as regards the inner police district, or Metropolis Proper:—

	Miles.
Granite paved streets	400
Macadamized ditto (or roads) . . .	1350
Wood ditto	5
Total . . .	1755

This may appear a disproportionate estimate, but when it is remembered that the inner police district of the metropolis extends as far as Hampstead, Tooting, Brentford, and Greenwich, it will be readily perceived that the relative proportions of the macadamized and paved roads are much about the same as is here stated.

As to the cost of these several roads, I will, before entering upon that part of the subject, state the prices of the different materials used in their manufacture.

Aberdeen granite is now 1*l.* 5*s.* per ton, delivered, and prepared for paving, or, as it is often called, "pitching." A ton of "seven inch" granite, that is, granite sunk seven inches in the ground, will cover from two and three-quarters to three square yards, superficial measure, or nine

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feet per yard. The cost, labour included, is, therefore, from 9*s.* to 12*s.* the square yard. This appears very costly; but in some of the more quiet streets, such as those in the immediate neighbourhood of Golden and Fitzroy-squares, a good granite pavement will endure for 20 years, requiring little repair. In other streets, such as Cheapside, for instance, it lasts from three to four years, without repavement being necessary, supposing the best construction has been originally adopted.

For macadamized streets, where there is a traffic like that of Tottenham Court-road, three layers of small broken granite a year are necessary; the cost of this repavement being about 2*s.* 6*d.* a yard superficial measure. The repairs and relayings on macadamized roads of regular traffic range from 4*s.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* yearly, the square yard.

The wood pavement, which endures, with a trifling outlay for repairs, for about three years, costs, on an average, 11*s.* the square yard.

The concrete used as a foundation in this street-construction costs 4*s.* 6*d.* a cube yard, or 27 feet, by which admeasurement it is always calculated. A cube yard of Thames ballast weighs about 1¼ ton.

The average cost of street-building, new, taking an average breadth, or about ten yards, from footpath to footpath, is then—

	Per Mile. £.	s.	d.
Granite built	96	0	0
Macadamized	44	0	0
Wood	88	0	0

Or, as a total,

	£.	s.	d.
400 miles of granite paved streets at £96 per mile	38,400	0	0
1350 macadamized ditto, at £44 per mile	59,400	0	0
5 wood ditto, at £88 per mile	440	0	0
	98,240	0	0

This, then (about £100,000), is the *original cost* of the roads of the metropolis.

The cost of repairs, &c., annually, is shown by the amount of the paving rate, which may be taken as an average.

	£	s.	d.
400 miles of granite, at 20*s.* per mile	400	0	0
1350 macadamised ditto, at £13 4*s.* per mile	17,820	0	0
5 wood * ditto, at 20*s.* per mile	5	0	0
Total	18,225	0	0

According to a "General Survey of the Metropolitan Highways," by Mr. Thomas Hughes, the principal roads leading out of London are:—

1. *The Cambridge Road,* from Shoreditch through Kingsland.

* This relates merely to the repairs to the wooden pavement, but if a renewal of the blocks be necessary, then the cost approaches that of a new road; and a renewal is considered necessary about once in three years.

2. *The Epping and Chelmsford Roads,* from Whitechapel, through Bow and Stratford.

3. *The Barking Road,* along the Commercial Road past Limehouse.

4. *The Dover Road,* from the Elephant and Castle, across Blackheath.

5. *The Brighton Roads,* (*a*) through Croydon, (*b*) through Sutton.

6. *The Guildford Road,* along the Westminster Road through Battersea and Wandsworth.

7. *The Staines, or Great Western Road,* from Knightsbridge through Brentford.

8. *The Amersham and Aylesbury Road,* along the Harrow Road, and through Harrow-on-the-Hill.

9. *The St. Alban's Road,* along the Edgeware Road through Elstree.

10. *The Oxford Road,* from Bayswater through Ealing.

11. *The Great Holyhead Road.*
12. *The Great North Road.* } From Islington, by and through Barnet.

As to the amount of resistance to traction offered by different kinds of pavement, or the same pavement under different circumstances, the following are the general results of the experiments made by M. Morin, at the expense of the French Government:—

1st. The traction is directly proportional to the load, and inversely proportional to the diameter of the wheel.

2nd. Upon a paved, or hard macadamized road, the resistance is independent of the width of the tire, when it exceeds from three to four inches.

3rd. At a walking pace the traction is the same, under the same circumstances, for carriages with springs and without them.

4th. Upon hard macadamized, and upon paved roads, the traction increases with the velocity: the increments of traction being directly proportional to the increments of velocity above the velocity 3·28 feet per second, or about 2¼ miles per hour. The equal increment of traction thus due to each equal increment of velocity is less as the road is more smooth, and the carriage less rigid or better hung.

5th. Upon soft roads of earth, or sand, or turf, or roads fresh and thickly gravelled, the traction is independent of the velocity.

6th. Upon a well-made and compact pavement of hewn stones, the traction at a walking pace is not more than three-fourths of that upon the best macadamized roads under similar circumstances; at a trotting pace it is equal to it.

7th. The destruction of the road is in all cases greater, as the diameters of the wheels are less, and it is greater in carriages without than with springs.

In Sir H. Parnell's book on roads, p. 73, we are told that Sir John Macneill, by means of an instrument invented by himself for measuring the tractive force required on different kinds of road, obtained the following general results as to the power requisite to move a ton weight under ordinary circumstances, at a very low velocity.

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Description of Road.	Force, in pounds, required to move a ton.
On a well-made pavement . . .	33
On a road made with six inches of broken stone of great hardness, laid either on a foundation of large stones, set in the form of a pavement, or upon a bottoming of concrete	46
On an old flint road, or a road made with a thick coating of broken stone, laid on earth	65
On a road made with a thick coating of gravel, laid on earth . . .	147

In the same work the relative degrees of resistance to traction on the several kinds of roads are thus expressed :—

On a timber surface	2
On a paved road	2
On a well-made broken stone road, in a dry clean state	5
On a well-made broken stone road, covered with dust	8
On a well-made broken stone road, wet and muddy	10
On a gravel or flint road, in a dry clean state	13
On a gravel or flint road, in a wet muddy state	32

OF THE TRAFFIC OF LONDON.

I HAVE shown (at p. 159, vol. ii.) that the number of miles of streets included in the Inner District of the Metropolitan Police is 1750.

Mr. Peter Cunningham, in his excellent "Handbook of Modern London," tells us that "the streets of the Metropolis, if put together, would measure 3000 miles in length;" but he does not inform us what limits he assigns to the said metropolis; it would seem, however, that he refers to the Outer Police District: and in another place he cites the following as the extent of some of the principal thoroughfares :—

New-road . .	5115 yds. long, or nearly	3 miles.
Oxford-street .	2304 " "	1¼ "
Regent-street .	1730 " "	1 "
Piccadilly . .	1690 "	
City-road . .	1690 "	
Strand . . .	1396 "	

Of the two great lines of streets parallel to the river, the one extending along Oxford-street, Holborn, Cheapside, Cornhill, and Whitechapel to the Regent's-canal, Mile-end, is, says Mr. McCulloch, "above six miles in length;" while that which stretches from Knightsbridge along Piccadilly, the Haymarket, Pall-mall East, the Strand, Fleet-street, Watling-street, Eastcheap, Tower-street, and so on by Ratcliffe-highway to the West India Docks, is, according to the same authority, about equal in length to the other. Mr. Weale asserts, as we have already seen, that the greatest length of street from east to west is about fourteen miles, and from north to south about thirteen miles. The number of streets in London is said to be 10,000, though upon what authority the statement is made, and within what compass it is meant to be applied, I have not been able to ascertain. It is calculated, however, that there are 1900 miles of gas "mains" laid down in London and the suburbs; so that adopting the estimate of the Commissioners of Police, or 1760 miles of streets, within an area of about 90 square miles, we cannot go far wrong.

Now, as to the amount of *traffic* that takes place daily over this vast extent of paved road, it is almost impossible to predicate anything definitely. As yet there are only a few crude facts existing in connection with the subject. All we know is, that the London streets are daily traversed by 1500 omnibuses—such was the number of drivers licensed by the Metropolitan Commissioners in 1850—and about 3000 cabs—the number of drivers licensed in 1850 was 5000, but many "cabs" have a day and night driver as well, and the Return from the Stamp and Tax Office cited below, represents the number of licensed cabriolets, in 1849, at 2846: besides these public conveyances, there are the private carriages and carts, so that the metropolitan vehicles may be said to employ altogether upwards of 20,000 horses.

In the *Morning Chronicle* I said, when treating of the London omnibus-drivers and conductors: —"The average journey, as regards the distance travelled by each omnibus is six miles, and that distance is, in some cases, travelled twelve times a day, or as it is called, 'six there and six back.' Some omnibuses perform the journey only ten times a day, and some, but a minority, a less number of times. Now, taking the average distance travelled by each omnibus at between 45 and 50 miles a day—and this, I am assured, on the best authority, is within the mark, while 60 miles a day might exceed it—and computing the omnibuses running daily at 1500, we find 'a travel,' as it was worded to me, of upwards of 70,000 miles daily, or a yearly 'travel' of more than 25,000,000 miles; an extent which is upwards of a thousand times more than the circumference of the earth; and that this estimate in no way exceeds the truth is proved by the sum annually paid to the Excise for 'mileage,' which amounts on an average to 9*l.* each 'bus' per month, or collectively to 162,000*l.* per annum, and this, at 1½*d.* per mile (the rate of duty charged), gives 25,920,000 miles as the aggregate distance travelled by the entire number of omnibuses every year through the London streets."

The distance travelled by the London cabs may be estimated as follows:—Each driver may be said to receive on an average 10*s.* a day all the year through. Now, the number of licences prove that there are 5000 cab-drivers in London, and as each of these must travel at the least ten miles in order to obtain the daily 10*s.*, we may safely assert that the whole 5000 go over 50,000 miles of ground a day, or, in round numbers, 18,250,000 miles in the course of the year.

According to a return obtained by Mr. Charles Cochrane from the Stamp and Tax Office, Somerset House, there were in the metropolis, in 1849–50, the following number of horses:—

Private carriage, job, and cart horses (in London)	3,683
Ditto (in Westminster)	6,339
Cabriolets licensed 2846 (having two horses each)	5,692
Omnibuses licensed 1350 (four horses each)	5,500
Total number of horses in the metropolis	21,214

I am assured, by persons well acquainted with the omnibus trade, that the number of omnibus horses here cited is far too low—as many proprietors employ ten horses to each "bus," and none less than six. Hence we may fairly assume that there are at the least 25,000 horses at work every day in the streets of London. Besides the horses above mentioned, it is estimated that the number daily coming to the metropolis from the surrounding parts is 3000; and calculating that each of the 25,000, which may be said to be at work out of the entire number, travels eight miles a day, the aggregate length of ground gone over by the whole would amount to 200,000 miles per diem, or about 70,000,000 miles throughout the year. There are, as we have seen, upwards of 1750 miles of streets in London. It follows, therefore, that each piece of pavement would be traversed no less than 40,000 times per annum, or upwards of a hundred times a day, by some horse or vehicle.

As I said before, the facts that have been collected concerning the absolute traffic of the several parts of London are of the most meagre description. The only observations of any character that have been made upon the subject are—as far as my knowledge goes—those of M. D'Arcey, which are contained in a French report upon the roads of London, as compared with those of Paris.

This gentleman, speaking of the relative number of vehicles passing and repassing over certain parts of the two capitals, says:—"The Boulevards of Paris are the parts where the greatest traffic takes place. On the *Boulevard des Capucins* there pass, every 24 hours, 9070 horses drawing carriages; on the *Boulevard des Italiens*, 10,750; *Boulevard Poissonière*, 7720; *Boulevard St. Denis*, 9609; *Boulevard des Filles du Calvaire*, 5856: general average of the above, 8600. *Rue du Faubourg St. Antoine*, 4300; *Avenue des Champs Elysées*, 8959. At London, in Pall Mall, opposite Her Majesty's Theatre, there pass at least 800 carriages every hour. On London-bridge the number of vehicles passing and repassing is not less than 13,000 every hour. On Westminster-bridge the annual traffic amounts to 8,000,000 horses at the least. By this it will be seen that the traffic in Paris does not amount to one half of what it is in the streets of London."

Of the Dust and Dirt of the Streets of London.

We have merely to reflect upon the vast amount of traffic just shown to be daily going on throughout London—to think of the 70,000,000 miles of journey through the metropolis annually performed by the entire vehicles (which is more than two-thirds the distance from the earth to the sun)—to bear in mind that each part of London is on the average gone over and over again 40,000 times in the course of the year, and some parts as many as 13,000 times in a day—and that every horse and vehicle by which the streets are traversed are furnished, the one with four iron-bound hoofs, and the other with iron-bound wheels—to have an imperfect idea of the enormous weights and friction continually operating upon the surface of the streets—as well as the amount of grinding and pulverising, and wear and tear, that must be perpetually taking place in the paving-stones and macadamized roads of London; and thus we may be able to form some mental estimate as to the quantity of dust and dirt annually produced by these means alone.

But the table in pp. 186–7, which has been collected at great trouble, will give us still more accurate notions on the subject. It is not given as perfect, but as being the best information, in the absence of positive returns, that was procurable even from the best informed.

Here, then, we have an aggregate total of dust collected from the *principal* parts of the metropolis amounting to no less than 141,466 loads. The value of this refuse is said to be as much as 21,221*l.* 8*s.*, but of this and more I shall speak hereafter. At present I merely seek to give the reader a general notion upon the matter. I wish to show him, before treating of the labourers engaged in the scavenging of the London streets, the amount of work they have to do.

Of the Street-Dust of London, and the Loss and Injury Occasioned by It.

The daily and nightly grinding of thousands of wheels, the iron friction of so many horses' hoofs, the evacuations of horses and cattle, and the ceaseless motion of pedestrians, all decomposing the substance of our streets and roads, give rise to many distinct kinds of street-dirt. These are severally known as

(1) *Dust.*

(2) *Horse-dung* and *cattle-manure.*

(3) *Mud,* when mixed with water and with general refuse, such as the remains of fruit and other things thrown into the street and swept together.

(4) *Surface-water* when mixed with street-sewage.

These productions I shall treat severally, and first of the street-dust.

The "*detritus*" of the streets of London assumes many forms, and is known by many names, according as it is combined with more or less water.

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A TABLE SHOWING THE SEVERAL DIVISIONS OF THE METROPOLIS CLEANSED BY THE SCAVENGERS AND PARISH MEN, THE NAMES OF THE CONTRACTORS, THE NUMBER OF MEN AND CARTS EMPLOYED IN COLLECTING, THE QUANTITY OF DUST AND MUD COLLECTED DAILY IN THE STREETS IN DRY AND WET WEATHER, WITH THE ANNUAL VALUE OF THE WHOLE.

Divisions and Districts.	Names of Contractors.	Number of Men employed at scavenging.		Number of Carts used daily in scavenging.		Number of loads collected daily.		Number of Cart-Loads annually collected by the Scavengers.	Annual value of Dirt collected by Scavengers.		
		In dry weather.	In wet weather.	In dry weather.	In wet weather.	In dry weather.	In wet weather.		£	s.	d.
Kensington	Parish	3	5	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Chelsea	Ditto	3	5	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Ditto (Hans' Town)	Mr. C. Humphries	3	4	1	1	3	5	1252	187	16	0
St. George's, Pimlico	Mr. Redding	2	4	1	2	5	7	1878	281	14	0
Ditto, Hanover Square	Parish	3	5	1	1	1½	2½	626	93	18	0
St. Margaret's, Westminster	Ditto	5	7	2	3	8	10	2817	422	11	0
St. John's, ditto	Mr. Hearne	5	7	1	2	8	10	2817	422	11	0
St. Martin's	Machine	6	9	4	4	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Hungerford-market	Mr. J. Gore	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
St. James's, Westminster	Parish	2	4	1	2	5	7	1878	281	14	0
Piccadilly	Parish and Machine	20	28	2	2	8	12	3130	469	10	0
Regent-street and Pall-mall	Ditto, ditto	8	12	2	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
St. Ann's, Soho	Ditto	3	4	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Woods and Forests	Machine	2	4	1	2	5	7	1878	281	14	0
Paddington	Parish	4	6	1	2	6	8	2191	328	13	0
Marylebone (Five Districts)	Ditto	20	35	3	4	15	25	6260	939	0	0
Portland-market	Mr. Tame	3	5	1	1	2	4	939	140	17	0
Hampstead	Parish	2	4	1	1	2	4	939	140	17	0
Highgate	Ditto	2	4	1	1	2	4	939	140	17	0
St. Pancras, South-west Division	Mr. Stapleton	2	4	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Somers-town	Mr. Starkey	3	5	1	2	7	9	2504	375	12	0
Southampton Estate	Mr. C. Starkey	4	5	1	1	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Bedford ditto	Mr. J. Gore	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Brewers' ditto	Mr. C. Starkey	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Calthorpe ditto	Ditto	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Cromer ditto	Ditto	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Doughty ditto	Mr. Martin	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Foundling ditto	Ditto	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Harrison ditto	Ditto	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Skinners' ditto	Mr. H. North	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Union ditto	Mr. J. Gore	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Islington District	Parish	6	8	1	1	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Battle-bridge	Mr. Starkey	4	6	1	2	5	7	1878	281	14	0
Hackney	Parish	5	7	1	1	2	4	939		17	0

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St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury	Mr. Redding	7	9	2	3	6	10	2504	375	12	0
St. Mary-le-Strand	Mr. J. Gore	2	5	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Savoy	Ditto	2	3	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
St. Clement Danes	Parish	5	7	3	3 waggons.	2	6	1252	187	16	0
St. Paul's, Covent Garden	Ditto	3	5	1	2 carts.	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Covent Garden-market	Mr. Stapleton	5	7	5	6	9	12	3130	469	10	0
Holborn	Parish	6	9	2	3	4	6	1565	234	15	0
St. Sepulchre's	Mr. J. Gore	3	4	1	1	2	4	939	140	17	0
Hatton-garden	Messrs. Pratt and Sewell	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
St. James's, Clerkenwell	Mr. Dodd	5	7	2	3	8	10	2817	422	11	0
St. John's, ditto	Mr. J. Gould	5	7	3	3	6	8	2191	328	13	0
St. Luke's	Mr. Dodd	7	10	4	6	8	10	2817	422	11	0
Goswell-street	Mr. Redding	3	4	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Liberty of the Rolls	Messrs. Pratt and Sewell	2	2	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Blackfriars Bridge	Mr. Jenkins	3	5	1	1	4	6	1565	234	15	0
City Division, Eastern, A	Mr. G. Sinnott	10	16	4	6	12	16	4382	657	6	0
Ditto, North Middle, B	Mr. T. Rooke	9	13	4	6	8	12	3130	469	10	0
Ditto, Western, C.	Mr. C. Redding	12	14	4	6	14	18	5008	751	4	0
Ditto, South Middle, D	Mr. J. Gould	10	12	3	4	9	11	3130	469	10	0
Shoreditch	Mr. Dodd	6	9	2	4	8	12	3130	469	10	0
Norton Folgate	Mr. J. Gould	3.	5	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Finsbury Square District	Ditto	3	4	1	2	6	8	2191	328	13	0
St. Botolph	Mr. Westley	2	4	2	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Spitalfields District	Mr. Newman	3	6	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Spitalfields-market	Mr. Parsons	5	7	3	4	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Bethnal-green	Mr. E. Newman	4	6	3	4	8	10	2817	422	11	0
Whitechapel	Mr. Parsons	3	5	2	3	6	8	2191	328	13	0
Commercial-road	Parish	4	6	2	3	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Mile-end	Mr. Newman	3	5	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Ditto, New-town	Mr. Parsons	3	6	1	1	3	5	1252	187	16	0
St. John's, Wapping	Mr. Westley	2	4	1	2	2	4	939	140	17	0
Shadwell	Ditto	2	4	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
St. George's-in-the-East	Ditto	4	6	2	3	6	8	2191	328	13	0
Stepney	Mr. E. Newman	4	6	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Poplar	Parish	2	4	1	1	2	4	939	140	17	0
East Borough	Mr. Redding	4	6	2	3	3	5	1252	187	16	0
West ditto	Ditto	3	4	2	2	2	4	939	140	17	0
Borough Clink	Mr. W. Sinnott	3	5	1	2	2	4	939	140	17	0
Bermondsey	Parish	4	6	2	3	9	15	3576	563	18	0
Newington	Ditto	4	6	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Lambeth	Ditto	12	16	2	3	8	10	2817	422	11	0
Ditto (Christchurch)	Ditto	14	20	2	3	6	9	2191	328	13	0
Wandsworth	Ditto	2	4	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
Camberwell and Walworth	Ditto	4	6	1	2	5	7	1878	281	14	0
Rotherhithe	Ditto	3	5	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Greenwich	Ditto	3	5	1	2	4	6	1565	234	15	0
Deptford	Ditto	3	4	1	2	6	8	2191	328	13	0
Woolwich	Ditto	3	5	1	2	3	5	1252	187	16	0
Lewisham	Ditto	2	4	1	1	1	3	626	93	18	0
	Scavengers' Total	358	531	130	183	355½	548½	140,983	21,147	9	0

Average total	444½ men.	156½ carts.	452 loads daily.	140,983 loads yearly.	£21,147 9 0
Orderlies	546 ditto.		9 ditto.	2,817 ditto.	352 2 6
Gross total	990½ men.	156½	461 loads daily.	143,800 loads yearly.	£21,499 11 6

1st. In a perfectly dry state, so that the particles no longer exist either in a state of cohesion or aggregation, but are minutely divided and distinct, it is known by the name of "dust."

2nd. When in combination with a small quantity of water, so that it assumes the consistency of a pap, the particles being neither free to move nor yet able to resist pressure, the detritus is known by the name of "mac mud," or simply "mud," according as it proceeds from a macadamized or stone paved road.

3rd. When in combination with a greater quantity of water, so that it is rendered almost liquid, it is known as "slop-dirt."

4th. When in combination with a still greater quantity of water, so that it is capable of running off into the sewers, it is known by the name of "street surface-water."

The mud of the streets of London is then merely the dust or detritus of the granite of which they are composed, agglutinated either with rain or the water from the watering-carts. Granite consists of silex, felspar, and mica. Silex is sand, while felspar and mica are also silex in combination with alumina (clay), and either potash or magnesia. Hence it would appear to be owing to the affinity of the alumina or clay for moisture, as well as the property of silex to "gelatinize" with water under certain conditions, that the particles of dry dust derive their property of *agglutinating*, when wetted, and so forming what is termed "mud"—either "mac," or simple mud, according, as I said before, to the nature of the paving on which it is formed.

By *dust* the street-cleansers mean the collection of every kind of refuse in the dust-bins; but I here speak, of course, of the fine particles of earthy matter produced by the attrition of our roads when in a dry state. Street-dust is, more properly speaking, mud deprived of its moisture by evaporation. Miss Landon (L. E. L.) used to describe the London dust as "mud in high spirits," and perhaps no figure of speech could convey a better notion of its character.

In some parts of the suburbs on windy days London is a perfect dust-mill, and although the dust may be allayed by the agency of the water-carts (by which means it is again converted into "mac," or mud), it is not often thoroughly allayed, and is a source of considerable loss, labour, and annoyance. Street-dust is not collected for any useful purpose, so that as there is no return to be balanced against its prejudicial effects it remains only to calculate the quantity of it annually produced, and thus to arrive at the extent of the mischief.

Street-dust is disintegrated granite, that is, pulverized quartz and felspar, felspar being principally composed of alumina or clay, and quartz silex or sand; it is the result of the attrition, or in a word it is the *detritus*, of the stones used in pavements and in macadamization; it is further composed of the pulverization of all horse and cattle-dung, and of the almost imperceptible, but still, I am assured, existent powder which arises from the friction of the wooden pavement even when kept moist. In the roads of the nearest suburbs, even around such places as the Regent's-park, at many seasons this dust is produced largely, so that very often an open window for the enjoyment of fresh air is one for the intrusion of fresh dust. This may be less the case in the busier and more frequently-watered thoroughfares, but even there the annoyance is great.

I find in the "Reports" in which this subject is mentioned but little said concerning the influence of dust upon the public health. Dr. Arnott, however, is very explicit on the subject. "It is," says he, "scarcely conceivable that the immense quantities of granite dust, pounded by one or two hundred thousand pairs of wheels (!) working on macadamized streets, should not greatly injure the public health. In houses bordering such streets or roads it is found that, notwithstanding the practice of watering, the furniture is often covered with dust, even more than once in the day, so that writing on it with the finger becomes legible, and the lungs and air tubes of the inhabitants, with a moist lining to detain the dust, are constantly pumping in the same atmosphere. The passengers by a stage-coach in dry weather, when the wind is moving with them so as to keep them enveloped in the cloud of dust raised by the horses' feet and the wheels of the coach, have their clothes soon saturated to whiteness, and their lungs are charged in a corresponding degree. A gentleman who rode only 20 miles in this way had afterwards to cough and expectorate for ten days to clear his chest again."

In order that the deleteriousness to health incident to the inhalation of these fine and offensive particles may be the better estimated, I may add, that in every 24 hours an adult breathes 36 hogsheads of air; and Mr. Erasmus Wilson, in his admirable work on the Skin, has the following passage concerning the extent of surface presented by the lungs:—

"The lungs receive the atmospheric air through the windpipe. At the root of the neck the windpipe, or trachea, divides into two branches, called bronchi, and each bronchus, upon entering its respective lung, divides into an infinity of small tubes; the latter terminate in small pouches, called air-cells, and a number of these little air-cells communicate together at the extremity of each small tube. The number of air-cells in the two lungs has been estimated at 1,744,000,000, and the extent of the skin which lines the cells and tubes together at 1500 square feet. This calculation of the number of air-cells, and the extent of the lining membrane, rests, I believe, on the authority of Dr. Addison of Malvern."

What is the amount of atmospherical granite, dung, and refuse-dust received in a given period into the human lungs, has never, I am informed, been ascertained even by approximation; but according to the above facts it must be something fearful to contemplate.

After this brief recital of what is known concerning the sanitary part of the question, I proceed to consider the damage and loss occasioned by street-

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dust. In no one respect, perhaps, can this be ascertained with perfect precision, but still even a rough approximation to the extent of the evil is of value, as giving us more definite ideas on the subject.

It will be seen, on reference to the preceding table, that the quantity of street-refuse collected in dry weather throughout the metropolis is between 300 and 400 cart-loads daily, or upwards of 100,000 cart-loads, the greater proportion of which may be termed street-dust.

The damage occasioned by the street-dust arises from its penetrating, before removal, the atmosphere both without and within our houses, and consists in the soiling of wearing apparel, the injury of the stock-in-trade of shopkeepers, and of household furniture.

Washing is, of course, dependent upon the duration of time in which it is proper, in the estimation of the several classes of society, to retain wearing apparel upon the person, on the bed or the table, without what is termed a "change;" and this duration of time with thousands of both men and women is often determined by the presence or absence of dirt on the garment; and not arbitrarily, as among wealthier people, with whom a clean shirt every morning, and a clean table-cloth every one, two, three, or more days, as may happen, are regarded as things of course, no matter what may be the state of the displaced linen.

The Board of Health, in one of their Reports, speak very decisively and definitely on this subject. "Common observation of the rate at which the skin, linen, and clothes (not to speak of paper, books, prints, and furniture) become dirty in the metropolis," say they, "as compared with the time that elapses before a proportionate amount of deterioration and uncleanliness is communicated in the rural districts, will warrant the estimate, that *full one-half the expense of washing to maintain a passable degree of cleanliness*, is rendered necessary by the excess of smoke generated in open fires, and the *excess of dust arising from the imperfect scavenging of the roads and streets*. Persons engaged in washing linen on a large scale, state that it is dirtied in the crowded parts of the metropolis in *one-third* the time in which the like degree of uncleanliness would be produced in a rural district; but all attest the fact, that linen is more rapidly destroyed by washing than by the wear on the person. The expense of the more rapid destruction of linen must be added to the extra expense of washing. These expenses and inconveniences, the greater portion of which are due to *local maladministration, occasion an extra expenditure of upwards of two to three millions per annum*—exclusive of the injury done to the general health and the medical and other expenses consequent thereon."

Here, then, we find the evil effects of the imperfect scavenging of the metropolis estimated at between two and three millions sterling per annum, and this in the mere matter of extra washing and its necessary concomitant extra wear and tear of clothes.

As this estimate, however, appears to me to exaggerate the evil beyond all due bounds, I will proceed to adduce a few facts, bearing upon the point: and first as to the expense of washing.

In order to ascertain as accurately as possible, the actual washing expenses of labouring men and their families whose washing was done at home, Mr. John Bullar, the Honorary Secretary to the Association for the Promotion of Baths and Wash-houses, tells us in a Report presented to Parliament, "that inquiries were made of several hundred families of labouring men, and it was found that, *taking the wife's labour as worth 5s. a week!* the total cost of washing at home, for a man and wife and four children, averaged very closely on 2*s*. 6*d*. a week, = 5*d*. a head. The cost of coals, soda, soap, starch, blue, and sometimes water, was rather less than one-third of the amount. The time occupied was rarely less than two days, and more often extended into a third day, so that the value of the labour was rather more than two-thirds of the amount.

"The cost of washing to single men among the labouring classes, whose washing expenditure might be expected to be on a very low scale, such as hod-men and street-sweepers, was found to be 4½*d*. a head.

"The cost of washing to very small tradesmen could not be safely estimated at much more than 6*d*. a head a week.

"It may, perhaps," continues the Report, "be safe to reckon the weekly washing expenses of the poorer half of the inhabitants of the metropolis at not exceeding 6*d*. a head; but the expenditure for washing rapidly increases as the inquiry ascends into what are called the 'middle classes.'

"The washing expenses of families in which servants are employed may be considered as double that of the servants', and, therefore, as ranging from 1*s*. 6*d*. to 5*s*. a week a head.

"There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining with any exactness the washing expenditure of private families, but the conclusion is that, taking the whole population, the washing bills of London are nearly 1*s*. a week a head, or 5,000,000*l*. a year.

"Of course," adds Mr. Bullar, "I give this as but a rough estimate, and many exceptions may easily be taken to it; but I feel pretty confident that *it is not very far* from the truth."

As I before stated, I am in no way disposed to go to the extent of the calculation here made. It appears to me that in parliamentary investigations by the agency of select committees, or by gentlemen appointed to report on any subject, there is an aptitude to deal with the whole body of the people as if they were earning the wages of well and regularly-employed labourers, or even mechanics. To suppose that the starving ballast-heaver, the victim of a vicious truck system, which condemns him to poverty and drunkenness, or the sweep, or the dustman, or the street-seller, all very numerous classes expends 1*s*. a week in his washing, is far beyond the fact. Still less is expended in the washing of these people's children. Even the well-conducted artizan, with two clean shirts a week

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(costing him 6*d*.), with the washing of stockings, &c. (costing 1*d*. or 2*d*.), does not expend 1*s*. a week; so that, though the washing bills of many ladies and of some gentlemen may average 10*s*. weekly, if we consider how few are rich and how many poor, the extra payment seems insufficient to make up the average of the weekly shilling for the washing of all classes.

A prosperous and respectable master greengrocer, who was what may be called "particular" in his dress, as he had been a gentleman's servant, and was now in the habit of waiting upon the wealthy persons in his neighbourhood, told me that the following was the average of his washing bill. He was a bachelor; all his washing was put out, and he considered his expenditure far *above* the average of his class, as many used no night-shirt, but slept in the shirts they wore during the day, and paid only 3*d*., and even less, per shirt to their washer-woman, and perhaps, and more especially in winter, made one shirt last the week.

Two shirts (per week) . .	7*d*.
Stockings	1
Night-shirt (worn two weeks generally, average per week) .	0¾
Sheets, blankets, and other household linens or woollens . .	2
Handkerchiefs	0¼
	11*d*.

My informant was satisfied that he had put his expenditure at the highest. I also ascertained that an industrious wife, who was able to attend to her household matters, could wash the clothes of a small tradesman's family,—for a man, his wife, and four small children,—"well," at the following rate:—

1 lb. soap	4½*d*. or 5*d*.
Soda and starch . .	0½
½ cwt. coals (extra) . .	3½
	8½*d*.

or less than 1½*d*. per head.

In this calculation it will be seen the cheapest soap is reckoned, and that *there is no allowance for the wife's labour*. When I pointed out the latter circumstance, my informant said: "I look on it that the washing labour is part of the wife's keep, or what she gives in return for it; and that as she'd have to be kept if she didn't do it, why there shouldn't be no mention of it. If she was working for others it would be quite different, but washing is a family matter; that's my way of looking at it. Coke, too, is often used instead of coals; besides, a bit of bacon, or potatoes, or the tea-kettle, will have to be boiled, and that's managed along with the hot water for the suds, and would have to be done anyhow, especially in winter."

One decent woman, who had five children, "all under eight," told me she often sat up half, and sometimes the whole night to wash, when busy other ways. She was not in poverty, for she earned "a good bit" in going out to cook, and her husband was employed by a pork-butcher.

I may further add, that a great many single men wash their own clothes. Many of the street-sellers in particular do this; so do such of the poor as live in their own rooms, and occasionally the dwellers in the low lodging-houses. One street-seller of ham sandwiches, whose aprons, sleeves, and tray-cloth, were remarkably white, told me that he washed them himself, as well as his shirt, &c., and that it was the common practice with his class. This washing—his aprons, tray-cloths, shirts, and stockings included—cost him, every three weeks, 4½*d*. or 5*d*. for 1 lb. of soap, which is less than 1½*d*. a week. Among such people it is considered that the washing of a shirt is, as they say, "a penn'orth of soap, and the stockings in," meaning that a penny outlay is sufficient to wash for both.

But not only does Mr. Bullar's estimate exceed the truth as regards the cost of washing among the poorer classes, but it also errs in the proportion they are said to bear to the other ranks of society. That gentleman speaks of "the poorer *half* of the inhabitants of the metropolis," as if the rich and poor were equal in numbers! but with all deference, it will be found that the ratio between the well-to-do and the needy is as 1 to 2, that is to say, the property and income-tax returns teach us there are at least two persons with an income *below* 150*l*. per annum, to every one having an income *above* it. Hence, the population of London being, within a fraction, 2,400,000; the numbers of the metropolitan well-to-do and needy would be respectively 800,000 and 1,600,000, and, allowing the cost of the washing of the former to average 1*s*. per head (adults and children), and, the washing of the labouring classes to come to 2*d*. a head, young and old (the expense of the materials, when the work is done at home, average, it has been shown, about 1½*d*. for each member of the family), we shall then have the following statement:—

Annual cost of washing for 800,000 people, at 1*s*. per head per week .	£2,080,000
Annual cost of washing for 1,600,000 people, at 2*d*. per head per week .	693,333
Total cost of washing of metropolis	£2,773,333

I am convinced, low as the estimate of 2*d*. a week may appear for all whose incomes are under 150*l*. a year, from many considerations, that the above computation is rather over than under the truth. As, for instance, Mr. Hawes has said concerning the consumption of soap in the metropolis, — "Careful inquiry has proved that the quantity used is much greater than that indicated by the Excise returns; but reducing the results obtained by inquiry in one uniform proportion, the quantity used by the labouring classes earning from 10*s*. to 30*s*. per week is 10 lbs. each per annum, including every member of the family. Dividing the population of the metropolis into three classes: (1) the wealthy; (2) the shopkeepers and tradesmen; (3) labourers and the poor, and allowing 15 lbs., 10 lbs., and 4 lbs. to

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STREET ORDERLIES.

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each respectively, the consumption of the metropolis will be nearly 200 tons per week." The cost of each ton of soap Mr. Hawes estimates at 45*l.*

Professor Clarke, however, computes the metropolitan consumption of soap at 250 tons per week, and the cost per ton at 50*l.*

According to the above estimates, the total quantity of soap used every year in the metropolis is 12,000 tons, and this, at 50*l.* per ton, comes to .	£600,000
Professor Clarke reckons the gross consumption of soda in the metropolis, at 250 tons per month, costing 10*l.* a ton; hence for the year the consumption will be 3000 tons, costing	30,000
The cost of water, according to the same authority, is 3*s.* 4*d.* per head per annum, and this, for the whole metropolis, amounts to	400,000
Estimating the cost of the coals used in heating the water to be equal to that of the soap, we have for the gross expense of fuel annually consumed in washing	600,000
There are 21,000 laundresses in London, and, calculating that the wages of these average 10*s.* a week each all the year round, the gross sum paid to them, would be in round numbers	550,000
Profit of employers, say	550,000
Add for sundries, as starch, &c. .	50,000
Total cost of washing of metropolis	£2,780,000

Hence it would appear, that viewed either by the individual expense of the great bulk of society, or else by the aggregate cost of the materials and labour used in cleansing the clothes of the people of London, the total sum annually expended in the washing of the metropolis may be estimated at the outside at two millions and three quarters sterling per annum, or about 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* per head.

And yet, though the data for the calculation here given, as to the cost and quantity of the principal materials used in cleansing the clothes of London, are derived from the same Report as that in which the expense of the metropolitan washing is estimated at 5,000,000*l.* per annum, the Board of Health do not hesitate in that document to say that,—"Of the fairness of the estimate of the expense of washing to the higher and middle classes, and to the great bulk of the householders, and the better class of artizans, we entertain no doubt whatever. Whatsoever deductions, if any, may be made from the above estimate, it is, nevertheless, an *under-estimate* for maintaining, at the present expense of washing, a proper amount of cleanliness in linen."

Proceeding, however, with the calculation as to the loss from the imperfect scavenging of the metropolis, we have the following results:—

LOSS FROM DUST AND DIRT IN THE STREETS OF THE METROPOLIS, OWING TO THE EXTRA WASHING ENTAILED THEREBY.

According to the Board of Health, taking the yearly amount of the washing of the metropolis at 5,000,000*l.*, and assuming the washing to be doubled by street-dirt, the loss will be	£2,500,000
Calculating the washing, however, for reasons above adduced, to be only 2,750,000*l.*, and to be as much again as it might be under an improved system of scavenging, the loss will be	1,375,000
Or calculating, *as a minimum*, that the remediable loss is less than one-half, the cost is	£1,000,000

Hence it would appear that the loss from dust and dirt is *really enormous.*

In a work entitled "Sanatory Progress," being the Fifth Report of the National Philanthropic Association, I find a calculation as to the losses sustained from dust and dirt upon our clothes. Owing to the increased wear from daily brushing to remove the dust, and occasional scraping to remove the mud, the loss is estimated at from 3*l.* to 7*l.* per annum for each well-dressed man and woman, and 1*l.* for inferiorly-dressed persons, including their Sunday and holiday clothing.

I inquired of a West-end tailor, who previously to his establishment in business had himself been an operative, and had had experience both in town and country as to the wear of clothes, and I learned from him the following particulars.

With regard to the clothes of the wealthy classes, of those who could always command a carriage in bad weather, there are no means of judging as to the loss caused by bad scavengery.

My informant, however, obliged me with the following calculations, the results of his experience. His trade is what I may describe as a medium business, between the low slop and the high fashionable trades. The garments of which he spoke were those worn by clerks, shopmen, students, tradesmen, town-travellers, and others not engaged in menial or handicraft labour.

Altogether, and after consulting his books relative to town and country customers, my informant thought it might be easy to substantiate the following estimate as regards the duration and cost of clothes in town and country among the classes I have specified.

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TABLE SHOWING THE COMPARATIVE COST OF CLOTHES WORN IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

Garments.	Original cost.	Town.		Country.		Difference of cost.
		Duration.	Annual cost.	Duration.	Annual cost.	
	£ s. d.	Years.	£ s. d.	Years.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Coat . .	2 10 0	2	1 5 0	3	0 16 8	0 8 4
Waistcoat .	0 15 0	2½	0 6 0	3	0 5 0	0 1 0
Trowsers . .	1 5 0	1¼	1 0 0	2	0 12 6	0 7 6
Total Suit.	4 10 0		2 11 0		1 14 2	0 16 10

Here, then, it appears that the annual outlay for clothes in town, by the classes I have specified, is about 2*l.* 11*s.*; while the annual outlay in the country for the same garments is 1*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; the difference of expense being 16*s.* 10*d.* per annum. I consulted another tailor on the subject, and his estimate was a trifle above that of my informant.

I should remark that the proportion thus adduced holds, *whatever be the number of garments* worn in the year, or in a series of years, for the calculation was made not as to individual garments, but as to the general wear, evinced by the average outlay, as shown in the tradesman's books, of the same class of persons in town and country.

In the calculation given in the publication of the National Philanthropic Association, the loss on a well-dressed Londoner's clothing, arising from excessive dust and dirt, is estimated at from 3*l.* to 7*l.* per annum. By the above table it will be seen that the clothes which cost 1*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* per annum in the cleanliness of a country abode, cost 2*l.* 11*s.*, or, within a fraction, half as much again, in the uncleanliness of a London atmosphere and roads. If, therefore, any London inhabitant, of the classes I have specified, expend four times 2*l.* 11*s.* in his clothes yearly, as many do, or 10*l.* 4*s.*, he loses 3*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, or 5*s.* 4*d.* more than the minimum mentioned in the Report alluded to.

Now estimating 2*l.* 10*s.* as the yearly tailor's bill among the well-to-do (boys and men), and calculating that one-sixth of the metropolitan population (that is, half of the one-third who may be said to belong to the class having incomes above 150*l.* a year) spend this sum yearly in clothes, we have the following statement:—

AGGREGATE LOSS UPON CLOTHES WORN IN LONDON.

	£	s.	d.
400,000 persons living in London expend in clothing (at 2*l.* 10*s.* per annum)	1,000,000	0	0
400,000 persons living in better atmospheres in rural parts, and with the same stock of clothes, expend one-third less, or	666,666	13	4
Difference	333,333	6	8

It would be pushing the inquiry to exceeding minuteness were I to enter into calculations as to the comparative expense of boots, hats, and ladies' dresses worn in town and country; suffice it, that competent persons in each of the vestiary trades have been seen, and averages drawn for the accounts of their town and country customers.

All things, then, being duly considered, the following conclusion would seem to be warranted by the facts:—

Annual cost of clothes to 800,000 of the metropolitan population (those belonging to the class who have incomes *above* 150*l.* per annum) at 4*l.* per year each	£3,200,000
Annual cost of clothes to 1,600,000 of the metropolitan population (those belonging to the class who have incomes *below* 150*l.* per annum), at 1*l.* per year each	1,600,000
	£4,800,000
Annual cost of the same clothes if worn in the country	3,600,000
Extra expense annually entailed by dust and dirt of metropolis . . .	£1,200,000

In the above estimate I have included the cost of wear and tear of linen from extra washing when worn in London, and this has been stated on the authority of the Board of Health to be double that of linen worn in the country.

In connection with this subject I may cite the following curious calculation, taken from a Parliamentary Report, as to the cost of a working man's new shirt, comprising four yards of strong calico.

	d.	d.
Material.—Cotton at 6*d.* per lb. 1¼ lb., with loss thereupon		8·25
Manufacture,—		
Spinning	2·25	
Weaving	3·00	
Profit	·25	
		5·50
		13·75
Bleaching about .		1·25
		15·00

Grey (calico) 13·75*d.*+9*d.* (making) = 1*s.* 10¾*d.*
Bleached . . 15*d.* +9*d.* „ = 2*s.*

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As regards the loss and damage occasioned by the injury to household furniture and decorations, and to stocks-in-trade, which is another important consideration connected with this subject, I find the following statement in the Report of the Philanthropic Institution:—"The loss by goods and furniture is incalculable: shopkeepers lose from 10*l.* to 150*l.* a-year by the spoiling of their goods for sale; dealers in provisions especially, who cannot expose them without being deteriorated in value, from the dust that is incessantly settling upon them. Nor is it much better with clothiers of all kinds:—Mr. Holmes, shawl merchant, in Regent-street, has stated that his losses from road-dust alone exceed 150*l.* per annum." . . . . "In a communication with Mr. Mivart, respecting the expenses of mud and road-dust to him, that gentleman stated that the rent of the four houses of which his hotel is composed, was 896*l.*; and that he could not (considering the cost of cleaning and servants) estimate the expense of repairing the damage done by the dirt and dust, carried and blown into these houses, at a less annual sum than that of his rent!"

An upholsterer obliged me with the following calculations, but so many were the materials, and so different the rates of wear or the liability to injury in different materials in his trade, that he could only calculate generally.

The same quality, colour, and pattern of curtains, silk damasks, which he had furnished to a house in town, and to a country house belonging to the same gentleman, looked far fresher and better after five years' wear in the country than after three in town. Both windows had a southern aspect, but the occupant would have his windows partially open unless the weather was cold, foggy, or rainy. It was the same, or nearly the same, he thought, with the carpets on the two places, for London dust was highly injurious to all the better qualities of carpets. He was satisfied, also, it was the same generally in upholstery work subjected to town dust.

I inquired at several West-end and city shops, and of different descriptions of tradesmen, of the injury done to their shop and shop-window goods by the dust, but I found none who had made any calculations on the subject. All, however, agreed that the dust was an excessive annoyance, and entailed great expense; a ladies' shoemaker and a bookseller expressed this particularly—on the necessity of making the window a sort of small glass-house to exclude the dust, which, after all, was not sufficiently excluded. All thought, or with but one hesitating exception, that the estimation as to the loss sustained by the Messrs. Holmes, considering the extent of their premises, and the richness of the goods displayed in the windows, &c., was not in excess.

I can, then, but indicate the injury to household furniture and stock-in-trade as a corroboration of all that has been advanced touching the damaging effects of road dirt.

Of the Horse-Dung of the Streets of London.

"Familiarity with streets of crowded traffic deadens the senses to the perception of their actual condition. Strangers coming from the country frequently describe the streets of London as smelling of dung like a stable-yard."

Such is one of the statements in a Report submitted to Parliament, and there is no reason to doubt the fact. Every English visitor to a French city, for instance, must have detected street-odours of which the inhabitants were utterly unconscious. In a work which between 20 and 30 years ago was deservedly popular, Mathews's "Diary of an Invalid," it is mentioned that an English lady complaining of the villanous rankness of the air in the first French town she entered—Calais, if I remember rightly—received the comfortable assurance, "It is the smell of the Continent, ma'am." Even in Cologne, itself, the "most stinking city of Europe," as it has been termed, the citizens are insensible to the foul airs of their streets, and yet possess great skill in manufacturing perfumed and distilled waters for the toilet, pluming themselves on the delicacy and discrimination of their nasal organs. What we perceive in other cities, as strangers, those who visit London detect in our streets—that they smell of dung like stable-yards. It is idle for London denizens, because they are unconscious of the fact, to deny the existence of any such effluvia. I have met with nightmen who have told me that there was "nothing particular" in the smell of the cesspools they were emptying; they "hardly perceived it." One man said, "Why, it's like the sort of stuff I've smelt in them ladies' smelling-bottles." An eminent tallow-melter said, in the course of his evidence before Parliament during a sanitary inquiry, that the smell from the tallow-melting on his premises was not only healthful and reviving—for invalids came to inhale it—but agreeable. I mention these facts to meet the scepticism which the official assertion as to the stable-like odour of the streets may, perhaps, provoke. When, however, I state the *quantity* of horse-dung and "cattle-droppings" voided in the streets, all incredulity, I doubt not, will be removed.

"It has been ascertained," says the Report of the National Philanthropic Association, "that four-fifths of the street-dirt consist of horse and cattle-droppings."

Let us, therefore, endeavour to arrive at definite notions as to the absolute quantity of this element of street-dirt.

And, first, as to the number of cattle and horses traversing the streets of London.

In the course of an inquiry in November, 1850, into Smithfield-market, I adduced the following results as to the number of cattle entering the metropolis, deriving the information from the experience of Mr. Deputy Hicks, confirmed by returns to Parliament, by the amount of tolls, and further ratified by the opinion of some of the most experienced "live salesmen" and "dead

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salesmen" (sellers on commission of live and dead cattle), whose assistance I had the pleasure of obtaining.

The return is of the stock *annually* sold in Smithfield-market, and includes not only English but foreign beasts, sheep, and calves; the latter averaging weekly in 1848 (the latest return then published), beasts, 590; sheep, 2478; and calves, 248.

224,000 horned cattle.
1,550,000 sheep.
27,300 calves.
40,000 pigs.

Total . . 1,841,300.

I may remark that this is not a criterion of the consumption of animal food in the metropolis, for there are, besides the above, the daily supplies from the country to the "dead salesmen." The preceding return, however, is sufficient for my present purpose, which is to show the quantity of cattle manure "dropped" in London.

The number of cattle entering the metropolis, then, are 1,841,300 per annum.

The number of horses daily traversing the metropolis has been already set forth. By a return obtained by Mr. Charles Cochrane from the Stamp and Tax Office, we have seen that there are altogether

In London and Westminster, of private carriage, job, and cart horses . . .	10,022
Cab horses	5,692
Omnibus horses	5,500
Horses daily coming to metropolis . .	3,000
Total number of horses daily in London	24,214

The total here given includes the returns of horses which were either taxed or the property of those who employ them in hackney-carriages in the metropolis. But the whole of these 24,214 horses are not at work in the streets every day. Perhaps it might be an approximation to the truth, if we reckoned five-sixths of the horses as being worked regularly in the public thoroughfares; so that we arrive at the conclusion that 20,000 horses are daily worked in the metropolis; and hence we have an aggregate of 7,300,000 horses traversing the streets of London in the twelvemonth. The beasts, sheep, calves, and pigs driven and conveyed to and from Smithfield are, we have seen, 1,841,300 in number. These, added together, make up a total of 9,141,300 animals appearing annually in the London thoroughfares. The circumstance of Smithfield cattle-market being held but twice a week in no way detracts from the amount here given; for as the gross number of individual cattle coming to that market in the course of the year is given, each animal is estimated as appearing only once in the metropolis.

The next point for consideration is—what is the quantity of dung dropped by each of the above animals while in the public thoroughfares?

Concerning the quantity of excretions passed by a horse in the course of 24 hours there have been some valuable experiments made by philosophers whose names alone are a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of their researches.

The following Table from Boussingault's experiments is copied from the "Annales de Chimie et de Physique," t. lxxi.

FOOD CONSUMED BY AND EXCRETIONS OF A HORSE IN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS.

Food.			Excretions.		
	Weight in a fresh state in grammes.	Weight in a fresh state in pounds.		Weight in a fresh state in grammes.	Weight in a fresh state in pounds.
		lbs. oz.			lbs. oz.
Hay . . .	7,500	20 0	Excrements .	14,250	38 2
Oats . . .	2,270	6 1	Urine . . .	1,330	3 7
	9,770	26 1			
Water . . .	16,000	42 10			
Total . .	25,770	68 11	Total . . .	15,580	41 9

Here it will be seen that the quantity of solid food given to the horse in the course of the 24 hours amounted only to 26 lbs.; whereas it is stated in the Report of the National Philanthropic Association, on the authority of the veterinary surgeon to the Life Guards, that the regulation horse rations in all cavalry regiments is 30 lbs. of solid food; viz., 10 lbs. of oats, 12 lbs. of hay, together with 8 lbs. of straw, for the horse to lie upon and munch at his leisure. "This quantity of solid food, with five gallons of water is considered sufficient," we are told, "for all regimental horses, who have but little work to perform, in comparison with the draught horses of the metropolis, many of which consume daily 35 lbs. and upwards of solid food, with at least six gallons of water.

"At a conference held with the secretary and professors of the Veterinary College in College-street, Camden-town," continues the Report,

"those gentlemen kindly undertook to institute a series of experiments in this department of equine physiology; the subject being one which interested themselves, professionally, as well as the council of the National Philanthropic Association. The experiments were carefully conducted under the superintendence of Professor Varnell. The food, drink, and voidances of several horses, kept in stable all day long, were separately weighed and measured; and the following were the results with an animal of medium size and sound health:—

"'Royal Veterinary College, Sept. 29, 1849.

"'Brown horse of middle size ate in 24 hours, of hay, 16 lbs.; oats, 10 lbs.; chaff, 4 lbs.; in all	30 lbs.
Drank of water, in 24 hours, 6 gallons, or	48 lbs.
Total . . .	78 lbs.
Voided in the form of fæces . . .	49 lbs.
Allowance for nutrition, supply of waste in system, perspiration, and urine	29 lbs.

(Signed)

"'GEORGE VARNELL,

"'Demonstrator of Anatomy.'"

Here we find the excretions to be 11 lbs. more than those of the French horse experimented upon by M. Boussingault; but then the solid food given to the English horse was 4 lbs. more, and the liquid upwards of 7 lbs. extra.

We may then, perhaps, assume, without fear of erring, that the excrements voided by horses in the course of 24 hours, weigh, at the least, 45 lbs.

Hence the gross quantity of dung produced by the 7,300,000 horses which traverse the London streets in the course of the twelvemonth will be 7,300,000 × 45, or 328,500,000 lbs., which is upwards of 146,651 tons. But these horses cannot be said to be at work above six hours each day; we must, therefore, divide the above quantity by four, and thus we find that there are 36,662 tons of horse-dung annually dropped in the streets of London.

I am informed, on good authority, that the evacuations of an ox, in 24 hours, will, on the average, exceed those of a horse in weight by about a fifteenth, while, if the ox be disturbed by being driven, the excretions will exceed the horse's by about a twelfth. As the oxen are not driven in the streets, or detained in the market for so long a period as horses are out at work, it may be fair to compute that their droppings are about the same, individually, as those of the horses.

Hence as there are 224,000 horned cattle yearly brought to London, we have 224,000 × 45 lbs. = 10,080,000 lbs., or 4500 tons, for the gross quantity of ordure dropped by this number of animals in the course of 24 hours, so that, dividing by 4, as before, we find that there are 1125 tons of ordure annually dropped by the "horned cattle" in the streets of London.

Concerning the sheep, I am told that it may be computed that the ordure of five sheep is about equal in weight to that of two oxen. As regards the other animals it may be said that their "droppings" are insignificant, the pigs and calves being very generally carted to and from the market, as, indeed, are some of the fatter and more valuable sheep and lambs. All these facts being taken into consideration, I am told by a regular frequenter of Smithfield market, that it will be best to calculate the droppings of each of the 1,617,300 sheep, calves, and pigs yearly coming to the metropolis at about one-fourth of those of the horned cattle; so that multiplying 1,617,300 by 10, instead of 45, we have 16,173,000 lbs., or 7220 tons, for the weight of ordure deposited by the entire number of sheep, calves, and pigs annually brought to the metropolis, and then dividing this by 4, as usual, we find that the droppings of the calves, sheep, and pigs in the streets of London amount to 1805 tons per annum.

Now putting together all the preceding items we obtain the following results:—

GROSS WEIGHT OF THE HORSE-DUNG AND CATTLE-DROPPINGS ANNUALLY DEPOSITED IN THE STREETS OF LONDON:—

	Tons.
Horse-dung	36,662
Droppings of horned cattle . . .	1,125
Droppings of sheep, calves, and pigs	1,805
	39,592

Hence we perceive that the gross weight of animal excretions dropped in the public thoroughfares of the metropolis is about 40,000 tons per annum, or, in round numbers, 770 tons every week-day—say 100 tons a day.

This, I am well aware, is a low estimate, but it appears to me that the facts will not warrant any other conclusion. And yet the Board of Health, who seem to delight in "large" estimates, represent the amount of animal manure deposited in the streets of London at no less than 200,000 tons per annum.

"Between the Quadrant in Regent-street and Oxford-street," says the first Report on the Supply of Water to the Metropolis, "a distance of a third of a mile, three loads on the average of dirt, almost all horse-dung, are removed daily. On an estimate made from the working of the street-sweeping machine, in one quarter of the City of London, which includes lines of considerable traffic, the quantity of dung dropped must be upwards of 60 tons, or about 20,000 tons per annum, and this, on a City district, which comprises about one-twentieth only of the covered area of the metropolis, though within that area there is the greatest proportionate amount of traffic. Though the data are extremely imperfect, it is considered that the horse-dung which falls in the streets of the whole metropolis *cannot be less than* 200,000 *tons a year.*"

Hence, although the data are imperfect, the Board of Health do not hesitate to conclude that

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the gross quantity of horse-dung dropped throughout every part of London—back streets and all—are equal to one-half of that let fall in the greatest London thoroughfares. According to this estimate, all and every of the 24,000 London horses must void, in the course of the six hours that they are at work in the streets, not less than 51 lbs. of excrement, which is at the rate of very nearly 2 cwt. in the course of the day, or voiding only 49 lbs. in the twenty-four hours, they must remain out altogether, and never return to the stable for rest!!!

Mr. Cochrane is far less hazardous than the Board of Health, and appears to me to arrive at his result in a more scientific and conclusive manner. He goes first to the Stamp Office to ascertain the number of horses in the metropolis, and then requests the professors of the Veterinary College to estimate the average quantity of excretions produced by a horse in the course of 24 hours. All this accords with the soundest principles of inquiry, and stands out in startling contrast with the unphilosophical plan pursued by the Board of Health, who obtain the result of the most crowded thoroughfare, and then halving this, frame an exaggerated estimate for the whole of the metropolis.

But Mr. Cochrane himself appears to me to exceed that just caution which is so necessary in all statistical calculations. Having ascertained that a horse voids 49 lbs. of dung in the course of 24 hours, he makes the whole of the 24,214 horses in the metropolis drop 30 lbs. daily in the streets, so that, according to his estimate, not only must every horse in London be out every day, but he must be at work in the public thoroughfares for very nearly 15 hours out of the 24!

The following is the estimate made by Mr. Cochrane:—

Daily weight of manure deposited in the streets by 24,214 horses × 30 lbs. = 726,420 lbs., or 324 tons, 5 cwt., 100 lbs.
Weekly weight, 2270 tons, 1 cwt., 28 lbs.
Annual weight, 118,043 tons, 5 cwt.
Tons or cart-loads deposited annually, valued at 6*s.* × 118,043 = 35,412*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*

It has, then, been here shown that, assuming the number of horses worked daily in the streets of London to be 20,000, and each to be out six hours *per diem*, which, it appears to me, is all that can be fairly reckoned, the quantity of horse-dung dropped weekly is about 700 tons, so that, including the horses of the cavalry regiments in London, which of course are not comprised in the Stamp-Office returns, as well as the animals taken to Smithfield, we may, perhaps, assert that the annual ordure let fall in the London streets amounts, at the outside, to somewhere about 1000 tons weekly, or 52,000 tons per annum.

The next question becomes—what is done with this vast amount of filth?

The Board of Health is a much better guide upon this point than upon the matter of quantity: "Much of the horse-dung dropped in the London streets, under ordinary circumstances," we are told, "dries and is pulverized, and with the common soil is carried into houses as dust, and dirties clothes and furniture. The odour arising from the surface evaporation of the streets when they are wet is chiefly from horse-dung. Susceptible persons often feel this evaporation, after partial wetting, to be highly oppressive. The surface-water discharged into sewers from the streets and roofs of houses is found to contain as much filth as the soil-water from the house-drains."

Here, then, we perceive that the whole of the animal manure let fall in the streets is worse than wasted, and yet we are assured that it is an article, which, if properly collected, is of considerable value. "It is," says the Report of the National Philanthropic Association, "an article of Agricultural and Horticultural commerce which has ever maintained a high value with the farmers and market-gardeners, wherever conveniently obtainable. When these cattle-droppings can be collected *unmixed*, in dry weather, they bear an acknowledged value by the grazier and root-grower;—there being no other kind of manure which fertilizes the land so bounteously. Mr. Marnock, Curator of the Royal Botanical Society, has valued them at from 5*s.* to 10*s.* per load; according to the season of the year. The United Paving Board of St. Giles and St. George, since the introduction of the Street Orderly System into their parishes, has wisely had it collected in a state separate from all admixture, and sold it at highly remunerative prices, rendering it the means of considerably lessening the expense of cleansing the streets."

Now, assuming the value of the street-dropped manure to be 6*s.* per ton when collected free from dirt, we have the following statement as to the value of the horse and cattle-voidances let fall in the streets of London:—

52,000 tons of cattle-droppings,
at 6*s.* per ton £15,600 0 0

Mr. Cochrane, who considers the quantity of animal-droppings to be much greater, attaches of course a greater value to the aggregate quantity. His computation is as follows:—

118,043 tons of cattle-droppings,
at 6*s.* per ton £35,412 19 6

It seems to me that the calculations of the quantity of horse and cattle-dung in the streets, are based on such well-authenticated and scientific foundations, that their accuracy can hardly be disputed, unless it be that a higher average might fairly be shown.

Whatever estimate be adopted, the worth of street-dropped animal manure, if properly secured and made properly disposable, is great and indisputable; most assuredly between 10,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* in value.

Of Street "Mac" and other Mud.

First of that kind of mud known by the name of "mac."

The scavengers call mud all that is *swept* from the granite or wood pavements, in contradistinction

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to mac, which is both *scraped* and swept on the macadamized roads. The mud is usually carted apart from the mac, but some contractors cause their men to shovel every kind of dirt they meet with into the same cart.

The introduction of Mac Adam's system of road-making into the streets of London called into existence a new element in what is accounted street refuse. Until of late years little attention was paid to "Mac," for it was considered in no way distinct from other kinds of street-dirt, nor as being likely to possess properties which might adapt it for any other use than that of a component part of agricultural manure.

Mac is found principally on the roads from which it derives its name, and is, indeed, the grinding and pounding of the imbedded pieces of granite, which are the staple of those roads. It is, perhaps, the most adhesive street-dirt known, as respects the London specimen of it; for the exceeding traffic works and kneads it into a paste which it is difficult to remove from the texture of any garment splashed or soiled with it.

"Mac" is carted away by the scavengers in great quantities, being shovelled, in a state of more or less fluidity or solidity, according to the weather, from the road-side into their carts. Quantities are also swept with the rain into the drains of the streets, and not unfrequently quantities are found deposited in the sewers.

The following passage from "Sanatory Progress," a work before alluded to, cites the opinion of Lord Congleton as to the necessity of continually removing the mud from roads. I may add that Lord Congleton's work on road-making is of high authority, and has frequently been appealed to in parliamentary discussions, inquiries, and reports on the subject.

"The late Lord Congleton (Sir Henry Parnell) stated before a Committee of the House of Commons, in June, 1838, 'a road should be cleansed from time to time, so as *never* to have half an inch of mud upon it; and this is particularly necessary to be attended to where the materials are *weak;* for, if the surface be not kept clean, so as to admit of its becoming dry in the intervals between showers of rain, it will be rapidly worn away.' How truly," adds the Report, "is his Lordship's opinion verified every day on the macadamized roads in and around London! * * * * * * The horse-manure and other filth are there allowed to accumulate, and to be carried about by the horses and carriage-wheels; the road is formed into cavities and mud-hollows, which, being wetted by the rain and the constantly plying *watering-carts,* retain the same. Thus, not only are vast quantities of offensive mud formed, but puddles and *pools of water* also; which water, not being allowed to run off to the side gutter, by declivity, owing to the *mud embankments* which surround it, naturally *percolates through the surface of the road, dissolving and loosening the soft earthy matrix* by which the broken granite is surrounded and fixed."

The quantity of mac produced is the next consideration, and in endeavouring to ascertain this there are no specific data, though there are what, under other circumstances, might be called circumstantial or inferential evidence.

I have shown both the length of the streets and roads and the proportion which might be pronounced macadamized ways in the Metropolis Proper. But as in the macadamized proportion many thoroughfares cannot be strictly considered as yielding "mac," I will assume that the roads and streets producing this kind of dirt, more or less fully, are 1200 miles in length.

On the busier macadamized roads in the vicinity of what may be called the interior of London, it is common, I was told by experienced men, in average weather, to collect daily two cart-loads of what is called mac, from every mile of road. The mass of such road-produce, however, is mixed, though the "mac" unquestionably predominates. It was described to me as mac, general dirt, and droppings, more than the half being "mac." In wet weather there is at least twenty times more "mac" than dung scavenged; but in dry weather the dung and other street-refuse constitute, perhaps, somewhat less than three-fourths of each cart-load. The "mac" in dry weather is derived chiefly from the fluid from the watering carts mixing with the dust, and so forming a paste capable of being removed by the scraper of the scavenger.

It may be fair to assume that every mile of the roads in question, some of them being of considerable width, yields at least one cart-load of "mac," as a daily average, Sunday of course excepted. An intelligent man, who had the management of the mac and other street collections in a contractor's wharf, told me that in a load of mac carted from the road to any place of deposit, there was (I now use his own words) "a good deal of water; for there's great difference," he added, "in the *stiffness* of the mac on different roads, that seem very much the same to look at. But that don't signify a halfpenny-piece," he said, "for if the mac is wanted for any purpose, and let be for a little time, you see, sir, the water will dry up, and leave the proper stuff. I haven't any doubt whatever that two loads a mile are collected in the way you've been told, and that a load and a quarter of the two is 'mac,' though after the water is dried up out of it there mightn't be much more than a load. So if you want to calculate what the quantity of 'mac' is by itself, I think you had best say one load a mile."

But it is only in the more frequented approaches to the City or the West-end, such as the Knightsbridge-road, the New-road, the Old Kent-road, and thoroughfares of similar character as regards the extent of traffic, that two loads of refuse are daily collected. On the more distant roads, beyond the bounds traversed by the omnibuses for instance, or beyond the roads resorted to by the market gardeners on their way to the metropolitan "green" markets, the supply of street-refuse is hardly a quarter as great; one man thought it was a third, and another only a sixth of a load a day in quiet places.

Calculating then, in order to be within the mark,

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that the macadamized roads afford daily two loads of dirt per mile, and reckoning the great macadamized streets at 100 miles in length, we have the following results:—

QUANTITY OF STREET-REFUSE COLLECTED FROM THE MORE FREQUENTED MACADAMIZED THOROUGHFARES.

	Loads.
100 miles, 2 loads per day . . .	200
" Weekly amount . . .	1,200
" Yearly amount . . .	62,400

PROPORTION OF "MAC" IN THE ABOVE.

100 miles, 1 load per day	100
" Weekly	600
" Yearly	31,200

To this amount must be added the quantity supplied by the more distant and less frequented roads situate within the precincts of the Metropolis Proper. These I will estimate at one-eighth less than that of the roads of greater traffic. Some of the more quiet thoroughfares, I should add, are not scavenged more than once a week, and some less frequently; but on some there is considerable traffic.

QUANTITY OF STREET-REFUSE COLLECTED FROM THE LESS FREQUENTED MACADAMIZED THOROUGHFARES.

	Loads.
1100 miles, ¼ load per day . . .	275
" Weekly	1,650
" Yearly	85,800

The proportion of mac to the gross dirt collected is greater in the more distant roads than what I have already described, but to be safe I will adopt the same ratio.

PROPORTION OF "MAC."

	Loads.
1100 miles of road, ⅛ load per day .	137
" Weekly . . .	825
" Yearly . . .	42,900

YEARLY TOTAL OF THE GROSS QUANTITY OF STREET-REFUSE, WITH THE PROPORTIONATE QUANTITY OF "MAC" COLLECTED FROM THE MACADAMIZED THOROUGHFARES OF THE METROPOLIS.

	Street Refuse.	"Mac."
	Cart-loads.	Loads.
100 miles of macadamized roads	62,400	31,200
1100 miles ditto ditto	85,800	42,900
	148,200	74,100

Thus upwards of 74,000 cart-loads of "mac" are, at a low computation, annually scraped and swept from the metropolitan thoroughfares.

So far as to the *quantity* of "mac" collected, and now as to its *uses*.

"'Mac,' or *Macadam*," says one of Mr. Cochrane's Reports, "is a grand prize to the scavenging contractor, who finds ready vend and a high price for it among the builders and brick-makers. Those who *paid* for the road—and their surveyors, *possibly*—know nothing of its value, or of their own loss by its removal from the road; they consider it in the light of *dirt*—*offensive* dirt—and are glad to *pay* the scavenger for carrying it away! When the *broom* comes, the scavenger's men take care to go *deep* enough; and many of them are, moreover, instructed to keep the '*mac*' as free from admixture with foreign substances as possible; for, though cattle-dung be valuable enough in itself, the '*mac*' loses *its* value to the builder and brickmaker by being *mixed with it.* Indeed, both are valuable for their respective uses if kept separate, not otherwise."

On my first making inquiries as to the uses and value of "mac," I was frequently told that it was utterly valueless, and that great trouble and expense were incurred in merely getting rid of it. That this is the case with many contractors is, doubtlessly, the fact; for now, unless the "mac," or, rather, the general road-dirt, be ordered, or a market for it be assured, it must be got rid of without a remuneration. Even when the contractor can shoot the "mac" in his own yard, and keep it there for a customer, there is the cost of re-loading and re-carting; a cost which a customer requiring to use it at any distance may not choose to incur. Great quantities of "mac," therefore, are wasted; and more would be wasted, were there places to waste it in.

Let me, therefore, before speaking of the uses and sale of it, point out some of the reasons for this wasting of the "mac" with other street-dirt. In the first place, the weight of a cart-load of street-refuse of any kind is usually estimated at a ton; but I am assured that the weight of a cart-load of "stiff mac" is a ton and a quarter at the least; and this weight becomes so trying to a scavenger's horse, as the day's work advances, that the contractor, to spare the animal, is often glad to get rid of the "mac" in any manner and without any remuneration. Thousands of loads of "mac," or rather of mixed street-dirt, have for this, and other reasons, been thrown away; and no small quantity has been thrown down the gulley-holes, to find its way into that main metropolitan sewer, the Thames. Of this matter, however, I shall have to speak hereafter.

There is no doubt that it is common for contractors to represent the "mac" they collect as being utterly valueless, and indeed an incumbrance. The "mixed mac," as I have said, may be so. Some contractors urge, especially in their bargains with the parish board, that all kinds of street dirt are not only worthless, but expensive to be got rid of. Five or six years ago, this was urged very strenuously, for then there was what was accounted a combination among the contractors. The south-west district of St. Pancras, until within the last six years, *received* from the contractor for the public scavengery, 100*l.* for the year's aggregation of street and house dirt. Since then, however, they have had to pay him 500*l.* for removing it.

Notwithstanding the reluctance of some of the

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contractors to give information on this, or indeed any subject connected with their trade, I have ascertained from indubitable authority, that "mac" is disposed of in the following manner. Some, but this is mostly the mixed kind, is got rid of in *any* manner: it has even been diluted with water so as to be driven down the drains. Some is mixed with the general street ordure—about a quarter of "mac," I was told, to three-quarters of dung and street mud—and shipped off in barges as manure. Some is given to builders, when they require it for the foundations of any edifices that are "handy," or rather it is carted thither for a nominal price, such as a trifle as beer-money for the men. Some, however, is *sold* for the same purpose, the contractors alleging that the charge is merely for cartage. Some, again, is given away or sold (with the like allegation) for purposes of levelling, of filling up cavities, or repairing unevennesses in any ground where improvements are being carried on; and, finally, some is sold to masons, plasterers, and brickmakers, for the purposes of their trade.

Even for such purposes as "filling up," there must be in the "mixed mac" supplied, at least a considerable preponderance of the pure material, or there would not be, as I heard it expressed, a sufficient "setting" for what was required.

As a set-off to what is sold, however, I may here state that 30*s.* has been paid for the privilege of depositing a barge-load of mixed street dirt in Battersea-fields, merely to get rid of it.

The principal use of the unmixed "mac" is as a component part of the mortar, or lime, of the mason in the exterior, and of the plasterer in the interior, construction of buildings, and as an ingredient of the mill in brick-grounds.

The accounts I received of the properties of "mac" from the vendors of it, were very contradictory. One man, until lately connected with its sale, informed me that as far as his own experience extended, "mac" was most in demand among scamping builders, and slop brickmakers, who looked only to what was cheap. To a notorious "scamper," he one morning sent three cart-loads of "mac" at 1*s.* a load, all to be used in the erection of the skeleton of one not very large house; and he believed that when it was used instead of sand with lime, it was for inferior work only, and was mixed, either for masons' or plasterers' work, with bad, low-priced mortar. Another man, with equal knowledge of the trade, however, represented "mac" as a most valuable article for the builder's purposes, it was "so *binding*," and this he repeated emphatically. A working builder told me that "mac" was as good as the best sand; it made the mortar "hang," and without either that or sand, the lime would "brittle" away.

"Mac" may be said to be composed of pulverised granite and rain water. Granite is composed of quartz, felspar, and mica, each in granular crystals. Hence, alumina being clay, and silex a substance which has a strong tendency to enter into combination with the lime of the mortar, the pulverizing of granite tends to produce a substance which has necessarily great binding and indurating properties.

From this reduction of "mac" to its elements, it is manifest that it possesses qualities highly valuable in promoting the cohesive property of mortar, so that, were greater attention paid to its collection by the scavenger, there would, in all probability, be an improved demand for the article, for I find that it is already used in the prosecution of some of the best masons' work. On this head I can cite the authority of a gentleman, at once a scientific and practical architect, who said to me,—

"'Mac' is used by many respectable builders for making mortar. The objection to it is, that it usually contains much extraneous decaying matter."

Increased care in the collection of the material would, perhaps, remove this cause of complaint.

I heard of one West-end builder, employing many hands, however, who had totally or partially discontinued the use of "mac," as he had met with some which he considered showed itself *brittle* in the plastering of walls.

"Mac," is pounded, and sometimes sifted, when required for use, and is then mixed and "worked up" with the lime for mortar, in the same way as sand. By the brickmakers it is mixed with the clay, ground, and formed into bricks in a similar manner.

Of the proportion sold to builders, plasterers, and brickmakers, severally, I could learn no precise particulars. The general opinion appears to be, that "mac" is sold most to brickmakers, and that it would find even a greater sale with them, were not brick-fields becoming more and more remote. I moreover found it universally admitted, that "mac" was in less demand—some said by one-half—than it was five or six years back.

Such are the *uses* of "mac," and we now come to the question of its *value*.

The price of the purer "mac" seems, from the best information I can procure, to have varied considerably. It is now generally cheap. I did not hear any very sufficing reason advanced to account for the depreciation, but one of the contractors expressed an opinion that this was owing to the "disturbed" state of the trade. Since the passing of the Sanitary Bill, the contractors for the public scavengery have been prevented "shooting" any valueless street-dirt, or dirt "not worth carriage" in convenient waste-places, as they were once in the habit of doing. Their yards and wharfs are generally full, so that, to avoid committing a nuisance, the contractor will not unfrequently sell his "mac" at reduced rates, and be glad thus to get rid of it. To this cause especially Mr. —— attributed the deterioration in the price of "mac," but if he had convenience, he told me, and any change was made in the present arrangements, he would not scruple to store 1000 loads for the demands of next summer, as a speculation. I am of opinion, moreover, notwithstanding what seemed something very like unanimity of opinion on the part of the sellers of "mac," that what is given or thrown away is usually, if not always, *mixed* or inferior "mac," and that what is sold at the

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lowest rate is only a degree or two better; unless, indeed, it be under the immediate pressure of some of the circumstances I have pointed out, as want of room, &c.

On inquiring the price of "mac," I believe the answer of a vendor will almost invariably be found to be "a shilling a load;" a little further inquiry, however, shows that an extra sum may have to be paid. A builder, who gave me the information, asked a parish contractor the price of "mac." The contractor at once offered to supply him with 500 loads at 1*s.* a load, if the "mac" were ordered beforehand, and could be shot at once; but it would be 6*d.* a mile extra if delivered a mile out of the mac-seller's parish circuit, or more than a mile from his yard; while, if extra care were to be taken in the collection of the "mac," it would be 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.*, or 6*d.* a load higher. This, it must be understood, was the price of "*wet* mac."

Good "*dry* mac," that is to say, "mac" ready for use, is sold to the builder or the brickmaker at from 2*s.* to 3*s.* the load; 2*s.* 6*d.*, or something very near it, being now about an average price. It is dried in the contractor's yard by being exposed to the sun, or it is sometimes protected from the weather by a shed, while being dried. More wet "mac" would be shot for the trade, and kept until dry, but for want of room in the contractors' yards and wharfs; for "mac" must give way to the more valuable dung, and the dust and ashes from the bins. The best "mac" is sometimes described as "country mac," that is to say, it is collected from those suburban roads where it is likely to be little mixed with dung, &c.

A contractor told me that during the last twelve months he had sold 300 loads of "mac;" he had no account of what he had given away, to be rid of it, or of what he had sold at nominal prices. Another contractor, I was told by his managing man, sold last year about 400 loads. But both these parties are "in a large way," and do not supply the data upon which to found a calculation as to an average yearly sale; for though in the metropolis there are, according to the list I have given in p. 167 of the present volume, 63 contracts, for cleansing the metropolis, without including the more remote suburbs, such as Greenwich, Lewisham, Tooting, Streatham, Ealing, Brentford, and others—still some of the districts contracted for yield no "mac" at all.

From what I consider good authority, I may venture upon the following moderate computation as to the quantity of "mac" sold last year.

Estimating the number of contracts for cleansing the more central parishes at 35, and adding 20 for all the outlying parishes of the metropolis—in some of which the supply of road "mac" is very fine, and by no means scarce—it may be accurate enough to state that, out of the 55 individual contracts, 300 loads of "mac" were sold by each in the course of last year. This gives 16,500 loads of "mac" disposed of per annum. It may, moreover, be a reasonable estimate to consider this "mac," wet and dry together, as fetching 1*s.* 6*d.* a load, so that we have for the sum realized the following result:—

16,500 loads of "mac," at 1*s.* 6*d.* per load £1237 10

It may probably be considered by the contractors that 1*s.* 6*d.* is too high an average of price per load: if the price be minimized the result will be—

16,500 loads of "mac," at 1*s.* per load £825

Then if we divide the first estimate among the 55 contractors, we find that they receive upwards of 22*l.* each; the second estimate gives nearly 15*l.* each.

I repeat, that in this inquiry I can but approximate. One gentleman told me he thought the quantity of "mac" thus sold in the year was twice 1600 loads; another asserted that it was not 1000. I am assured, however, that my calculation does not exceed the truth.

I have given the full quantity of "mac," as nearly, I believe, as it can be computed, to be yielded by the metropolitan thoroughfares; the surplusage, after deducting the 1600 loads sold, must be regarded as consisting of mixed, and therefore useless, "mac;" that is to say, "mac" rendered so *thin* by continuous wet weather, that it is little worth; "mac" wasted because it is not storeable in the contractor's yard;—and "mac" used as a component part of a barge-load of manure.

In the course of my inquiries I heard it very generally stated that until five or six years ago 2*s.* 6*d.* might be considered a regular price for a load of "mac," while 4*s.*, 5*s.*, or even 6*s.* have been paid to one contractor, according to his own account, for the better kind of this commodity.

Of the Mud of the Streets.

The dirt yielded by a macadamized road, no matter what the composition, is always termed by the scavengers "*mac;*" what is yielded by a granite-paved way is always "*mud.*" Mixed mud and "mac" are generally looked upon as useless.

I inquired of one man, connected with a contractor's wharf, if he could readily distinguish the difference between "mac" and other street or mixed dirts, and he told me that he could do so, more especially when the stuff was sufficiently dried or set, at a glance. "If mac was darker," he said, "it always looked brighter than other street-dirts, as if all the colour was not ground out of the stone." He pointed out the different kinds, and his definition seemed to me not a bad one, although it may require a practised eye to make the distinction readily.

Street-mud is only partially mud, for mud is earthy particles saturated with water, and in the composition of the scavenger's street-mud are dung, general refuse (such as straw and vegetable remains), and the many things which in poor neighbourhoods are still thrown upon the pavement.

In the busier thoroughfares of the metropolis—apart from the City, where there is no macadamization requiring notice—it is almost impossible to keep street "mac" and mud distinct, even if the scavengers cared more to do so than is the case at present; for a waggon, or any other vehicle, en-

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tering a street paved with blocks of wrought granite from a macadamized road must convey "mac" amongst mud; both "mac" and mud, however, as I have stated, are the most valuable separately.

In a Report on the Supply of Water, Appendix No. III., Mr. Holland, Upper Stamford-street, Waterloo-road, is stated to have said, in reply to a question on the subject:—"Suppose the inhabitants of one parish are desirous of having their streets in good order and clean: unless the adjoining districts concur, a great and unjust expense is imposed upon the cleaner parish; because every vehicle which passes from a dirty on to a clean street carries dirt from the former to the latter, and renders cleanliness more difficult and expensive. The inhabitants of London have an interest in the condition of other streets besides those of their own parish. Besides the inhabitants of Regent-street, for instance, all the riders in the 5000 vehicles that daily pass through that great thoroughfare are affected by its condition; and the inhabitants of Regent-street, who have to bear the cost of keeping that street in good repair and well cleansed, *for others' benefit as well as for their own*, may fairly feel aggrieved if they do not experience the benefits of good and clean streets when they go into other districts."

In the admixture of street-dirt there is this material difference—the dung, which spoils good "mac," makes good mud more valuable.

After having treated so fully of the road-produce of "mac," there seems no necessity to say more about mud than to consider its quantity, its value, and its uses.

In the Haymarket, which is about an eighth of a mile in length, and 18 yards in width, a load and a half of street-mud is collected daily (Sundays excepted), take the year through. As a farmer or market-gardener will give 3*s.* a load for common street-mud, and cart it away at his own cost, we find that were all this mud sold separately, at the ordinary rate, the yearly receipt for one street alone would be 70*l.* 4*s.* This public way, however, furnishes no criterion of the general mud-produce of the metropolis. We must, therefore, adopt some other basis for a calculation; and I have mentioned the Haymarket merely to show the great extent of street-dirt accruing in a largely-frequented locality.

But to obtain other data is a matter of no small difficulty where returns are not published nor even kept. I have, however, been fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of gentlemen whose public employment has given them the best means of forming an accurate opinion.

The street mud from the Haymarket, it has been positively ascertained, is 1¼ load each wet day the year through. Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, Cheapside, Newgate-street, the "off" parts of St. Paul's Church-yard, Cornhill, Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, the free bridges, with many other places where locomotion never ceases, are, in proportion to their width, as productive of street mud as the Haymarket.

Were the Haymarket a mile in length, it would supply, at its present rate of traffic, to the scavenger 6 loads of street mud daily, or 36 loads for the scavenger's working week. In this yield, however, I am assured by practical men, the Haymarket is six times in excess of the average streets; and when compared with even "great business" thoroughfares, of a narrow character, such as Watling-street, Bow-lane, Old-change, and other thoroughfares off Cheapside and Cornhill, the produce of the Haymarket is from 10 to 40 per cent. in excess.

I am assured, however, and especially by a gentleman who had looked closely into the matter—as he at one time had been engaged in preparing estimates for a projected company purposing to deal with street-manures—that the 50 miles of the City may be safely calculated as yielding daily 1½ load of street mud per mile. Narrow streets—Thames-street for instance, which is about three-quarters of a mile long—yield from 2½ to 3½ loads daily, according to the season; but a number of off-streets and open places, such as Long-alley, Alderman's-walk, America-square, Monument-yard, Bridgewater-square, Austin-friars, and the like, are either streets without horse-thoroughfares, or are seldom traversed by vehicles. If, then, we calculate that there are 100 miles of paved streets adjoining the City, and yielding the same quantity of street mud daily as the above estimate, and 200 more miles in the less central parts of the metropolis, yielding only half that quantity, we find the following daily sum during the wet season:—

	Loads.
150 miles of paved streets, yielding 1½ load of street mud per mile	225
200 miles of paved streets, yielding ¾ load of street mud per mile	150
	375
Weekly amount of street mud during the wet season	2,250
Total ditto for six months in the year	58,500
63,000 loads of street mud, at 3*s.* per load	£8775

The great sale for this mud, perhaps nineteen-twentieths, is from the barges. A barge of street-manure, about one-fourth (more or less) "mac," or rather "mac" mixed with its street proportion of dung, &c., and three-fourths mud, dung, &c., contains from 30 to 40 tons, or as many loads. These manure barges are often to be seen on the Thames, but nearly three-fourths of them are found on the canals, especially the Paddington, the Regent's, and the Surrey, these being the most immediately connected with the interior part of the metropolis. A barge-load of this manure is usually sold at from 5*l.* to 6*l.* Calculating its average weight at 35 tons, and its average sale at 5*l.* 10*s.*, the price is rather more than 3*s.* a load. "Common street mud," I have been informed on good authority, "fetches 3*s.* per load from the farmer, when he himself carts it away."

The price of the barge-load of manure is tolerably uniform, for the quality is generally the same.

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Some of the best, because the cleanest, street mud —as it is mixed only with horse-dung—is obtained from the wood streets, but this mode of pavement is so circumscribed that the contractors pay no regard to its manure produce, as a general rule, and mix it carelessly with the rest. Such, at least, is the account they themselves give, and they generally represent that the street manure is, owing to the outlay for cartage and boatage, little remunerative to them at the prices they obtain; notwithstanding, they are paid to remove it from the streets. Indeed, I heard of one contractor who was said to be so dissatisfied with the demand for, and the prices fetched by, his street-manure, that he has rented a few acres not far from the Regent's Canal, to test the efficacy of street dirt as a fertilizer, and to ascertain if to cultivate might not be more profitable than to sell.

Of the Surface-Water of the Streets of London.

The consideration of what Professor Way has called the "street waters" of the metropolis, is one of as great moment as any of those I have previously treated in my details concerning street refuse, whether "mac," mud, or dung. Indeed, water enters largely into the composition of the two former substances, while even the street dung is greatly affected by the rain.

The *feeders* of the street, as regards the street surface-water, are principally the rains. I will first consider the amount of surface-water supplied by the rain descending upon the area of the metropolis: upon the roofs of the houses, and the pavement of the streets and roads.

The depth of rain falling in London in the different months, according to the observations and calculations of the most eminent meteorologists, is as follows:—

Months.	Depth of Rain in inches.			Quantity of rain falling in the different seasons.	Number of days on which rain falls.
	Royal Society, according to observation.	Howard, according to observation.	Daniell, according to calculation.		
January	1·56	1·907	1·463		14·4
February ..	1·45	1·643	0·746	Winter.	15·8
March	1·36	1·542	1·440	5·368	12·7
April	1·55	1·719	1·786		14·0
May	1·67	2·636	1·854	Spring.	15·8
June	1·98	1·964	1·330	4·813	11·8
July	2·44	2·592	2·516		16·1
August	2·37	2·134	1·453	Summer.	16·3
September .	2·97	1·644	2·193	6·682	12·3
October....	2·46	2·872	2·073		16·2
November .	2·58	2·637	2·400	Autumn.	15·0
December .	1·65	2·489	2·426	7·441	17·7
Totals	24·04	25·179	22·199	24·304	178·1

The rainfall in London, according to a ten years' average of the Royal Society's observations, amounts to 23 inches; in 1848 it was as high as 28 inches, and in 1847 as low as 15 inches. The depth of rain annually falling near London is stated by Mr. Luke Howard to be, on an average of 23 years (1797-1819), as much as 25·179 inches. Mr. Daniel says that the average annual fall is 23 1/10 inches. The mean of the observations made at Greenwich between the years 1838 and 1849 was 24·84 inches.

The following extract from an account of the "Soft Water Springs of the Surrey Sands," by the Hon. Wm. Napier, is interesting.

"The amount of rainfall," says the Author, "is taken from a register kept at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, from the year 1818 to 1846.

"The average fall of the last 15 years, during which time the register appears to have been correctly kept, is 22·64 inches. I consider this to be a very low estimate, however, of the average rainfall over the whole district. The fall on the ranges of the Hindhead must considerably exceed this amount, for I find in White's 'Selborne,' a register for ten years at that place; the greatest fall being in 1782, 50·26 inches, the lowest, in 1788, 22·50 inches, and the average of all 37·58 inches. The elevation of the Hindhead is about 800 feet above mean tide.

"With reference to the measurement of rainfall, it is difficult indeed to obtain more than a very approximate idea for a given district of not very great extent; the method of measurement is so uncertain, as liable to be affected by currents of air and evaporation. It is well known that elevated regions attract by condensation more rain than low lands, and yet a rain-gauge placed on the ground will register a greater fall than one placed immediately, and even at a small height, above it.

"M. Arago has shown from 12 years' observations at Paris, that the average depth of rain on the terrace of the Observatory was 19·88 inches, while 30 yards lower it was 22·21 inches. Dr. Heberden has shown the rainfall on the top of Westminster Cathedral, during a certain period to be only 12·09 inches, and at a lower level on the top of a house in the neighbourhood to be 22·608 inches. This fact has been observed all over the world, and I can only account for it as arising partly from the greater amount of condensation the nearer the earth's surface, but probably also from currents of air depriving a rain-gauge at a high elevation of its fair share."

The results of the above observations, as to the yearly quantity of rain falling in the metropolis, may be summed up as follows:—

	Inches of Rain falling Annually.
Royal Society (average of 20 years)	24·04
Mr. Howard (average of 23 years) .	25·179
Professor Daniell	22·199
Dr. Heberden	22·608
Mean	23·506

The "mean mean," or average of all the averages here given is within a fraction the average of the Royal Society's Observations for 10 years, and this is the quantity that I shall

adopt in my calculations as to the gross volume of rain falling over the entire area of London.

I have shown, by a detail of the respective districts in the Registrar General's department, that the metropolis contains 74,070 statute acres. Every square inch of this extent, as garden, arable, or pasture ground, or as road or street, or waste place, or house, or inclosed yard or lawn, of course receives its modicum of rain. Each acre comprises 6,272,640 square inches, and we thus find the whole metropolitan area to contain a number of square inches, almost beyond the terms of popular arithmetic, and best expressible in figures.

Area of metropolis in square inches, 464,614,444,800. Now, multiplying these four hundred and sixty four thousand, six hundred and fourteen millions, four hundred and forty-four thousand, eight hundred square inches, by 23, the number of inches of rain falling every year in London, we have the following result:—

Total quantity of rain falling yearly in the metropolis, 10,686,132,230,400 cubic inches.

Then, as a fraction more than 277¼ cubic inches of water represent a weight of 10 lbs., and an admeasurement of a gallon, we have the following further results:—

	Weight in pounds and tons.	Admeasurement in gallons.
Yearly Rainfall in the Metropolis	385,399,721,220 lbs., or 172,053,447 tons.	38,539,972,122 gals.

The total quantity of water mechanically supplied every day to the metropolis is said to be in round numbers 55,000,000 gallons, the amount being made up in the following manner:—

DAILY MECHANICAL SUPPLY OF WATER TO METROPOLIS.

Sources of Supply.	Average No. of Gallons per day.	
New River . . .	14,149,315	
East London . .	8,829,462	
Chelsea . . .	3,940,730	
West Middlesex . .	3,334,054	
Grand Junction . .	3,532,013	
Lambeth . . .	3,077,260	
Southwark and Vauxhall	6,313,716	
Kent	1,079,311	
Hampstead . . .	427,468	
Total from Companies		44,383,329
Artesian Wells . .		8,000,000
Land Spring Pumps .		3,000,000
Total daily . .		55,383,329

YEARLY MECHANICAL SUPPLY OF WATER.

From Companies . .	16,200,000,000 gals.
„ Artesian Wells .	1,920,000,000 „
„ Land Spring Pumps.	1,095,000,000 „
Total yearly . .	19,215,000,000 „

Hence it would appear that the rain falling in London in the course of the year is *rather more than double that of the entire quantity of water annually supplied to the metropolis by mechanical means*, the rain-water being to the other as 2·005 to 1·000.

Now, in order to ascertain what proportion of the entire volume of rain comes under the denomination of street surface-water, we must first deduct from the gross quantity falling the amount said to be caught, and which, in contradistinction to that mechanically *supplied* to the houses of the metropolis is termed, "catch." This is estimated at 1,000,000 gallons per diem, or 365,000,000 gallons yearly.

But we must also subtract from the gross quantity of rain-water that which falls on the roofs as well as on the "back premises" and yards of houses, and is carried off directly to the drains without appearing in the streets. This must be a considerable proportion of the whole, since the streets themselves, allowing them to be ten yards wide on an average, would seem to occupy only about one-tenth part of the entire metropolitan area, so that the rain falling *directly* upon the public thoroughfares will be but a tithe of the aggregate quantity. But the surface-water of the streets is increased largely by tributary shoots from courts and drainless houses, and hence we may fairly assume the *natural* supply to be doubled by such means. At this rate the volume of rain-water annually poured into and upon the metropolitan thoroughfares by natural means, will be between five and six thousand millions of gallons, or one hundred times the quantity that is daily supplied to the houses of the metropolis by mechanical agency.

Still only a part of this quantity appears in the form of surface-water, for a considerable portion of it is absorbed by the ground on which it falls—especially in dry weather—serving either to "lay the dust," or to convert it into mud. Due regard, therefore, being had to all these considerations, we cannot, consistently with that caution which is necessary in all statistical inquiries, estimate the surface-water of the London streets at more than one thousand millions of gallons per annum, or twenty times the daily mechanical supply to the houses of the entire metropolis, and which it has been asserted is sufficient to exhaust a lake covering the area of St. James's-park, 30 inches in depth.

The quantity of water annually poured upon the streets in the process of what is termed "watering" amounts, according to the returns of the Board of Health, to 275,000,000 gallons per annum! But as this seldom or never assumes the form of street surface-water, it need form no part of the present estimate.

What proportion of the thousand million gallons of "slop dirt" produced annually in the London streets is carried off down the drains, and what proportion is ladled up by the scavengers, I have no means of ascertaining, but that vast quantities run away into the sewers and there form large deposits of mud, everything tends to prove.

Mr. Lovick, on being asked, "How many loads of deposit have been removed in any one week in the Surrey and Kent district? What is the total

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quantity of deposit removed in any one week in the whole of the metropolitan district?" replied:

"It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain correctly the quantity removed, owing to the variety of forms of sewers and the ever-varying forms assumed by the deposit from the action of varying volumes of water; but I have had observations made on the rate of accumulation, from which I have been enabled roughly to approximate it. In one week, in the Surrey and Kent district, about 1000 yards were removed. In one week, in the whole of the metropolitan districts, including the Surrey and Kent district, between 4000 and 5000 yards were removed; but in portions of the districts these operations were not in progress."

It is not here stated of what the deposit consisted, but there is no doubt that "mac" from the streets formed a great portion of it. Neither is it stated what period of time had sufficed for the accumulation; but it is evident enough that such deposits in the course of a year must be very great.

The street surface-water has been analyzed by Professor Way, and found to yield different constituents according to the different pavements from which it has been discharged. The results are as follows:—

"*Examination of Samples of Water from Street Drainage, taken from the Gullies in the Sewers during the rain of 6th May,* 1850.

"The waters were all more or less turbid, and some of them gave off very noxious odours, due principally to the escape of sulphuretted hydrogen gas.

"Some of them were alkaline to test-paper, but the majority were neutral.

"The following table exhibits the quantity of matter (both in solution and in solid state) contained in an imperial gallon of each specimen.

"STREET WATERS.

Number of Bottle.	Name of Street.	Quality of Paving.	Quality of Traffic.	Residue in an Imperial Gallon.		
				Soluble.	Insoluble.	Both.
				Grains.	Grains.	Grains.
1	Duke-street, Manchester-square .	Macadam	Middling	92·80	105·95	198·75
7	Foley-street (upper part) . .	"	Little	95·13	116·30	211·43
5	Gower-street	Granite	Middling	126·00	168·30	294·30
12	Norton-street	"	Little	123·87	3·00	126·87
3	Hampstead-road (above the canal)	Ballasted	Great	96·00	84·00	180·00
4	Ferdinand-street	"	Middling	44·00	48·30	92·30
2	Ferdinand-place	"	Little	50·80	34·30	85·10
10	Oxford-street	Granite	Great	276·23	537·10	813·33
6	"	Macadam	"	194·62	390·30	584·92
11	"	Wood	"	34·00	5·00	39·00

"The influence of the quality of the paving on the composition of the drainage water," says Professor Way, "is well seen in the specimens Nos. 10, 6, and 11, all of them from Oxford-street, the traffic being described as 'Great.'

"The quantity of soluble salts is here found to be greatest from the granite matter from the macadamized road, and very inconsiderable from the wood pavement.

"The same relation between the granite and macadam pavement seems to hold good in the other instances; the granite for any quality of traffic affording more soluble salts to the water than the macadam.

"The ballasted pavement holds a position intermediate between the macadam and the wood, giving more soluble salts than the wood, but less than the macadam.

"The quantity of solid (insoluble) matter in the different samples of water, *which is a measure of the mechanical waste of the different kinds of pavement*, appears also to follow the same relation as that of the soluble salts; that is to say, granite greatest, next macadam, then ballasted, and, lastly, wood pavement, which affords a quantity of solid deposit almost too small to deserve notice.

"The influence of the quality of traffic on the composition of the different specimens of drainage is well marked in nearly all cases; the greatest amount of matter both insoluble and soluble being found in the water obtained from the streets of great traffic.

"The following table shows the composition of the soluble salts of four specimens, two of them being from the granite, and two from the macadam pavement.

"It appears from the table that the granite furnishes little or no magnesia to the water, whilst the quantity from the macadam is considerable.

"On the other hand, the quantity of potash is far greatest in the water derived from the granite.

"The traffic, as was before seen, has a very great influence on the quantity of the soluble salts. It seems also to influence their composition, for we find no carbonates either in the water from the granite, or that from the macadam, where

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the traffic is little; whereas, when it is great, carbonates of lime and potash are found in the water in large quantity, a circumstance which is no doubt attributable to the action of decaying organic matter on the mineral substances of the pavement.

"ANALYSIS OF THE SOLUBLE MATTER IN DIFFERENT SPECIMENS OF STREET DRAINAGE WATER.

	Grains in an Imperial Gallon.			
	Great Traffic.		Little Traffic.	
	Granite. No. 10.	Macadam. No. 6.	Granite. No. 12.	Macadam. No. 7.
Water of combination and some soluble organic matter	77·56	29·07	22·72	13·73
Silica	·51	2·81	...	...
Carbonic Acid	15·84	12·23	None	None
Sulphuric Acid	36·49	38·23	46·48	34·08
Lime	6·65	13·38	25·90	16·10
Magnesia	None	23·51	Trace	3·50
Oxide of Iron and Alumina, with a little Phosphate of Lime	2·58	1·25	...	...
Chloride of Potassium	None	10·99	None	2·79
" Sodium	53·84	44·88	18·44	19·70
Potash	82·76	18·27	8·75	5·23
Soda	...	...	1·58	...
	276·23	194·62	123·87	95·13

"The insoluble matter in the waters consists of the comminuted material of the road itself, with small fragments of straw and broken dung.

"The quantity of soluble salts (especially of salts of potash) in many of these samples of water is quite as great, and in some cases greater, than that found in the samples of sewer-water that have been examined; and it is open to question and further inquiry, whether the water obtained from the street-drainage of a crowded city might not often be of nearly equal value as liquid manure with the sewer-water with which it is at present allowed to mix."

With regard to the "ballasted pavement" mentioned by Professor Way, I may observe that it cannot be considered a *street*-pavement, unless exceptionally. It is formed principally of Thames ballast mixed with gravel, and is used in the construction of what are usually private or pleasure walks, such as the "gravel walks" in the inclosures of some of the parks, and upon Primrose-hill, &c.

Of the Master Scavengers in Former Times.

Degraded as the occupation of the scavenger may be in public estimation; though "I'd rather sweep the streets" may be a common remark expressive of the lowest deep of humiliation among those who never handled a besom in their lives; yet the very existence of a large body who are public cleansers betokens civilization. Their occupation, indeed, was defined, or rather was established or confirmed, in the early periods of our history, when municipal regulations were a sort of charter of civic protection, of civic liberties, and of general progress.

The noun *Scavenger* is said by lexicographers to be derived from the German *schaben*, to shave or scrape, "applied to those who scrape and clear away the filth from public streets or other places." The more direct derivation, however, is from the Danish verb *skaver*, the Saxon equivalent of which is *sceafan*, whence the English *shave*. Formerly the word was written *Scavager*, and meant simply one who was engaged in removing the *Scrapeage* or *Rakeage* (the working men, it will be seen, were termed also "rakers") from the surface of the streets. Hence it would appear that there is no authority for the verb to scavenge, which has lately come into use. The term from which the personal substantive is directly made, is *scavage*, a word formed from the verb in the same manner as *sewage* and *rubbage* (now fashionably corrupted into rubbish), and meaning the refuse which is or should be scraped away from the roads. The Latin equivalent from the Danish verb *skave*, is *scabere*.

I believe that the first mention of a scavenger in our earlier classical literature, is by Bishop Hall, one of the lights of the Reformation, in one of his "Satires."

> "To see the Pope's blacke knight, a cloaked frere,
> Sweating in the channel *like a scavengere*."

Many similar passages from the old poets and dramatists might be adduced, but I will content myself with one from the "Martial Maid" of Beaumont and Fletcher, as bearing immediately on the topic I have to discuss:—

> "Do I not know thee for the alguazier,
> Whose dunghil *all the parish scavengers*
> Could never rid."

Johnson defines a scavenger to be "a petty

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magistrate, whose province is to keep the streets clean;" and in the earlier times, certainly the scavenger was an officer to whom a certain authority was deputed, as to beadles and others.

One or two of these officials were appointed, according to the municipal or by-laws of the City of London, not to each parish, but to each ward. Of course, in the good old days, nothing could be done unless under "the sanction of an oath," and the scavengers were sworn accordingly on the Gospel, the following being the form as given in the black letter of the laws relating to the city in the time of Henry VIII.

"*The Oath of Scavagers, or Scavengers, of the Ward.*

"Ye shal swear, That ye shal wel and diligently oversee that the pavements in every Ward be wel and rightfully repaired, and not haunsed to the noyaunce of the neighbours; and that the Ways, Streets, and Lanes, be kept clean from Donge and other Filth, for the Honesty of the City. And that all the Chimneys, Redosses, and Furnaces, be made of Stone for Defence of Fire. And if ye know any such ye shall shew it to the Alderman, that he may make due Redress therefore. And this ye shall not lene. So help you God." *

To aid the scavengers in their execution of the duties of the office, the following among others were the injunctions of the civic law. They indicate the former state of the streets of London better than any description. A "Goung (or dung) fermour" appears to be a nightman, a dung-carrier or bearer, the servant of the master or ward scavenger.

"No Goungfermour shall spill any ordure in the Street, under pain of Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence.

"No Goungfermour shall carry any ordure till after nine of the clock in the Night, under pain of Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence. No man shall cast any urine boles, or ordure boles, into the Streets by Day or Night, *afore the Hour of nine in the Night.* And also he shall not cast it out, but bring it down and lay it in the Canel, under Pain of Three Shillings and Four Pence. And if he do so cast it upon any Person's Head, the Person to have a lawful Recompense, *if he have hurt thereby.*

"No man shall bury any Dung, or Goung, within the Liberties of this City, under Pain of Forty Shillings."

I will not dwell on the state of things which caused such enactments to be necessary, or on the barbarism of the law which ordered a lawful recompense to any person assailed in the manner intimated, only when he had "hurt thereby."

These laws were for the government of the city, where a body of scavengers was sometimes called a "street-ward." Until about the reign of Charles II., however, to legislate concerning such matters for the city was to legislate for the metropolis, as Southwark was then more or less under the city jurisdiction, and the houses of the nobility on the north bank of the Thames (the Strand), would hardly require the services of a public scavenger.

As new parishes or districts became populous, and established outside the city boundaries, the authorities seem to have regulated the public scavengery after the fashion of the city; but the whole, in every respect of cleanliness, propriety, regularity, or celerity, was most grievously defective.

Some time about the middle of the last century, the scavengers were considered and pronounced by the administrators or explainers of municipal law, to be "two officers chosen yearly in each parish in London and the suburbs, by the constables, churchwardens, and other inhabitants," and their business was declared to be, that they should "hire persons called 'rakers,' with carts to clean the streets, and carry away the dirt and filth thereof, under a penalty of 40*s*."

The scavengers thus appointed we should now term surveyors. There is little reason to doubt that in the old times the duly-appointed scavagers or scavengers, laboured in their vocation themselves, and employed such a number of additional hands as they accounted necessary; but how or when the master scavenger ceased to be a labourer, and how or when the office became merely nominal, I can find no information. So little attention appears to have been paid to this really important matter, that there are hardly any records concerning it. The law was satisfied to lay down provisions for street-cleansing, but to enforce these provisions was left to chance, or to some idle, corrupt, or inefficient officer or body.

Neither can I find any precise account of what was formerly done with the dirt swept and scraped from the streets, which seems always to have been left to the discretion of the scavenger to deal with as he pleased, and such is still the case in a great measure. Some of this dirt I find, however, promoted "the goodly nutriment of the land" about London, and some was "delivered in waste places apart from habitations." These waste places seem to have been the nuclei of the present dust-yards, and were sometimes "presented," that is, they were reported by a jury of nuisances (or under other titles), as "places of obscene resort," for lewd and disorderly persons, the lewd and disorderly persons consisting chiefly of the very poor, who came to search among the rubbish for anything that might be valuable or saleable; for there were frequent rumours of treasure or plate being temporarily hidden in such places by thieves. Some outcast wretches, moreover, slept within the shelter of these scavengers' places, and occasionally a vigilant officer—even down to our own times, or within these few years—apprehended such wretches, charged them with destitution, and had them punished accordingly. Much of the street refuse thus "delivered," especially the "dry rubbish," was thrown into the streets from

* "Haunsed" is explained by Strype to signify "made too high," and the "Redosses" to be "Reredoughs." A mason informed me that he believed these Redosses were what were known in some old country-houses as "Back-Flues," or flues connecting any fire-grate in the out-offices with the main chimney. The term "lene" is the Teutonic *Lehn*, and signifies "let, lease," or literally *loan*.

houses under repair, &c., (I now speak of the past century,) and no use seems to have been made of any part of it unless any one requiring a load or two of rubbish chose to cart it away.

I have given this sketch to show what master scavengers were in the olden times, and I now proceed to point out what is the present condition of the trade.

Of the Several Modes and Characteristics of Street-Cleansing.

We here come to the practical part of this complex subject. We have ascertained the length of the streets of London—we have estimated the amount of daily, weekly, and yearly traffic—calculated the quantity of mud, dung, "mac," dust, and surface-water formed and collected annually throughout the metropolis—we have endeavoured to arrive at some notion as to the injury done by all this vast amount of filth owing to what the Board of Health has termed "imperfect scavenging,"—and we now come to treat of the means by which the loads of street refuse—the loads of dust—loads of "mac" and mud, and the tons of dung, are severally and collectively removed throughout the year.

There are two distinct, and, in a measure, diametrically opposed, methods of street-cleansing at present in operation.

1. That which consists in cleaning the streets when dirtied.

2. That which consists in cleaning them and *keeping* them clean.

These modes of scavenging may not appear, to those who have paid but little attention to the matter, to be *very* widely different means of effecting the same object. The one, however, removes the refuse from the streets (sooner or later) *after it has been formed*, whereas the other removes it *as fast as it is formed*. By the latter method the streets are never allowed to get dirty—by the former they must be dirty before they are cleansed.

The plan of street-cleansing *before* dirtied, or the pre-scavenging system, is of recent introduction, being the mode adopted by the "street-orderlies;" that of cleansing after having dirtied, or the post-scavenging system, is (so far as the more *general* or common method is concerned) the same as that pursued two centuries ago. I shall speak of each of these modes in due course, beginning with that last mentioned.

By the ordinary method of scavenging, the dirt is still swept or scraped to one side of the public way, then shovelled into a cart and conveyed to the place of deposit. In wet weather the dirt swept or scraped to one side is so liquified that it is known as "slop," and is "lifted" into the cart in shovels hollowed like sugar-spoons. The only change of which I have heard in this mode of scavenging was in one of the tools. Until about nine years ago birch, or occasionally heather, brooms or besoms were used by the street-sweepers, but they soon became clogged in dirty weather, and then, as one working scavenger explained it to me, "they scattered and drove the dirt to the sides 'stead of making it go right a-head as you wants it." The material now used for the street-sweeper's broom is known as "bass," and consists of the stems or branches of a New Zealand plant, a substance which has considerable strength and elasticity of fibre, and both "sweeps" and "scrapes" in the process of scavenging. The broom itself, too, is differently constructed, having divisions between the several insertions of bass in the wooden block of the head, so that clogging is less frequent, and cleaning easier, whereas the birch broom consisted of a close mass of twigs, and thus scattered while it swept the dirt. There was, of course, some outcry on the part of the "established-order-of-things" gentry among scavengers, against the innovation, but it is now general. As all the scavengers, no matter how they vary in other respects, work with the brooms described, this one mention of the change will suffice. No doubt the cleansing of the streets is accomplished with greater efficiency and with greater celerity than it was, but the mere process of manual toil is little altered.

In a work like the present, however, we have more particularly to deal with the labourers engaged; and, viewing the subject in this light, we may arrange the several modes of street-cleansing into the four following divisions:—

1. By paid manual-labourers, or men employed by the contractors, and paid in the ordinary ways of wages.

2. By paid "Machine"-labourers, differing from the first only or mainly in the means by which they attain their end.

3. By pauper labourers, or men employed by the parishes in which they are set to work, and either paid in money or in food, or maintained in the workhouses.

4. By street-orderlies, or men employed by philanthropists—a body of workmen with particular regulations and more organized than other scavengers.

By one or other of these modes of scavengery all the public ways of the metropolis are cleansed; and the subject is most peculiar, as including within itself all the several varieties of labour, if we except that of women and children—viz., manual labour, mechanical labour, pauper labour, and philanthropic labour.

By these several varieties of labour the highways and by-ways of the entire metropolis are cleansed, with one exception—the Mews, concerning which a few words here may not be out of place. *All* these localities, whether they be what are styled Private or Gentlemen's Mews, or Public Mews, where stables, coach-houses, and dwelling-rooms above them, may be taken by any one (a good many of such places being, moreover, public or partial thoroughfares); or whether they be job-masters' or cab-proprietors' mews; are scavenged by the occupants, for the manure is valuable. The mews of London, indeed, constitute a world of their own. They are tenanted by one class—coachmen and grooms, with their wives and families—men who are devoted to one pursuit, the care of horses and carriages; who live and asso-

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ciate one among another; whose talk is of horses (with something about masters and mistresses) as if to ride or to drive were the great ends of human existence, and who thus live as much together as the Jews in their compulsory quarters in Rome. The mews are also the "chambers" of unemployed coachmen and grooms, and I am told that the very sicknesses known in such places have their own peculiarities. These, however, form matter for *future* inquiry.

Concerning the private scavenging of the metropolitan mews, the *Medical Times*, of July 26, 1851, contains a letter from Mr. C. Cochrane, in which that gentleman says:—

"It will be found, that in all the mews throughout the metropolis, the manure produced from each stable is packed up in a separate stack, until there is sufficient for a load for some market-gardener or farmer to remove. The groom or stable-man makes an arrangement, or agreement as it is called, with the market-gardener, to remove it at his convenience, and a gratuity of 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* per load is usually presented to the stable-man. In some places there are dung-pits containing the collectings of a fortnight's dung, which, when disturbed for removal, casts out an offensive effluvium, as sickening as it is disgusting to the whole neighbourhood. In consequence of the arrangement in question, if a third party wished to buy some of this manure, he could not get it; and if he wished to get rid of any by giving it away, the stableman would not receive it, as it would not be removed sufficiently quick by the farmer. The result is, that whilst the air is rendered offensive and insalubrious, manure becomes difficult to be removed or disposed of, and frequently is washed away into the sewer.

"Of this manure there are always (at a moderate computation) remaining daily, in the mews and stable-yards of the metropolis, at least 2000 cart-loads.

"To remedy these evils, I would suggest that a brief Act of Parliament should be passed, giving municipal and parochial authorities the same complete control over the manure as they have over the 'ashes,' with the provision, that owners should have the right of removing it themselves for their own use; but if they did not do so daily, then the control to return to the above authorities, who should have the right of selling it, and placing the proceeds in the parish funds. By this simple means immense quantities of valuable manure would be saved for the purposes of agriculture—food would be rendered cheaper and more abundant—more people would be employed—whilst the metropolis would be rendered clean, sweet, and healthy."

I may dismiss this part of the subject with the remark, that I was informed that the mews' manure was in regular demand and of ready sale, being removed by the market-gardeners with greater facility than can street-dirt, which the contractors with the parishes prefer to vend by the barge-load.

Having enumerated the four several modes of street-cleansing, I will now proceed to point out briefly the characteristics of each class of cleansing. This will also denote the quality of the employers and the nature of the employment.

1. *The Paid Manual Labourers* constitute the bulk of those engaged in scavenging, and the chief pay-masters are the contractors. Many of these labourers consider themselves the only "regular hands," having been "brought up to the business;" but unemployed or destitute labourers or mechanics, or reduced tradesmen, will often endeavour to obtain employment in street-sweeping; this is the necessary evil of all *unskilled* labour, for since every one can do it (without previous apprenticeship), it follows that the beaten-out artisans or discarded trade assistants, beggared tradesmen, or reduced gentlemen, must necessarily resort to it as their only means of independent support; and hence the reason why dock labour and street labour, and indeed all the several forms of unskilled work, have a tendency to be overstocked with hands—the *unskilled* occupations being, as it were, the sink for all the refuse *skilled* labour and beggared industry of the country.

The "contractors," like other employers, are separated by their men into two classes—such as, in more refined callings, are often designated the "honourable" and "dishonourable" traders—according as they pay or do not pay what is reputed "fair wages."

I cannot say that I heard any especial appellation given by the working scavengers to the better-paying class of employers, unless it were the expressive style of "good-'uns." The inferior paying class, however, are very generally known among their work-people as "scurfs."

2. *The Street-sweeping Machine Labourers.*—Of the men employed as "attendant" scavengers, for so they may be termed, in connection with these mechanical and vehicular street-sweepers, little need here be said, for they are generally of the class of ordinary scavengers. It may, however, be necessary to explain that each of those machines must have the street refuse, for the "lick-in" of the machine, swept into a straight line wherever there is the slightest slope at the sides of a street towards the foot-path; the same, too, must sometimes be done, if the pavement be at all broken, even when the progress of the machine is, what I heard, not very appropriately, termed "plain sailing." Sometimes, also, men follow the course of the street-sweeping machine, to "sweep up" any dirt missed or scattered, as the vehicle proceeds on a straightforward course, for at all to diverge would be to make the labour, where the machine alone is used, almost double.

3. *The Pauper, or Parish-employed Scavengers* present characteristics peculiarly their own, as regards open-air labour in London. They are employed less to cleanse the streets, than to prevent their being chargeable to the poor's rate as out-door recipients, or as inmates of the workhouses. When paid, they receive a lower amount of wages than any other scavengers, and they are sometimes paid in food as well as in money, while a difference may be made between the wages of the

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VIEW OF A DUST YARD.
(From a Sketch taken on the spot.)

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married and of the unmarried men, and even between the married men who have and have not children; some, again, are employed in scavenging without any money receipt, their maintenance in the workhouse being considered a sufficient return for the fruits of their toil.

Some of these men are feeble, some are unskilful (even in tasks in which skill is but little of an element), and most of them are dissatisfied workmen. Their ranks comprise, or may comprise, men who have filled very different situations in life. It is mentioned in the second edition of one of the publications of the National Philanthropic Association, "Sanatory Progress" (1850), "that the once high-salaried cashier of a West-end bank died lately in St. Pancras-workhouse;—that the architect of several of the most fashionable West-end club-houses is now an inmate of St. James's-workhouse;—and that the architect of St. Pancras' New Church lately died in a back garret in Somers-town. "These recent instances (a few out of many)" says the writer, "prove that 'wealth has wings,' and that Genius and Industry have but leaden feet, when overtaken by Adversity. A late number of the *Globe* newspaper states that, 'among the police constables on the Great Western Railway, there are at present eight members of the Royal College of Surgeons, and three solicitors;'—and the *Limerick Examiner*, a few weeks ago, announced the fact, that 'a gentlewoman is now an inmate of the workhouse of that city, whose husband, a few years ago, filled the office of High Sheriff of the county.'"

I do not know that either the cashier or the architect in the two workhouses in question was employed as a street-sweeper.

This second class, then, are situated differently to the paid street-sweepers (or No. 1 of the present division), who may be considered, more or less, independent or self-supporting labourers, while the paupers are, of course, dependent.

4. *The "Street Orderlies."*—These men present another distinct body. They are not merely in the employment, but many of them are under the care, of the National Philanthropic Association, which was founded by, and is now under the presidency of, Mr. Cochrane. The objects of this society, as far as regards the street orderlies' existence as a class of scavengers, are sufficiently indicated in its title, which declares it to be "For the Promotion of Street Cleanliness and the Employment of the Poor; so that able-bodied men may be prevented from burthening the parish rates, and preserved independent of workhouse alms and degradation. Supported by the contributions of the benevolent."

The street orderlies, men and boys, are paid a fixed weekly wage, a certain sum being stopped from those single men who reside in houses rented for them by the association, where their meals, washing, &c., are provided. Among them are men of many callings, and some educated and accomplished persons.

The system of street orderlyism is, moreover, distinguished by one attribute unknown to any other mode; it is an effort, persevered in, despite of many hindrances and difficulties, to amend our street scavengery, indeed to reform it altogether; so that dust and dirt may be checked in their very origination.

The corporation, if I may so describe it, of the street orderlies, presents characteristics, again, varying from the other orders of what can only be looked upon either as the self-supporting or pauper workers.

These, then, are the several modes or methods of street-scavengery, and they show the following:—

CLASSES OF STREET-SWEEPING EMPLOYERS.

(1.) *Traders*, who undertake contracts for scavengery as a speculation. Under this denomination may be classed the contractors with parishes, districts, boards, liberties, divisions and subdivisions of parishes, markets, &c.

(2.) *Parishes*, who employ the men as a matter of parochial policy, with a view to the reduction of the rates, and with little regard to the men.

(3.) *Philanthropists*, who seek, more particularly, to benefit the men whom they employ, while they strive to promote the public good by increasing public cleanliness and order.

Under the head of "Traders" are the contractors with the parishes, &c., and the proprietors of the sweeping-machines, who are in the same capacity as the "regular contractors" respecting their dealings with labourers, but who substitute mechanical for manual operations.

Of these several classes of masters engaged in the scavengery of the metropolis I have much to say, and, for the clearer saying of it, I shall treat each of the several varieties of labour separately.

OF THE CONTRACTORS FOR SCAVENGERY.

THE scavenging of the streets of the metropolis is performed *directly* or *indirectly* by the authorities of the several parishes "without the City," who have the power to levy rates for the cleansing of the various districts; within the City, however, the office is executed under the direction of the Court of Sewers.

When the cleansing of the streets is performed indirectly by either the parochial or civic authorities, it is effected by contractors, that is to say, by traders who undertake for a certain sum to remove the street-refuse at stated intervals and under express conditions, and who employ paid servants to execute the work for them. When it is performed *directly*, the authorities employ labourers, generally from the workhouse, and usually enter into an agreement with some contractor for the use of his carts and appliances, together with the right to deposit in his wharf or yard the refuse removed from the streets.

I shall treat first of the *indirect* mode of scavenging—that is to say, of cleansing the streets by contract—beginning with the contractors, setting forth, as near as possible, the receipts and expenditure in connection with the trade, and then proceeding in due order to treat of the labourers employed by them in the performance of the task.

Some of the contractors agree with the parochial

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or district authorities to remove the dust from the house-bins as well as the dirt from the streets under one and the same contract; some undertake to execute these two offices under separate contracts; and some to perform only one of them. It is most customary, however, for the same contractor to serve the parish, especially the larger parishes, in both capacities.

There is no established or legally required *form* of agreement between a contractor and his principals; it is a bargain in which each side strives to get the best of it, but in which the parish representatives have often to contend against something looking like a monopoly; a very common occurrence in our day when capitalists choose to combine, which *is* legal, or unnoticed, but very heinous on the part of the working men, whose capital is only in their strength or skill. One contractor, on being questioned by a gentleman officially connected with a large district, as to the existence of combination, laughed at such a notion, but said there might be "a sort of understanding one among another," as among people who "must look to their own interests, and see which way the cat jumped;" concluding with the undeniable assertion that "no man ought reasonably to be expected to ruin himself for a parish."

There does not appear, however, to have been any countervailing qualities on the part of the parishes to this understanding among the contractors; for some of the authorities have found themselves, when a new or a renewed contract was in question, suddenly "on the other side of the hedge." Thus, in the south-west district of St. Pancras, the contractor, five or six years ago, paid 100*l.* per annum for the removal and possession of the street-dirt, &c.; but the following year the district authorities had to pay him 500*l.* for the same labour and with the same privileges! Other changes took place, and in 1848-9 a contractor again paid the district 95*l.* I have shown, too, that in Shadwell the dust-contractor now *receives* 450*l.* per annum, whereas he formerly *paid* 240*l.* To prove, however, that a spirit of combination does *occasionally* exist among these contractors, I may cite the following minute from one of the parish books.

Extract from Minute-book, Nov. 7, 1839. Letter C, Folio 437.

"Commissioner's Office,
"30, Howland-street,
"Nov. 7, 1839.

"Report of the Paving Committee to the General Board, relating to the watering the district for the past year.

"Your Committee beg leave to report that for the past three years the sums paid by contract for watering were respectively:—

"For 1836	£230
" 1837	220
" 1838	200

"That in the month of February in the present year the Board advertised in the usual manner for tenders to water the district, when the following were received, viz.:—

"Mr. Darke	£315
" Gore	318
" Nicholls	312
" Starkey	285

which was the lowest.

"Your Committee, anxious to prevent any increase in the watering-rate from being levied, and considering the amount required by the contractors for this service as excessive and exorbitant, and even evincing a spirit of combination, resolved to make an inroad upon this system, and after much trouble and attention adopted other measures for watering the district, the results of which they have great pleasure in presenting to the Board, by which it will be seen that a saving over the very lowest of the above tenders of 102*l.* 3*s.* has been effected; the sum of 18*l.* 18*s.* has been paid for pauper labour at the same time. Your Committee regret that, notwithstanding the efforts of themselves and their officers, the state of insubordination and insult of most of the paupers (in spite of all encouragement to industry) was such, that the Committee, on the 12th of July last, were reluctantly compelled to discontinue their services. The Committee cannot but congratulate the Board upon the result of their experiment, which will have the effect of breaking up a spirit of combination highly dangerous to the community at large, at the same time that their labours have caused a very considerable saving to the ratepayers; and they trust the work, considering all the numerous disadvantages under which they have laboured, has been performed in a satisfactory manner.

"P. Cunningham,
"Surveyor,
"30, Howland-street, Fitzroy-square."

The following regulations sufficiently show the nature of the agreements made between the contractors and the authorities as to the cleansing of the more important thoroughfares especially. It will be seen that in the regulations I quote every street, court, or alley, must now be swept *daily*, a practice which has only been adopted within these few years in the City.

"Sewers' Office, Guildhall, London, Rakers' Duties,* Midsummer, 1851, to Midsummer, 1852.

"*Cleansing.*

"*The whole surface* of every Carriage-way, Court, and Alley shall be swept *every day* (Sundays excepted), and all mud, dust, filth, and rubbish, all frozen or partially frozen matter, and snow, animal and vegetable matter, and everything offensive or injurious, shall be properly pecked, scraped, swept up, and carted away therefrom; and the iron gutters laid across or along the footways, the air-grates over the sewers, the gulley-

* The reader will remember that in the historical sketch given of the progress of public scavengery, the word "Rakers" occurred in connection with the sworn master scavengers, &c., &c.; the word is now unknown to the trade, except that it appears on city documents.

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grates in the carriage-way of the streets respectively; and all public urinals are to be daily raked out, swept, and made clean and clear from all obstructions; and the Contractor or Contractors shall, in time of frost, continually keep the channels in the Streets and Places clear for water to run off: and cleanse and cart away refuse hogan or gravel (when called upon by the Inspector to do so) from all streets newly paved.

"The Mud and Dirt, &c., is to be carted away immediately that it is swept up.

"N.B. The Inspector of the District may, at any time he may think it necessary, order any Street or Place to be cleansed and swept a second time in any one day, and the Contractor or Contractors are thereupon bound to do the same.

"The Markets and their approaches are also to be thus cleansed DAILY, and the approaches thereto respectively are also to be thus cleansed at such an hour in the night of Saturday in each week as the Inspector of the District may direct.

"Every Street, Lane, Square, Yard, Court, Alley, Passage, and Place (except certain main Streets hereinafter enumerated), are to be thus cleansed within the following hours Daily: namely—

"In the months of April, May, June, July, August, and September. To be begun not earlier than 4 o'Clock in the morning, and finished not later than 1 o'Clock in the afternoon.

"In the months of October, November, December, January, February, and March. To be begun not earlier than 5 o'Clock in the morning, and finished not later than 2 o'Clock in the afternoon.

"The following main Streets are to be cleansed DAILY throughout the year (except Sundays), to be begun not earlier than 4 o'Clock in the morning, and finished not later than 9 o'Clock in the morning.

Fleet Street	Old Bailey
Ludgate Hill and Street	Lombard Street
St. Paul's Church Yard	New Bridge Street
Cheapside	Farringdon Street
Newgate Street	Aldersgate Street
Poultry	St. Martin-le-grand
Watling Street, Budge Row, and Cannon St.	Prince's Street
	Moorgate Street
Mansion House Street	The Street called 'The Pavement'
Cornhill	
Leadenhall Street	Finsbury Place, South
Aldgate Street and Aldgate	Gracechurch Street
	Bishopsgate St., within and without
King William Street and London Bridge	
	The Minories
Fenchurch Street	Wood Street
Holborn	Gresham Street
Holborn Bridge	Coleman Street.
Skinner Street	

"N.B. In times of frost and snow these hours of executing the work may be extended at the discretion of the Local Commissioners."

The other conditions relate to the removal of the dust from the houses (a subject I have already treated), and specify the fines, varying from 1*l.* to 5*l.*, to be paid by the contractors, for the violation or neglect of any of the provisions of the contract. It is further required that "Each Foreman, Sweeper, and Dustman, in the employ of either of the Contractors," (of whom there are four, Messrs. Sinnott, Rooke, Reddin, and Gould), "will be required to wear a Badge on the arm with these words thereon,—

"'London Sewers,
N°. —
Guildhall,'

by which means any one having cause of complaint against any of the men in the performance of their several duties, may, by taking down the number of the man and applying at the Sewers' Office, Guildhall, have reference to his name and employer.

"Any man working without his Badge, for each day he offends, the Contractor is liable to the penalty of Five Shillings.

"All the sweepings of the Streets, and all the dust and ashes from the Houses, are to be entirely carted away from the City of London, on a Penalty of *Ten Pounds* for each cart-load."

These terms sufficiently show the general nature of the contracts in question; the principal difference being that in some parts, the contractor is not required to sweep the streets more than once, twice, or thrice a week in ordinary weather.

The number of individuals in London styling themselves Master Scavengers is 34. Of these, 10 are at present without a contract either for dust or scavenging, and 5 have a contract for removing the dust only; so that, deducting these two numbers, the gross number 34 is reduced to 19 scavenging contractors. Of the latter number 16 are in a large way of business, having large yards, possessing several carts and some waggons, and employing a vast number of men daily in sweeping the streets, carting rubbish, &c. The other 3 masters, however, are only in a small way of business, being persons of more limited means. A *large* master scavenger employs from 3 to 18 carts, and from 18 to upwards of 40 men at scavengery alone, while a small master employs only from 1 to 3 carts and from 3 to 6 men. By the table I have given, p. 186, vol. ii., it is shown that there are 52 *contracts* between the several district authorities and master scavengers, and nineteen *contractors*, without counting members of the same family, as distinct individuals; this gives an average of nearly three distinct contracts per individual. The contracts are usually for a twelvemonth.

Although the table above referred to shows but 19 contractors for public scavenging, there are, as I have said, more, or about 24, in London, most of them in a "large way," and next year some of those who have no contracts at present may enter into agreements with the parishes. The smallness of this number, when we consider the vast extent of the metropolis, confirms the notion of the sort of monopoly and combination to which I have alluded. In the Post-Office Directory for 1851 there are no names under the heads of

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Scavengers or Dustmen, but under the head of "Rubbish Carters," 28 are given, 9 names being marked as "Dust Contractors" and 10 as "Nightmen."

Of large contractors, however, there are, as I have said, about 24, but they may not all obtain contracts every year, and in this number are included different members of the same family or firm, who may undertake specific contracts, although in the trade it is looked upon as "one concern." The smaller contractors were represented to me as rather more numerous than the others, and perhaps numbered 40, but it is not easy to define what is to be accounted a contractor. In the table given in pp. 213, 214, I cite only 7 as being the better known. The others may be considered as small rubbish-carters and flying-dustmen.

There are yet other transactions in which the contractors are engaged with the parishes, independently of their undertaking the whole labour of street and house cleansing. In the parishes where pauper, or "poor" labour is resorted to—for it is not always that the men employed by the parishes are positive "paupers," but rather the unemployed poor of the parish—in such parishes, I say, an agreement is entered into with a contractor for the deposit of the collected street dirt at his yard or wharf. For such deposit the contractor must of course be paid, as it is really an occupation and renting of a portion of his premises for a specific purpose. The street dirt, however, is usually left to the disposal of the contractor, for his own profit, and where he once paid 50*l.* for the possession of the street-collected dirt of a parish, collected by labour which was no cost to him, he may now *receive* half of such 50*l.*, or whatever the terms of the agreement may be. I heard of one contractor who lately received 25*l.* where he once paid 50*l.*

In another way, too, contractors are employed by parishes. Where pauper or poor labour in street cleansing is the practice, a contractor's horses, carts, and cart-drivers are hired for the conveyance of the dirt from the streets. This of course is for a specific payment, and is in reality the work of the tradesmen who in the Post Office Directory are described as "Rubbish Carters," and of whom I shall have to speak afterwards. Some parishes or paving boards have, however, their own horses and vehicles, but in the other respects they have dealings with the contractors.

To come to as correct a conclusion as possible in this complicated and involved matter, I have obtained the aid of some gentlemen long familiar with such procedures. One of them said that to procure the accounts of such transactions for a series of years, with all their chops and changes, or to obtain a perfectly precise return, for any three years, affecting the whole metropolis, would be the work of a parliamentary commission with full powers "to send for papers," &c., &c., and that even *then* the result might not be satisfactory as a clear exposition. However, with the aid of the gentlemen alluded to, I venture upon the following approximation.

As my present inquiry relates only to the Scavenging Contractors in the metropolis, I will take the number of districts, markets, &c., which are specified in the table, p. 186, vol. ii. These are 83 in number, of which 29 are shown to be scavenged by the "parish." I will not involve in this computation any of the more rural places which may happen to be in the outskirts of the metropolitan area, but I will take the contracts as 54, where the contractors do the entire work, and as 29 where they are but the rubbish-carters and dirt receivers of the parishes.

I am assured that it is a fair calculation that the scavengery of the streets, apart from the removal of the dust from the houses, costs in payments to the contractors, 150*l.* as an average, to each of the several 54 districts; and that in the 29 localities in which the streets are cleansed by parish labour, the sum paid is at the rate of 50*l.* per locality, some of them, as the five districts of Marylebone for instance, being very large. This is calculated regardless of the cases where parishes may have their own horses and vehicles, for the cost to the rate-payers may not be very materially different, between paying for the hire of carts and horses, and investing capital in their purchase and incurring the expense of wear and tear. The account then stands thus:—

Parish payment on 54 contracts, 150*l.* each	£8100
Parish payment on 29 contracts, 50*l.* each	1450
Yearly total sum paid for Scavenging of the Metropolis	£9550

or, apportioned among 19 *contractors*, upwards of 500*l.* each; and among 83 *contracts*, about 115*l.* per *contract*. Even if other contractors are employed where parish labour is pursued, the cost to the rate-payers is the same. This calculation is made, as far as possible, as regards scavengery alone; and is independent of the value of the refuse collected. It is about the scavengery that the grand fight takes place between the parishes and contractors; the house dust, being uninjured by rain or street surface-water, is more available for trade purposes.

From this it would appear that the cost of cleansing the streets of London may be estimated in round numbers at 10,000*l.* per annum.

The next point in the inquiry is, What is the value of the street dirt annually collected?

The price I have adduced for the dirt gained from the streets is 3*s.* per load, which is a very reasonable average. If the load be dung, or even chiefly dung, it is worth 5*s.* or 6*s.* With the proportion of dung and street refuse to be found in such a thoroughfare as the Haymarket, in dry, or comparatively dry weather, a load, weighing about a ton, is worth about 3*s.* in the purchaser's own cart. On the other hand, as I have shown that quantities of mixed or slop "mac" have to be wasted, that some is sold at a nominal price, and a good deal at 1*s.* the load, 3*s.* is certainly a fair average.

Thus the annual sum of the street-dirt, as re-

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A TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEN AND CARTS EMPLOYED IN COLLECTING DUST, IN SCAVENGERY, AND AT RUBBISH CARTING, AS WELL AS THE NUMBER OF MEN, WOMEN, AND BOYS WORKING IN THE DUST-YARDS OF THE SEVERAL METROPOLITAN CONTRACTORS.

	Dust.		Scavengery.		Rubbish Carting.		Working in the Yard.		
Contractors (Large).	Number of Men employed.	Number of Carts used.	Number of Men employed.	Number of Carts, Waggons, or Machines used.	Number of Men employed.	Number of Carts used.	Number of Men employed.	Number of Women employed.	Number of Boys working.
Mr. Dodd	20	10	26	13	20	20	9	12	4
" Gould	20	10	28	11	11	11	5	15	4
" Redding	32	16	41	18	22	22	5	12	4
" Gore	32	16	18	7	none.	none.	4	20	6
" Rooke	16	8	16	6	16	16	2	6	3
" Stapleton & Holdsworth	10	5	11	8	10	10	4	8	2
" Tame	20	10	5	1	12	12	4	8	2
" Starkey	10	5	22	8	none.	none.	4	12	3
" Newman	8	4	23	10	8	8	4	8	2
" Pratt and Sewell	10	5	4	2	20	20	2	6	2
" W. Sinnott, Sen.	28	14	5	2	none.	none.	5	15	5
" J. Sinnott	8	4	16	6	ditto.	ditto.	none.	none.	none.
" Westley	10	5	18	9	ditto.	ditto.	3	9	2
" Parsons	10	5	18	3	ditto.	ditto.	2	6	1
" Hearne	18	9	7	2	20	20	3	9	3
" Humphries	20	10	4	1	6	6	3	9	3
" Calvert	6	3	none.	none.	7	7	2	6	2
	278	139	262	107	152	152	61	161	48
Contractors (Small).									
Mr. North	4	2	2	1	4	4	1	2	1
" Milton	6	3	none.	none.	none.	none.	3	6	2
" Jenkins	2	1	5	1	ditto.	ditto.	1	2	1
" Stroud	10	5	none.	none.	ditto.	ditto.	4	9	3
" Martin	2	1	6	3	ditto.	ditto.	1	2	1
" Clutterbuck	4	2	none.	none.	5	5	1	3	1
" W. Sinnott, Jun.	4	2	ditto.	ditto.	6	6	1	2	1
	32	16	13	5	15	15	12	26	10
Contractors, but not having any contract at present, only carting rubbish, &c.									
Mr. Darke	...	...	...	...	36	36			
" Tomkins	...	...	...	...	6	6			
" J. Cooper	...	...	...	...	8	8			
" T. Cooper, Sen.	...	...	...	...	12	12			
" Athill	...	...	...	...	6	6			
" Barnett (lately sold off)									
" Brown	...	...	...	...	4	4			
" Ellis	...	...	...	...	6	6			
" Limpus	...	...	...	...	10	10			
" Emmerson	...	...	...	...	6	6			
					94	94			

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Machines.	Dust.		Scavengers.		Rubbish.		Employed in Yard.		
	Men.	Carts.	Men.	Carts.	Men.	Carts.	Men.	Women.	Children.
Woods and Forests	none.	none.	4	2 machines.	none.	none.	none.	none.	none.
Regent-street and Pall-mall.	ditto.	ditto.	12	2 "	ditto.	ditto.	ditto.	ditto.	ditto.
St. Martin's	ditto.	ditto.	9	4 "	ditto.	ditto.	ditto.	ditto.	ditto.
			25	8 "					
Parishes.									
Kensington *	...	...	5	2					
Chelsea *	...	...	5	2					
St. George's, Hanover-sq.* .	...	...	5	1					
St. Margaret's, Westminster*	...	...	7	3					
Piccadilly *	...	...	28	2					
St. Ann's, Soho *	...	...	4	2					
Paddington *	...	...	6	2					
St. Marylebone *(5 Districts)	...	...	35	4					
St. James's, Westminster...	...	...	2	1					
Hampstead	No parochial removal of dust.		4	1					
Highgate	ditto.		4	1					
Islington *	...	...	8	1					
Hackney	8	4	7	1	...	...	2	6	2
St. Clement Danes *	...	...	7	3 waggons.					
Commercial-road, East * ...	...	...	6	3 carts.					
Poplar	4	2	4	1	...	...	2	4	1
Bermondsey	6	3	6	3	...	...	3	6	2
Newington	8	4	6	2	...	...	2	6	2
Lambeth *	...	...	16	3					
Ditto (Christchurch).........	4	2	20	3	...	...	1	4	1
Wandsworth	4	2	4	1	...	...	1	4	1
Camberwell and Walworth	8	4	6	2	...	...	2	5	3
Rotherhithe	6	3	5	2	...	...	1	5	2
Greenwich	4	2	5	2	...	...	1	3	1
Deptford	4	2	4	2	...	...	1	3	1
Woolwich	none.	none.	5	2					
Lewisham.....................	ditto.	ditto	4	1					
Total for Parishes	56	28	218	50 carts. 3 waggons.			16	46	16
Total for large contractors .	278	139	262	107	152	152	61	161	48
Total for small contractors .	32	16	13	5	15	15	12	26	10
Total for machines	...	...	25	8 machines.					
Total for street orderlies ...	...	...	60	9					
Gross total	366	183	578	179 carts. 3 waggons.	167	167	89	233	74

	Men.	Carts.
Total employed at dust	366	183
" " scavenging	578	179
" " rubbish carting............................	167	167
" (men, women, and children), in yard	396	
Total employed in the removal of house and street refuse	1507	529

* The parishes marked thus * have their dustmen and dust-carts, as well as the rubbish carting and the individuals in the dust-yard, reckoned in the numbers employed by the contractors.

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gards the quantity collected by the contracting scavengers (as shown in the table given at page 186), is, in round numbers, 89,000 cart-loads; that collected by parish labour, with or without the aid of the street-sweeping machines, at 52,000 cart-loads, or a total (I do not include what is collected by the orderlies) of 141,000 loads.

This result shows, then, that the contractors yearly collect by scavenging the streets with their own paid labourers, and receive as the produce of pauper labour, as follows:—

	Loads of Street Dirt.	Per Load.	Total.
By Contractors .	89,000	3*s.*	£13,350
By Parishes . .	52,000	3*s.*	7,800
Total . .	141,000		£21,150

or a value of rather more than 1113*l.* as the return to each individual contractor in the table, or about 255*l.* as the average on each contract. As, however, the whole of the parish-collected manure does not come into the hands of the contractors, it will be fair, I am assured, to compute the total at 19,000*l.*, a sum of 1000*l.* to each contractor, or nearly 229*l.* on each contract.

It would appear, then, that the total receipts of the contractors for the scavenging of London amount to very nearly 30,000*l.*; that is to say, 10,000*l.* as remuneration for the office, and 20,000*l.* as the value of the dirt collected. But against this sum as received, we have to set the gross expense of wages paid to men, wear and tear of carts and appliances, rent of wharfs, interest for money, &c.

Concerning the amount paid in wages, it appears by the table at pp. 186, 187, that the men employed by the scavenging contractors in wet weather, are 260 daily (being nearly half of the whole force of 531 men, the orderlies excepted). In dry weather, however, there are only 194 men employed. I will therefore calculate upon 194 men employed daily, and 66 employed half the year, making the total of 260. By the table here given, it will be seen that the total number of scavengers employed by the large and small contractors, is 275.

Number of Men.	Weekly Wage.	Yearly.
194 (for 12 months)	16*s.* *	£8070 8*s.*
66 (for 6 months)	16*s.*	1372 16*s.*
Total . .		£9443 4*s.*

There remains now to show the amount of capital which a large contractor must embark in his business: I include the amount of rent, and the expenditure on what must be provided for business purposes, and which is subject to wear and tear, to decay, and loss.

* I have computed all the weekly wages at 16*s.*, though some of the men are paid only 14*s.* My object in this is to give the contractors the benefit of the difference.

There are not now, I am told, more than twelve scavengers' wharfs and 20 yards (the wharf being also a yard) in the possession of the contractors in regular work. These are the larger contractors, and their capital, I am assured, may be thus estimated:—

CAPITAL OF THE MASTER SCAVENGERS.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
179 Carts, 21*l.* each . . .	3,759	0	0
3 Waggons, 32*l.* each . .	96	0	0
230 Horses, 25*l.* each . .	5,750	0	0
230 Sets of harness, 2*l.* each .	460	0	0
600 Brooms, 9*d.* each . .	22	10	0
300 Shovels, 1*s.* each . .	15	0	0
100 Barges, 50*l.* each . . .	5,000	0	0
Total . .	15,102	10	0

I have estimated according to what may be the *present* value, not the original cost, of the implements, vehicles, &c. A broom, when new, costs 1*s.* 2*d.*, and is worn out in two or three weeks. A shovel, when new, costs 2*s.*

The following appears to be the

YEARLY EXPENDITURE OF THE MASTER SCAVENGERS.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Wages to working scavengers (as before shown).	9,443	0	0
Wages to 48 bargemen, engaged in unloading the vessels with street-dirt, 4 men to each of 12 wharfs, at 16*s.* weekly wage	1,996	0	0
Keep of 300 horses (26*l.* each) .	7,800	0	0
Wear and tear (say 15 per cent. on capital)	2,250	0	0
Rent of 20 wharfs and yards (average 100*l.* each)	2,000	0	0
Interest on 15,000*l.* capital, at 10 per cent.	1,500	0	0
	£24,989	0	0

I have endeavoured in this estimate to confine myself, as much as possible, to the separate subject of scavengery, but it must be borne in mind that as the large contractors are dustmen as well as scavengers, the great charges for rent and barges cannot be considered as incurred solely on account of the street-dirt trade. Including, then, the payments from parishes, the account will stand thus:—

YEARLY RECEIPTS OF MASTER SCAVENGERS.

From Parishes	£9,450
From Manure, &c.	19,000
Total Income	£28,450
Deduct yearly Expenditure .	25,000
Profit .	£3,450

This gives a profit of nearly 182*l.* to each contractor, if equally apportioned, or a little more than 41*l.* on each contract for street-scavenging

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alone, and a profit no doubt affected by circumstances which cannot very well be reduced to figures. The profit may appear small, but it should be remembered that it is *independent* of the profits on the dust.

Of the Contractors' (or Employers') Premises, &c.

At page 171 of the present volume I have described one of the yards devoted to the trade in house-dust, and I have little to say in addition regarding the premises of the contracting or employing scavengers. They are the same places, and the industrious pursuits carried on there, and the division and subdivision of labour, relate far more to the dustmen's department than to the scavengers'. When the produce of the sweeping of the streets has been thrown into the cart, it is so far ready for use that it has not to be sifted or prepared, as has the house-dust, for the formation of brieze, &c., the "mac" being sifted by the purchaser.

These yards or wharfs are far less numerous and better conducted now than they were ten years ago. They are at present fast disappearing from the banks of the Thames (there is, however, one still at Whitefriars and one at Milbank). They are chiefly to be found on the banks of the canals. Some of the principal wharfs near Maiden-lane, St. Pancras, are to be found among unpaven, or ill-paved, or imperfectly macadamized roads, along which run rows of what were once evidently pleasant suburban cottages, with their green porches and their trained woodbine, clematis, jasmine, or monthly roses; these tenements, however, are now occupied chiefly by the labourers at the adjacent stone, coal, lime, timber, dust, and general wharfs. Some of the cottages still presented, on my visits, a blooming display of dahlias and other autumnal flowers; and in one corner of a very large and very black-looking dust-yard, in which rose a huge mound of dirt, was the cottage residence of the man who remained in charge of the wharf all night, and whose comfortable-looking abode was embedded in flowers, blooming luxuriantly. The gay-tinted holly-hocks and dahlias are in striking contrast with the dinginess of the dust-yards, while the canal flows along, dark, sluggish, and muddy, as if to be in keeping with the wharf it washes.

The dust-yards must not be confounded with the "night-yards," or the places where the contents of the cess-pools are deposited, places which, since the passing of the Sanatory Act, are rapidly disappearing.

Upon entering a dust-yard there is generally found a heavy oppressive sort of atmosphere, more especially in wet or damp weather. This is owing to the tendency of charcoal to absorb gases, and to part with them on being saturated with moisture. The cinder-heaps of the several dust-yards, with their million pores, are so many huge gasometers retaining all the offensive gases arising from the putrefying organic matters which usually accompany them, and parting with such gases immediately on a fall of rain. It would be a curious calculation to estimate the quantity of deleterious gas thus poured into the atmosphere after a slight shower.

The question has been raised as to the propriety of devoting some special locality to the purposes of dust-yards, and it is certainly a question deserving public attention.

The chief disposal of the street manure is from barges, sent by the Thames or along the canals, and sold to farmers and gardeners. In the larger wharfs, and in those considered removed from the imputation of "scurfdom," six men, and often but four, are employed to load a barge which contains from 30 to 40 tons. In such cases the dust-yard and the wharf are one and the same place. The contents of these barges are mixed, about one-fourth being "mac," the rest street-mud and dung. This admixture, on board the vessel, is called by the bargemen and the contractors' servants at the wharfs Leicester (properly Læsta, a load). We have the same term at the end of our word bal-*last*.

I am assured by a wharfinger, who has every means of forming a correct judgment, it may be estimated that there are dispatched from the contractors' wharfs twelve barges daily, freighted with street-manure. This is independent of the house-dust barged to the country brick-fields. The weight of the cargo of a barge of manure is about 40 tons; 36 tons being a low average. This gives 3744 barge-loads, or 132,784 tons, or loads, yearly; for it must be recollected that the dirt gathered by pauper labour is dispatched from the contractors' yards or wharfs, as well as that collected by the immediate servants of the contractors. The price per barge-load at the canal, basin, or wharf, in the country parts where agriculture flourishes, is from 5*l.* to 6*l.*, making a total of 20,594*l.* The difference of that sum, and the total given in the table (21,147*l.*) may be accounted for on the supposition that the remainder is sold in the yards and carted away thence. The slop and valueless dirt is not included in this calculation.

Of the Working Scavengers under the Contractors.

I have now to deal with what throughout the whole course of my inquiry into the state of London Labour and the London Poor I have considered the great object of investigation—the condition and characteristics of the working men; and what is more immediately the "labour question," the relation of the labourer to his employer, as to rates of payment, modes of payment, hiring of labourers, constancy or inconstancy of work, supply of hands, the many points concerning wages, perquisites, family work, and parochial or club relief.

First, I shall give an account of the class employment, together with the labour season and earnings of the labourers, or "economical" part of the subject. I shall then pass to the social points, concerning their homes, general expenditure, &c., and then to the more moral and intellectual questions of education, literature, politics, religion,

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marriage, and concubinage of the men and of their families. All this will refer, it should be remembered, only to the working scavagers in the honourable or better-paid trade; the cheaper labourers I shall treat separately as a distinct class; the details in both cases I shall illustrate with the statement of men of the class described.

The first part of this multifarious subject appertains to the division of labour. This in the scavaging trade consists rather of that kind of "gang-work" which Mr. Wakefield styles "simple co-operation," or the working together of a number of people at the same thing, as opposed to "complex co-operation," or the working together of a number at *different branches* of the same thing. Simple co-operation is of course the ruder kind; but even this, rude as it appears, is far from being barbaric. "The savages of New Holland," we are told, "never help each other even in the most simple operations; and their condition is hardly superior—in some respects it is inferior—to that of the wild animals which they now and then catch."

As an instance of the advantages of "simple co-operation," Mr. Wakefield tells us that "in a vast number of simple operations performed by human exertion, it is quite obvious that two men working together will do more than four, or four times four men, each of whom should work alone. In the lifting of heavy weights, for example, in the felling of trees, in the gathering of much hay and corn during a short period of fine weather, in draining a large extent of land during the short season when such a work may be properly conducted, in the pulling of ropes on board ship, in the rowing of large boats, in some mining operations, in the erection of a scaffolding for a building, and in the breaking of stones for the repair of a road, so that the whole road shall always be kept in good repair—in all these simple operations, and thousands more, it is absolutely necessary that many persons should work together at the same time, in the same place, and in the same way."

To the above instances of simple co-operation, or gang-working, as it may be briefly styled in Saxon English, Mr. Wakefield might have added dock labour and scavaging.

The principle of complex co-operation, however, is not entirely unknown in the public cleansing trade. This business consists of as many branches as there are distinct kinds of refuse, and these appear to be four. There are (1) the wet and (2) the dry *house*-refuse (or dust and night-soil), and (3) the wet and (4) the dry *street* refuse (or mud and rubbish); and in these four different branches of the one general trade the principle of complex co-operation is found commonly, though not invariably, to prevail.

The difference as to the class employments of the general body of public cleansers—the dustmen, street-sweepers, nightmen, and rubbish carters—seems to be this:—any nightman will work as a dustman or scavager; but it is not all the dustmen and scavagers who will work as nightmen. The reason is almost obvious. The avocations of the dustman and the nightman are in some degree hereditary. A rude man provides for the future maintenance of his sons in the way which is most patent to his notice; he makes the boy share in his own labour, and grow up unfit for anything else.

The regular working scavagers are then generally a distinct class from the working dustmen, and are all paid by the week, while the dustmen are paid by the load. In very wet weather, when there is a great quantity of "slop" in the streets, a dustman is often called upon to lend a helping hand, and sometimes when a working scavager is out of employ, in order to keep himself from want, he goes to a "job of dust work," but seldom from any other cause.

In a parish where there is a crowded population, the dustman's labours consume, on an average, from six to eight hours a day. In scavagery, the average hours of daily work are twelve (Sundays of course excepted), but they sometimes extended to fifteen, and even sixteen hours, in places of great business traffic; while in very fine dry weather, the twelve hours may be abridged by two, three, four, or even more. Thus it is manifest that the consumption of time alone prevents the same working men being simultaneously dustmen and scavagers. In the more remote and quiet parishes, however, and under the management of the smaller contractors, the opposite arrangement frequently exists; the operative is a scavager one day, and a dustman the next. This is not the case in the busier districts, and with the large contractors, unless exceptionally, or on an emergency.

If the scavagers or dustmen have completed their street and house labours in a shorter time than usual, there is generally some sort of employment for them in the yards or wharfs of the contractors, or they may sometimes avail themselves of their leisure to enjoy themselves in their own way. In many parts, indeed, as I have shown, the street-sweeping must be finished by noon, or earlier.

Concerning the *division of labour*, it may be said, that the principle of complex co-operation in the scavaging trade exists only in its rudest form, for the characteristics distinguishing the labour of the working scavagers are far from being of that complicated nature common to many other callings.

As regards the act of sweeping or scraping the streets, the labour is performed by the *gangsman* and his *gang*. The gangsman usually loads the cart, and occasionally, when a number are employed in a district, acts as a foreman by superintending them, and giving directions; he is a working scavager, but has the office of overlooker confided to him, and receives a higher amount of wage than the others.

For the completion of the street-work there are the *one-horse carmen* and the *two-horse carmen*, who are also working scavagers, and so called from their having to load the carts drawn by one or two horses. These are the men who shovel into the cart the dirt swept or scraped to one

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side of the public way by the gang (some of it mere slop), and then drive the cart to its destination, which is generally their master's yard. Thus far only does the street-labour extend. The carmen have the care of the vehicles in cleaning them, greasing the wheels, and such like, but the horses are usually groomed by stablemen, who are not employed in the streets.

The division of labour, then, among the working scavagers, may be said to be as follows :—

1st. The *ganger*, whose office it is to superintend the gang, and shovel the dirt into the cart.

2nd. The gang, which consists of from three to ten or twelve men, who sweep in a row and collect the dirt in heaps ready for the ganger to shovel into the cart.

3rd. The carman (one-horse or two-horse, as the case may be), who attends to the horse and cart, brushes the dirt into the ganger's shovel, and assists the ganger in wet sloppy weather in carting the dirt, and then takes the mud to the place where it is deposited.

There is only one *mode of payment* for the above labours pursued among the master scavagers, and that is by the week.

1st. The ganger receives a weekly salary of 18*s.* when working for an "honourable" master; with a "scurf," however, the ganger's pay is but 16*s.* a week.

2nd. The gang receive in a large establishment each 16*s.* per week, but in a small one they usually get from 14*s.* to 15*s.* a week. When working for a small master they have often, by working over hours, to "make eight days to the week instead of six."

3rd. The one-horse carman receives 16*s.* a week in a large, and 15*s.* in a small establishment.

4th. The two-horse carman receives 18*s.* weekly, but is employed only by the larger masters.

On the opposite page I give a table on this point.

Some of these men are paid by the day, some by the week, and some on Wednesdays and Saturdays, perhaps in about equal proportions, the "casuals" being mostly paid by the day, and the regular hands (with some exceptions among the scurfs) once or twice a week. The chance hands are sometimes engaged for a half day, and, as I was told, "jump at a bob and a joey (1*s.* 4*d.*), or at a bob." I heard of one contractor who not unfrequently said to any foreman or gangsman who mentioned to him the applications for work, "O, give the poor devils a turn, if it's only for a day now and then."

Piece-work, or, as the scavagers call it, "by the load," *did* at one time prevail, but not to any great extent. The prices varied, according to the nature and the state of the road, from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* the load. The system of piece-work was never liked by the men; it seems to have been resorted to less as a system, or mode of labour, than to insure assiduity on the part of the working scavagers, when a rapid street-cleansing was desirable. It was rather in the favour of the working man's *individual* emoluments than otherwise, as may be shown in the following way. In Battle-bridge, four men collect five loads in dry, and six men seven loads in wet weather. If the average piece hire be 2*s.* 3*d.* a load, it is 2*s.* 9¾*d.* for each of the five men's day's work; if 2*s.* 2*d.* a load, it is 2*s.* 8½*d.* (the regular wage, and an extra halfpenny); if 2*s.*, it is 2*s.* 6*d.*; and if less (which has been paid), the day's wage is not lower than 2*s.* At the lowest rates, however, the men, I was informed, could not be induced to take the necessary pains, as they *would* struggle to "make up half-a-crown;" while, if the streets were scavaged in a slovenly manner, the contractor was sure to hear from his friends of the parish that he was not acting up to his contract. I could not hear of any men now set to piece-work within the precincts of the places specified in the table. This extra work and scamping work are the two great evils of the piece system.

In their payments to their men the contractors show a superiority to the practices of some traders, and even of some dock-companies—the men are never paid at public-houses; the payment, moreover, is always in money. One contractor told me that he would like all his men to be teetotallers, if he could get them, though he was not one himself.

But these remarks refer only to the *nominal* wages of the scavagers; and I find the nominal wages of operatives in many cases are widely different (either from some additions by way of perquisites, &c., or deductions by way of fines, &c., but oftener the latter) from the *actual* wages received by them. Again, the average wages, or gross yearly income of the casually-employed men, are very different from those of the constant hands; so are the gains of a particular individual often no criterion of the general or average earnings of the trade. Indeed I find that the several varieties of wages may be classified as follows:—

1. *Nominal Wages.*—Those said to be paid in a trade.

2. *Actual Wages.*—Those *really* received, and which are equal to the nominal wages, *plus* the additions to, or *minus* the deductions from, them.

3. *Casual Wages.*—The earnings of the men who are only occasionally employed.

4. *Average Casual or Constant Wages.*—Those obtained throughout the year by such as are either occasionally or regularly employed.

5. *Individual Wages.* — Those of particular hands, whether belonging to the scurf or honourable trade, whether working long or short hours, whether partially or fully employed, and the like.

6. *General Wages.*—Or the *average* wages of the whole trade, constant or casual, fully or partially employed, honourable or scurf, long and short hour men, &c., &c., all lumped together and the mean taken of the whole.

Now in the preceding account of the working scavagers' mode and rate of payment I have spoken only of the nominal wages; and in order to arrive at their actual wages we must, as we have seen, ascertain what additions and what deductions are generally made to and from this

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TABLE SHOWING THE DIVISION OF LABOUR, MODE AND RATES OF PAYMENT, NATURE OF WORK PERFORMED, TIME UNEMPLOYED, AND AVERAGE EARNINGS OF THE OPERATIVE SCAVAGERS OF LONDON.

OPERATIVE SCAVAGERS.	Mode of Payment.	Rates of Payment.	Nature of Work performed.	Time unemployed during the Year.	Average casual (or constant) gains throughout the Year.
I. *Manual Labourers.*					
A. Better Paid.					
Ganger	By the day.	18s. weekly, and 2s. allowance.	To load the cart and superintend the men.	Not two days during the year.	20s. per week.
Carman (2 horse)	,, ,,	18s. weekly, and 2s. allowance.	To take care of the horses, help to load the cart, and take the dirt and slop to the dust-yard.	Seldom or never out of employment.	20s. ,,
Ditto (1 horse)	,, ,,	16s. weekly, and 2s. allowance.	Ditto. ditto. ditto.	Ditto. ditto.	18s. ,,
Sweepers	,, ,,	16s. weekly, and 2s. allowance.	To sweep the district to which they are sent, and collect the dirt or slop ready for carting away.	About three months during the year.	13s. 6d. ,,
B. Worse Paid.					
Ganger	,, ,,	16s. weekly, and 1s. allowance.	To load the cart and superintend the men.	Three months during the year.	12s. 9d. ,,
Carman	,, ,,	15s. weekly, and 1s. allowance.	To take charge of the horse and cart, help to load the cart, and take the dirt or slop to the dust-yard.	Ditto. ditto.	12s. ,,
Sweepers	,, ,,	15s. weekly, and 1s. allowance.	To sweep the district, collect the dirt or slop ready for carting off, work in the yard, and load the barge.	Ditto. ditto.	12s. ,,
II. *Machine Men.*					
Carman	,, ,,	16s. weekly.	To take charge of the horse and machine, collect the dirt and take it to the yard.	Ditto. ditto.	12s. ,,
Sweepers	,, ,,	16s. weekly.	To sweep where the machine cannot touch, work in the yard, and load the barges.	Ditto. ditto.	12s. ,,
III. *Parish Men.*					
A. Out-door Paupers.					
1. Paid in Money.					
Married men	,, ,,	9s. weekly.	Sweep the streets and courts belonging to the parish, and collect the dirt or slop ready for carting away.	Six months during the year.	4s. 6d. ,,
Single men	,, ,,	6s. weekly.	Ditto. ditto. ditto.	Ditto. ditto.	3s. ,,
2. Paid part in kind.					
Married men	,, ,,	6s. 9d. weekly, and 3 quartern loaves.	Ditto. ditto. ditto.	Ditto. ditto.	3s. 4½d. and 3 quartern loaves weekly.
Single men	,, ,,	5s. and 3 half-quartern loaves.	Ditto. ditto. ditto.	Ditto. ditto.	2s. 6d. and 3 half-quartern loaves weekly.
B. In-door Paupers	All in kind.	Food, lodging, and clothes.	Ditto. ditto. ditto.	....	Food, lodging, and clothes.
IV. *Street-Orderlies.*					
Foreman or Ganger	By the day.	15s. weekly.	Superintend the men and see that their work is done well.		
Sweepers	,, ,,	12s. weekly.	Collect the dirt or slop ready for carting away.		
Barrow men	,, ,,	....	Collect the short dung as it gathers in the district to which they are appointed.		
Barrow boys	,, ,,	....	Ditto. ditto. ditto.		

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amount. The deductions in the honourable trade are, as usual, inconsiderable.

All the *tools* used by operative scavagers are supplied to them by their employers—the tools being only brooms and shovels; and for this supply there are *no stoppages* to cover the expense.

Neither by *fines* nor by way of *security* are the men's wages reduced.

The *truck system*, moreover, is unknown, and has never prevailed in the trade. I heard of only one instance of an approach to it. A yard foreman, some years ago, who had a great deal of influence with his employer, had a chandler's-shop, managed by his wife, and it was broadly intimated to the men that they must make their purchases there. Complaints, however, were made to the contractor, and the foreman dismissed. One man of whom I inquired did not even know what the "truck system" meant; and when informed, thought they were "pretty safe" from it, as the contractor had nothing which he *could* truck with the men, and if "he polls us hisself," the man said, "he's not likely to let anybody else do it."

There are, moreover, no trade-payments to which the men are subjected; there are no trade-societies among the working men, no benefit nor sick clubs; neither do parochial relief and family labour characterize the regular hands in the honourable trade, although in sickness they may have no other resource.

Indeed, the working scavagers employed by the more honourable portion of the trade, instead of having any deductions made from their nominal wages, have rather additions to them in the form of perquisites coming from the public. These perquisites consist of allowances of beer-money, obtained in the same manner as the dustmen—not through the medium of their employers (though, to say the least, through their sufferance), but from the householders of the parish in which their labours are prosecuted.

The scavagers, it seems, are not required to sweep any places considered "private," nor even to sweep the public foot-paths; and when they *do* sweep or carry away the refuse of a butcher's premises, for instance—for, by law, the butcher is required to do so himself—they receive a gratuity. In the contract entered into by the city scavagers, it is expressly covenanted that no men employed shall accept gratuities from the householders; a condition little or not at all regarded, though I am told that these gratuities become less every year. I am informed also by an experienced butcher, who had at one time a private slaughter-house in the Borough, that, until within these six or seven years, he thought the scavagers, and even the dustmen, would carry away entrails, &c., in the carts, from the butcher's and the knacker's premises, for an allowance.

I cannot learn that the contractors, whether of the honourable or scurf trade, take any advantage of these "allowances." A working scavager receives the same wage, when he enjoys what I heard called in another trade "the height of perquisites," or is employed in a locality where there are no such additions to his wages. I believe, however, that the contracting scavagers let their best and steadiest hands have the best perquisited work.

These perquisites, I am assured, average from 1*s.* to 2*s.* a week, but one butcher told me he thought 1*s.* 6*d.* might be rather too high an average, for a pint of beer (2*d.*) was the customary sum given, and that was, or ought to be, divided among the gang. "In my opinion," he said, "there 'll be no allowances in a year or two." By the amount of these perquisites, then, the scavagers' gains are so far enhanced.

The wages, therefore, of an operative scavager in full employ, and working for the "honourable" portion of the trade, may be thus expressed:—

Nominal weekly wages	16*s.*
Perquisites in the form of allowances for beer from the public	2*s.*
Actual weekly wages	18*s.*

OF THE "CASUAL HANDS" AMONG THE SCAVAGERS.

OF the scavagers proper there are, as in all classes of unskilled labour, that is to say, of labour which requires no previous apprenticeship, and to which any one can "turn his hand" on an emergency, two distinct orders of workmen, "the *regulars* and *casuals*" to adopt the trade terms; that is to say, the labourers consist of those who have been many years at the trade, constantly employed at it, and those who have but recently taken to it as a means of obtaining a subsistence after their ordinary resources have failed. This mixture of *constant* and *casual* hands is, moreover, a necessary consequence of all trades which depend upon the seasons, and in which an additional number of labourers are required at different periods. Such is necessarily the case with dock labour, where an easterly wind prevailing for several days deprives *thousands of work*, and where the change from a foul to a fair wind causes an equally inordinate demand for workmen. The same temporary increase of employment takes place in the agricultural districts at harvesting time, and the same among the hop growers in the picking season; and it will be hereafter seen that there are the same labour fluctuations in the scavaging trade, a greater or lesser number of hands being required, of course, according as the season is wet or dry.

This occasional increase of employment, though a benefit in some few cases (as enabling a man suddenly deprived of his ordinary means of living to obtain "a job of work" until he can "turn himself round"), is generally a most alarming evil in a State. What are the casual hands to do when the extra employment ceases? Those who have paid attention to the subject of dock labour and the subject of casual labour in general, may form some notion of the vast mass of misery that must be generally existing in London. The

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subject of hop-picking again belongs to the same question. Here are thousands of the very poorest employed only for a few days in the year. What, the mind naturally asks, do they after their short term of honest independence has ceased? With dock labour the poor man's bread depends upon the very winds; in scavaging and in street life generally it depends upon the rain; and in market-gardening, harvesting, hop-picking, and the like, it depends upon the sunshine. How many thousands in this huge metropolis have to look immediately to the very elements for their bread, it is overwhelming to contemplate; and yet, with all this fitfulness of employment we wonder that an extended knowledge of reading and writing does not produce a decrease of crime! We should, however, ask ourselves whether men can stay their hunger with alphabets or grow fat on spelling books; and wanting employment, and consequently food, and objecting to the *incarceration* of the workhouse, can we be astonished—indeed is it not a natural law—that they should help themselves to the property of others?

Concerning the "regular hands" of the contracting scavagers, it may, perhaps, be reasonable to compute that little short of one-half of them have been "to the manner born." The others are, as I have said, what these regular hands call "casuals," or "casualties." As an instance of the peculiar mixture of the regular and casual hands in the scavaging trade, I may state that one of my informants told me he had, at one period, under his immediate direction, fourteen men, of whom the former occupations had been as follows:—

7 Always Scavagers (or dustmen, and six of them nightmen when required).
1 Pot-boy at a public-house (but only as a boy).
1 Stable-man (also nightman).
1 Formerly a pugilist, then a showman's assistant.
1 Navvy.
1 Ploughman (nightman occasionally).
2 Unknown, one of them saying, but gaining no belief, that he had once been a gentleman.

14

In my account of the street orderlies will be given an interesting and elaborate statement of the former avocations, the habits, expenditure, &c., of a body of street-sweepers, 67 in number. This table will be found very curious, as showing what classes of men have been *driven* to street-sweeping, but it will not furnish a criterion of the character of the "regular hands" employed by the contractors.

The "casuals" or the "casualties" (always called among the men "cazzelties"), may be more properly described as men whose employment is accidental, chanceful, or uncertain. The regular hands of the scavagers are apt to designate any new comer, even for a permanence, any sweeper not reared to or versed in the business, a casual ("cazzel"). I shall, however, here deal with the "casual hands," not only as hands newly introduced into the trade, but as men of chanceful and irregular employment.

These persons are now, I understand, numerous in all branches of unskilled labour, willing to undertake or attempt any kind of work, but perhaps there is a greater tendency on the part of the surplus unskilled to turn to scavaging, from the fact that any broken-down man seems to account himself competent to sweep the streets.

To ascertain the number of these casual or outside labourers in the scavaging trade is difficult, for, as I have said, they are willing in their need to attempt any kind of work, and so may be "casuals" in divers departments of unskilled labour.

I do not think that I can better approximate the number of casuals than by quoting the opinion of a contracting scavager familiar with his workmen and their ways. He considered that there were always nearly as many hands on the look-out for a job in the streets, as there were regularly employed at the business by the large contractors; this I have shown to be 262, let us estimate therefore the number of casuals at 200.

According to the table I have given at pp. 213, 214, the number of men regularly or constantly employed at the metropolitan trade is as follows:—

Scavagers employed by large contractors	262
Ditto small contractors	13
Ditto machines	25
Ditto parishes	218
Ditto street-orderlies	60
Total working scavagers in London	578

But the prior table given at pp. 186, 187, shows the number of scavagers employed throughout the metropolis in wet and dry weather (*exclusive of the street-orderlies*) to be as follows:—

Scavagers employed in wet weather	531
Ditto in dry weather	358
Difference	173

Hence it would appear that about one-third less hands are required in the dry than in the wet season of the year. The 170 hands, then, discharged in the dry season are the casually employed men, but the whole of these 170 are not turned adrift immediately they are no longer wanted, some being kept on "odd jobs" in the yard, &c.; nor can that number be said to represent the entire amount of the surplus labour in the trade; but only that portion of it which *does* obtain even casual employment. After much trouble, and taking the average of various statements, it would appear that the number of casualty or quantity of occasional surplus labour in the scavaging trade may be represented at between 200 and 250 hands.

The scavaging trade, however, is not, I am informed, so overstocked with labourers now as it

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was formerly. Seven years ago, and from that to ten, there were usually between 200 and 300 hands out of work; this was owing to there being a less extent of paved streets, and comparatively few contractors; the scavaging work, moreover, was "scamped," the men, to use their own phrase, "licking the work over any how," so that fewer hands were required. Now, however, the inhabitants are more particular, I am told, "about the crooks and corners," and require the streets to be swept oftener. Formerly a gang of operative scavagers would only collect six loads of dirt a day, but now a gang will collect nine loads daily. The causes to which the surplus of labourers at present may be attributed are, I find, as follows:—Each operative has to do nearly double the work to what he formerly did, the extra cleansing of the streets having tended not only to employ more hands, but to make each of those employed do more work. The result has, however been followed by an increase in the wages of the operatives; seven years ago the labourers received but 2*s.* a day, and the ganger 2*s.* 6*d.*, but now the labourers receive 2*s.* 8*d.* a day, and the ganger 3*s.*

In the city the men have to work very long hours, sometimes as many as 18 hours a day without any extra pay. This practice of overworking is, I find, carried on to a great extent, even with those master scavagers who pay the regular wages. One man told me that when he worked for a certain large master, whom he named, he has many times been out at work 28 hours in the wet (saturated to the skin) without having any rest. This plan of overworking, again, is generally adopted by the small masters, whose men, after they have done a regular day's labour, are set to work in the yard, sometimes toiling 18 hours a day, and usually not less than 16 hours daily. Often so tired and weary are the men, that when they rise in the morning to pursue their daily labour, they feel as fatigued as when they went to bed. "Frequently," said one of my informants, "have I gone to bed so worn out, that I haven't been able to sleep. However" (he added), "there is the work to be done, and we must do it or be off."

This system of overwork, especially in those trades where the quantity of work to be done is in a measure fixed, I find to be a far more influential cause of surplus labour than "over population." The mere number of labourers in a trade is, *per se*, no criterion as to the quantity of labour employed in it; to arrive at this three things are required:—

(1) The number of hands;
(2) The hours of labour;
(3) The rate of labouring;

for it is a mere point of arithmetic, that if the hands in the scavaging trade work 18 hours a day, there must be one-third less men employed than there otherwise would, or in other words one-third of the men who are in work must be thus deprived of it. This is one of the crying evils of the day, and which the economists, filled as they are with their over-population theories, have entirely overlooked.

There are 262 men employed in the Metropolitan Scavaging Trade; one-half of these at the least may be said to work 16 hours per diem instead of 12, or one-third longer than they should; so that if the hours of labour in this trade were restricted to the usual day's work, there would be employment for one-sixth more hands, or nearly 50 individuals extra.

The other causes of the present amount of surplus labour are—

The many hands thrown out of employment by the discontinuance of railway works.

A less demand for unskilled labour in agricultural districts, or a smaller remuneration for it.

A less demand for some branches of labour (as ostlers, &c.), by the introduction of machinery (applied to roads), or through the caprices of fashion.

It should, however, be remembered, that men often found their opinions of such causes on prejudices, or express them according to their class interests, and it is only a few employers of unskilled labourers who care to inquire into the antecedent circumstances of men who ask for work.

As regards the population part of the question, it cannot be said that the surplus labour of the scavaging trade is referable to any inordinate increase in the families of the men. Those who are married appear to have, on the average, four children, and about one-half of the men have no family at all. Early marriages are by no means usual. Of the casual hands, however, full three-fourths are married, and one-half have families.

There are not more than ten or a dozen Irish labourers who have taken to the scavaging, though several have "tried it on;" the regular hands say that the Irish are too lazy to continue at the trade; but surely the labour of the hodman, in which the Irish seem to delight, is sufficient to disprove this assertion, be the cause what it may. About one-fourth of the scavagers entering the scavaging trade as casual hands have been agricultural labourers, and have come up to London from the several agricultural districts in quest of work; about the same proportion appear to have been connected with horses, such as ostlers, carmen, &c.

The *brisk and slack seasons* in the scavaging trade depend upon the state of the weather. In the depth of winter, owing to the shortness of the days, more hands are usually required for street cleansing; but a "clear frost" renders the scavager's labour in little demand. In the winter, too, his work is generally the hardest, and the hardest of all when there is snow, which soon becomes mud in London streets; and though a continued frost is a sort of lull to the scavagers' labour, after "a great thaw" his strength is taxed to the uttermost; and then, indeed, new hands have had to be put on. At the West End, in the height of the summer, which is usually the height of the fashionable season, there is again a more than usual requirement of scavaging industry in wet weather; but perhaps the greatest exercise of such industry is after a series of the fogs peculiar

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to the London atmosphere, when the men cannot *see* to sweep. The table I have given shows the influence of the weather, as on wet days 531 men are employed, and on dry days only 358; this, however, does not influence the Street-Orderly system, as under it the men are employed every day, unless the weather make it an actual impossibility.

According to the rain table given at p. 202, there would appear to be, on an average of 23 years, 178 wet days in London out of the 365, that is to say, about 100 in every 205 days are "rainy ones." The months having the greatest and least number of wet days are as follows:—

	No. of days in the month in which rain falls.
December	17
July, August, October	16
February, May, November	15
January, April	14
March, September	12
June	11

Hence it would appear that June is the least and December the most showery month in the course of the year; the greatest *quantity* of rain falling in any month is, however, in October, and the least quantity in March. The number of wet days, and the quantity of rain falling in each half of the year, may be expressed as follows:—

	Total in No. of wet days.	Total depth of rain falling in inches.
The first six months in the year ending June there are	84	10
The second six months in the year ending December there are	93	14

Hence we perceive that the quantity of work for the scavagers would fluctuate in the first and last half of the year in the proportion of 10 to 14, which is very nearly in the ratio of 358 to 531, which are the numbers of hands given in table pp. 186, 187, as those employed in wet and dry weather throughout the metropolis.

If, then, the labour in the scavaging trade varies in the proportion of 5 to 7, that is to say, that 5 hands are required at one period and 7 at another to execute the work, the question consequently becomes, how do the 2 casuals who are discharged out of every 7 obtain their living when the wet season is over?

When a scavager is out of employ, he seldom or never applies to the parish; this he does, I am informed, only when he is fairly "beaten out" through sickness or old age, for the men "hate the thought of going to the big house" (the union workhouse). An unemployed operative scavager will go from yard to yard and offer his services to do anything in the dust trade or any other kind of employment in connection with dust or scavaging.

Generally speaking, an operative scavager who is casually employed obtains work at that trade for six or eight months during the year, and the remaining portion of his time is occupied either at rubbish-carting or brick-carting, or else he gets a job for a month or two in a dust-yard.

Many of these men seem to form a body of street-jobbers or operative labourers, ready to work at the docks, to be navvies (when strong enough), bricklayers' labourers, street-sweepers, carriers of trunks or parcels, window-cleaners, errand-goers, porters, and (occasionally) nightmen. Few of the class seem to apply themselves to trading, as in the costermonger line. They are the loungers about the boundaries of trading, but seldom take any onward steps. The street-sweeper of this week, a "casual" hand, may be a rubbish-carter or a labourer about buildings the next, or he may be a starving man for days together, and the more he is starving with the less energy will he exert himself to obtain work: "it's not in" a starving or ill-fed man to exert himself otherwise than what may be called *passively;* this is well known to all who have paid attention to the subject. The want of energy and carelessness begotten by want of food was well described by the tinman, at p. 355 in vol. i.

One casual hand told me that last year he was out of work altogether three months, and the year before not more than six weeks, and during the six weeks he got a day's work sometimes at rubbish carting and sometimes at loading bricks. Their wives are often employed in the yards as sifters, and their boys, when big enough, work also at the heap, either in carrying off, or else as fillers-in; if there are any girls, one is generally left at home to look after the rest and get the meals ready for the other members of the family. If any of the children go to school, they are usually sent to a ragged school in the neighbourhood, though they seldom attend the school more than two or three times during the week.

The additional hands employed in wet weather are either men who at other times work in the yards, or such as have their "turns" in street-sweeping, if not regularly employed. There appears, however, to be little of system in the arrangement. If more hands are wanted, the gangsman, who receives his orders from the contractor or the contractor's managing man, is told to put on so many new hands, and over-night he has but to tell any of the men at work that Jack, and Bob, and Bill will be wanted in the morning, and they, if not employed in other work, appear accordingly.

There is nothing, however, which can be designated a *labour market* appertaining to the trade. No "house of call," no trade society. If men seek such employment, they must apply at the contractor's premises, and I am assured that poor men not unfrequently ask the scavagers whom they see at work in the streets where to apply "for a job," and sometimes receive gruff or abusive replies. But though there is nothing like a labour market in the scavager's trade, the employers have not to "look out" for men, for I was told by one of their foremen, that he would undertake, if necessary, which it never was, by a mere "round of the docks," to select 200 new hale men, of all classes, and strong ones, too, if properly fed, who

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in a few days would be tolerable street-sweepers. It is a calling to which agricultural labourers are glad to resort, and a calling to which *any* labourer or any mechanic may resort, more especially as regards sweeping or scraping, apart from shovelling, which is regarded as something like the high art of the business.

We now come to estimate the earnings of the casual hands, whose yearly incomes must, of course, be very different from those of the regulars. The *constant* weekly wages of any workman are of course the average of his casual—and hence we shall find the wages of those who are *regularly* employed far exceed those of the *occasionally* employed men :—

	£	s.	d.
Nominal yearly wages at scavaging for 25 weeks in the year, at 16s. per week	20	16	0
Perquisites for 26 weeks, at 2s. .	2	12	0
Actual yearly wages at scavaging .	23	8	0
Nominal and actual weekly wages at rubbish carting for 20 weeks in the year, at 12s.	12	0	0
Unemployed six weeks in the year.	0	0	0
Gross yearly earnings	35	8	0
Average casual or constant weekly wages throughout the year . .		15	4½

Hence the difference between the earnings of the casual and the regular hand would appear to be one-sixth. But the great evil of all casual labour is the uncertainty of the income—for where there is the greatest chance connected with an employment, there is not only the greatest necessity for providence, but unfortunately the greatest tendency to improvidence. It is only when a man's income becomes regular and fixed that he grows thrifty, and lays by for the future; but where all is chance-work there is but little ground for reasoning, and the accident which assisted the man out of his difficulties at one period is continually expected to do the same good turn for him at another. Hence the casual hand, who passes the half of the year on 18s., and twenty weeks on 12s., and *six weeks on nothing*, lives a life of excess both ways—of excess of "guzzling" when in work, and excess of privation when out of it—oscillating, as it were, between surfeit and starvation.

A man who had worked in an iron-foundry, but who had "lost his work" (I believe through some misconduct) and was glad to get employment as a street-sweeper, as he had a good recommendation to a contractor, told me that "the misery of the thing" was the want of regular work. "I've worked," he said, "for a good master for four months an end at 2s. 8d. a day, and they were prime times. Then I hadn't a stroke of work for a fortnight, and very little for two months, and if my wife hadn't had middling work with a laundress we might have starved, or I might have made a hole in the Thames, for it's no good living to be miserable and feel you can't help yourself any how. We was sometimes half-starved as it was. I'd rather at this minute have regular work at 10s. a week all the year round, than have chance-work that I could earn 20s. a week at. I once had 15s. in relief from the parish, and a doctor to attend us, when my wife and I was both laid up sick. O, there's no difference in the way of doing the work, whatever wages you're on for; the streets must be swept clean, of course. The plan's the same, and there's the same sort of management, any how."

Statement of a "Regular Scavager."

The following statement of his business, his sentiments, and, indeed, of the subjects which concerned him, or about which he was questioned, was given to me by a street-sweeper, so he called himself, for I have found some of these men not to relish the appellation of "scavager." He was a short, sturdy, somewhat red-faced man, without anything particular in his appearance to distinguish him from the mass of mere labourers, but with the sodden and sometimes dogged look of a man contented in his ignorance, and—for it is not a very uncommon case—rather proud of it.

"I don't know how old I am," he said—I have observed, by the by, that there is not any excessive vulgarity in these men's tones or accent so much as grossness in some of their expressions—"and I can't see what that consarns any one, as I's old enough to have a jolly rough beard, and so can take care of myself. I should think so. My father was a sweeper, and I wanted to be a waterman, but father—he hasn't been dead long—didn't like the thoughts on it, as he said they was all drownded one time or 'nother; so I ran away and tried my hand as a Jack-in-the-water, but I was starved back in a week, and got a h—— of a clouting. After that I sifted a bit in a dust-yard, and helped in any way; and I was sent to help at and larn honey-pot and other pot making, at Deptford; but honey-pots was a great thing in the business. Master's foreman married a relation of mine, some way or other. I never tasted honey, but I've heered it's like sugar and butter mixed. The pots was often wanted to look like foreign pots; I don't know nothing what was meant by it; some b—— dodge or other. No, the trade didn't suit me at all, master, so I left. I don't know why it didn't suit me; cause it didn't. Just then, father had hurt his hand and arm, in a jam again' a cart, and so, as I was a big lad, I got to take his place, and gave every satisfaction to Mr. ——. Yes, he was a contractor and a great man. I can't say as I knows how contracting's done; but it's a bargain atween man and man. So I got on. I'm now looked on as a stunning good workman, I can tell you.

"Well, I can't say as I thinks sweeping the streets is hard work. I'd rather sweep two hours than shovel one. It tires one's arms and back so, to go on shovelling. You can't change, you see, sir, and the same parts keeps getting gripped more and more. Then you must mind your eye, if you're

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shovelling slop into a cart, perticler so; or some feller may run off with a complaint that he 's been splashed o' purpose. *Is* a man ever splashed o' purpose? No, sir, not as I knows on, in coorse not. [Laughing.] Why should he?

"The streets *must* be done as they 're done now. It always was so, and will always be so. Did I ever hear what London streets were like a thousand years ago? It's nothing to me, but they must have been like what they is now. Yes, there was always streets, or how was people that has tin to get their coals taken to them, and how was the public-houses to get their beer? It 's talking nonsense, talking that way, a-asking sich questions." [As the scavager seemed likely to lose his temper, I changed the subject of conversation.]

"Yes," he continued, "I have good health. I never had a doctor but twice; once was for a hurt, and the t'other I won't tell on. Well, I think nightwork 's healthful enough, but I 'll not say so much for it as you may hear some on 'em say. I don't like it, but I do it when I 's obligated under a necessity. It pays one as overwork; and werry like more one 's in it, more one may be suited. I reckon no men works harder nor sich as me. O, as to poor journeymen tailors and sich like, I knows they 're stunning badly off, and many of their masters is the hardest of beggars. I have a nephew as works for a Jew slop, but I don't reckon that *work;* anybody might do it. You think not, sir? Werry well, it 's all the same. No, I won't say as I could make a veskit, but I 've sowed my own buttons on to one afore now.

"Yes, I've heered on the Board of Health. They 've put down some night-yards, and if they goes on putting down more, what 's to become of the night-soil? I can't think what they 're up to; but if they don't touch wages, it may be all right in the end on it. I don't know that them there consarns does touch wages, but one 's naterally afeard on 'em. I could read a little when I was a child, but I can't now for want of practice, or I might know more about it. I yarns my money gallows hard, and requires support to do hard work, and if wages goes down, one 's strength goes down. I'm a man as understands what things belongs. I was once out of work, through a mistake, for a good many weeks, perhaps five or six or more; I larned then what short grub meant. I got a drop of beer and a crust sometimes with men as I knowed, or I might have dropped in the street. What did I do to pass my time when I was out of work? Sartinly the days seemed wery long; but I went about and called at dust-yards, till I didn't like to go too often; and I met men I know'd at tap-rooms, and spent time that way, and axed if there was any openings for work. I 've been out of collar odd weeks now and then, but when this happened, I'd been on slack work a goodish bit, and was bad for rent three weeks and more. My rent was 2*s.* a week then; its 1*s.* 9*d.* now, and my own traps.

"No, I can't say I was sorry when I was forced to be idle that way, that I hadn't kept up my reading, nor tried to keep it up, because I couldn't then have settled down my mind to read; I know I couldn't. I likes to hear the paper read well enough, if I 's resting; but old Bill, as often wolunteers to read, has to spell the hard words so, that one can't tell what the devil he 's reading about. I never heers anything about books; I never heered of Robinson Crusoe, if it wasn't once at the Wic. [Victoria Theatre]; I think there was some sich a name there. He lived on a deserted island, did he, sir, all by hisself? Well, I think, now you mentions it, I have heered on him. But one needn't believe all one hears, whether out of books or not. I don't know much good that ever anybody as I knows ever got out of books; they 're fittest for idle people. Sartinly I 've seen working people reading in coffee-shops; but they might as well be resting theirselves to keep up their strength. Do I think so? I'm sure on it, master. I sometimes spends a few browns a-going to the play; mostly about Christmas. It 's werry fine and grand at the Wic., that 's the place I goes to most; both the pantomimers and t' other things is werry stunning. I can't say how much I spends a year in plays; I keeps no account; perhaps 5*s.* or so in a year, including expenses, sich as beer, when one goes out after a stopper on the stage. I don't keep no accounts of what I gets, or what I spends, it would be no use; money comes and it goes, and it often goes a d——d sight faster than it comes; so it seems to me, though I ain't in debt just at this time.

"I never goes to any church or chapel. Sometimes I hasn't clothes as is fit, and I s'pose I couldn't be admitted into sich fine places in my working dress. I was once in a church, but felt queer, as one does in them strange places, and never went again. They 're fittest for rich people. Yes, I 've heered about religion and about God Almighty. *What* religion have I heered on? Why, the regular religion. I 'm satisfied with what I knows and feels about it, and that 's enough about it. I came to tell you about trade and work, because Mr. —— told me it might do good; but religion hasn't nothing to do with it. Yes, Mr. —— 's a good master, and a religious man; but I 've known masters as didn't care a d—n for religion, as good as him; and so you see it comes to much the same thing. I cares nothing about politics neither; but I 'm a chartist.

"I 'm not a married man. I was a-going to be married to a young woman as lived with me a goodish bit as my housekeeper" [this he said very demurely]; "but she went to the hopping to yarn a few shillings for herself, and never came back. I heered that she 'd taken up with an Irish hawker, but I can't say as to the rights on it. Did I fret about her? Perhaps not; but I was wexed.

"I 'm sure I can't say what I spends my wages in. I sometimes makes 12*s.* 6*d.* a week, and sometimes better than 21*s.* with night-work. I suppose grub costs 1*s.* a day, and beer 6*d.*; but I keeps no accounts. I buy ready-cooked meat; often cold b'iled beef, and eats it at any tap-room. I have meat every day; mostly more than once a

day. Wegetables I don't care about, only ingans and cabbage, if you can get it smoking hot, with plenty of pepper. The rest of my tin goes for rent and baccy and togs, and a little drop of gin now and then."

The statement I have given is sufficiently explicit of the general opinions of the "regular scavagers" concerning literature, politics, and religion. On these subjects the great majority of the regular scavagers have no opinions at all, or opinions distorted, even when the facts seem clear and obvious, by ignorance, often united with its nearest of kin, prejudice and suspiciousness. I am inclined to think, however, that the man whose narrative I noted down was more dogged in his ignorance than the body of his fellows. All the intelligent men with whom I conversed, and whose avocations had made them familiar for years with this class, concurred in representing them as grossly ignorant.

This description of the scavagers' ignorance, &c., it must be remembered, applies only to the "regular hands." Those who have joined the ranks of the street-sweepers from other callings are more intelligent, and sometimes more temperate.

The system of concubinage, with a great degree of fidelity in the couple living together without the sanction of the law—such as I have described as prevalent among the costermongers and dustmen—is also prevalent among the regular scavagers.

I did not hear of habitual unkindness from the parents to the children born out of wedlock, but there is habitual neglect of all or much which a child should be taught—a neglect growing out of ignorance. I heard of two scavagers with large families, of whom the treatment was sometimes very harsh, and at others mere petting.

Education, or rather the ability to read and write, is not common among the adults in this calling, so that it cannot be expected to be found among their children. Some labouring men, ignorant themselves, but not perhaps constituting a class or a clique like the regular scavagers, try hard to procure for their children the knowledge, the want of which they usually think has barred their own progress in life. Other ignorant men, mixing only with "their own sort," as is generally the case with the regular scavagers, and in the several branches of the business, often think and say that what *they* did without their children could do without also. I even heard it said by one scavager that it wasn't right a child should ever think himself wiser than his father. A man who knew, in the way of his business as a private contractor for night-work, &c., a great many regular scavagers, "ran them over," and came to the conclusion that about four or five out of twenty could read, ill or tolerably well, and about three out of forty could write. He told me, moreover, that one of the most intelligent fellows generally whom he knew among them, a man whom he had heard read well enough, and always understood to be a tolerable writer, the other day brought a letter from his son, a soldier abroad with his regiment in Lower Canada, and requested my informant to read it to him, as "that kind of writing," although plain enough, was "beyond him." The son, in writing, had availed himself of the superior skill of a corporal in his company, so that the letter, on family matters and feelings, was written by deputy and read by deputy. The costermongers, I have shown, when themselves unable to read, have evinced a fondness for listening to exciting stories of courts and aristocracies, and have even bought penny periodicals to have their contents read to them. The scavagers appear to have no taste for this mode of enjoying themselves; but then their leisure is far more circumscribed than that of the costermongers.

It must be borne in mind that I have all along spoken of the regular (many of them hereditary) scavagers employed by the more liberal contractors.

There are yet accounts of habitations, statements of wages, &c., &c., to be given, in connection with men working for the honourable masters, before proceeding to the scurf-traders.

The working scavagers usually reside in the neighbourhood of the dust-yards, occupying "second-floor backs," kitchens (where the entire house is sublet, a system often fraught with great extortion), or garrets; they usually, and perhaps always, when married, or what they consider "as good," have their own furniture. The rent runs from 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. 3*d*. weekly, an average being 1*s*. 9*d*. or 1*s*. 10*d*. One room which I was in was but barely furnished,—a sort of dresser, serving also for a table; a chest; three chairs (one almost bottomless); an old turn-up bedstead, a Dutch clock, with the minute-hand broken, or as the scavager very well called it when he saw me looking at it, "a stump;" an old "corner cupboard," and some pots and domestic utensils in a closet without a door, but retaining a portion of the hinges on which a door had swung. The rent was 1*s*. 10*d*., with a frequent intimation that it ought to be 2*s*. The place was clean enough, and the scavager seemed proud of it, assuring me that his old woman (wife or concubine) was "a good sort," and kept things as nice as ever she could, washing everything herself, where "other old women lushed." The only ornaments in the room were three profiles of children, cut in black paper and pasted upon white card, tacked to the wall over the fire-place, for mantel-shelf there was none, while one of the three profiles, that of the eldest child (then dead), was "framed," with a glass, and a sort of bronze or "cast" frame, costing, I was told, 15*d*. This was the apartment of a man in regular employ (with but a few exceptions).

Another scavager with whom I had some conversation about his labours as a nightman, for he was both, gave me a full account of his own diet, which I find to be sufficiently specific as to that of his class generally, but only of the regular hands.

The diet of the regular working scavager (or nightman) seems generally to differ from that of mechanics, and perhaps of other working men, in the respect of his being fonder of salt and *strong-flavoured* food. I have before made the same

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THE LONDON SCAVENGER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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remark concerning the diet of the poor generally. I do not mean, however, that the scavagers are fond of such animal food as is called "high," for I did not hear that nightmen or scavagers were more tolerant of what approached putridity than other labouring men, and, despite their calling, might sicken at the rankness of some haunches of venison; but they have a great relish for highly-salted cold boiled beef, bacon, or pork, with a saucer-full of red pickled cabbage, or dingy-looking pickled onions, or one or two big, strong, raw onions, of which most of them seem as fond as Spaniards of garlic. This sort of meat, sometimes profusely mustarded, is often eaten in the beer-shops with thick "shives" of bread, cut into big mouthfuls with a clasp pocket-knife, while vegetables, unless indeed the beer-shop can supply a plate of smoking hot potatoes, are uncared for. The drink is usually beer. The same style of eating and the same kind of food characterize the scavager and nightman, when taking his meal at home with his wife or family; but so irregular, and often of necessity, are these men's hours, that they may be said to have no homes, merely places to sleep or dose in.

A working scavager and nightman calculated for me his expenses in eating and drinking, and other necessaries, for the previous week. He had earned 15*s.*, but 1*s.* of this went to pay off an advance of 5*s.* made to him by the keeper of a beer-shop, or, as he called it, a "jerry."

	Daily.	Weekly.	
	d.	*s.*	*d.*
Rent of an unfurnished room		1	9
Washing (average)			3
[The man himself washed the dress in which he worked, and generally washed his own stockings.]			
Shaving (when twice a week)			1
Tobacco	1		7
[Short pipes are given to these men at the beer-shops, or public-houses which they "use."]			
Beer	4	2	4
[He usually spent more than 4*d.* a day in beer, he said, "it was only a pot;" but this week more beer than usual had been given to him in nightwork.]			
Gin	2	1	2
[The same with gin.]			
Cocoa (pint at a coffee-shop) .	1½		10½
Bread (quartern loaf) (sometimes 5½*d.*)	6	3	6
Boiled salt beef (¾ lb. or ½ lb. daily, "as happened," for two meals, 6*d.* per pound, average	4	2	4
Pickles or Onions	0¼		1¾
Butter			1
Soap			1
		13	2¼

Perhaps this informant was excessive in his drink. I believe he was so; the others not drinking so much regularly. The odd 9*d.*, he told me, he paid to "a snob," because he said he was going to send his half-boots to be mended.

This man informed me he was a "widdur," having lost his old 'oman, and he got all his meals at a beer or coffee-shop. Sometimes, when he was a street-sweeper by day and a nightman by night, he had earned 20*s.* to 22*s.*; and then he could have his pound of salt meat a day, for *three* meals, with a "baked tatur or so, when they was in." I inquired as to the apparently low charge of 6*d.* per pound for cooked meat, but I found that the man had stated what was correct. In many parts good boiled "brisket," fresh cut, is 7*d.* and 8*d.* per lb., with mustard into the bargain; and the cook-shop keepers (not the eating-house people) who sell boiled hams, beef, &c., in retail, but not to be eaten on the premises, vend the hard remains of a brisket, and sometimes of a round, for 6*d.*, or even less (also with mustard), and the scavagers like this better than any other food. In the brisk times my informant sometimes had "a hot cut" from a shop on a Sunday, and a more liberal allowance of beer and gin. If he had any piece of clothing to buy he always bought it at once, before his money went for other things. These were his proceedings when business was brisk.

In slacker times his diet was on another footing. He then made his supper, or second meal, for tea be seldom touched, on "fagots." This preparation of baked meats costs 1*d.* hot—but it is seldom sold hot except in the evening—and ¾*d.*, or more frequently two for 1½*d.*, cold. It is a sort of cake, roll, or ball, a number being baked at a time, and is made of chopped liver and lights, mixed with gravy, and wrapped in pieces of pig's caul. It weighs six ounces, so that it is unquestionably a cheap, and, to the scavager, a savoury meal; but to other nostrils its odour is not seductive. My informant regretted the capital fagots he used to get at a shop when he worked in Lambeth; superior to anything he had been able to meet with on the Middlesex side of the water. Or he dined off a saveloy, costing 1*d.*, and bread; or bought a pennyworth of strong cheese, and a farthing's worth of onions. He would further reduce his daily expenditure on cocoa (or coffee sometimes) to 1*d.*, and his bread to three-quarters of a loaf. He ate, however, in average times, a quarter of a quartern loaf to his breakfast (sometimes buying a halfpennyworth of butter), a quarter or more to his dinner, the same to his supper, and the other, with an onion for a relish, to his beer. He was a great bread eater, he said; but sometimes, if he slept in the daytime, half a loaf would "stand over to next day." He was always hungriest when at work among the street-mud or night-soil, or when he had finished work.

On my asking him if he meant that he partook of the meals he had described daily, "he answered "no," but that was *mostly* what he had; and if he bought a bit of cold boiled, or

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even roast pork, "what offered cheap," the expense was about the same. When he was drinking, and he did "make a break sometimes," he ate nothing, and "wasn't inclined to," and he seemed rather to plume himself on this, as a point of economy. He had tasted fruit pies, but cared nothing for them; but liked four penn'orth of a hot meat or giblet pie on a Sunday. Batter-pudding he only liked if smoking hot; and it was "uncommon improved," he said, "with an ingan!" Rum he preferred to gin, only it was dearer, but most of the scavagers, he thought, liked Old Tom (gin) best; but "they was both good."

Of the drinking of these men I heard a good deal, and there is no doubt that some of them tope hard, and by their conduct evince a sort of belief that the great end of labour is beer. But it must be borne in mind that if inquiries are made as to the man best adapted to give information concerning any rude calling (especially), some talkative member of the body of these working men, some pot-house hero who has pursuaded himself and his ignorant mates that he is an oracle, is put forward. As these men are sometimes, from being trained to, and long known in their callings, more prosperous than their fellows, their opinions seem ratified by their circumstances. But in such cases, or in the appearance of such cases, it has been my custom to make subsequent inquiries, or there might be frequent misleadings, were the statements of these men taken as typical of the feelings and habits of the *whole* body. The statement of the working scavager given under this head is unquestionably typical of the character of a portion of his co-workers, and more especially of what was, and in the sort of hereditary scavagers I have spoken of *is*, the character of the regular hands. There are now, however, many checks to prolonged indulgence in "lush," as every man of the ruder street-sweeping class *will* call it. The contractors must be served regularly; the most indulgent will not tolerate any unreasonable absence from work, so that the working scavagers, at the jeopardy of their means of living, must leave their carouse at an hour which will permit them to rise soon enough in the morning.

The beer which these men imbibe, it should be also remembered, they regard as a proper part of their diet, in the same light, indeed, as they regard so much bread, and that among them the opinion is almost universal, that beer is necessary to "keep up their strength;" there are a few teetotallers belonging to the class; one man thought he *knew* five, and had *heard* of five others.

I inquired of the landlord of a beer-shop, frequented by these men, as to their potations, but he wanted to make it appear that they took a half-pint, *now and then*, when thirsty! He was evidently tender of the character of his customers. The landlord of a public house also frequented by them informed me that he really could not say what they expended in beer, for labourers of all kinds "used his tap," and as all tap-room liquor was paid for on delivery in his and all similar establishments, he did not know the quantity supplied to any particular class. He was satisfied these men, as a whole, drank less than they did at one time; though he had no doubt some (he seemed to know no distinctions between scavagers, dustmen, and nightmen) spent 1*s.* a day in drink. He knew one scavager who was dozing about not long since for nearly a week, "sleepy drunk," and the belief was that he had "found something." The absence of all accounts prevents my coming to anything definite on this head, but it seems positive that these men drink less than they did. The landlord in question thought the statement I have given as to diet and drink perfectly correct for a regular hand in good earnings. I am assured, however, and it is my own opinion, after long inquiry, that one-third of their earnings is spent in drink.

Of the Influence of Free Trade on the Earnings of the Scavagers.

As regards the influence of Free Trade upon the scavaging business, I could gain little or no information from the body of street-sweepers, because they have never noticed its operation, and the men, with the exception of such as have sunk into street-sweeping from better-informed conditions of life, know nothing about it. Among *all*, however, I have heard statements of the blessing of cheap bread; always cheap *bread*. "There 's nothing like bread," say the men, "it 's not all poor people can get meat; but they *must* get bread." Cheap food all labouring men pronounce a blessing, as it unquestionably is, but "somehow," as a scavager's carman said to me, "the thing ain't working as it should."

In the course of the present and former inquiries among unskilled labourers, street-sellers, and costermongers, I have found the great majority of the more intelligent declare that Free Trade had not worked well for them, because there were more labourers and more street-sellers than were required, for each man to live by his toil and traffic, and because the numbers increased yearly, and the demand for their commodities did not increase in proportion. Among the ignorant, I heard the continual answers of, "I can't say, sir, what it 's owing to, that I 'm so bad off;" or "Well, I can't tell anything about that."

It is difficult to state, however, without positive inquiry, whether this extra number of hands be due to diminished employment in the agricultural districts, since the repeal of the Corn Laws, or whether it be due to the insufficiency of occupation generally for the increasing population. One thing at least is evident, that the increase of the trades alluded to cannot be said to arise directly from diminished agricultural employment, for but few farm labourers have entered these businesses since the change from Protection to Free Trade. If, therefore, Free-Trade principles *have* operated injuriously in reducing the work of the unskilled labourers, street-sellers, and the poorer classes generally, it can have done so only *indirectly;* that is to say, by throwing a mass of displaced country labour into the towns, and so

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displacing other labourers from their ordinary occupations, as well as by decreasing the wages of working-men generally. Hence it becomes almost impossible, I repeat, to tell whether the increasing difficulty that the poor experience in living by their labour, is a consequence or merely a concomitant of the repeal of the Corn Laws; if it be a consequence, of course the poor are no better for the alteration; if, however, it be a coincidence rather than a necessary result of the measure, the circumstances of the poor are, of course, as much improved as they would have been impoverished provided that measure had never become law. I candidfy confess I am as yet without the means of coming to any conclusion on this part of the subject.

Nor can it be said that in the scavagers' trade wages have in any way declined since the repeal of the Corn Laws; so that were it not for the difficulty of obtaining employment among the *casual* hands, this class must be allowed to have been considerable gainers by the reduction in the price of food, and even as it is, the *constant* hands must be acknowledged to be so.

I will now endeavour to reduce to a tabular form such information as I could obtain as to the expenditure of the labourer in scavaging before and after the establishment of Free Trade. I inquired, the better to be assured of the accuracy of the representations and accounts I received from labourers, the price of meat then and now. A butcher who for many years has conducted a business in a populous part of Westminster and in a populous suburb, supplying both private families with the best joints, and the poor with their "little bits" their "block ornaments" (meat in small pieces exposed on the chopping-block), their purchases of liver, and of beasts' heads. In 1845, the year I take as sufficiently prior to the Free-Trade era, my informant from his recollection of the state of his business and from consulting his books, which of course were a correct guide, found that for a portion of the year in question, mutton was as much as 7½*d.* per lb. (Smithfield prices), now the same quality of meat is but 5*d.* This, however, was but a temporary matter, and from causes which sometimes are not very ostensible or explicable. Taking the butcher's trade that year as a whole, it was found sufficiently conclusive, that meat was generally 1*d.* per lb. higher then than at present. My informant, however, was perfectly satisfied that, although situated in the same way, and with the same class of customers, he did *not* sell so much meat to the poor and labouring classes as he did five or six years ago, *he believed not by one-eighth,* although perhaps "pricers of his meat" among the poor were more numerous. For this my informant accounted by expressing his conviction that the labouring men spent their money in drink more than ever, and were a longer time in recovering from the effects of tippling. This supposition, from what I have observed in the course of the present inquiry, is negatived by facts.

Another butcher, also supplying the poor, said they bought less of him; but he could not say exactly to what extent, perhaps an eighth, and he attributed it to less work, there being no railways about London, fewer buildings, and less general employment. About the wages of the labourers he could not speak as influencing the matter. From this tradesmen also I received an account that meat generally was 1*d.* per lb. higher at the time specified. Pickled Australian beef was four or five years ago very low—3*d.* per lb.—salted and prepared, and "swelling" in hot water, but the poor "couldn't eat the stringy stuff, for it was like pickled ropes." "It's better now," he added, "but it don't sell, and there's no nourishment in such beef."

But these tradesmen agreed in the information that poor labourers bought less meat, while one pronounced Free Trade a blessing, the other declared it a curse. I suggested to each that cheaper fish might have something to do with a smaller consumption of butcher's meat, but both said that cheap fish was the great thing for the Irish and the poor needle-women and the like, who were never at any time meat eaters.

From respectable bakers I ascertained that bread might be considered 1*d.* a quartern loaf dearer in 1845 than at present. Perhaps the following table may throw a fuller light on the matter. I give it from what I learned from several men, who were without accounts to refer to, but speaking positively from memory; I give the statement per week, as for a single man, without charge for the support of a wife and family, and without any help from other resources.

	Before Free Trade.	After Free Trade.	Saving since Free Trade.
Rent . . .	1*s.* 6*d.*	1*s.* 6*d.*	...
Bread (5 loaves)	2*s.* 11*d.*	2*s.* 6*d.*	5*d.*
Butter (½ lb.) .	5*d.*	5*d.*	...
Tea (2 oz.) . .	8*d.*	8*d.*	...
Sugar (½ lb.) .	3*d.*	2*d.*	1*d.*
Meat (3 lb.) .	1*s.* 6*d.*	1*s.* 3*d.*	3*d.*
Bacon (1 lb.) .	5*d.*	5*d.*	...
Fish (a dinner a day, 6 days)	3*d.*, or 1*s.* 6*d.* weekly.	2*d.*, or 1*s.* weekly.	6*d.*
Potatoes or Vegetables (½*d.* a day) . .	3½*d.*	3½*d.*	...
Beer (pot) . .	3½*d.*	3½*d.*	...
Total saving, per week, since Free Trade			1*s.* 3*d.*

In butter, bacon, potatoes, &c., and beer, I could hear of no changes, except that bacon might be a trifle cheaper, but instead of a good quality selling better, although cheaper, there was a demand for an inferior sort.

In the foregoing table the weekly consumption of several necessaries is given, but it is not to be understood that one man consumes them all in a week; they are what may generally be consumed when such things are in demand by the poor, one week after another, or one day after another, forming an aggregate of weeks.

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Thus, Free Trade and cheap provisions are an unquestionable benefit, if unaffected by drawbacks, to the labouring poor.

The above statement refers only to a fully employed hand.

The following table gives the change since Free Trade in the earnings of casual hands, and relates to the past and the present expenditure of a scavager. The man, who was formerly a house painter, said he could bring me 50 men similarly circumstanced to himself.

In 1845, per Week.	s.	d.	In 1851, per Week.	s.	d.
Rent	1	4	Rent	1	8
5 loaves	2	11	4 loaves	2	0
Butter	0	5	Butter	0	5
Tea	0	6	Tea	0	5
Meat (3 lbs.)	1	6	Meat (3 lbs.)	1	0
Potatoes	0	3	Potatoes	0	2
Beer (a pot)	0	4	Beer (a pint)	0	2
	7	3		5	10

Here, then, we find a positive saving in the expenditure of 1*s*. 5*d*. per week in this man's wages, since the cheapening of food.

His earnings, however, tell a different story.

	1845. s.	1845. d.	1851. s.	1851. d.
Earnings of 6 days	15	0		
Ditto 3 days			7	6
Weekly Income	15	0	7	6
Expenditure	7	3	5	10
Difference	7	9	1	8

Thus we perceive that the beneficial effects of cheapness are defeated by the dearth of employment among labourers.

It is impossible to come to *precise* statistics in this matter, but all concurrent evidence, as regards the unskilled work of which I now treat, shows that labour is attainable at almost any rate.

Another drawback to the benefits of cheap food I heard of first in my inquiries (for the Letters on Labour and the Poor, in the *Morning Chronicle*) among the boot and shoemakers—their rents had been raised in consequence of their landlords' property having been subjected to the income tax. Numbers of large houses are now let out in single rooms, in the streets off Tottenham-court-road, and near Golden-square, as well as in many other quarters—to men, who, working for West-end tradesmen, must live, for economy of time, near the shops from which they derive their work. Near and in Cunningham-street and other streets, two men, father and son, rent upwards of 30 houses, the whole of which they let out in one or two rooms, it is believed at a very great profit; in fact they live by it.

The rent of these houses, among many others, was raised when the income tax was imposed, the sub-letters declaring, with what truth no one knew, that the rents were raised to them. It is common enough for capitalists to fling such imposts on the shoulders of the poor, and I heard scavagers complain, that every time they had to change their rooms, they had either to pay more rent by 2*d*. or 3*d*. a week, or put up with a worse place. One man who lived at the time of the passing of the Income Tax Bill in Shoe-lane, found his rent raised suddenly 3*d*. a week, a non-resident landlord or agent calling for it weekly. He was told that the advance was to meet the income tax. "I know nothing about what income tax means," he said, "but it 's some —— roguery as is put on the poor." I heard complaints to the same purport from several working scavagers, and the lettors of rooms are the most exacting in places crowded with the poor, and where the poor think or feel they must reside "to be handy for work." What connection there may be between the questions of Free Trade and the necessity of the income tax, it is not my business now to dilate upon, but it is evident that the circumstances of the country are not sufficiently prosperous to enable parliament to repeal this "temporary" impost.

From a better informed class than the scavagers, I might have derived data on which to form a calculation from account books, &c., but I could hear of none being kept. I remember that a lady's shoemaker told me that the weekly rents of the ten rooms in the house in which he lived were 4*s*. 3*d*. higher than before the income tax, which "came to the same thing as an extra penny on over 50 loaves a week." It is certain that the great tax-payers of London are the labouring classes.

I have endeavoured to ascertain the facts in connection with this complex subject in as calm and just a manner as possible, leaning neither to the Protectionist nor the Free-Trade side of the question, and I must again in honesty acknowledge, that to the *constant* hands among the scavagers and dustmen of the metropolis, the repeal of the Corn Laws appears to have been an unquestionable benefit.

I shall conclude this exposition of the condition and earnings of the working scavagers employed by the more honourable masters, with an account of the average income and expenditure of the better-paid hands (regular and casual, as well as single and married), and first, of the unmarried regular hand.

The following is an estimate of the income and expenditure of an *unmarried* operative scavager *regularly* employed, working for a large contractor:—

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WEEKLY INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Constant Wages.			
Nominal weekly wages	0	16	0
Perquisites	0	2	0
Actual weekly wages	0	18	0

WEEKLY EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Rent	0	2	0
Washing and mending	0	0	10
Clothes, and repairing ditto	0	0	10
Butcher's meat	0	3	6
Bacon	0	0	8
Vegetables	0	0	4
Cheese	0	0	4
Beer	0	3	0
Spirits	0	1	0
Tobacco	0	0	10½
Butter	0	0	7½
Sugar	0	0	4
Tea	0	0	3
Coffee	0	0	3
Fish	0	0	4
Soap	0	0	2
Shaving	0	0	1
Fruit	0	0	4
Keep of 2 dogs	0	0	6
Amusements, as skittles, &c.	0	1	9
	0	18	0

The subjoined represents the income of an *unmarried* operative scavager *casually* employed by a small master scavager six months during the year, at 15*s.* a week, and 20 weeks at sand and rubbish carting, at 12*s.* a week.

Casual Wages.	£	s.	d.
Nominal weekly wages at scavaging, 16*s.* for 26 weeks during the year	20	16	0
Perquisites, 2*s.* for 26 weeks during the year	2	12	0
Actual weekly wages for 26 weeks during the year	0	16	0
Nominal and actual weekly wages at rubbish carting, 12*s.* for 20 weeks more during the year	12	0	0
Average casual or constant weekly wages throughout the year	0	15	4½

The expenditure of this man when in work was nearly the same as that of the regular hand; the main exceptions being that his rent was 1*s.* instead of 2*s.*, and no dogs were kept. When in work he saved nothing, and when out of work lived as he could.

The *married* scavagers are differently circumstanced from the *unmarried;* their earnings are generally increased by those of their family.

The labour of the wives and children of the scavagers is not unfrequently in the capacity of sifters in the dust-yards, where the wives of the men employed by the contractors have the preference, and in other but somewhat rude capacities. One of their wives I heard of as a dresser of sheep's trotters; two as being among the most skilful dressers of tripe for a large shop; one as "a cat's-meat seller" (her father's calling); but I still speak of the regular scavagers—I could not meet with one woman "working a slop-needle." One, indeed, I saw who was described to me as a "feather dresser to an out-and-out negur," but the woman assured me she was neither badly paid nor badly off. Perhaps by such labour, as an average on the part of the wives, 9*d.* a day is cleared, and 1*s.* "on tripe and such like." Among the "casual's" wives there are frequent instances of the working for slop shirt-makers, &c., upon the coarser sorts of work, and at "starvation wages," but on such matters I have often dwelt. I heard from some of these men that it was looked upon as a great thing if the wife's labour could clear the week's rent of 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*

The following may be taken as an estimate of the income and outlay of a *better paid and fully* employed operative scavager, with his wife and two children:—

WEEKLY INCOME OF THE FAMILY.	£	s.	d.
Nominal weekly wages of man, 16*s.*			
Perquisites, 2*s.*			
Actual weekly wages of man	0	18	0
Nominal weekly wages of wife, 6*s.*			
Perquisites in coal and wood, 1*s.* 4*d.*			
Actual weekly wages of wife	0	7	4
Nominal weekly wages of boy	0	3	0
	1	8	4

WEEKLY EXPENDITURE OF THE FAMILY.	£	s.	d.
Rent	0	3	0
Candle	0	0	3½
Bread	0	2	1
Butter	0	0	10
Sugar	0	0	8
Tea	0	0	10
Coffee	0	0	4
Butcher's meat	0	3	6
Bacon	0	1	2
Potatoes	0	0	10
Raw fish	0	0	4
Herrings	0	0	4
Beer (at home)	0	2	0
,, (at work)	0	1	6
Spirits	0	1	0
Cheese	0	0	6
Flour	0	0	3
Suet	0	0	3
Fruit	0	0	3
Rice	0	0	0½
Soap	0	0	6
Starch	0	0	0½
Soda and blue	0	0	1
Dubbing	0	0	0½
Clothes for the whole family, and repairing ditto	0	2	0
Boots and shoes for ditto, ditto	0	1	6
Milk	0	0	7
Salt, pepper, and mustard	0	0	1
Tobacco	0	0	9
Wear and tear of bedding, crocks, &c.	0	0	3
Schooling for girl	0	0	3
Baking Sunday's dinner	0	0	2
Mangling	0	0	3
Amusements and sundries	0	1	0
	1	7	6

The subjoined, on the other hand, gives the income and outlay of a *casually employed* operative scavager (*better paid*) with his wife and two boys in constant work:—

WEEKLY INCOME OF THE FAMILY.	£	s.	d.
Nominal wages of man at scavaging for six months, at 16*s.* weekly.			
Ditto at rubbish carting three months, 12*s.* weekly.			
Average casual wages throughout the year	0	15	0
Nominal weekly wages of wife, 6*s.* (constant).			
Perquisites in wood and coal, 1*s* 4*d.*			
Actual weekly wages of wife	0	7	4

WEEKLY EXPENDITURE OF THE FAMILY.	£	s.	d.
Rent	0	3	6
Candle	0	0	6
Soap	0	0	4
Soda, starch, and blue	0	0	2½
Bread	0	2	6
Butter	0	0	9
Dripping	0	0	5
Sugar	0	0	8
Tea	0	0	8
Coffee	0	0	6
Butcher's meat	0	3	6
Bacon	0	1	0
Potatoes	0	1	0
Cheese	0	0	6
Raw fish	0	0	4
Herrings	0	0	3
Fried fish	0	0	3
Flour	0	0	3
Suet	0	0	2

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	£	s.	d.
Nominal weekly wages of two boys, 7*s.* the two			
Perquisites for running on messages, 1*s.* the two (constant).			
Actual weekly wages of the two boys......	0	8	0
	1	10	4

	£	s.	d.
Fruit	0	0	6
Rice............	0	0	1½
Beer (at home) .	0	2	0
,, (at work) .	0	1	9
Spirits..........	0	1	0
Tobacco........	0	0	9
Pepper, salt, and mustard......	0	0	1
Milk	0	0	7
Clothes for man, wife, and family..........	0	2	0
Repairing ditto for ditto......	0	0	6
Boots and shoes for ditto......	0	1	6
Repairing ditto for ditto......	0	0	8
Wear and tear of bedding, crocks, &c.	0	0	3
Baking Sunday's dinner........	0	0	2
Mangling	0	0	2
Amusements, sundries, &c..	0	1	0
	1	10	4

Of the Worse Paid Scavagers, or those working for Scurf* Employers.

There are in the scavagers' trade the same distinct classes of employers as appertain to all other trades; these consist of:—

1. The large capitalists.
2. The small capitalists.

As a rule (with some few honourable and dishonourable exceptions, it is true) I find that the large capitalists in the several trades are generally the employers who pay the higher wages, and the small men those who pay the lower. The reasons for this conduct are almost obvious. The power of the capital of the "large master" must be contended against by the small one; and the usual mode of contention in all trades is by reducing the wages of the working men. The wealthy master has, of course, many advantages over the poor one. (1) He can pay ready money, and obtain discounts for immediate payment. (2) He can buy in large quantities, and so get his stock cheaper. (3) He can purchase what he wants in the best markets, and that *directly* of the producer, without the intervention and profit of the middleman. (4) He can buy at the best times and seasons; and "lay in" what he requires for the purposes of his trade long before it is needed, provided he can obtain it "a bargain." (5) He can avail himself of the best tools and mechanical contrivances for increasing the productiveness or "economizing the labour" of his workmen. (6) He can build and arrange his places of work upon the most approved plan and in the best situations for the manufacture and distribution of the commodities. (7) He can employ the highest talent for the management or design of the work on which he is engaged. (8) He can institute a more effective system for the surveillance and checking of his workmen. (9) He can employ a large number of hands, and so reduce the secondary expenses (of firing, lighting, &c.) attendant upon the work, as well as the number of superintendents and others engaged to "look after" the operatives. (10) He can resort to extensive means of making his trade known. (11) He can sell cheaper (even if his cost of production be the same), from employing a larger capital, and being able to "do with" a less rate of profit. (12) He can afford to give credit, and so obtain customers that he might otherwise lose.

The small capitalist, therefore, enters the field of competition by no means equally matched against his more wealthy rival. What the little master wants in "substance," however, he generally endeavours to make up in cunning. If he cannot buy his materials as cheap as a trader of larger means, he uses an inferior or cheaper article, and seeks by some trick or other to palm it off as equal to the superior and dearer kind. If the tools and appliances of the trade are expensive, he either transfers the cost of providing them to the workmen, or else he charges them a rent for their use; and so with the places of work, he mulcts their wages of a certain sum per week for the gas by which they labour, or he makes them do their work at home, and thus saves the expense of a workshop; and, lastly, he pays his men either a less sum than usual for the same quantity of labour, or exacts a greater quantity from them for the same sum of money. By one or other of these means does the man of limited capital seek to counterbalance the advantages which his more wealthy rival obtains by the possession of extensive "resources." The large employer is enabled to work cheaper by the sheer force of his larger capital. He reduces the cost of production, not by employing a cheaper labour, but by "economizing the labour" that he does employ. The small employer, on the other hand, seeks to keep pace with his larger rival, and strives to work cheap, not by "the economy of labour" (for this is hardly possible in the small way of production), but by reducing the wages of his labourers. Hence the *rule* in almost every trade is that the smaller capitalists pay a lower rate of wages. To this, however, there are many honourable exceptions among the small masters, and many as dishonourable among the larger ones in different trades. Messrs. Moses, Nicoll, and Hyams, for instance, are men who certainly cannot plead deficiency of means as an excuse for reducing the ordinary rate of wages among the tailors.

Those employers who seek to reduce the prices of a trade are known technologically as "*cutting employers*," in contradistinction to the standard employers, or those who pay their workpeople and sell their goods at the ordinary rates.

Of "cutting employers" there are several kinds, differently designated, according to the different means by which they gain their ends. These are:—

* The Saxon *Sceorfa*, which is the original of the English Scurf, means a scab, and scab is the term given to the "cheap men" in the shoemaking trade. Scab is the root of our word *Shabby*; hence Scurf and Scab, deprived of their offensive associations, both mean shabby fellows.

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1. "*Drivers*," or those who compel the men in their employ to do more work for the same wages; of this kind there are two distinct varieties:—

a. *The long-hour masters*, or those who make the men work longer than the usual hours of labour.

b. *The strapping masters*, or those who make the men (by extra supervision) "strap" to their work, so as to do a greater quantity of labour in the usual time.

2. *Grinders*, or those who compel the workmen (through their necessities) to do the same amount of work for less than the ordinary wages.

The reduction of wages thus brought about may or may not be attended with a corresponding reduction in the price of the goods to the public; if the price of the goods be reduced in proportion to the reduction of wages, the consumer, of course, is benefited at the expense of the producer. When it is not followed by a like diminution in the selling price of the article, and the wages of which the men are mulct go to increase the profits of the capitalist, the employer alone is benefited, and is then known as a "*grasper*."

Some cutting tradesmen, however, endeavour to undersell their more wealthy rivals, by reducing the ordinary rate of profit, and extending their business on the principle of small profits and quick returns, the "nimble ninepence" being considered "better than the slow shilling." Such traders, of course, cannot be said to reduce wages directly—indirectly, however, they have the same effect, for in reducing prices, other traders, ever ready to compete with them, but, unwilling, or perhaps unable, to accept less than the ordinary rate of profit, seek to attain the same cheapness by diminishing the cost of production, and for this end the labourers' wages are almost invariably reduced.

Such are the characteristics of the cheap employers in all trades. Let me now proceed to point out the peculiarities of what are called the scurf employers in the scavaging trade.

The insidious practices of capitalists in other callings, in reducing the hire of labour, are not unknown to the scavagers. The evils of which these workmen have to complain under scurf or slop masters are:—

1. *Driving*, or being compelled to do more work for the *same pay*.

2. *Grinding*, or being compelled to do the same or a greater amount of work for *less pay*.

1. Under the first head, if the employment be at all regular, I heard few complaints, for the men seemed to have learned to look upon it as an inevitable thing, that one way or other they *must* submit, by the receipt of a reduced wage, or the exercise of a greater toil, to a deterioration in their means.

The system of driving, or, in other words, the means by which extra work is got out of the men for the same remuneration, in the scavagers' trade is as follows:—some employers cause their scavagers after their day's work in the streets, to load the barges with the street and house-collected manure, without any additional payment; whereas, among the more liberal employers, there are bargemen who are employed to attend to this department of the trade, and if their street scavagers *are* so employed, which is not very often, it is computed as extra work or "over hours," and paid for accordingly. This same indirect mode of reducing wages (by getting more work done for the same pay) is seen in many piece-work callings. The slop boot and shoe makers pay the same price as they did six or seven years ago, but they have "knocked off the extras," as the additional allowance for greater than the ordinary height of heel, and the like. So the slop Mayor of Manchester, Sir Elkanah Armitage, within the last year or two, sought to obtain from his men a greater length of "cut" to each piece of woven for the same wages.

Some master scavagers or contractors, moreover, reduce wages by making their men do what is considered the work of "a man and a half" in a week, without the recompense due for the labour of the "half" man's work; in other words, they require the men to condense eight or nine days' labour into six, and to be paid for the six days only; this again is usual in the strapping shops of the carpenters' trade.

Thus the class of street-sweepers do not differ materially in the circumstances of their position from other bodies of workers skilled and unskilled.

Let me, however, give a practical illustration of the loss accruing to the working scavagers by the *driving* method of reducing wages.

A is a large contractor and a driver. He employs 16 men, and pays them the "regular wages" of the honourable trade; but, instead of limiting the hours of labour to 12, as is usual among the better class of employers, he compels each of his men to work at the least 16 hours per diem, which is one-third more, and for which the men should receive one-third more wages. Let us see, therefore, how much the men in his employ lose annually by these means.

	Sum received per Annum.	Sum they should receive.	Difference.
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
4 Gangers, at 18s. a week, for 9 months in the year........	140 8	210 12	70 4
12 Sweepers, at 16s. a week, for 9 months in the year........	374 8	499 4	124 16
Total wages per Ann.	514 16	709 16	195 0

Here, then, we find the annual loss to these men through the system of "driving" to be 195*l.* per annum.

But A is not the only driver in the scavagers' trade; out of the 19 masters having contracts for scavaging, as cited in the table given at pp. 213, 214, there are 4 who are regular drivers; and, making the same calculation as above, we have the following results:—

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	Sum received per Annum.	Sum they should receive.	Difference.
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
26 Gangers, at 18s. a week, for 9 months in the year........	912 12	1216 16	304 4
80 Sweepers, at 16s. a week, for 9 months in the year........	2496 0	3328 0	832 0
	3308 12	4544 16	1136 4

Thus we find that the gross sum of which the men employed by these drivers are deprived, is no less than 1136*l.* per annum.

2. The second or indirect mode of reducing the wages of the men in the scavaging trade is by *Grinding;* that is to say, by making the men do the same amount of work for less pay. It requires nothing but a practical illustration to render the injury of this particular mode of reduction apparent to the public.

B is a master scavager (a small contractor, though the instances are not confined to this class), and a "*Grinder.*" He pays 1*s.* a week less than the "regular wages" of the honourable trade. He employs six men; hence the amount that the workmen in his pay are mulct of every year is as follows:—

	Sum received per Annum.	Sum they should receive.	Difference.
	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
6 men, at 15s. a week, for 9 months in the year	175 10	187 4	11 14

Here the loss to the men is 11*l.* 14*s.* per annum, and there is but one such grinder among the 19 master scavagers who have contracts at present.

3. The third and last method of reducing the earnings of the men as above enumerated, is by a combination of both the systems before explained, viz., by *grinding* and *driving* united, that is to say, by not only paying the men a smaller wage than the more honourable masters, but by compelling them to work longer hours as well. Let me cite another illustration from the trade.

C is a large contractor, and both a grinder and driver. He employs 28 men, and not only pays them less wages, but makes them work longer hours than the better class of employers. The men in his pay, therefore, are annually mulct of the following sums.

SUMS THE MEN RECEIVE.	£ s. d.	SUMS THEY SHOULD RECEIVE.	£ s. d.
7 Gangers, at 16s. a week, for 9 months in the year..........	218 8 0	7 Gangers, at 18s. a week, for 9 months in the year..........	245 14 0
21 Sweepers, at 15s. a week....	614 5 0	Over work, 4 hours per day.	61 8 6
	832 13 0	21 Sweepers, at 16s. a week, 12 hours a day ..	635 4 0
		Over work, 4 hours a day ..	163 6 0
			1125 12 6

Here the annual loss to the men employed by this one master is 292*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*

Among the 19 master scavagers there are altogether 7 employers who are both grinders and drivers. These employ among them no less than 111 hands; hence, the gross amount of which their workmen are yearly defrau—no, let me adhere to the principles of political economy, and say deprived—is as under:—

SUM THE MEN ANNUALLY RECEIVE.	£ s. d.	SUM THEY SHOULD ANNUALLY RECEIVE.	£ s. d.
28 Gangers, at 16s. a week, employed for 9 months in the year..........	873 12 0	28 Gangers, at 18s. a week (12 hours a day), for 9 months in the year	982 16 0
83 Sweepers, at 15s. a week, employed for 9 months in the year	2427 15 0	Over work, 4 hours per day	245 14 0
	3301 7 0	83 Sweepers, at 16s. a week, 12 hours a day	2589 12 0
		Over work, 4 hours per day	647 8 0
			4465 10 0

Here we perceive the gross loss to the operatives from the system of combined grinding and driving to be no less than 1164*l.* 3*s.* per annum.

Now let us see what is the aggregate loss to the working men from the several modes of reducing their wages as above detailed.

	£.	s.	d.
Loss to the working scavagers by the "driving" of employers.	1136	4	0
Ditto by the "grinding" .	11	14	0
Ditto by the "grinding *and* driving" of employers . .	1164	3	0
Total loss to the working scavagers per annum . . .	2312	1	0

Now this is a large sum of money to be wrested annually out of the workmen—that it is so wrested is demonstrated by the fact cited at p. 174 in connection with the dust trade.

The wages of the dustmen employed by the large contractors, it is there stated, have been increased within the last seven years from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per load. This increase in the rate of remuneration was owing to complaints made by the men to the Commissioners of Sewers, that they were not able to live on their earnings; an inquiry took place, and the result was that the Commissioners decided upon letting the contracts only to such parties as would undertake to pay a fair price to their workmen. The contractors accordingly increased the remuneration of the labourers as mentioned.

Now political economy would tell us that the Commissioners *interfered* with wages in a most reprehensible manner—preventing the natural operation of the law of Supply and Demand; but both justice and benevolence assure us that the Commissioners did perfectly right. The masters in the dust trade were forced to make good to the men what they had previously taken from them, and the same should be done in the scavaging trade—the contracts should be let only to those

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masters who will undertake to pay the regular rate of wages, and employ their men only the regular hours; for by such means, and by such means alone, can *justice* be done to the operatives.

This brings me to the *cause of the reduction of wages in the scavaging trade*. The scurf trade, I am informed, has been carried on among the master scavagers upwards of 20 years, and arose partly from the contractors having *to pay* the parishes for the house-dust and street-sweepings, brieze and street manure at that period often selling for 30s. the chaldron or load. The demand for this kind of manure 20 years ago was so great, that there was a competition carried on among the contractors themselves, each out-bidding the other, so as to obtain the right of collecting it; and in order not to lose anything by the large sums which they were induced to bid for the contracts, the employers began gradually to "grind down" their men from 17s. 6d. (the sum paid 20 years back) to 17s. a week, and eventually to 15s., and even 12s. weekly. This is a curious and instructive fact, as showing that even an increase of prices will, *under the contract system*, induce a reduction of wages. The greed of traders becomes, it appears, from the very height of the prices, proportionally intensified, and from the desire of each to reap the benefit, they are led to outbid one another to such an extent, and to offer such large premiums for the right of appropriation, as to necessitate a reduction of every possible expense in order to make any profit at all upon the transaction. Owing, moreover, to the surplus labour in the trade, the contractors were enabled to offer any premiums and reduce wages as they pleased; for the casually-employed men, when the wet season was over, and their services no longer required, were continually calling upon the contractors, and offering their services at 2s. and 3s. less per week than the regular hands were receiving. The consequence was, that five or six of the master scavagers began to reduce the wages of their labourers, and since that time the number has been gradually increasing, until now there are no less than 21 scurf masters (8 of whom have no contracts) out of the 34 contractors; so that nearly three-fifths of the entire trade belong to the *grinding* class. Within the last seven or eight years, however, there has been an increase of wages in connection with the city operative scavagers. This was owing mainly to the operatives complaining to the Commissioners that they could not live upon the wages they were then receiving—12s. and 14s. a week. The circumstances inducing the change, I am informed, were as follows:—one of the gangers asked a tradesman in the city to give the street-sweepers "something for beer," whereupon the tradesman inquired if the men could not find beer out of their wages, and on being assured that they were receiving only 12s. a week, he had the matter brought before the Board. The result was, that the wages of the operatives were increased from 12s. to 15s. and 16s. weekly, since which time there has been neither an increase nor a decrease in their pay. The cheapness of provisions seems to have caused no reduction with them.

Now there are but two "efficient causes" to account for the reduction of wages among the scurf employers in the scavagers' trade:—(1) The employers may diminish the pay of their men from a disposition to "*grind*" out of them an inordinate rate of profit. (2) The price paid for the work may be so reduced that, consistent with the ordinary rate of profit on capital, and remuneration for superintendence, greater wages cannot be paid. If the first be the fact, then the employers are to blame, and the parishes should follow the example of the Commissioners of Sewers, and let the work to those contractors only who will undertake to pay the "regular wages" of the honourable trade; but if the latter be the case, as I strongly suspect it is, though some of the masters seem to be more "grasping" than the rest—but in the paucity of returns on this matter, it is difficult to state positively whether the price paid for the labour of the working scavager is in all the parishes proportional to the price paid to the employers for the work (a most important fact to be solved)—if, however, I repeat, the decrease of the wages be mainly due to the decrease in the sums given for the performance of the contract, then the parishes are to blame for seeking to get their work done *at the expense of the working men*.

The contract system of work, I find, necessarily tends to this diminution of the men's earnings in a trade. Offer a certain quantity of work to the lowest bidder, and the competition will assuredly be maintained at *the operative's expense*. It is idle to expect that, as a general rule, traders will take less than the ordinary rate of profit. Hence, he who underbids will usually be found to underpay. This, indeed, is almost a necessity of the system, and one which the parochial functionaries more than all others should be guarded against—seeing that a decrease of the operative's wages can but be attended with an increase of the very paupers, and consequently of the parochial expenses, which they are striving to reduce.

A labourer, in order to be self-supporting and avoid becoming a "burden" on the parish, requires something more than bare subsistence-money in remuneration for his labour, and yet this is generally the mode by which we test the *sufficiency of wages*. "A man can live very comfortably upon that!" is the exclamation of those who have seldom thought upon what constitutes the *minimum* of self-support in this country. A man's wages, to prevent pauperism, should include, besides present subsistence, what Dr. Chalmers has called "his secondaries;" viz., a sufficiency to pay for his maintenance: 1st, during the slack season; 2nd, when out of employment; 3rd, when ill; 4th, when old*. If insufficient to do

* These items wages *must* include to prevent pauperism, *even with providence*. But this is only on the supposition that the labourer is unmarried; if married, however, and having a family, then his wages should include, moreover, the keep of at least three extra persons, as well as the education of the children. If not, one of two results is self-evident—either the wife must toil, to the neglect of her young ones, and they be allowed to run about and pick their morals and education, as I have before said, out of the gutter, or else the whole family must be transferred to the care of the parish.

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this, it is evident that the man at such times must seek parochial relief; and it is by the reduction of wages down to bare subsistence, that the cheap employers of the present day shift the burden of supporting their labourers when unemployed on to the parish; thus virtually perpetuating the allowance system or relief in aid of wages under the old Poor Law. Formerly the mode of hiring labourers was by the year, so that the employer was bound to maintain the men when unemployed. But now journey-work, or hiring by the day, prevails, and the labourers being paid—and that mere subsistence-money—only when wanted are necessitated to become either paupers or thieves when their services are no longer required. It is, moreover, this change from yearly to daily hirings, and the consequent discarding of men when no longer required, that has partly caused the immense mass of surplus labourers, who are continually vagabondizing through the country begging or stealing as they go—men for whom there is but some two or three weeks' work (harvesting, hop-picking, and the like) throughout the year.

That there is, however, a large system of *jobbing pursued by the contractors* for the house-dust and cleansing of the streets, there cannot be the least doubt. The minute I have cited at page 210 gives us a slight insight into the system of combination existing among the employers, and the extraordinary fluctuations in the prices obtained by the contractors would lead to the notion that the business was more a system of gambling than trade. The following returns have been procured by Mr. Cochrane within the last few days:—

"Average yearly cost of cleansing the whole of the public ways within the City of London, including the removal of dust, ashes, &c., from the houses of the inhabitants, for eight years, terminating at Michaelmas in the year 1850 . . . . . £4,643

Square yards of carriage-way, estimated at 430,000

Square yards of footway, estimated at 300,000

A more specific and later return is as follows:—

	Received for Dust. £	s.	d.	Paid for cleansing, &c. £	s.	d.	
1845	0	0	0	2833	2	0	Streets not cleansed daily.
1846	1354	5	0	6034	6	0	Streets cleansed daily.
1847	4455	5	0	8014	2	0	
1848	1328	15	0	7226	1	6	
1849	0	0	0	7486	11	6	
1850	0	0	0	6779	16	0	

"From the above return," says Mr. Cochrane, "it may be *inferred* that the annual sums paid for cleansing in each year of 1844 and 1843 did not exceed 2281*l.*, as this would make up the eight years' average calculation of 4643*l.*"

Since the streets have been cleansed daily, it will be seen that the average has been 7188*l.* The smallest amount, in 1846, was 6034*l.*; and the largest, in 1847, 8014*l.*; which was a sudden increase of 1980*l.*

Here, then, we perceive an immediate increase in the price paid for scavaging between 1846 and 1847 of nearly 33 per cent., and since the wages of the workmen were not proportionately increased in the latter year by the employers, it follows that the profits of the contractors must have been augmented to that enormous extent. The only effectual mode of preventing this system of jobbing being persevered in, *at the expense of the workmen*, is by the insertion of a clause in each parish contract similar to that introduced by the Commissioners of Sewers—that at least a fair living rate of wages shall be paid by each contractor to the men employed by him. This may be an interference with the freedom of labour, according to the economists' "cant" language, but at least it is a restriction of the tyranny of capital, for free labour means, when literally translated, *the unrestricted use of capital*, which is (especially when the moral standard of trade is not of the highest character) perhaps the greatest evil with which a State can be afflicted.

Let me now speak of the *Scurf labourers*. The moral and social characteristics of the working scavagers who labour for a lower rate of hire do not materially differ from those of the better paid and more regularly employed body, unless, perhaps, in this respect, that there are among them a greater proportion of the "casuals," or of men reared to the pursuit of other callings, and driven by want, misfortune, or misconduct, to "sweep the streets;" and not only that, but to regard the "leave to toil" in such a capacity a boon. These constitute, as it were, the cheap labourers of this trade.

Among the parties concerned in the lower-priced scavaging, are the usual criminations. The parish authorities will not put up any longer with the extortions of the contractors. The contractors cannot put up any longer with the stinginess of the parishes. The *working* scavagers, upon whose shoulders the burthen falls the heaviest—as it does in all depreciated tradings—grumble at both. I cannot aver, however, that I found among the men that bitter hatred of their masters which I found actuating the mass of operative tailors, shoemakers, dressmakers, &c., toward the slop capitalists who employed them.

I have pointed out in what the "scurf" treatment of the labourers was chiefly manifested—in extra work for inferior pay; in doing eight or nine days' work in six; and in being paid for only six days' labour, and not always at the ordinary rate even for the lighter toil—not 2*s.* 8*d.*, but 2*s.* 6*d.* or even 2*s.* 4*d.* a day. To the wealthy, this 2*d.* or 4*d.* a day may seem but a trifling matter, but I heard a working scavager (formerly a house-painter) put it in a strong light: "that 3*d.* or 4*d.* a day, sir, is a poor family's rent." The rent, I may observe, as a result of my inquiries among the more decent classes of labourers, is often the primary consideration: "You see, sir, we must have a roof over our heads."

A scavager, working for a scurf master, gave

me the following account. He was a middle-aged man, decently dressed, for when I saw him, he was in his "Sunday clothes," and was quiet in his tones, even when he spoke bitterly.

"My father," he said, "was once in business as a butcher, but he failed, and was afterwards a journeyman butcher, but very much respected, I know, and I used to job and help him. O dear, yes! I can read and write, but I have very seldom to write, only I think one never forgets it, it's like learning to swim, that way; and I read sometimes at coffee-shops. My father died rather sudden, and me and a brother had to look out. My brother was older than me, he was 20 or 21 then, and he went for a soldier, I believe to some of the Ingees, but I've never heard of him since. I got a place in a knacker's yard, but I didn't like it at all, *it was so confining*, and should have hooked it, only I left it honourable. I can't call to mind how long that's back, perhaps 16 or 18 years, but I know there was some stir at the time about having the streets and yards cleaner. A man called and had some talk with the governor, and says he, says the governor, says he, 'if you want a handy lad with his besom, and he's good for nothing else'—but that was his gammon—'here's your man;' so I was engaged as a young sweeper at 10*s.* a week. I worked in Hackney, but I heard so much about railways, that I saved my money up to 10*s.*, and popped [pledged] a suit of mourning I'd got after my father's death for 22*s.*, and got to York, both on foot and with lifts. I soon got work on a rail; there was great call for rails then, but I don't know how long it's since, and I was a navvy for six or seven years, or better. Then I came back to London. I don't know just what made me come back, *but I was restless*, and I thought I could get work as easy in London as in the country, but I couldn't. I brought 21 gold sovereigns with me to London, twisted in my fob for safeness, in a wash-leather bag. They didn't last so long as they ought to. I didn't care for drinking, only when I was in company, but I was a little too gay. One night I spent over 12*s.* in the St. Helena Gardens at Rotherhithe, and that sort of thing soon makes money show taper. I got some work with a rubbish carter, a regular scurf. I made only about 8*s.* a week under him, for he didn't want me this half day or that whole day, and if I said anything, he told me I might go and be d—d, he could get plenty such, and I knew he could. I got on then with a gangsman I knew, at street-sweeping. I had 15*s.* a week, but not regular work, but when the work wer'n't regular, I had 2*s.* 8*d.* a day. I then worked under another master for 14*s.* a week, and was often abused that I wasn't better dressed, for though that there master paid low wages, he was vexed if his men didn't look decent in the streets. I've heard that he said he paid the best of wages when asked about it. I had another job after that, at 15*s.*, and then 16*s.* a week, with a contractor as had a wharf; but a black nigger slave was never slaved as I was. I've worked all night, when it's been very moonlight, in loading a barge, and I've worked until three and four in the morning that way, and then me and another man slept an hour or two in a shed as joined his stables, and then must go at it again. Some of these masters is ignorant, and treats men like dirt, but this one was always civil, and made his people be civil. But, Lord, I hadn't a rag left to my back. Everything was worn to bits in such hard work, and then I got the sack. I was on for Mr. —— next. He's a jolly good 'un. I was only on for him temp'ry, but I was told it was for temp'ry when I went, so I can't complain. I'm out of work this week, but I've had some jobs from a butcher, and I'm going to work again on Monday. I don't know at what wages. The gangsmen said they'd see what I could do. It'll be 15*s.*, I expect, and over-work if it's 16*s.*

"Yes, I like a pint of beer now and then, and one requires it, but I don't get drunk. I dusted for a fortnight once while a man was ill, and got more beer and twopences give me than I do in a year now; aye, twice as much. My mate and me was always very civil, and people has said, 'there's a good fellow, just sweep together this bit of rubbish in the yard here, and off with it.' That was beyond our duty, but we did it. I have very little night-work, only for one master; he's a sweep as well. I get 2*s.* 6*d.* a job for it. Yes, there's mostly something to drink, but you can't demand nothing. Night-work's nothing, sir; no more ain't a knacker's yard.

"I pay 2*s.* a week rent, but I'm washed for and found soap as well. My landlady takes in washing, and when her husband, for they're an old couple, has the rheumatics, I make a trifle by carrying out the clothes on a barrow, and Mrs. Smith goes with them and sees to the delivery. I've my own furniture.

"Well, I don't know what I spend in my living in a week. I have a bit of meat, or a saveloy or two, or a slice of bacon every day, mostly when I'm at work. I sometimes make my own meals ready in my room. No, I keep no accounts. There'd be very little use or pleasure in doing it when one has so little to count. When I'm past work, I suppose I must go to the workhouse. I sometimes wish I'd gone for a soldier when I was young enough. I shouldn't have minded going abroad. I'd have liked it better than not, for *I like to be about; yes, I like a change.*

"I go to chapel every Sunday night, and have regularly since Mr. —— (the butcher) gave me this cast-off suit. I promised him I would when I got the togs.

"Things would be well enough with me if I'd constant work and fair pay. I don't know what makes wages so low. I suppose it's rich people trying to get all the money they can, and caring nothing for poor men's rights, and poor men's sometimes forced to undersell one another, 'cause half a loaf you know, sir, is better than no bread at all" (a proverb, by the way, which has wrought no little mischief).

In conclusion, I may remark, that although I was told, in the first instance, there was sub-letting in street sweeping, I could not hear of any facts to

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prove it. I was told, indeed, by a gentleman who took great interest in parochial matters, with a view to "reforms" in them, that such a thing was most improbable, for if a contractor sub-let any of his work it would soon become known, and as it would be evident that the work could be accomplished at a lower rate, the contractor would be in a worse position for his next contract.

OF THE STREET-SWEEPING MACHINE, AND THE STREET-SWEEPERS EMPLOYED WITH IT.

UNTIL the introduction of the machines now seen in London, I believe that no mechanical contrivances for sweeping the streets had been attempted, all such work being executed by manual labour, and employing throughout the United Kingdom a great number of the poor. The street-sweeping machine, therefore, assumes an importance as another instance of the displacement, or attempted displacement, of the labour of man by the mechanism of an engine.

The street-sweeping machines were introduced into London about five years ago, after having been previously used, under the management of a company in Manchester, the inventor and maker being Mr. Whitworth, of that place. The novelty and ingenuity of the apparatus soon attracted public attention, and for the first week or two the vehicular street-sweeper was accompanied in its progress by a crowd of admiring and inquisitive pedestrians, so easily attracted together in the metropolis. In the first instance the machines were driven through the streets merely to display their mode and power of work, and the drivers and attendants not unfrequently came into contact with the regular scavagers, when a brisk interchange of street wit took place, the populace often enough encouraging both sides. At present the street-sweeping machine proceeds on its line of operation as little noticed, except by visitors, and foreigners especially, as any other vehicle. The body of the sweeping machine, although the sizes may not all be uniform, is about 5 feet in length, and 2 feet 8 inches or 3 feet in width; the height is about 5 feet 6 inches or 6 feet, and the form that of a covered cart, with a rounded top. The sides of the exterior are of cast iron, the top being of wood. At the hinder part of the cart is fixed the sweeping-machine itself, covered by sloping boards which descend from the top of the cart, projecting slightly behind the vehicle to the ground; under the sloping boards is an endless chain of brushes as wide as the cart, 16 in number, placed at equal distances, and so arranged, that when made to revolve, each brush in turn passes over the ground, sweeping the mud along with it to the bottom sloping board, and so carrying it up to the interior of the cart. The chain of brushes is set in motion, over the surface of the pavement, by the agency of three cog wheels of cast iron; these are worked by the rotation of the wheels of the cart, the cogs acting upon the spindles to which the brooms are attached. The spindles, brushes, and the sloped boards can be raised or lowered by the winding of an instrument called the broom winder; or the whole can be locked. The brooms are raised when any acclivity is to be swept, and lowered at a declivity. The vehicle must be water-tight in order to contain the slop.

When full the machine holds about half a cart load or half a ton of dirt; this is emptied by letting down the back in the manner of a trap door. If the contents be solid, they have to be forked out; if more sloppy, they are "shot" out, as from a cart, the interior generally being roughly scraped to complete the emptying.

The districts which have as yet been cleansed by the machines are what may be considered a government domain, being the public thoroughfares under the control of the Commissioners of the Woods and Forests, running from Westminster Abbey to the Regent-circus in Piccadilly, and including Spring-gardens, Carlton-gardens, and a portion of the West Strand, where they were first employed in London; they have been used also in parts of the City; and are at present employed by the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. The company by whom the mechanical street-sweeping business is carried on employ 12 machines, 4 water carts, 19 horses, and 24 men. They have also the use, but not the sole use, of two wharfs and barges at Whitefriars and Millbank. The machines altogether collect about 30 cart-loads of street-dirt a day, which is equivalent to four or five barge-loads in a week, if all were boated. Two barges per week are usually sent to Rochester, the others up the river to Fulham, &c. The average price is *5l.* 10*s.* to *6l.* per barge load, but when the freight has been chiefly dung, as much as *8l.* has been paid for it by a farmer.

The street-sweeping machine seems to have commanded the approbation of the General Board of Health, although the Board's expression of approval is not without qualification. "Even that efficient and economical implement," says one of the Reports, "the street-sweeping machine, leaves much filth between the interstices of the stones and some on the surface." One might have imagined, however, that an efficient and economical implement would not have left this "much filth" in its course; but the Board, I presume, spoke comparatively.

The reason of the circumscribed adoption of the machine—I say it with some reluctance, but from concurrent testimony—appears to be that it does *not* sweep sufficiently clean. It sweeps the surface, but only the surface; not cleansing what the scavagers call the "nicks" and "holes," and the Board of Health the "interstices," in the pavement.

One man is obliged to go along with each machine, to sweep the ridge of dirt invariably left at the edge of the track of the vehicle into the line of the next machine, so that it may be "licked up." In fine weather this work is often light enough. It is also the occupation of the accompanying scavager to sweep the dirt from the sloping edges of the public ways into the direct course of the machine, for the brushes are of no service along such slopes; he must also sweep out the contents of any hole or hollow there may be in the streets, as is frequently the case when the pavement has been disturbed in the

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relaying or repairing of the gas or water pipes. But for this arrangement, I was told, the brushes would pass "clean over" such places, or only disturb without clearing away the dirt. Indeed irregularities of any kind in the pavement are great obstructions to the efficiency of the street-sweeping machine.

There are some places, moreover, wholly unsweepable by the machine; in many parts of St. Martin's parish, for instance, there are localities where the machine cannot be introduced; such are—St. Martin's-court; the flagged ways about the National Gallery; and the approach, alongside the church, to the Lowther Arcade; the pavement surrounding the fountains which adorn the "noblest site in Europe;" and a variety of alleys, passages, yards, and minor streets, which must be cleansed by manual labour.

In fair weather, again, water carts are indispensable before machine sweeping, for if the ground be merely dry and dusty, the set of brooms will not "bite."

We now come to estimate the *relative values of the mechanical and manual labour applied to the scavaging of the streets.* The average progress of the street-sweeping machine, in the execution of the scavagers' work, is about two miles an hour. It must not be supposed, however, that two streets each a mile in length, could be swept in one hour; for to do this the vehicle would have to travel up and down those streets as many times as the streets are wider than the machine. The machines, sometimes two, sometimes three or four, follow alongside each other's tracks in sweeping a street, so as to leave no part unswept. Thus, supposing a street half a mile long and nine yards wide, and that each machine swept a breadth of a yard, then three such machines, driven once up, and once again down, and once more up such a street, would cleanse it in three quarters of an hour. To do this by manual labour in the same or nearly the same time, would require the exertions of five men. Each machine has been computed to have mechanical power equal to the industry of five street-sweepers; and such, from the above computation, would appear to be the fact. I do not include the drivers in this enumeration, as of course the horse in the scavagers' cart, and in the machine require alike the care of a man and there is to each vehicle (whether mechanical or not) one hand (besides the carman) to sweep after the ordinary work. Hence every two men with the machine do the work of seven men by hand.

Having, then, ascertained the relative values of the two forces employed in cleansing the streets, let me now proceed to set forth what is "the economy of labour" resulting from the use of the sweeping machine. In the following table are given the number of men at present engaged by the machine company in the cleansing of those districts where the machine is in operation, as well as the annual amount of wages paid to the machine labourers; these facts are then collocated with the number of manual labourers that would be required to do the same work under the ordinary contract system (assuming every two labourers with the machine to do the work of seven labourers by hand), as well as the amount of wages that would be paid to such manual labourers; and finally, the number of men and amount of wages under the one system of street-cleansing is subtracted from the other, in order to arrive at the number of street-sweepers at present displaced by machine labour, and the annual loss in wages to the men so displaced; or, to speak economically, the last column represents the amount by which the Wage Fund of the street-sweepers is diminished by the employment of the machine.

TABLE SHOWING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF MEN AT PRESENT ENGAGED IN STREET-SWEEPING BY MACHINES, AND THE NUMBER THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO SWEEP THE SAME DISTRICTS BY HAND, TOGETHER WITH THE ANNUAL AMOUNT OF WAGES ACCRUING TO EACH.

Districts.	Machine Labour.		Manual Labour.		Difference.	
	Number of Men employed to attend Machines.	Annual Wages received by Machine Men, at 16s. a Week.	Number of men that would be required to sweep the Streets by Manual labour.	Annual Wages that would be received by Manual Labourers, at 15s. a Week.	Number of Men displaced by Machine-work.	Annual Loss in Wages to Manual Labourers by Machine-work.
		£ s.		£ s.		£ s.
St. Martin's-in-the Fields	8	332 16	28	1092 0	20	759 4
Regent-street and Pall-mall (see table, p. 214) .	12	499 4	42	1638 0	30	1138 16
Other places, connected with Woods and Forests . .	4	166 8	14	546 0	10	379 12
Total. . .	24	998 8	84	3276 0	60	2277 12

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Hence, we perceive that no less than 60 street-sweepers are deprived of work by the street-sweeping machine, and that the gross Wage Fund of the men is diminished by the employment of mechanical labour no less than 2277*l.* per annum.

But let us suppose the street-sweeping machine to come into general use, and all the men who are at present employed by the contractors, both large and small, to sweep the street by hand to be superseded by it, what would be the result? how much money would the manual labourers be deprived of per annum, and how many self-supporting labourers would be pauperized thereby? The following table will show us: in the first compartment given below we have the number of manual labourers employed throughout London by the large and small contractors, and the amount of wages annually received by them*; in the second compartment is given the number of men that would be required to sweep the same districts by the machine, and the amount of wages that would be received by them at the present rate; and the third and last compartment shows the gross number of hands that would be displaced, and the annual loss that would accrue to the operatives by the substitution of mechanical for manual labour in the sweeping of the streets.

TABLE SHOWING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF CONTRACTORS' MEN AT PRESENT EMPLOYED TO SWEEP THE STREETS BY HAND, AND THE NUMBER THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO SWEEP THE SAME DISTRICTS BY MACHINE WORK, TOGETHER WITH THE AMOUNT OF WAGES ACCRUING TO EACH.

	Manual Labour.		Machine Labour.		Difference.	
	Number of Men at present employed by Contractors to sweep the streets.	Annual Wages received by Contractors' Men for sweeping the Streets, at 15s. a Week.	Number of Machine Men that would be required to attend the Street-sweeping Machines.	Annual Wages that would be received by Machine Men, at 16s. a Week.	Number of Men that would be displaced by Machine-work.	Annual Loss that would accrue to Manual Labourers by Machine-work.
		£ s.		£ s.		£ s.
Districts at present swept by large contractors (see table, p. 214)	262	10,218 0	75	3120 0	187	7098 0
Districts swept by small contractors	13	507 0	4	166 8	9	340 12
Total	275	10,725 0	79	3286 8	196	7438 12

Here we find that nearly 200 men would be pauperized, losing upwards of 7000*l.* per annum, if the street-sweeping machine came into general use throughout London. But, before the introduction of machines, the thoroughfares of St. Martin's parish were swept only once a week in dry weather, and three times a week in sloppy weather, and since the introduction of the machines they have been swept daily; allowing, therefore, the extra cleansing to have arisen from the extra cheapness of the machine work—though it seems to have been the result of improved sanatory regulations, for in parts where the machine has not been used the same alteration has taken place—making such allowance, however, it may, perhaps, be fair to say, that the same increase of cleansing would take place throughout London; that is to say, that the streets would be swept by the machines, were they generally used, twice as often as they are at present by hand. At this rate 158 machine men, instead of 79 as above calculated, would be required for the work; so that, reckoning for the increased employment which might arise from the increased cheapness of the work, we see that, were the street-sweeping machines used throughout the metropolis, nearly 120 of the 275 manual labourers now employed at scavaging by the large and small contractors, would be thrown out of work, and deprived of no less a sum than 4680*l.* per annum.

This amount, of course, the parishes would pocket, minus the sum that it would cost them to keep the displaced scavagers as paupers, so that in this instance, at least, we perceive that, however great a benefit cheapness may be to the wealthy classes, to the poorer classes it is far from being of the same advantageous character; for, just as much as the rate-payers are the gainers in the matter of street-cleansing must the labourers be the losers—the economy of labour in a trade where there are too many labourers already, and where the quantity of work does not admit of indefinite increase, meaning simply the increase of pauperism†.

* I have estimated the whole at 15*s.* a week the year through, gangers, "honourable men," regular hands and all, so as to allow for the diminished receipts of the casual hands.

† The usual argument in favour of machinery, viz., that "by reducing prices it extends the market, and so, causing a greater demand for the commodities, induces a greater quantity of employment," would also be an argument in favour of over population, since this, by

The "*labour question*" as connected with the sweeping-machine work, requires but a brief detail, as it presents no new features. The majority of the machine men may be described as having been "general (unskilled) labourers" before they embarked in their present pursuits: labourers for builders, brick-makers, rubbish-carters, the docks, &c.

Among them there is but one who was brought up as a mechanic; the others have all been labourers, brick-makers, and what I heard called "barrow-workers" on railways, the latter being the most numerous.

Employment is obtained by application at the wharfs. There is nothing of the character of a trade society among the machine-men; nothing in the way of benefit or sick clubs, unless the men choose to enrol themselves in a general benefit society, of which I did not hear one instance.

The payment is by the week, and without drawback in the guise or disguise of fines, or similar inflictions for the use of tools, &c.; the payment, moreover, is always in money.

The only perquisite is in the case of anything being found in the streets; but the rule as to perquisites seems to be altogether an understanding among the men. The disposal of what may be picked up in the streets appears, moreover, to be very much in the discretion of the picker up. If anything be found in the contents of the vehicle, when emptied, it is the perquisite of the driver, who is also the unloader; he, however, is expected to treat the men "on the same beat" out of any such "treasure trove," when the said treasure is considerable enough to justify such bounty. Odd sixpences, shillings, or copper coin, I was informed, were found almost every week, but I could ascertain no general average. One man, some time ago, found a purse inside the vehicle containing 20*s*., and "spent it out and out all on hisself," in a carouse of three days. He lost his situation in consequence.

The number of men employed by the company in this trade is 24, and these perform all the work required in the driving and attendance upon the machines in the street, in loading the barges, grooming the horses, &c. There is, indeed, a twenty-fifth man, but he is a blacksmith, and his wages of 35*s*. weekly are included in the estimate as to wear and tear given below, for he shoes the horses and repairs the machines.

The rate of wages paid by the machine company is 16*s*. a week, so that the full amount of wages is paid to the men.

But though the company cannot be ranked among the grinders of the scavaging trade, they *must* be placed among "the drivers."

cheapening, labour must have the same effect as machinery on prices, and, consequently (according to the above logic), induce a greater quantity of employment! But granting that machinery really does benefit the labourer in cases *where the market, and therefore the quantity of work, is largely extensible*, surely it cannot but be an injury in those callings where *the quantity of work is fixed*. Such is the fact with the sawing of wood, the reaping of corn, the threshing of corn, the sweeping of the streets, &c., and hence the evil of mechanical labour applied to such trades.

I am assured, by those who are familiar with such labour, that the 24 men employed by the machine masters do the work of upwards of 30 in the honourable trade, with a corresponding saving to their employers, from an adherence to the main point of the scurf system, the overworking of the men without extra payment.

It has been before stated that, in dry weather, the roads require to be watered before being swept, so that the brushes may *bite*. In summer the machine-men sometimes commence this part of their business at three in the morning; and at the other periods of the year, sometimes at early morning, when moonlight. In summer the hours of labour in the streets are from three, four, five, or six in the morning, to half-past four in the afternoon; in winter, from light to light, and after street there may be yard and barge work.

The saving by this scurf system, then, is:—

30 men (honourable trade), 16*s*. weekly	£1248	yearly.
24 men (scurf-trade) doing same work), 16*s*. weekly . .	998	„
Saving to capitalist and loss to labourer	£250	„

It now but remains to sum up the capital, income, and expenditure of the machine-scavaging trade.

The cost of a street-sweeping machine is 50*l*. to 60*l*., with an additional 5*l*. 5*s*. for the set of brooms. The wear and tear of these machines are very considerable. A man who had the care of one told me that when there was a heavy stress on it he had known the iron cogs of the inner wheels "go rattle, rattle, snap, snap," until it became difficult to proceed with the work. The brooms, too, in hard work and "cloggy" weather, are apt to snap short, and in the regular course of wear have to be renewed every four or five weeks. The sets of brooms are of bass, worked strongly with copper wire. The whole apparatus can be unscrewed and taken to pieces, to be cleaned or repaired. The repairs, independently of the renewal of the brooms, have been calculated at 7*l*. yearly each machine. The capital invested, then, in twelve street-sweeping machines, in the horses, and what may be considered the appurtenances of the trade, together with the yearly expenditure, may be thus calculated:—

Capital of Street-Sweeping Machine Trade.

12 machines, 60*l*. each	£720
12 sets of brooms, 5*l*. 5*s*. each set .	63
19 horses, 25*l*. each	475
4 water-carts, 20*l*. each	80
19 sets of harness (new), 7*l*. each set	133
4 barges, 50*l*. each	200
	£1671

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YEARLY EXPENDITURE.

24 men, 16s. weekly	£998
120 sets of brooms for 12 machines, 4l. per set	480
Wear and tear, &c. (15 per cent.) .	255
Keep of 19 horses, 10s. each weekly	494
Rent (say)	150
Clerk (say)	100
Interest on capital, at 10 per cent. .	170
	£2674

In this calculation I have included wear and tear of the whole of the implements of the stock-in-trade, &c., taking that of the brooms on the most moderate estimate. According to the scale of payment by the parish of St. Martin (which is now 1000l. per annum) the probable receipts of a single year will be :—

YEARLY RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
For hire of 12 machines . .	2500	0	0
200 barge-loads of manure, 5l. 15s. per barge	1150	10	0
	3650	10	0
Yearly expenditure .	2674	0	0
Profit	976	10	0

OF THE CLEANSING OF THE STREETS BY PAUPER LABOUR.

UNDER the head of the several modes and characteristics of street-cleansing, I stated at p. 207 of the present volume that there were no less than four distinct kinds of labourers employed in the scavaging of the public thoroughfares of the metropolis. These were :—

1. The self-supporting manual labourers.
2. The self-supporting machine labourers.
3. The pauper labourers.
4. The "philanthropic" labourers.

I have already set forth the distinguishing features of the first two of these different orders of workmen in connection with the scavaging trade, and now proceed in due order to treat of the characteristics of the third.

The subject of pauper labour generally is one of the most difficult topics that the social philosopher can deal with. It is not possible, however, to do more here than draw attention to the salient points of the question. The more comprehensive consideration of the matter must be reserved till such time as I come to treat of the poor specially under the head of those that cannot work.

By the 43 Eliz., which is generally regarded as the basis of the existing poor laws in this country, it was ordained that in every parish a fund should be raised by local taxation, not merely for the relief of the aged and infirm, but *for setting to work all persons having no means to maintain themselves, and using no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their living by.*

It was, however, soon discovered that it was one thing to pass an act for setting able-bodied paupers to work, and another thing to do so. "In every place," as Mr. Thornton truly says in his excellent treatise on "Over Population," "there is only a certain amount of work to be done," (limited by the extent of the market) "and only a certain amount of capital to pay for it; and, if the number of workmen be more than proportionate to the work, employment can only be given to those who want it by taking from those who have."

Let me illustrate this by the circumstances of the scavaging trade. There are 1760 miles of streets throughout London, and these would seem to require about 600 scavagers to cleanse them. It is self-evident, therefore, that if 400 paupers be "set" to sweep particular districts, the same number of self-supporting labourers must be deprived of employment, and if these cannot obtain work elsewhere, they of course must become paupers too, and, seeking relief, be put upon the same kind of work as they were originally deprived of, and that only to displace and pauperize in their turn a similar number of independent operatives.

The work of a country then being limited (by the capital and market for the produce), there can be but two modes of setting paupers to labour: (1) by throwing the self-supporting operatives out of employment altogether, and substituting pauper labourers in their stead; (2) by giving a portion of the work to the paupers, and so decreasing the employment, and consequently the wages, of the regular operatives. In either case, however, the independent labourers must be reduced to a state of comparative or positive dependence, for *it is impossible to make labourers of the paupers of an over-populated country without making paupers of the labourers.*

Some economists argue that, as paupers are consumers, they should, whenever they are able to work, be made producers also, or otherwise they exhaust the national wealth, to which they do not contribute. This might be a sound axiom were there work sufficient for all. But in an over-populated country there is not work enough, as is proven by the mere fact of the over-population; and the able-bodied paupers *are* paupers simply *because they cannot obtain work*, so that to employ those who are out of work is to throw out those who are in work, and thus to pauperize the self-supporting.

The whole matter seems to hinge upon this one question—

Who are to maintain the paupers? The rate-paying traders or the non-ratepaying workmen?

If the paupers be set to work in a country like Great Britain, they must necessarily be brought into competition with the self-supporting workmen, and so be made to share the wage fund with them, decreasing the price of labour in proportion to the extra number of such pauper labourers among whom the capital of the trade has to be shared. Hence the burden of maintaining the paupers will be virtually shifted from the capitalist to the labourer, the poor-rate being thus really paid out of the wages of the operatives, instead of the profits of the traders, as it should be.

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And here lies the great wrong of pauper labour. It saddles the poor with the maintenance of their poorer brethren, while the rich not only contribute nothing to their support, but are made still richer by the increased cheapness resulting from the depreciation of labour and their consequent ability to obtain a greater quantity of commodities for the same amount of money.

In illustration of this argument let us say the wages of 600 independent scavagers amount, at 15*s.* a week each the year through, to 23,400*l.* per annum; and let us say, moreover, that the keep of 400 paupers amounts, at 5*s.* a week each, to, altogether, 5200*l.*; hence the total annual expense to the several metropolitan parishes for cleansing the streets and maintaining 400 paupers would be 23,400*l.* + 5200*l.* = 28,600*l.*

If, however, the 400 paupers be set to scavaging work, and made to do something for their keep, one of two things *must* follow: (1) either the 400 extra hands will receive their share of the 23,400*l.* devoted to the payment of the operative scavagers, in which case the wages of each of the regular hands will be reduced from 15*s.* to 9*s.* a week; hence the maintenance of the paupers will be saddled upon the 600 independent operatives, who will lose no less than 9360*l.* per annum, while the ratepayers will be saved the maintenance of the 400 paupers and so gain 5200*l.* per annum by the change; (2) or else 400 of the self-supporting operatives must be thrown out of work, in which case the displaced labourers will lose no less than 15,600*l.*, while the ratepayers will gain upwards of 5000*l.*

The reader is now, I believe, in a position to comprehend the wrong done to the self-supporting scavagers by the employment of pauper labour in the cleansing of the streets.

The preparation of the material of the roads of a parish seems, as far as the metropolis is concerned, at one time to have supplied the chief "test," to which parishes have resorted, as regards the willingness to labour on the part of the able-bodied applicants for relief. When the casual wards of the workhouses were open for the reception of all vagrants who sought a night's shelter, each tramper was required to break so many stones in the morning before receiving a certain allowance of bread, soup, or what not for his breakfast; and he then might be received again into the shelter of this casual asylum. In some parishes the wards were open without the test of stone-breaking, and there was a crowded resort to them, especially during the prevalence of the famine in Ireland and the immigration of the Irish peasants to England. The favourite resort of the vagrants was Marylebone workhouse, and Irish immigrants very frequently presented slips of paper on which some tramper whom they had met with on their way had written "*Marylebone workhouse*," as the best place at which they could apply, and these the simple Irish offered as passports for admission!

Gradually, the asylum of these wards, with or without labour tests, was discontinued, and in one where the labour test used to be strongly insisted upon—in St. Pancras—a school for pauper children has been erected on the site of the stone-yard.

This labour test was unequal when applied to all comers; for what was easy work to an agricultural labourer, a railway excavator, a quarryman, or to any one used to wield a hammer, was painful and blistering to a starving tailor. Nor was the test enforced by the overseers or regarded by the paupers as a proof of willingness to work, but simply as a punishment for poverty, and as a means of deterring the needy from applying for relief. To make labour a punishment, however, is *not* to destroy, but really to confirm, idle habits; it is to give a deeper root to the vagrant's settled aversion to work. "Well, I always thought it was unpleasant," the vagabond will say to himself "*that* working for one's bread, and now I'm *convinced* of it!" Again, in many of the workhouses the labour to which the paupers were set was of a manifestly unremunerative character, being work for mere work's sake; and to apply people to unproductive labour is to destroy all the ordinary motives to toil—to take away the only stimulus to industry, and remove the very will to work which the labour test was supposed to discover *.

The labour test, then, or setting the poor to work as a proof of their willingness to labour, appears to be as foolish as it is vicious; the objections to it being—(1) the inequality of the test applied to different kinds of work-people; (2) the tendency of it to confirm rather than weaken idle habits by making labour inordinately repulsive; (3) the removal of the ordinary stimulus to industry by the unproductiveness of the work to which the poor are generally applied.

And now, having dealt with the subject of parish labour as a test of the willingnes to work on the part of the applicants for relief, I will proceed to deal with that portion of the work itself which is connected with the cleansing of the streets.

And first as to the employment of paupers at all in the streets. If pauperism be a disgrace, then it is unjust to turn a man into the public thoroughfares, wearing the badge of beggary, to be pointed at and scorned for his poverty, especially when we are growing so particularly studious of our criminals that we make them wear masks to prevent even their faces being seen †. Nor is it consistent with the principles of an enlightened national morality that we should force a body of honest men to labour upon the highways, branded with a degrading garb, like convicts. Neither is it *wise* to do so, for the shame of poverty soon becomes deadened by the repeated exposure to public scorn; and thus the occasional recipient of parish relief is ultimately

* Mr. Sidney Herbert informed me, that when he was connected with the Ordnance Department the severest punishment they could discover for idleness was the piling and unpiling of cannon shot; but surely this was the consummation of official folly! for idleness being simply an aversion to work, it is almost self-evident that it is *impossible* to remove this aversion by making labour inordinately irksome and repulsive. Until we understand the means by which work is made pleasant, and can discover other modes of employing our paupers and criminals, all our workhouse and prison discipline is idle tyranny.

† This is done at the Model Prison, Pentonville.

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converted into the hardened and habitual pauper. "Once a pauper always a pauper," I was assured was the parish rule; and here lies the *rationale* of the fact. Not long ago this system of employing *badged* paupers to labour in the public thoroughfares was carried to a much more offensive extent than it is even at present. At one time the pauper labourers of a certain parish had the attention of every passer-by attracted to them while at their work, for on the back of each man's garb—a sort of smock-frock—was marked, with sufficient prominence, "CLERKENWELL. STOP IT!" This public intimation that the labourers were not only paupers, but regarded as thieves, and expected to purloin the parish dress they wore, attracted public attention, and was severely commented upon at a meeting. The "STOP IT!" therefore was cancelled, and the frocks are now *merely* lettered "CLERKENWELL." Before the alteration the men very generally wore the garment inside out.

The present dress of the parish scavagers is usually a loose smock-frock, costing 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s*, and a glazed hat of about the same price. In some cases, however, the men may wear these things or not, at their option.

The pauper scavagers employed by the several metropolitan parishes may be divided into three classes:—

1. The in-door paupers, who receive no wages whatever (their lodging, food, and clothing being considered to be sufficient remuneration for their labour).

2. The out-door paupers, who are paid partly in money and partly in kind, and employed in some cases three days and in others six days in the week.

   These may be subdivided into—(*a*) the single men, who receive, or rather used to receive, 9*d.* and a quartern loaf for each of the three or more days they were so employed; (*b*) the married men with families, who receive 7*s.* and 3 quartern loaves a week to 1*s.* 1½*d.* and 1 quartern loaf for each day's labour.

3. The unemployed labourers of the district, who are set to scavaging work by the parish, and paid a regular money wage—the employment being constant, and the rate of remuneration ranging from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a day for each of the six days, or from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 15*s.* a week.

In pp. 246, 247, I give a table of the wages paid by each of the metropolitan parishes. This has been collected at great trouble in order to arrive at the truth on this most important matter, and for which purpose the several parishes have been personally visited. It will be seen on reference to this document, that there is only one parish at present that employs its in-door paupers in the scavaging of the public streets; and 3 parishes employing 48 out-door paupers, who are paid partly in money and partly in bread; the money remuneration ranging from 1*s.* 1½*d.* a day (paid by Clerkenwell) to 7*s.* a week (paid by Chelsea), and moreover 31 parishes employing 408 applicants for relief (paupers they cannot be called), and paying them wholly in money, the remuneration ranging from 15*s.* per week to 7*s.* 6*d.* (paid by the Liberty of the Rolls), and the employment from 6 to 3 days weekly. As a general rule it was found that the greatest complaints were made by the authorities as to the idleness of the poor, and by the poor as to the tyranny of the authorities, in those parishes where the remuneration was the least. In St. Luke's, Chelsea, for instance, where the remuneration is but 7*s.* a week and three loaves, the criminations and recriminations by the parish functionaries and the paupers were almost equally harsh and bitter. I should, however, observe that the men employed in this parish spoke in terms of great commendation of Mr. Pattison the surveyor, saying he always gave them to understand that they were free labourers, and invariably treated them as such. The men at work for Bermondsey parish also spoke very highly of their superintendent, who, it seems, has interested himself to obtain for them a foul-weather coat. Some of the highway boards or trusts take all the pauper labourers sent them by the parish, while others give employment only to such as please them. These boards generally pay good wages, and are in favour with the men.

The mode of working, as regards the use of the implements and the manual labour, is generally the same among the pauper scavagers as I have described in connection with the scavagers generally.

The consideration of what is the rate of parish pay to the poor who are employed as scavagers, is complicated by the different modes in which the employment is carried out, for, as we see, there is—1st, the scavaging labour, by workhouse inmates, without any payment beyond the cost of maintenance and clothing; 2nd, the "short" or three-days-a-week labour, with or without "relief" in the bestowal of bread; and 3rd, the six days' work weekly, with a money wage and no bread, nor anything in the form of payment in kind or of "relief."

Let me begin with the first system of labour above mentioned, viz. the employment of the in-door paupers without wages of any kind, their food, lodging, and clothing being considered as equivalents for their work. The principal evil in connection with this form of parish work is its compulsory character, the men regarding it not as so much work given in exchange for such and such comforts, but as something *exacted* from them; and, to tell the truth, it is precisely the counterpart of slavery, being equally deficient in all inducement to toil, and consequently requiring almost the same system of compulsion and supervision in order to keep the men at their labour. All interest in the work is destroyed, there being no reward connected with it; and consequently the same organized system of setting to work is required as with cattle. There are but two inducements to voluntary action—pain to be avoided or pleasure to be derived—or, in other words, the attractiveness and repulsiveness of objects. Take away the pecuniary attraction of labour, and men become mere beasts of burden, capable of being set to work only by the dread of some punishment; hence the system of parish labour, which

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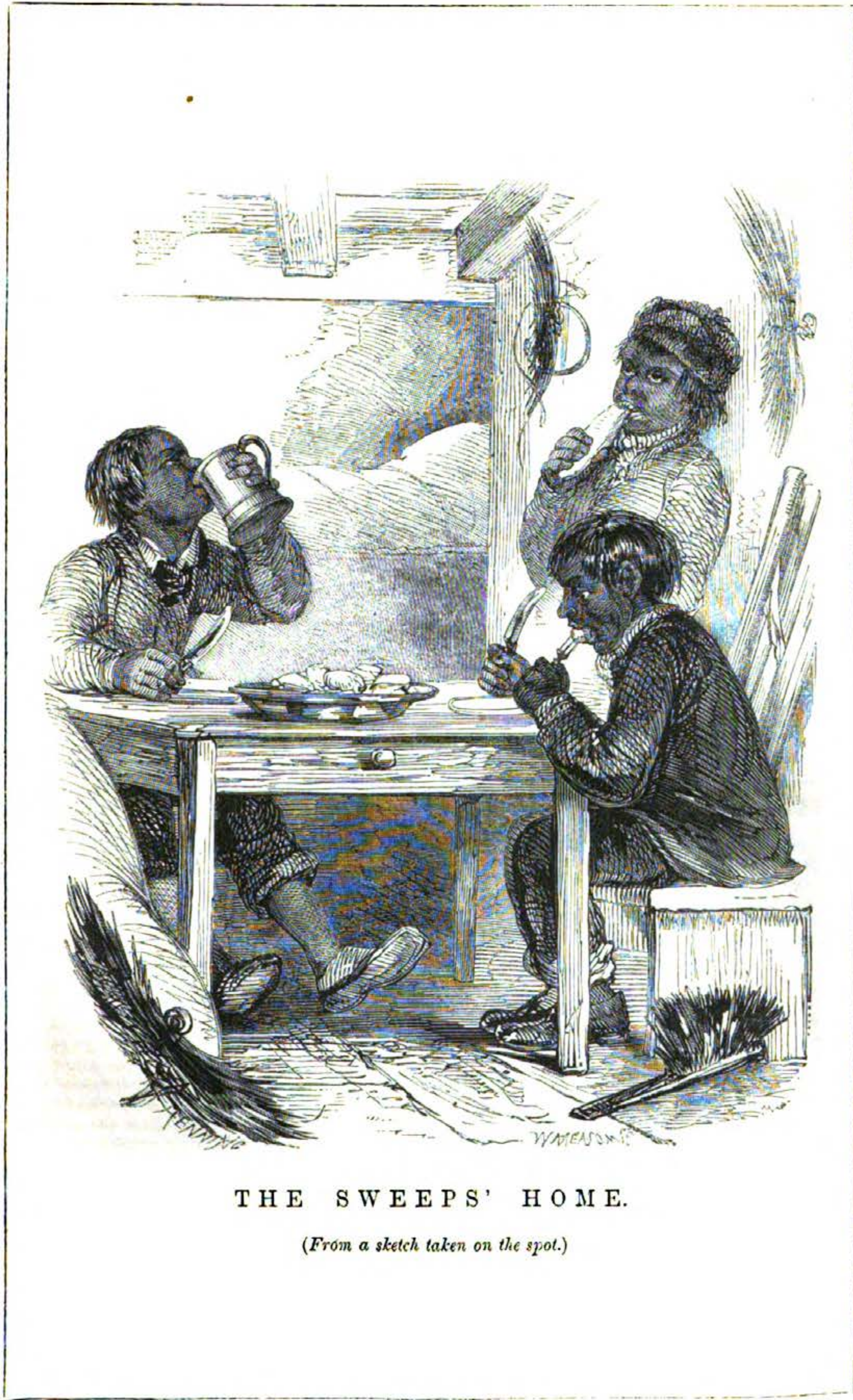

THE SWEEPS' HOME.

(From a sketch taken on the spot.)

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has no reward directly connected with it, must necessarily be tyrannical, and so tend to induce idleness and a hatred of work altogether.

Of the different forms of pauper work, street-sweeping is, I am inclined to believe, the most unpopular of all among the poor. The scavaging is generally done in the workhouse dress, and that to all, except the hardened paupers, and sometimes even to them, is highly distasteful. Neither have such labourers, as I have said, the incentive of that hope of the reward which, however diminutive, still tends to sweeten the most repulsive labour. I am informed by an experienced gangsman under a contractor, that it is notorious that the workhouse hands are the least industrious scavagers in the streets. "They don't sweep as well," he said, "and don't go about it like regular men; they take it quite easy." It is often asserted that this labour of the workhouse men is applied as a *test;* but this opinion seems rather to bear on the past than the present.

One man thus employed gave me the following account. He was garrulous but not communicative, as is frequently the case with men who love to hear themselves talk, and are not very often able to command listeners. He was healthy looking enough, but he told me he was, or had been "delicate." He querulously objected to be questioned about his youth, or the reason of his being a pauper, but seemed to be abounding in workhouse stories and workhouse grievances.

"Street-sweeping," he said, "degrades a man, and if a man's poor he hasn't no call to be degraded. Why can't they set the thieves and pickpockets to sweep? they could be watched easy enough; there's always idle fellers as reckons theirselves real gents, as can be got for watching and sitch easy jobs, for they gets as much for them, as three men's paid for hard work in a week. I never was in a prison, but I've heerd that people there is better fed and better cared for than in workusses. What's the meaning of that, sir, I'd like for to know. You can't tell me, but I can tell you. The workus is made as ugly as it can be, that poor people may be got to leave it, and chance dying in the street rather." [Here the man indulged in a gabbled detail of a series of pauper grievances which I had a difficulty in diverting or interrupting. On my asking if the other paupers had the same opinion as to street-sweeping as he had, he replied:—] "To be sure they has; all them that has sense to have a'pinion at all has; there's not two sides to it any how. No, I don't want to be kept and do nothink. I want *proper* work. And by the rights of it I might as well be kept with nothink to do as —— or ——" [parish officials]. "Have they nothing to do," I asked? "Nothink, but to make mischief and get what ought to go to the poor. It's salaries and such like as swallers the rates, and that's what every poor family knows as knows anythink. Did I ever like my work better? Certainly not. Do I take any pains with it? Well, where would be the good? I can sweep well enough, when I please, but if I could do more than the best man as ever Mr. Darke paid a pound a week to, it wouldn't be a bit better for me—not a bit, sir, I assure you. We all takes it easy whenever we can, but the work *must* be done. The only good about it is that you get outside the house. It's a change that way certainly. But we work like horses and is treated like asses." [On my reminding him that he had just told me that they all took it easy when they could, and *that* rather often, he replied:] "Well, don't horses? But it ain't much use talking, sir. It's only them as has been in workusses and in parish work as can understand all the ins and outs of it."

In giving the above and the following statements I have endeavoured to elicit the *feelings* of the several paupers whom I conversed with. Poor, ignorant, or prejudiced men may easily be mistaken in their opinions, or in what they may consider their "facts," but if a clear exposition of their sentiments be obtained, it is a guide to the truth. I have, therefore, given the statement of the in-door pauper's opinions, querulously as they were delivered, as I believe them to be the sentiments of those of his class who, as he said, had any opinion at all.

It seems indeed, from all I could learn on the subject, that pauper street-work, even at the best, is unwilling and slovenly work, pauper workmen being the worst of all workmen. If the streets be swept clean, it is because a dozen paupers are put to the labour of eight, nine, or ten regular scavagers who are independent labourers, and who may have some "pride of art," or some desire to show their employers that they are to be depended upon. This feeling does not actuate the pauper workman, who thinks or knows that if he did evince a desire and a perseverance to please, it would avail him little beyond the sneers and ill-will of his mates; so that, even with a disposition to acquire the good opinion of the authorities, there is this obstacle in his way, and to most men who move in a circumscribed sphere it is a serious obstacle.

Of the second mode of pauper scavaging, viz., that performed by out-door paupers, and paid for partly in money and partly in kind, I heard from officials connected with pauper management very strong condemnations, as being full of mischievous and degrading tendencies. The payment to the out-door pauper scavager averages, as I have stated, 9*d.* a day to a single man, with, perhaps, a quartern loaf; and this, in some cases, is for only three days in the week; while to a married man with a family, it varies between 1*s.* 1½*d.* and 1*s.* 2*d.* a day, with a quartern, and sometimes two quartern loaves; and this, likewise, is occasionally from three to six days in the week. On this the single or family men must subsist, if they have no other means of earning an addition. The men thus employed are certainly not independent labourers, nor are they, in the full sense of the word as popularly understood, paupers; for their means of subsistence are partly the fruits of their toil; and although they are wretchedly dependent, they seem to feel that they have a sort of right to be set to work, as the law ordains such modicum of relief, in or out of the workhouse, as will only ward off death through hunger. This "three-

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*TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEN EMPLOYED BY SCAVAGING, AS WELL AS THE NUMBER OF HOURS PER DAY AMOUNT OF WAGES ACCRUING TO EACH, AND THE TOTAL

PARISHES.	No. of married men employed by parishes daily in scavaging the streets.	Number of single men employed by parishes daily in scavaging the streets.	Number of Superintendents employed by parishes.	Number of Foremen or Gangers employed by parishes.	Daily or weekly wages of the married parish-men.
Paid in Money (by Parishes).					s.
Greenwich	7	1	1	1	15
Walworth / Newington	12	8		3	15
Lambeth	30		1	5	15
Poplar	20			4	15
St. Ann's, Soho	4	1			15
Rotherhithe	4			1	14
Wandsworth	6			1	12
Hackney	12	4		4	12
St. Mary's, Paddington	8	5	1	2	12
St. Giles's, and St. George's, Bloomsbury	20	4		4	12
St. Pancras (South-west Division)	10		2		12
St. Clement Danes	6	2		1	11
St. Paul's, Covent-garden	2	5		1	11
St. James's, Westminster	6			1	10
Ditto	6			1	10
Ditto	6			1	9
St. Andrew's, Holborn	10		1	1	9
Marylebone	80	15	1	10	9
St. George's, Hanover-square	30	6	1	4	9s. a week.
Liberty of the Rolls	1				7s. 6d.
Bermondsey	13	1	1		1s. 4d. per day.
Paid in Money (by Highway Boards).					
St. James's, Clerkenwell (1st Division)	5				15
Islington	7	1		1	15
Commercial Road East	4	1	1		15
Hampstead	4			1	15
Highgate	3	2		1	14
Kensington	6	1		1	12
Lewisham	4			1	12
Camberwell	10			1	12
Christchurch, Lambeth	6			1	12
Woolwich	5			1	12
Deptford	4			1	9
Paid partly in kind.					
St. Luke's, Chelsea	27	9		3	7s., and on an average 3 loaves each, at 4d. a loaf.
Hans-town ,,	6			1	7s., and average 3 loaves per head.
St. James's, Clerkenwell	6				1s. 1½d. a day, and 1 quartern loaf.
Paid wholly in kind.					
St. Pancras (Highways)	10		1		estimated expense of food, 2s. 4d. weekly.
Total	400	66	8	62	

* The number of men here given as employed by the parishes in the scavaging of the streets will be found to differ from that of the table at page 213; but the present table includes *all* the parish-men employed throughout London, whereas the other referred to only a portion of the localities there mentioned.

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THE METROPOLITAN PARISHES AND HIGHWAY BOARDS IN AND NUMBER OF DAYS PER WEEK, TOGETHER WITH THE ANNUAL WAGES OF THE WHOLE.

Daily or weekly wages of the single parish-men.	Weekly wages of the Superintendents employed by parishes.	Weekly wages of Foremen or Gangers employed by parishes.	Number of hours per day each parish-man is employed to sweep the streets.	Number of days in the week each parish-man is employed in sweeping the streets.	Total annual wages of the whole, including the estimated value of food and clothes.
s.	*s.*	*s.*			£. *s.* *d.*
15	30*s.* and a house to live in.	18	10	6	456 16 0
14		18	12	6	899 12 0
	20	18	10	6	1456 0 0
		18	10	6	967 4 0
15			12	6	195 0 0
		16	10	6	187 4 0
		18	10	6	234 0 0
10		18	10	6	665 12 0
10	20	15	12	6	509 12 0
12		18	12	6	936 0 0
		18	12	6	93 12 0
11		15	10	6	267 16 0
11		13	12	6	234 0 0
		12	10	6	187 4 0
		12	10	6	187 4 0
		12	10	6	166 12 0
	15	12	10	6	304 4 0
9	18	16	10	6	2685 16 0
9*s.* a week.	20	16	10	6	1060 16 0
			10	6	19 10 0
1*s.* 4*d.* per day.	28*s.* and clothing.		10	5	321 3 4
			10	6	195 0 0
15		18	10	6	405 0 0
15	100*l.* a year.		12	6	295 0 0
		18	10	6	202 10 0
14		18	10	6	228 16 0
12		18	12	6	265 4 0
		18	10	6	171 12 0
		18	12	6	358 16 0
		15	10	6	226 4 0
		18	10	6	202 16 0
		18	10	3	140 8 0
7		14	10	6	834 12 0
		14	10	6	161 4 0
			10	3	70 4 0
	21*s.* and food.		8	4	128 5 4
					15,919 8 8

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days-a-week work" is by the poor or pauper labourers looked upon as being, after the in-door pauper work, the worst sort of employment.

From a married man employed by the parish under this mode, I had the following account.

He was an intelligent-looking man, of about 35, but with nothing very particular in his appearance unless it were a head of very curly hair. He gave me the statement in his own room, which was larger than I have usually found such abodes, and would have been very bare, but that it was somewhat littered with the vessels of his trade as a street-seller of Nectar, Persian Sherbet, Raspberryade, and other decoctions of coloured ginger-beer, with high-sounding names and indifferent flavour: in the summer he said he could live better thereby, with a little costering, than by street-sweeping, but being often a sickly man he could not do so during the uncertainties of a winter street trade. His wife, a decent looking woman, was present occasionally, suckling one child, about two years old—for the poor often protract the weaning of their children, as the mother's nutriment is the *cheapest* of all food for the infant, and as the means of postponing the further increase of their family—whilst another of five or six years of age sat on a bench by her side. There was nothing on the walls in the way of an ornament, as I have seen in some of the rooms of the poor, for the couple had once been in the workhouse, and might be driven there again, and with such apprehensions did not care, perhaps, to make a home otherwise than they found it, even if the consumption of only a little spare time were involved.

The husband said:—

"I was brought up as a type-founder; my father, who was one, learnt me his trade; but he died when I was quite a young man, or I might have been better perfected in it. I was comfortably off enough then, and got married. Very soon after that I was taken ill with an abscess in my neck, you can see the mark of it still." [He showed me the mark.] "For six months I wasn't able to do a thing, and I was a part of the time, I don't recollect how long, in St. Bartholomew's Hospital. I was weak and ill when I came out, and hardly fit for work; I couldn't hear of any work I could get, for there was a great bother in the trade between master and men. Before I went into the hospital, there was money to pay to doctors; and when I came out I could earn nothing, so everything went, yes, sir, everything. My wife made a little matter with charing for families she'd lived in, but things are in a bad way if a poor woman has to keep her husband. She was taken ill at last, and then there was nothing but the parish for us. I suffered a great deal before it come to that. It was awful. No one can know what it is but them that suffers it. But I didn't know what in the world to do. We lived then in St. Luke's, and were passed to our own parish, and were three months in the workhouse. The living was good enough, better then than it is now, I've heard, but I was miserable." ["And I was *very* miserable," interposed the wife, "for I had been brought up comfortable; my father was a respectable tradesman in St. George's-in-the-East, and I had been in good situations."] "We made ourselves," said the husband, "as useful as we could, but we were parted of course. At the three months' end, I had 10*s.* given to me to come out with, and was told I might start costermongering on it. But to a man not up to the trade, 10*s.* won't go very far to keep up costering. I didn't feel master enough of my own trade by this time to try for work at it, and work wasn't at all regular. There were good hands earning only 12*s.* a week. The 10*s.* soon went, and I had again to apply for relief, and got an order for the stone-yard to go and break stones. Ten bushels was to be broken for 15*d.* It was dreadful hard work at first. My hands got all blistered and bloody, and I've gone home and cried with pain and wretchedness. At first it was on to three days before I could break the ten bushels. I felt shivered to bits all over my arms and shoulders, and my head was splitting. I then got to do it in two days, and then in one, and it grew easier. But all this time I had only what was reckoned three days' work in a week. That is, you see, sir, I had only three times ten bushels of stones given to break in the week, and earned only 3*s.* 9*d.* Yes, I lived on it, and paid 1*s.* 6*d.* a week rent, for the neighbours took care of a few sticks for us, and the parish or a broker wouldn't have found them worth carriage. My wife was then in the country with a sister. I lived upon bread and dripping, went without fire or candle (or had one only very seldom) though it wasn't warm weather. I can safely say that for eight weeks I never tasted one bite of meat, and hardly a bite of butter. When I couldn't sleep of a night, but that wasn't often, it was terrible, very. I washed what bits of things I had then myself, and had sometimes to get a ha'porth of soap as a favour, as the chandler said she 'didn't make less than a penn'orth.' If I eat too much dripping, it made me feel sick. I hardly know how much bread and dripping I eat in a week. I spent what money I had in it and bread, and sometimes went without. I was very weak, you may be sure, sir; and if I'd had the influenza or anything that way, I should have gone off like a shot, for I seemed to have no constitution left. But my wife came back again and got work at charing, and made about 4*s.* a week at it; but we were still very badly off. Then I got to work on the roads every day, and had 1*s.* and a quartern loaf a day, which was a rise. I had only one child then, but men with larger families got two quartern loaves a day. Single men got 9*d.* a day. It was far easier work than stone-breaking too. The hours were from eight to five in winter, and from seven to six in summer. But there's always changes going on, and we were put on 1*s.* 1½*d.* a day and a quartern loaf, and only three days a week. All the same as to time of course. The bread wasn't good; it was only cheap. I suppose there was 20 of us working most of the times as I was. The gangsman, as you call him, but that's more for the regular hands, was a servant of the parish, and a great tyrant.

Yes, indeed, when we had a talk among ourselves, there was nothing but grumbling heard of. Some of the tales I've heard were shocking; worse than what I've gone through. Everybody was grumbling, except perhaps two men that had been 20 years in the streets, and were like born paupers. They didn't feel it, for there's a great difference in men. They knew no better. But anybody might have been frightened to hear some of the men talk and curse. We've stopped work to abuse the parish officers as might be passing. We've mobbed the overseers, and a number of us, I was one, were taken before the magistrate for it; but we told him how badly we were off, and he discharged us, and gave us orders into the workhouse, and told 'em to see if nothing could be done for us. We were there till next morning, and then sent away without anything being said.

"It's a sad life, sir, is a parish worker's. I wish to God I could get out of it. But when a man has children he can't stop and say 'I can't do this,' and 'I won't do that.' Last week, now, in costering, I lost 6s.'" [he meant that his expenses, of every kind, exceeded his receipts by 6s.], and though I can distil nectar, or anything that way," [this was said somewhat laughingly], "it's only when the weather's hot and fine that any good at all can be done with it. I think, too, that there's not the money among working men that there once was. Anything regular in the way of pay must always be looked at by a man with a family.

"Of course the streets must be properly swept, and if I can sweep them as well as Mr. Dodd's men, for I know one of them very well, why should I have only 3s. 4½d. a week and three loaves, and he have 16s, I think it is. I don't drink, my wife knows I don't" [the wife assented], "and it seems as if in a parish a man must be kept down when he is down, and then blamed for it. I may not understand all about it, but it looks queer."

From an *unmarried* man, looking like a mere boy in the face, although he assured me he was nearly 24, as far as he knew, I heard an account of his labour and its fruits as a parish scavager; also of his former career, which partakes greatly in its characteristics of the narratives I gave, toward the close of the first volume, of deserted, neglected, and runaway children.

He lived from his earliest recollection with an old woman whom he first called "grandmother," and was then bid to call "aunt," and she, some of the neighbours told him, had "kept him out of his rights," for she had 4s. a week with him, so that there ought to have been money coming to him when he grew up. I have sometimes heard similar statements from the ignorant poor, for it is agreeable enough to them to fancy that they have been wronged out of fortunes to which they were justly entitled, and deprived of the position and consequence in life which they ought to have possessed "by rights." In the course of my inquiries among the poor women who supply the slop milliners' shops with widows' caps, cap fronts, women's collars, &c., &c., I was told by one middle-aged cap-maker, a very silly person, that she would be worth 100,000*l*, "if she had her rights." What those "rights" were she could not explain, only that there was and had been a great deal of money in the family, and of course she had a right to her share, only she was kept out of it.

The youth in question never heard of a father, and had been informed that his mother had died when he was a baby. From what he told me, I think it most probable that he was an illegitimate child, for whose maintenance his father possibly paid the 4s. a week, perhaps to some near relative of the deceased mother. The old woman, as well as I could make the matter out from his narrative, died suddenly, and, as little was known about her, she was buried by the parish, and the lad, on the evening of the funeral, was to have been taken by the landlord of the house where they lodged into the workhouse; but the boy ran away before this could be accomplished; the parish of course not objecting to be relieved of an incumbrance. He thought he was then about twelve or thirteen years of age, and he had before run away from two schools, one a Ragged-school, to which he had been sent, "*for it was so confining*," he said, "and one master, not he as had the raggeds, leathered him," to use his own words, "tightly." He knew his letters now, he thought, but that was all, and very few," he said, gravely, "would have put up with it so long as I did." He subsisted as well as he could by selling matches, penny memorandum books, onions, &c., after he had run away, sleeping under hedges in the country, or in lodging-houses in town, and living on a few pence a day, or "starving on nothink." He was taken ill, and believed it was of a fever, at or somewhere about Portsmouth, and when he was sufficiently recovered, and had given the best account he could of himself, was passed to his parish in London. The relieving officer, he said, would have given him a pair of shoes and half-a-crown, and let him "take his chance, but the doctor wouldn't sartify any ways." He meant, I think, that the medical officer found him too ill to be at large on his own account. He discharged himself, however, in a few weeks from this parish workhouse, as he was convalescent. "The grub there, you see, sir," he said, "was stunning good when I first went, but it fell off." As the probability is that there was no change in the diet, it may not be unfair to conclude that the regular meals of the establishment were very relishable at first, and that afterwards their very regularity and their little variation made the recipient critical.

"When I left, sir," he stated, "they guv me 2s. 6d., and a tidy shirt, and a pair of blucherers, and mended up my togs for me decent. I tried all sorts of goes then. I went to Chalk-farm and some other fairs with sticks for throwing, and used to jump among them as throwing was going on, and to sing out, 'break my legs and miss my pegs.' I got many a knock, and when I did, oh! there *was* such larfing at the fun on it. I sold garden sticks too, and garden ropes, and posts sometimes; but it was all wery poor pay. Sometimes I made 10d.,

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but not never I think but twice 1*s.* a day at it, and oftener 6*d.*, and in bad weather there was nothink to be done. If I made 6*d.* clear, it was 1*d.* for cawfee—for I often went out fasting in a morning —and 1*d.* for bread and butter, and 1*d.* for pudden for dinner, and another 1*d.* perhaps for beer—half-pint and a farden out at the public bar—and 2*d.* for a night's lodging. I've had sometimes to leave half my stock in flue with a deputy for a night's rest. O, I didn't much mind the bugs, so I could rest; and next day had to take my things out if I could, and pay a hexter ha'penny or penny, for hintrest, like. Yes, I've made 18*d.* a hevening at a fair; but there's so many a going it there that one ruins another, and wet weather ruins the whole biling, the pawillion, theaytres and all. I never was a hactor, never; but I've thought sometimes I'd like to try my hand at it. I may some day, 'cause I'm tall. I was forced to go to the parish again, for I got ill and dreadful weak, and then they guv me work on the roads. I can't just say how long it's since, two or three year perhaps, but I had 9*d.* a day at first, and reglar work, and then three days and three loaves a week, and then three days and no loaves. I haven't been at it werry lately. I've rayther taken the summer out of myself, but I must go back soon, for cold weather 's a coming. Vy, I lived a good deal on carrying trunks from the busses to Euston Railway; a good many busses stops in the New-road, in the middle of the square. Some was foreigners, and they was werry scaly. No, I never said nothink but once, ven I got two French ha'pennies for carrying a heavy old leather thing, like a coach box, as seemed to belong to a family; and then the railway bobbies made me hold my tongue. I jobbed about in other places too, but the time's gone by now. O, I had a deal to put up with last winter. What is 9*d.* a day for three days? and if poor men had their rights, times 'ud be different. I'd like to know where all the money goes. I never counted how many parish sweepers there was; too many by arf. I've a rights to work, and it 's as little as a parish can do to find it. I pay 1*s.* a week for half a bed, and not half enough bed-clothes; but me and Jack Smith sometimes sleeps in our clothes, and sometimes spreads 'em o' top. No, poor Jack, he hasn't no hold on a parish; he's a mud-lark and a gatherer [bone-grubber]. Do I like the overseers and the parish officers? In course not, nobody does. Why don't they? Well, how can they? that 's just where it is. Ven I haven't been at sweeping, I've staid in bed as long as I was let; but Mother B.—I don't know no other name she has—wouldn't stand it after ten. O no, it wern't a common lodging-house, a sort of private lodging-house perhaps, where you took by the week. If I made nothink but my ninepences, I lived on bread and cawfee, or bread and coker, and sometimes a red herring, and I've bought 'em in the Brill at five and six a penny. Mother B. charged ½*d.* for leave to toast 'em on her gridiron. She *is* a scaly old ——. *I've oft spent all my money in a tripe supper at night, and fasted all next day.* I used to walk about and look in at the cook-shop windows, and try for a job next day. *I'd have gone five miles for anybody for a penn'orth of pudden.* No, I never thought of making away with myself; never. Nor I never thought of going for a soldier; *it wouldn't suit me to be tied so.* What I want is this here—regular work and no jaw. O, I'm sometimes as miserable as hunger 'll make a parson, if ever he felt it. Yes, I go to church sometimes when I'm at work for the parish, if I'm at all togged. No doubt I shall die in the workus. You see there's nobody in the world cares for me. I can't tell just how I spend my money; just as it comes into my head. No, I don't care about drinking; it don't agree with me; but there's some can live on it. I don't think as I shall ever marry, though who knows?"

The third and last system of parish work is where the labourer is employed regularly, and paid a fixed wage, out of the parochial fund certainly, but not in the same manner as the paupers are paid, nor with any payment in kind (as in loaves), but all in money. The payment in this wise is usually 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and, but for such employment, the poor so employed, would, in most instances, apply for relief.

In one parish, where the poor are regularly employed in street sweeping, and paid a regular wage in money, the whole scavaging work is done by the paupers, as they are usually termed, though they are not "on the rate." By them the streets are swept and the houses dusted, the granite broken for macadamization, and the streets and roads repaved or repaired. This is done by about 50 men, the labour in the different departments I have specified being about equally apportioned as to the number employed in each. The work is executed without any direct intervention of the parish officers employed in administering *relief* to the poor, but through the agency of a board. All the men, however, are the poor of the parish, and but for this employment would or might claim relief, or demand admittance with their families into the workhouse. The system, therefore, is one of indirect pauper labour. Nearly all the men have been unskilled labourers, the exception being now and then a few operatives in such handicrafts as were suffering from the dearth of employment. Some of the artizans, I was informed, would be earning their 9*s.* in the stone-yard one week, and the next getting 30*s.* at their business. The men thus labouring for the parish are about three-fifths Irishmen, a fifth Welchmen, or rather more than a fifth, and the remainder Englishmen. There is not a single Scotchman among them.

There is no difference, in the parish I allude to, between the wages of married and single men, but men with families are usually preferred among the applicants for such work. They all reside in their own rooms, or sometimes in lodging-houses, but this rests with themselves.

I had the following account from a heavy and healthy-looking middle-aged man, dressed in a jacket and trousers of coarse corduroy. There is so little distinctive about it, however, that I will

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not consume space in presenting it in the narrative form in which I noted it down. It may suffice that the man seemed to have little recollection as to the past, and less care as to the future. His life, from all I could learn from him, had been spent in what may be called menial labour, as the servant, not of an individual, but of a parish; but there was nothing, he knew of, that he had to thank anybody for—parish or any one. They wanted *him* and he wanted *them*. On my asking him if he had never tried to "better himself," he said that he *had* once as a navvy, but a blow on the head and eye, from a portion of rock shivered by his pick-axe, disabled him for awhile, and he left railway work. He went to church, as was expected of him, and he and his wife liked it. He had forgotten how to read, but never was "a dab at it," and so "didn't know nothing about the litany or the psalms." He couldn't say as he knew any difference between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic church-goers, "cause the one was a English and the t' other a Irish religion," and he "wasn't to be expected to understand Irish religion." He saw no necessity to put by money (this he said hesitatingly), supposing he could; what was his parish for? and he would take care he didn't lose his settlement. If he'd ever had such a chance as some had he might have saved money, but he never had. He had no family, and his wife earned about 4*s.* a week, but not every week, in a wool warehouse, and they did middling.

The above, then, are the modes in which paupers, or imminent paupers, so to speak, are employed, and in one way or other are *paid* for their labour, or what is called paid, and who, although parish menials, still reside in their own abodes, with the opportunity, such as it is, of "looking out" for better employment.

As to the *moral qualities of the street-sweeping paupers* I do not know that they differ from those of paupers generally. All men who feel themselves sunk into compulsory labour and a degraded condition are dissatisfied, and eager to throw the blame of their degradation from their own shoulders. But it is evident that these men are unwilling workers, because their work is deprived of its just reward; and although I did not hear of any difficulty being experienced in getting them to work, I was assured by many who knew them well, that they do not go about it with any alertness. Did any one ever hear a pauper whistle or sing at his street-work? I believe that every experienced vestryman will agree to the truth of the statement that it is very rarely a confirmed pauper rises from his degradation. His thoughts and aspirations seem bounded by the workhouse and the parish. The reason appears to be because the workhouse authorities seek rather to degrade than to elevate the man, resorting to every means of shaming the pauper, until at last he becomes so utterly callous to the disgrace of pauperism that he does not care to alter his position. The system, too, adopted by the parish authorities of not paying for work, or paying less than the ordinary prices of the trade, causes the pauper labourers to be unwilling workers; and finding that industry brings no reward, or less than its fair reward, to them, they get to hate all work, and to grow up habitual burdens on the State. Crabbe, the poet, who in all questions of borough and parish life is an authority, makes his workhouse boy, Dick Monday, who when a boy got more kicks than halfpence, die Sir Richard Monday, of Monday-place; but this is a flight on the wings of poetical licence; certainly not impossible, and that is all which can be said for its likelihood.

The following remarks on the payment of the parish street-sweepers are from one of Mr. Cochrane's publications:—

"The council considers it a duty to the poor to touch upon the niggardly manner in which parish scavengers are generally paid, and the deplorable and emaciated condition which they usually present, with regard to their clothing and personal appearance. One contractor pays 16*s.* 6*d.* per week; 2 pay 16*s.*; 12 (including a Highway Board) pay 15*s.* each; 1 pays 14*s.* 6*d.*; 2 pay 14*s.*; and 1 pays so low as 12*s.* On the other hand, five parish boards of 'guardians of the poor,' pay only 9*s.* each, to their miserable mudlarks; one pays 8*s.*; another 7*s.* 5*d.*; a third 7*s.*; a fourth compensates its labourers—in the British metropolis, where rent and living are necessarily higher than elsewhere—with 5*s.* 8*d.* per week! whilst a fifth pays 3 men 15*s.* each, 12 men 10*s.* each, and 6 men 7*s.* 6*d.* each, for exactly the same kind of work!!! But what renders this mean torture of men (because they happen to be poor) absurd as well as cruel, are the anomalous facts, that whilst the guardians of one parish pay 5 men 7*s.* each, the contractor for another part of the same parish, pays his 4 men 14*s.* each;—and whilst the guardians of a second parish pay only 5*s.* 8*d.*, the Highway Board pays 15*s.* to each of its labourers, for performing exactly the same work in the same district!—Mr. Darke, scavenging contractor of Paddington, lately stated that he never had, and never would, employ any man at less than 16*s.* or 18*s.* per week;—and Mr. Sinnott, of Belvidere-road, Lambeth, about three months since, offered to certain West-End guardians, to take 40 paupers out of their own workhouse to cleanse their own parish, on the street-orderly system;—and to pay them 15*s.* per week each man*; but the economical guardians preferred filth and a full workhouse, to cleanliness, Christian charity, and common sense;—and so the proposal of this considerate contractor was rejected! It is certainly far from being creditable to boards of gentlemen and wealthy tradesmen who manage parish affairs, to pay little more than one-half the wages that an individual does, to poor labourers who cannot choose their employment or their masters. . . . .

"The broken-down tradesman, the journeyman deprived of his usual work by panic or by poverty of the times, the ingenious mechanic, or the unsuccessful artist, applies at the parish labour-market for leave to live by other labour than that

* To the honourable conduct of the above-named contractors to their men, I am glad to be able to bear witness. All the men speak in the highest terms of them.

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which hitherto maintained him in comfort. . . . . . The usual language of such persons, even when applying for private alms or parochial relief, is, not that they want money, but 'that they have long been out of work;' 'that their particular trade has been overstocked with apprentices, or superseded by machinery;' or, 'that their late employer has become bankrupt, or has discharged the majority of his hands from the badness of the times.' To a man of this class, the guardian of the poor replies, 'We will test your willingness to labour, by employing you in the stone-yard, or to sweep the streets; but the parish being heavily burthened with rates, we cannot afford more than 7*s.* or 8*s.* a week.' The poor creature, conscious of his own helplessness, accepts the miserable pittance, in order to preserve himself and family from immediate starvation. . . . . .

"The council has taken much pains to ascertain the wages, and mode of expenditure of them, by this uncared-for, and almost pariah, class of labourers throughout the metropolitan parishes; and it possesses undeniable proofs, that few possess any further garment than the rags upon their backs; some being even without a change of linen; that they never enter a place of worship, on account of their want of decent clothing; that their wives and children are starved and in rags, and the latter without the least education; that they never by any chance taste fresh animal food; that one-third of their hard earnings is paid for rent; and that their only sustenance (unless their wives happen to go out washing or charing), consists of bread, potatoes, coarse tea without milk or sugar, a salt herring two or three times a week, and a slice of rusty bacon on Sunday morning! The meal called dinner they never know; their only refection being breakfast and 'tea:' beer they do not taste from year's end to year's end; and any other luxury, or even necessary, is out of the question.

"Of the 21 scavengers employed by St. James's parish in 1850, no less than 16," says Mr. Cochrane's report, "were married, with from one to four children each. How the poor creatures who receive but 7*s.* 6*d.* a week support their families, is best known to themselves."

Let me now, in conclusion, endeavour to arrive at a rough estimate as to the sum of which the pauper labours annually are mulct by the before-mentioned rates of remuneration, estimating their labour at the market value or amount paid by the honourable contractors, viz. 16*s.* a week; for if private individuals can afford to pay that wage, and yet reap a profit out of the transaction, the guardians of the poor surely could and should pay the same prices, and not avail themselves of starving men's necessities to reduce the wages of a trade to the very quick of subsistence. If it be a sound principle that the condition of the pauper should be rendered *less* desirable than that of the labourer, assuredly the principle is equally sound that the condition of the labourer should be made *more* desirable than that of the pauper; for if to pamper the pauper be to make indolence more agreeable than industry, certainly to grind down the wages of the labourer is to render industry as unprofitable as indolence. In either case the same premium is proffered to pauperism. As yet the Poor-Law Commissioners have seen but one way of reducing the poor-rates, viz., by rendering the state of the pauper as *unenviable* as possible, and they have wholly lost sight of the other mode of attaining the same end, viz., by making the state of the labourer as *desirable* as possible. To institute a terrible poor law without maintaining an attractive form of industry, is to hold out a boon to crime. If the wages of the working man are to be reduced to bare subsistence, and the condition of the pauper is to be rendered worse than that of the working man, what atrocities will not be committed upon the poor. Elevate the condition of the labourer, and there will be no necessity to depress the pauper. Make work more attractive by increasing the reward for it, and laziness will necessarily become more repulsive. As it is, however, the pauper is not only kept at the very lowest point of subsistence, but his half-starved labour is brought into competition with that of men living in a comparative state of comfort; and the result, of course, is, that instead of decreasing the number of paupers or poor-rates, we make paupers of our labourers, and fill our workhouses by such means. If a scavager's labour be worth from 12*s.* to 15*s.* per week in the market, what moral right have the *guardians of the poor* to pay 5*s.* 8*d.* for the same commodity? If the paupers are set to do work which is fairly worth 15*s.*, then to pay them little more than one-third of the regular value is not only to make unwilling workers of the paupers, but to drag down all the better workmen to the level of the worst.

It may be estimated that the outlay on pauper labour, as a whole, after deducting the sum paid to superintendents and gangers, does not exceed 10*s.* weekly per individual; consequently the lowering of the price of labour is in this ratio: There are now, in round numbers, 450 pauper scavagers in the metropolis, and the account stands thus:—

	Yearly.
450 scavagers, at the regular weekly wages of 16*s.* each . . .	£18,710
450 pauper labourers, 10*s.* each weekly	11,700
Lower price of pauper work . .	£7,020

Hence we see, that the great scurf employers of the scavagers, after all, are the guardians of the poor, compared with whom the most grasping contractor is a model of liberality.

That the minimum of remuneration paid by the parishes has tended, and is tending more and more, to the general depreciation of wages in the scavaging trade, there is no doubt. It has done so directly and indirectly. One man, who had been a last-maker, told me that he left his employment as a London scavager, for he had "come down to the parish," and set off at the close of the summer into Kent for the harvest and hopping, for, when in the country, he had been

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more used to agricultural labour than to last, clog, or patten making. He considered that he had not been successful; still he returned to London a richer man by 26*s.* 6*d.* Nearly 20*s.* of this soon went for shoes and necessary clothing, and to pay some arrears of rent, and a chandler's bill he owed, after which he could be trusted again where he was known. He applied to the foreman of a contractor, whom he knew, for work. "What wage?" said the foreman. "Fifteen shillings a week," was the reply. "Why, what did you get from the parish for sweeping?" "Nine shillings." "Well," said the foreman, "I know you're a decent man, and you were recommended before, and so I *can* give you four or five days a week at 2*s.* 4*d.* a day, and no nonsense about hours; *for you know yourself I can get* 50 *men as have been parish workers at* 1*s.* 9*d. a day, and jump at it, and so you mustn't be cheeky.*" The man closed with the offer, knowing that the foreman spoke the truth.

A contractor told me that he could obtain "plenty of hands," used to parish scavaging work, at 10*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.* a week, whereas he paid 16*s.*

It is evident, then, that the system of pauper work in scavaging has created an increasing market for cheap and deteriorated labour, a market including hundreds of the unemployed at other unskilled labours; and it is hardly to be doubted that the many who have faith in the doctrine that it is the best policy to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, will avail themselves of the low-priced labour of this pauper-constituted mart.

It is but right to add, that those parishes which pay 15*s.* a week are as worthy of commendation as those which pay 9*s.*, 7*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* per week, and 1*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 1½*d.* a day are reprehensible; and, unfortunately, the latter have a tendency to regulate all the others.

OF THE STREET-ORDERLIES.

THIS constitutes the last of the four varieties of labour employed in the cleansing of the public thoroughfares of London. I have already treated of the self-supporting manual labour, the self-supporting machine labour, and the pauper labour, and now proceed to the consideration of the philanthropic labour of the streets.

In the first place, let us understand clearly what is meant by philanthropic labour, and how it is distinguished from pauper labour on the one hand, and self-supporting labour on the other. Self-supporting labour I take to be that form of work which returns not less, and generally something more, than is expended upon it. Pauper labour, on the other hand, is work to which the applicants for parish relief are "set," not with a view to the profit to be derived from it, but partly as a test of their willingness to work, and partly as a means of employing the unemployed; while philanthropic labour is employment provided for the unemployed with the same disregard of profit as distinguishes pauper labour, but with a greater regard for the poor, and as a means of affording them relief in a less degrading manner than is done under the present Poor Law. Pauper and philanthropic labour, then, differ essentially from self-supporting labour in being *non-profitable* modes of employment; that is to say, they yield so bare an equivalent for the sum expended upon the labourers, that none, in the ordinary way of trade, can be found to provide the means necessary for putting them into operation: while pauper labour differs from philanthropic labour, in the fact that the funds requisite for "setting the poor on work" are provided by law as a matter of social policy, whereas, in the case of philanthropic labour, the funds, or a part of them, are supplied by voluntary contributions, out of a desire to improve the labourers' condition. There are, then, two distinguishing features in all philanthropic labour—the one is, that it yields no profit (if it did it would become a matter of trade), and the other, that it is instituted and maintained from a wish to benefit the labourer.

The Street-Orderly system forms part of the operations on behalf of the poor adopted by a society, of which Mr. Charles Cochrane is the president, entitled the "National Philanthropic Association," which is said to have for its object "the promotion of social and salutiferous improvements, street cleanliness, and the employment of the poor, so that able-bodied men may be prevented from burthening the parish-rate, and preserved independent of workhouse, alms, and degradation." Here a twofold object is expressed: the Philanthropic Association seeks not only to benefit the poor by giving them employment, and "preserving them independent of workhouse, alms, and degradation," but to benefit the public likewise, by "promoting social and salutiferous improvements and street cleanliness." I shall deal with each of these objects separately; but first let me declare, so as to remove all suspicion of private feelings tending in any way to bias my judgment in this most important matter, that I am an utter stranger to the President and Council of the Philanthropic Association; and that, whatever I may have to say on the subject of the street-orderlies, I do simply in conformity with my duty to the public—to state truthfully all that concerns the labourers and the poor of the metropolis.

Viewed economically, philanthropic and pauper work may be said to be the regulators of the minimum rate of wages—establishing the lowest point to which competition can possibly drive down the remuneration for labour; for it is evident, that if the self-supporting labourer cannot obtain greater comforts by the independent exercise of his industry than the parish rates or private charity will afford him, he will at once give over working for the trading employer, and declare on the funds raised by assessment or voluntary subscription for his support. Hence, those who wish well to the labourer, and who believe that cheapness of commodities is desirable "only," as Mr. Stewart Mill says (p. 502, vol. ii.), "when the cause of it is, that their production costs little labour, and not when occasioned by that labour's

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being ill-remunerated;" and who believe, moreover, that the labourer is to be benefited solely by the cultivation of a high standard of comfort among the people — to such, I say, it is evident, that a poor law which reduces the relief to able-bodied labourers to the smallest modicum of food consistent with the continuation of life must be about the greatest curse that can possibly come upon an over-populated country, admitting, as it does, of the reduction of wages to so low a point of mere brutal existence as to induce that recklessness and improvidence among the poor which is known to give so strong an impetus to the increase of the people. A minimized rate of parish relief is necessarily a minimized rate of wages, and admits of the labourers' pay being reduced, by pauper competition, to little short of starvation; and such, doubtlessly, would have been the case long ago in the scavaging trade by the employment of parish labour, had not the Philanthropic Association instituted the system of street-orderlies, and by the payment of a higher rate of wages than the more grinding parishes afforded—by giving the men 12*s.* instead of 9*s.* or even 7*s.* a week—prevented the remuneration of the regular hands being dragged down to an approximation to the parish level. Hence, rightly viewed, philanthropic labour—and, indeed, pauper labour too—comes under the head of a remedy for low wages, as preventing, if properly regulated, the undue depreciation of industry from excessive competition, and it is in this light that I shall now proceed to consider it.

The several plans that have been propounded from time to time, as remedies for an insufficient rate of remuneration for work, are as multifarious as the circumstances influencing the three requisites for production—labour, capital, and land. I will here run over as briefly as possible—abstaining from the expression of all opinion on the subject—the various schemes which have been proposed with this object, so that the reader may come as prepared as possible to the consideration of the matter.

The remedies for low wages may be arranged into two distinct groups, viz., those which seek to increase the labourer's rate of pay *directly*, and those which seek to do so *indirectly*.

The *direct* remedies for low wages that have been propounded are:—

A. *The establishment of a standard rate of remuneration for labour.* This has been proposed to be brought about by three different means, viz.:—

1. By law or government authority; either (*a*) fixing the minimum rate of wages, and leaving the variations above that point to be adjusted by competition (this, as we have seen, is the effect of the poor-law); or, (*b*) settling the rate of wages generally by means of local boards of trade for *conseils de prud'hommes*, consisting of delegates from the workmen and employers, to determine, by the principles of natural equity, a *reasonable* scale of remuneration in the several trades, their decision being binding in law on both the employers and the employed.
2. By public opinion; this has been generally proposed by those who are what Mr. Mill terms "shy of admitting the interference of authority in contracts for labour," fearing that if the law intervened it would do so rashly and ignorantly, and desiring to compass by *moral* sanction what they consider useless or dangerous to attempt to bring about by *legal* means. "Every employer," says Mr. Mill, "they think, *ought* to give *sufficient wages*," and if he does not give such wages willingly, he should be compelled to do so by public opinion.
3. By trade societies or combination among the workmen; that is to say, by the payment of a small sum per week out of the wages of the workmen, towards the formation of a fund for the support of such of their fellow operatives as may be out of employment, or refuse to work for those employers who seek to give less than the standard rate of wages established by the trade.

B. *The prohibition of stoppages or deductions of all kinds from the nominal wages of workmen.* This is principally the object of the Anti-Truck Society, which seeks to obtain an Act of Parliament, enjoining the payment in full of all wages. The stoppages or extortions from workmen's wages generally consist of:—

1. Fines for real or pretended misconduct.
2. Rents for tools, frames, gas, and sometimes lodgings.
3. Sale of trade appliances (as trimmings, thread, &c.) at undue prices.
4. Sale of food, drink, &c., at an exorbitant rate of profit.
5. Payment in public-houses; as the means of inducing the men to spend a portion of their earnings in drink.
6. Deposit of money as security before taking out work; so that the capital of the employer is increased without payment of interest to the workpeople.

C. *The institution of certain aids or additions to wages;* as—

1. Perquisites or gratuities obtained from the public; as with waiters, boxkeepers, coachmen, dustmen, vergers, and others.
2. Beer money, and other "allowances" to workmen.
3. Family work; or the co-operation of the wife and children as a means of increasing the workman's income.
4. Allotments of land, to be cultivated after the regular day's labour.
5. The parish "allowance system," or relief in aid of wages, as practised under the old Poor Law.

D. *The increase of the money value of wages;* by—

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1. Cheap food.
2. Cheap lodgings; through building improved dwellings for the poor, and doing away with the profit of sub-letting.
3. Co-operative stores; or the "club system" of obtaining provisions at wholesale prices.
4. The abolition of the payment of wages on Sunday morning, or at so late an hour on the Saturday night as to prevent the labourer availing himself of the Saturday's market.
5. Teetotalism; as causing the men to spend nothing in fermented drinks, and so leaving them more to spend on food.

Such are the *direct* modes of remedying low wages, viz., either by preventing the price of labour itself falling below a certain standard; prohibiting all stoppages from the pay of the labourer; instituting certain aids or additions to such pay; or increasing the money value of the ordinary wages by reducing the price of provisions.

The *indirect* modes of remedying low wages are of a far more complex character. They consist of, first, the remedies propounded by political economists, which are—

A. *The decrease of the number of labourers;* for gaining this end several plans have been proposed, as—
   1. Checks against the increase of the population, for which the following are the chief Malthusian proposals:—
      a. Preventive checks for the hindrance of impregnation.
      b. Prohibition of early marriages among the poor.
      c. Increase of the standard of comfort, or requirements, among the people; as a means of inducing prudence and restraint of the passions.
      d. Infanticide; as among the Chinese.
   2. Emigration; as a means of draining off the surplus labourers.
   3. Limitation of apprentices in skilled trades; as a means of preventing the undue increase of particular occupations. This, however, is advocated not by economists, but generally by operatives.
   4. Prevention of family work; or the discouragement of the labour of the wives and children of operatives. This, again, cannot be said to be an "economist" remedy.

B. *Increase of the circulating capital, or sum set aside for the payment of the labourers.*
   1. By government imposts. "Governments," says Mr. Mill, "can create additional industry by creating capital. They may lay on taxes, and employ the amount productively." This was the object of the original Poor Law (43 Eliz.), which empowered the overseers of the poor to "raise weekly, or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant, &c., such sums of money as they shall require for providing a sufficient stock of flax, hemp, wool, and other ware or stuff, to set the poor on work."
   2. By the issue of paper money. The proposition of Mr. Jonathan Duncan is, that the government should issue notes equivalent to the taxation of the country, with the view of affording increased employment to the poor; the people being set to work as it were upon credit, in the same manner as the labourers were employed to build the market-house at Guernsey.

C. *The extension of the markets of the country;* by the abolition of all restrictions on commerce, and the encouragement of the free interchange of commodities, so that, by increasing the demand for our products, we may be able to afford employment to an extra number of producers.

The above constitute what, with a few exceptions, may be termed, more particularly, the "economist" remedies for low wages.

D. *The regulation of the quantity of work done by each workman, or the prevention of the undue economizing of labour.* For this end, several means have been put forward.
   1. The shortening the hours of labour, and abolition of Sunday-work.
   2. Alteration of the mode of work; as the substitution of day-work for piece-work, as a means of decreasing the stimulus to over-work.
   3. Extension of the term of hiring; by the substitution of annual engagements for daily or weekly hirings, with a view to the prevention of "casual labour."
   4. Limitation of the number of hands employed by one capitalist; so as to prevent the undue extension of "the large system of production."
   5. Taxation of machinery; with the object, not only of making it contribute its quota to the revenue of the country, but of impeding its undue increase.
   6. The discountenance of every form of work that tends to the making up of a greater quantity of materials with a less quantity of labour; and consequently to the expenditure of a greater proportion of the capital of the country on machinery or materials, and a correspondingly less proportion on the labourers.

E. *"Protective imposts," or high import duties on such foreign commodities as can be produced in this country;* with the view of preventing the labour of the comparatively untaxed and uncivilized foreigner being brought into competition with that of the taxed and civilized producer at home.

F. *"Financial reform," or reduction of the taxation of the country;* as enabling the home labourer the better to compete with the foreigner.

The two latter proposals, and that of the extension of the markets, may be said to seek to remedy low wages by expanding or circumscribing the foreign trade of the country.

G. *A different division of the proceeds of labour.* For this object several schemes have been propounded:—

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1. The "tribute system" of wages; or payment of labour according to the additional value which it confers on the materials on which it operates.
2. The abolition of the middleman; whether "sweater," "piece-master," "lumper," or what not, coming between the employer and employed.
3. Co-operation; or joint-stock associations of labourers, with the view of abolishing the profit of the capitalist employer.

H. *A different mode of distributing the products of labour;* with the view of abolishing the profit of the dealer, between the producer and consumer—as co-operative stores, where the consumers club together for the purchase of their goods directly of the producers.

I. *A more general and equal division of the wealth of the country:* for attaining this end there are but two known means:—

1. Communism; or the abolition of all rights to individual property.
2. Agapism; or the voluntary sharing of individual possessions with the less fortunate or successful members of the community.

These remedies may, with a few exceptions (such as the tribute system of wages, and the abolition of middlemen), be said to constitute the socialist and communist schemes for the prevention of distress.

J. *Creating additional employment for the poor;* and so removing the surplus labour from the market. Two modes of effecting this have been proposed:—

1. Home colonization, or the cultivation of waste lands by the poor.
2. Orderlyism, or the employment of the poor in the promotion of public cleanliness, and the increased sanitary condition of the country.

K. *The prevention of the enclosure of commons;* as the means of enabling the poor to obtain gratuitous pasturage for their cattle.

L. *The abolition of primogeniture;* with the view of dividing the land among a greater number of individuals.

M. *The holding of the land by the State,* and equal apportionment of it among the poor.

N. *Extension of the suffrage among the people;* and so allowing the workman, as well as the capitalist and the landlord, to take part in the formation of the laws of the country. For this purpose there are two plans:—

1. "The freehold-land movement," which seeks to enable the people to become proprietors of as much land as will, under the present law, give them "a voice" in the country.
2. Chartism, or that which seeks to alter the law concerning the election of members of Parliament, and to confer the right of voting on every male of mature age, sound mind, and non-criminal character.

O. *Cultivation of a higher moral and Christian character among the people.* This form of remedy, which is advocated by many, is based on the argument, that, without some mitigation of the "selfishness of the times," all other schemes for improving the condition of the people will be either evaded by the cunning of the rich, or defeated by the servility of the poor.

The above I believe to be a full and fair statement of the several plans that have been proposed, from time to time, for alleviating the distress of the people. This enumeration is as comprehensive as my knowledge will enable me to make it; and I have abstained from all comment on the several schemes, so that the reader may have an opportunity of impartially weighing the merits of each, and adopting that, which in his own mind, seems best calculated to effect what, after all, we every one desire—whether protectionist, economist, free-trader, philanthropist, socialist, communist, or chartist—the good of the country in which we live, and the people by whom we are surrounded.

Now we have to deal here with that particular remedy for low wages or distress which consists in creating additional employment for the poor, and of which the street-orderly system is an example.

The increase of employment for the poor was the main object of the 43 Eliz., for which purpose, as we have seen, the overseers of the several parishes were empowered to raise a fund by assessments upon the property of the rich, for providing "a sufficient stock of flax, hemp, wool, and other ware or stuff, to set the poor on work." But though economists, to this day, tell us that "while, on the one hand, industry is limited by capital, so, on the other, every increase of capital gives, or is capable of giving, additional employment to industry, and this without assignable limit,"* nevertheless the great difficulty of carrying out the provisions of the original poor-law has consisted in finding a market for the products of pauper labour, for the frequent gluts in our manufactures are sufficient to teach us that it is one thing to produce and another to dispose of the products; so that to create additional employment for the poor something besides capital is requisite: it is necessary either that they shall be engaged in producing that which they themselves immediately consume, or that for which the market admits of being extended.

The two plans proposed for the employment of the poor, it will be seen, consist (1) in the cultivation of waste lands; (2) in promoting public cleanliness, and so increasing the sanitary condition of the country. The first, it is evident, removes the objection of a market being needed for the products of the labour of the poor, since it pro-

* This is Mr. Mills's second *fundamental* proposition respecting capital (see "Principles of Pol. Econ." p. 82, vol. i.). "What I intend to assert is," says that gentleman, "that the portion (of capital) which is destined to the maintenance of the labourers may—supposing no increase in anything else—be indefinitely increased, without creating an impossibility of finding them employment—in other words, if there are human beings capable of work, and food to feed them, they may always be employed in producing something."

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poses that their energies should be devoted to the production of the food which they themselves consume; while the second seeks to create additional employment in effecting that increased cleanliness which more enlightened physiological views have not only made more desirable, but taught us to be absolutely necessary to the health and enjoyment of the community.

The great impediment, however, to the profitable employment of the poor, has generally been the unproductive or unavailing character of pauper labour. This has been mainly owing to the fact that the able-bodied who are deprived of employment are necessarily the lowest grade of operatives; for, in the displacement of workmen, those are the first discarded whose labour is found to be the least efficient, either from a deficiency of skill, industry, or sobriety, so that pauper labour is necessarily of the least productive character.

Another great difficulty with the employment of the poor is, that the idle, or those to whom work is more than usually irksome, require a stronger inducement than ordinary to make them labour, and the remuneration for parish work being necessarily less than for any other, those who are pauperized through idleness (the most benevolent among us must allow there are such) are naturally less than ever disposed to labour when they become paupers. All pauper work, therefore, is generally unproductive or unavailing, because it is either inexpert or unwilling work. The labour of the in-door paupers, who receive only their food for their pains, is necessarily of the same compulsory character as slavery; while that of the out-door paupers, with the remuneration often cut down to the lowest subsisting point, is scarcely of a more willing or more availing kind.

Owing to this general unproductiveness, (as well as the difficulty of finding a field for the profitable employment of the unemployed poor,) the labour of paupers has been for a long time past directed mainly to the cleansing of the public thoroughfares. Still, from the degrading nature of the occupation, and the small remuneration for the toil, pauper labourers have been found to be such unwilling workers that many parishes have long since given over employing their poor even in this capacity, preferring to entrust the work to a contractor, with his paid self-supporting operatives, instead.

The founder of the Philanthropic Association appears to have been fully aware of the two great difficulties besetting the profitable employment of the poor, viz., (1) finding a field for the exercise of their labours where they might be "set on work" with benefit to the community, and without injury to the independent operatives already engaged in the same occupation; and (2) overcoming the unwillingness, and consequently the unavailingness, of pauper labour.

The first difficulty Mr. Cochrane has endeavoured to obviate by taking advantage of that growing desire for greater public cleanliness which has arisen from the increased knowledge of the principles governing the health of towns; and the second, by giving the men 12*s.* instead of 9*s.* or 7*s.* a week, or worse than all, 1*s.* 1½*d.* and a quartern loaf a day for three days in the week, and so not only augmenting the stimulus to work (for it should be remembered that wages are to the human machine what the fire is to the steam-engine), but preventing the undue depreciation of the labour of the independent workman. He who discovers the means of increasing the rewards of labour, is as great a friend to his race as he who strives to depreciate them is the public enemy; and I do not hesitate to confess, that I look upon Mr. Charles Cochrane as one of the illustrious few who, in these days of unremunerated toil, and their necessary concomitants—beggars and thieves, has come forward to help the labourers of this country from their daily-increasing degradation. His benevolence is of that enlightened order which seeks to extend rather than destroy the self-trust of the poor, not only by creating additional employment for them, but by rendering that employment less repulsive.

The means by which Mr. Cochrane has endeavoured to gain these ends constitutes the system called Street-Orderlyism, which therefore admits of being viewed in two distinct aspects—first, as a new mode of improving "the health of towns," and, secondly, as an improved method of employing the poor.

Concerning the first, I must confess that the system of scavaging or cleansing the public thoroughfares pursued by the street-orderlies assumes, when contemplated in a sanitary point of view, all the importance and simplicity of a great discovery. It has been before pointed out that this system consists not only in cleansing the streets, but in *keeping* them clean. By the street-orderly method of scavaging, the thoroughfares are continually being cleansed, and so never allowed to become dirty; whereas, by the ordinary method, they are not cleansed *until* they are dirty. Hence the two modes of scavaging are diametrically opposed; under the one the streets are cleansed as fast as dirtied, while under the other they are dirtied as fast as cleansed; so that by the new system of scavaging the public thoroughfares are maintained in a perpetual state of cleanliness, whereas by the old they may be said to be kept in a continual state of dirt.

The street-orderly system of scavaging, however, is not only worthy of high commendation as a more efficient means of gaining a particular end—a simplification of a certain process—but it calls for our highest praise as well for the end gained as for the means of gaining it. If it be really a sound physiological principle, that the Creator has made dirt offensive to every rightly-constituted mind, because it is injurious to us, and so established in us an instinct, before we could discover a reason, for removing all refuse from our presence, it becomes, now that we have detected the cause of the feeling in us, at once disgusting and irrational to allow the filth to accumulate in our streets in front of our houses. If typhus, cholera, and other pestilences are but divine punishments

inflicted on us for the infraction of that most kindly law by which the health of a people has been made to depend on that which is naturally agreeable—cleanliness, then our instinct for self-preservation should force us, even if our sense of enjoyment would not lead us, to remove as fast as it is formed what is at once as dangerous as it should be repulsive to our natures. Sanitarily regarded, the cleansing of a town is one of the most important objects that can engage the attention of its governors; the removal of its refuse being quite as necessary for the continuance of the existence of a people as the supply of their food. In the economy of Nature there is no loss: this the great doctrine of waste and supply has taught us; the detritus of one rock is the conglomerate of another; the evaporation of the ocean is the source of the river; the poisonous exhalations of animals the vital air of plants; and the refuse of man and beasts the food of their food. The dust and cinders from our fires, the "slops" from the washing of our houses, the excretions of our bodies, the detritus and "surface-water" of our streets, have all their offices to perform in the great scheme of creation; and if left to rot and fust about us not only injure our health, but diminish the supplies of our food. The filth of the thoroughfares of the metropolis forms, it would appear, the staple manure of the market-gardens in the suburbs; out of the London mud come the London cabbages: so that an improvement in the scavaging of the metropolis tends not only to give the people improved health, but improved vegetables; for that which is nothing but a pestiferous muck-heap in the town becomes a vivifying garden translated to the country.

Dirt, however, is not only as prejudicial to our health and offensive to our senses, when allowed to accumulate in our streets, as it is beneficial to us when removed to our gardens,—but it is a most expensive commodity to keep in front of our houses. It has been shown, that the cost to the people of London, in the matter of extra washing induced by defective scavaging, is at the least 1,000,000*l.* sterling per annum (the Board of Health estimate it at 2,500,000*l.*); and the loss from extra wear and tear of clothes from brushing and scrubbing, arising from the like cause, is about the same prodigious sum; while the injury done to the furniture of private houses, and the goods exposed for sale in shops, though impossible to be estimated—appears to be something enormous: so that the loss from the defective scavaging of the metropolis seems, at the lowest calculation, to amount to several millions per annum; and hence it becomes of the highest possible importance, economically as well as physiologically, that the streets should be cleansed in the most effective manner.

Now, that the street-orderly system is the only rational and efficacious mode of street cleansing both theory and practice assure us. To allow the filth to accumulate in the streets before any steps are taken to remove it, is the same as if we were never to wash our bodies until they were dirty—it is to be perpetually striving to cure the disease, when with scarcely any more trouble we might prevent it entirely. There is, indeed, the same difference between the new and the old system of scavaging, as there is between a bad and a good housewife: the one never cleaning her house until it is dirty, and the other continually cleaning it, so as to prevent it being ever dirty.

Hence it would appear, that the street-orderly system of scavaging would be a great public benefit, even were there no other object connected with it than the increased cleanliness of our streets; but in a country like Great Britain, afflicted as it is with a surplus population (no matter from what cause), that each day finds the difficulty of obtaining work growing greater, the opening up of new fields of employment for the poor is perhaps the greatest benefit that can be conferred upon the nation. Without the discovery of such new fields, "the setting the poor on work" is merely, as I have said, to throw out of employment those who are already employed; it is not to decrease, but really to increase, the evil of the times—to add to, rather than diminish, the number of our paupers or our thieves. The increase of employment in a nation, however, requires, not only a corresponding increase of capital, but a like increase in the demand or desire, as well as in the pecuniary means, of the people to avail themselves of the work on which the poor are set (that is to say, in the extension of the home market); it requires, also, some mode of stimulating the energies of the workers, so as to make them labour more willingly, and consequently more availingly, than usual. These conditions appear to have been fulfilled by Mr. Cochrane, in the establishment of the street-orderlies. He has introduced, in connection with this body, a system of scavaging which, while it employs a greater number of hands, produces such additional benefits as cannot but be considered an equivalent for the increased expenditure; though it is even doubtful whether, by the collection of the street manure unmixed with the mud, the extra value of that article alone will not go far to compensate for the additional expense; if, however, there be added to this the saving to the metropolitan parishes in the cost of watering the streets—for under the street-orderly system this is not required, the dust never being allowed to accumulate, and consequently never requiring to be "laid"—as well as the greater saving of converting the paupers into self-supporting labourers; together with the diminished expense of washing and doctors' bills, consequent on the increased cleanliness of the streets—there cannot be the least doubt that the employment of the poor as street-orderlies is no longer a matter of philanthropy, but of mere commercial prudence.

Such appear to me to be the principal objects of Mr. Cochrane's street-orderly system of scavaging; and it is a subject upon which I have spoken the more freely, because, being unacquainted with that gentleman, none can suspect me of being prejudiced in his favour, and because I have felt that the good which he has done and is likely to do to the poor, has been comparatively unacknow-

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ledged by the public, and that society and the people owe him a heavy debt of gratitude*.

I shall now proceed to set forth the character of the labour, and the condition and remuneration of the labourers in connection with the street-orderly system of scavaging the metropolitan thoroughfares.

The first appearance of the street-orderlies in the metropolis was in 1843. Mr. Charles Cochrane, who had previously formed the National Philanthropic Association, with its eleemosynary soup-kitchens, &c., then introduced the system of street-orderlies, as one enabling many destitute men to support themselves by their labour; as well as, in his estimation, a better, and eventually a more economical, mode of street-cleansing, and partaking also somewhat of the character of a street police.

The first "demonstration," or display of the street-orderly system, took place in Regent-street, between the Quadrant and the Regent-circus, and in Oxford-street, between Vere-street and Charles-street. The streets were thoroughly swept in the morning, and then each man or boy, provided with a hand-broom and dust-pan, removed any dirt as soon as it was deposited. The demonstration was pronounced highly successful and the system effective, in the opinion of eighteen influential inhabitants of the locality who acted as a committee, and who publicly, and with the authority of their names, testified their conviction that "the most efficient means of keeping streets clean, and more especially great thoroughfares, was to prevent the accumulation of dirt, by removing the manure within a few minutes after it has been deposited by the passing cattle; the same having, hitherto, remained during several days."

The cost of this demonstration amounted to about 400*l.*, of which, the Report states, "200*l.* still remains due from the shop-keepers to the Association; which," it is delicately added, "from late commercial difficulties they have not yet repaid" (in 1850).

Whilst the street-orderlies were engaged in cleansing Regent-street, &c., the City Commissioners of the sewers of London were invited to depute some person to observe and report to them concerning the method pursued; but with that instinctive sort of repugnance which seems to animate the great bulk of city officials against improvement of any kind, the reply was, that they "did not consider the same worthy their attention." The matter, however, was not allowed to drop, and by the persevering efforts of Mr. Cochrane, the president, and of the body of gentlemen who form the council of the Association, Cheapside, Cornhill, and the most important parts of the very heart of the city were at length cleansed according to the new method. The ratepayers then showed that *they*, at least, *did* consider "the same worthy of attention," for 8000 out of 12,000 within a few days signed memorials recommending the adoption of what they pronounced an improvement, and a public meeting was held in Guildhall (May 4, 1846), at which resolutions in favour of the street-orderly method were passed. The authorities did not adopt these recommendations, but they ventured so far to depart from their venerable routine as to order the streets to be "swept every day!" This employed upwards of 300 men, whereas at the period when the sages of the city sewers did not consider any proposed improvement in scavagery worthy their attention, the number of men employed by them in cleansing the streets did not exceed 30.

The street-orderly system was afterwards tried in the parishes of St. Paul, Covent-garden, St. James (Westminster), St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Anne, Soho, and others—sometimes calling forth opposition, of course from the authorities connected with the established modes of paving, scavaging, &c.

It is not my intention to write a complete history of the street-orderlies, but merely to sketch their progress, as well as describe their peculiar characteristics.

Within these few months public meetings have been held in almost every one of the 26 wards of the City, at which approving resolutions were either passed unanimously or carried by large majorities; and the street-orderly system is now about to be introduced into St. Martin's parish instead of the street-sweeping machine.

As far as the street-orderly system has been tried, and judging only by the testimony of public examination and public record of opinion, the trial has certainly been a success. A memorial to the Court of Sewers, from the ward of Broad-street, supported by the leading merchants of that locality, in recommendation of the employment of street-orderlies, seems to bear more closely on the subject than any I have yet seen.

"Your memorialists," they state, "have observed that those public thoroughfares within the city of London which are now cleansed by street-orderlies, *are so remarkably clean* as to be *almost free from mud in wet, and dust in dry weather*—that *such extreme cleanliness is of great comfort to the public*, and tends to improve the sanitary condition of the ward."

But it is not only in the metropolis that the street-orderlies seem likely to become the established scavagers. The streets of Windsor, I am informed, are now in the course of being cleansed upon the orderly plan. In Amsterdam, there are at present 16 orderlies regularly employed upon scavaging a portion of the city, and in Paris and Belgium, I am assured, arrangements are being made for the introduction of the system into both those cities. Were the street-orderly mode of scavaging to become general throughout this country, it is estimated that employment would be given to 100,000 labourers, so that, with the families of these men, not less than half a million of people would be supported in a state of independence by it. The total number of adult able-bodied paupers relieved—in-door and out-door—throughout England and Wales, on January 1, 1850, was 154,525.

The following table shows the route of the street-orderly operations in the metropolis. A further

* Mr. Cochrane is said, in the Reports of the National Philanthropic Association, to have expended no less than 6000*l.* of his fortune in the institution of the Street-Orderly system of scavaging.

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column, in the Report from which the table has been extracted, contained the names of thirteen clergymen who have "weekly read prayers and delivered discourses to the street-orderlies at their respective stations, and recorded flattering testimonials of their conduct and demeanour."

EMPLOYMENT OF STREET-ORDERLIES.

	Localities Cleansed.	No. of Street-Orderlies.	Wives and Children dependent.	Money expended. £	s.	d.
1843-4.	Oxford and Regent Streets	50	256	560	0	0
1845.	Strand	8	—	38	0	0
1845-6.	Cheapside, Cornhill, &c., City of London	100	363	1540	2	0
1846-7.	St. Margaret's and St. John's, Westminster	15	65	306	0	0
1847.	Piccadilly, St. James's, &c.	8	32	115	0	0
1848.	Strand	8	31	35	0	0
1848.	St. Martin's Lane, &c.	38	188	153	0	0
1848.	Piccadilly, St. James's, &c.	48	108	341	3	0
1848-9.	St. Paul's, Covent Garden	13	38	38	10	0
1849.	Regent Street, Whitehall, &c.	18	68	98	0	0
1849.	St. Giles's and St. George's, Bloomsbury	14	71	58	1	0
1849.	St. Pancras, New Road, &c.	16	46	177	6	0
1849.	St. Andrew's and St. George's, Holborn.	23	83	68	4	9
1849.	Lambeth Parish	16	41	84	16	0
1851.	St. Martin's-in-the-Fields	68	179	119	3	4
1851.	City of London, Central Districts (per week, during 6 weeks last past)	103	378	55	0	0
	Total	546	1897	3782	6	1

The period of nine years comprised in the above statement (1843 and 1851 being both included) gives a yearly average, as to the number of the poor employed, exceeding 60, with a similar average of 210 wives and children, and a yearly average outlay of 420*l*. The number of orderlies now employed by the Association is from 80 to 90.

Such, then, is a brief account of the rise and progress of this new mode of street-sweeping, and we now come to a description of the work itself.

"The orderlies," says the Report of the Association, "keep the streets free from mud in winter, and dust in summer; and that with the least possible personal drudgery:—adhering to the principle of operation laid down, viz., that of '*Cleansing and keeping Clean*,' they have merely, after each morning's sweeping and removal of dirt, to keep a vigilant look-out over the surface of street allotted to them; and to remove with the hand-brush and dust-pan, from any particular spot, whatever dirt or rubbish may fall upon it, *at the moment of its deposit*. Thus are the streets under their care kept constantly clean.

"But sweeping and removing dirt," continues the Report, "is not the only occupation of the street-orderly, whilst keeping up a careful inspection of the ground allotted to him. He is also the watchman of house-property and shop-goods; the guardian of reticules, pocket-books, purses, and watch-pockets;—the experienced observer and detector of pickpockets; the ever ready, though unpaid, auxiliary to the police constable. Nay, more;—he is always at hand, to render assistance to both equestrian and pedestrian: if a horse slip, stumble, or fall,—if a carriage break down, or vehicles come into collision,—the street-orderly darts forward to raise and rectify them: if foot-passengers be run over, or knocked down, or incautiously loiter on a crossing, the street-orderly rescues them from peril or death; or warns them of the approaching danger of carriages driving in opposite directions: if other accidents befall pedestrians,—if they fall on the pavement, from sudden illness, faintness, or apoplexy, the street-orderly is at hand to render assistance, or convey them to the nearest surgery or hospital. If strangers are at fault as to the localities of London, or the place of their destination, the orderly, in a civil and respectful manner, directs them on their way. If habitual or professional mendicants are importunate or troublesome, the street-orderly warns them off; or hands them to the care of the policeman. And if a *really* poor or starving fellow-creature wanders in search of food or alms, he leads him to a work-house or soup-kitchen*.

"*Should the system become general* (*of which there is now every good prospect*), *it will be the*

* A street-orderly in St. Martin's-lane recovered a piece of broad-cloth from a man who had just stolen it from a warehouse; others in Drury-lane detected several thefts from provision-shops. Two orderlies in Holborn saved the lives of the guard and driver of one of Her Majesty's mail-carts, the horse having become unmanageable in consequence of the shafts being broken. In St. Mary's Church, Lambeth, a gentleman having fallen down in apoplexy, the orderlies who were attending Divine service, carried him out into the air, and promptly procured him medical aid, but unhappily life was extinct. Many instances have occurred, however, in which they have rendered essential service to the public and to individuals.

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means of rescuing no less than TEN THOUSAND PERSONS *and their families from destitution and distress* (in London alone);—from the forlorn and wretched condition which tempts to criminality and outrage, to that of comfort, independence, and happiness—produced by their own industry, aided by the kind consideration of those who are more the favourites of fortune than themselves.

"In conclusion it may be stated, that the street-orderly system will keep the streets and pavements of London and Westminster as clean as the court-yard and hall of any gentleman's private dwelling: it will not only secure the general comfort and health of upwards of two millions of people, but save a vast annual amount to shopkeepers, housekeepers, and others, with regard to the spoiling of their goods by dust and dirt; in the wear and tear of clothes and furniture, by an eternal round of brushing, dusting, scouring, and scrubbing."

The foregoing extract fully indicates the system pursued and results of street-orderlyism. I will now deal with what may be considered *the labour or trade part of the question.*

By the street-orderly plan a district is duly apportioned. To one man is assigned the care of a series of courts, a street, or 500, 1000, 1200, 1500, or 2000 yards of a public way, according to its traffic, after the whole surface has been swept "the first thing in the morning." In Oxford-street, for instance, it has been estimated that 500 yards can be kept clear of the dirt continually being deposited by one man; in the squares, where there is no great traffic, 2000 yards; while in so busy a part as Cheapside, some nine men will be required to be hourly on the look-out. These street-orderlies are confined to their beats as strictly as are policeman, and as they soon become known to the inhabitants, it is a means of checking any disposition to loiter, or to shirk the work; to say nothing of the corps of inspectors and superintendents.

The *division of labour* among the street-orderlies is as follows:—

1. The *foreman*, whose duty is to "look over the men" (one such over-looker being employed to about every 20 men), and who receives 15*s.* per week.

2. The *barrow-men*, or sweepers, consisting of men and boys; the former receiving 12*s.* and the latter generally 7*s.* per week.

The *tools and implements* used, and their cost, are as follows:—wooden scoops, to throw up the slop, 1*s.* 2*d.* each (they used to be made of iron, weighing 8 lbs. each, but the men then complained that the weight "broke their arms"); shovel, 2*s.* 3*d.*; hoe and scraper, 1*s.* 3*d.*; hand-broom, 8*d.*; scavager's broom, 1*s.* 2*d.*; barrow, 12*s.*; covered barrow, 24*s.*

In the amount of his receipts, the street-orderly appears to a disadvantage, as many of the "regular hands" of the contractors receive 16*s.* weekly, and he but 12*s.* The reason for this circumscribed payment I have already alluded to—the deficiency of funds to carry out the full purposes of the Association. Contrasted with the remuneration of the great majority of the pauper scavagers, the street-orderly is in a state of comparative comfort, for he receives nearly double as much as the Guardians of the Poor of Chelsea and the Liberty of the Rolls pay their labourers, and full 25 per cent. more than is paid by Bermondsey, Deptford, Marylebone, St. James's, Westminster, St. George's, Hanover-square, and St. Andrew's, Holborn; and, I am assured, it is the intention of the Council to pay the full rate of wages given by the more respectable scavagers, viz., 16*s.* a week each man. *If traders can do this, philanthropists, who require no profit, at least should be equally liberal.* The labourer never can be benefited by depreciating the ordinary wages of his trade; and I must in justice confess, that there are scattered throughout the Report repeated regrets that the funds of the Association will not admit of a higher rate of wages being paid.

The street-orderly is not subjected to any fines or drawbacks, and is paid always in money, every Saturday evening at the office of the Association. In this respect, however, he does not differ from other bodies of scavagers.

The usual mode of obtaining employment among the street-orderlies is by personal application at the office of the Association in Leicester-square; but sometimes letters, well-penned and well-worded, are addressed to the president.

The daily number of applicants for employment is far from demonstrative of that unbroken prosperity of the country, of which we hear so much. On my inquiring into the number, I ascertained towards the end of August, that, for the previous fortnight, during fine summer weather, London being still full of the visitors to the Exhibition, on an average 30 men, of nearly all conditions of life, applied personally each day for work at street-sweeping, at 12*s.* a week. Certainly this labour is not connected with the feeling of pauper degradation, but it does not look well for the country that in twelve days 360 men should apply for such work. On the year's average, I am assured, there are 30 applications daily, but only ten new applicants, as men call to solicit an engagement again and again. Thus in the year there are *nine thousand, three hundred, and ninety* applications, and 3130 individual applicants. In the course of one month last winter, there were applications from 300 boys in Spitalfields alone, to be set to work; and I am told, that had they been successful, 3000 lads would have applied the next month.

When an application is made by any one recommended by subscribers, &c., to the Association, or where the case seems worthy of attention, the names and addresses are entered in a book, with a slight sketch of the circumstances of the person wishing to become a street-orderly, so that inquiries may be made. I give a few of the more recent of these entries and descriptions, which are really "histories in little":—

"Thomas M'G——, aged 50, W— L— street, Chelsea Hospital, single man. Taught a French and English school in Lyons, France. Driven out of France at the Revolution of 1848. Penniless.

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"Rich. M——, 13, C—— street, H—— garden, 42 years. Married. Can read and write. Has been a seaman in the royal service ten years. Chairmaker by trade. Has jobbed as a porter in Rochester, Kent.

"Phil. S——, 1, R— L— street, High Holborn. From Killarney, co. Kerry. Bred a gardener. Fifteen years in constabulary force, for which he has a character from Col. Macgregor, and received the compensation of 50*l.*, which he bestowed on his father and mother to keep them at home. Nine months in England, viz., in Bristol, Bath, and London. Aged 35. Can read and write.

"Edw. C——, 79, M—— street, Hackney. Aged 27. Married. Army-pensioner, 6*d.* a day. Can read and write. Recommended by Rev. T. Gibson, rector of Hackney.

"Chas. J——, 11, D—— street, Chelsea. Aged 38. Gentleman's servant."

In my account of the "regular hands" employed by the contracting scavagers, I have stated that the street-orderlies were a more miscellaneous body, as they had not been reared in the same proportion to street work. They are also, I may add, a better-conducted and better-informed class than the general run of unskilled labourers, as they know, before applying for street-orderly work, that inquiries are made concerning them, and that men of reprobate character will not be employed.

Many of those employed as orderlies have since returned to their original employments; others have procured, and been recommended to, superior situations in life to that of street-orderlies, by the Council of the Association, but *no instance has occurred of any street-orderly having returned back to his parish workhouse or stoneyard.*" This certainly looks well.

One street-orderly, I may add, is now a reputable school-master, and has been so for some time; another is a clerk under similar circumstances. Another is a good theoretical and practical musician, having officiated as organist in churches and at concerts; he is also a neat music copyist. Another tells of his correspondence with a bishop on theological topics. Another, with a long and well-cultured beard, has been a model for artists. One had 150*l.* left to him not long ago, which was soon spent; his wife spent it, he said, and then he quietly applied to be permitted to be again a street-orderly. Several have got engagements as seamen, their original calling—indeed, I am assured, that a few months of street-orderly labour is looked upon as an excellent ordeal of character, after which the Association affirms good behaviour on the part of the employed.

The subscribers to the funds not unfrequently recommend destitute persons to the good offices of the Association, apart from their employment as street-orderlies. Thus, it is only a few weeks ago, that twelve Spanish refugees, none of them speaking English, were recommended to the Association; one of them it was ultimately enabled to establish as a waiter in an hotel resorted to by foreigners, another as an interpreter, another as a gentleman's servant, and another (with a little boy, his son) in shoe-blacking in Leicester-square.

Thus among street-orderlies are to be found a great diversity of career in life, and what may be called adventures.

One great advantage, however, which the orderly possesses over his better paid brethren is in the greater probability of his "rising out of the street." This is very rarely the case with an ordinary scavager.

I now give the following account from one of the street-orderlies, a tall, soldierly-looking man:—

"I'm 42 now," he said, "and when I was a boy and a young man I was employed in the *Times* machine office, but got into a bit of a row—a bit of a street quarrel and frolic, and was called on to pay 3*l.*, something about a street-lamp: that was out of the question; and as I was taking a walk in the park, not just knowing what I'd best do, I met a recruiting sergeant, and enlisted on a sudden—all on a sudden—in the 16th Lancers. When I came to the standard, though, I was found a little bit too short. Well, I was rather frolicsome in those days, I confess, and perhaps *had rather a turn for a roving life*, so when the sergeant said he'd take me to the East India Company's recruiting sergeant, I consented, and was accepted at once. I was taken to Calcutta, and served under General Nott all through the Affghan war. I was in the East India Company's artillery, 4th company and 2nd battalion. Why, yes, sir, I saw a little of what you may call 'service.' I was at the fighting at Candahar, Bowlinglen, Bowling-pass, Clatigillsy, Ghuznee, and Caboul. The first real warm work I was in was at Candahar. I've heard young soldiers say that they've gone into action the first time as merry as they would go to a play. Don't believe them, sir. Old soldiers will tell you quite different. You *must* feel queer and serious the first time you're in action: it's not fear—it's nervousness. The crack of the muskets at the first fire you hear in real hard earnest is uncommon startling; you see the flash of the fire from the enemy's line, but very little else. Indeed, oft enough you see nothing but smoke, and hear nothing but balls whistling every side of you. And then you get excited, just as if you were at a hunt; but after a little service—I can speak for myself, at any rate—you go into action as you go to your dinner.

"I served during the time when there was the Affghanistan retreat; when the 44th was completely cut up, before any help could get up to them. We suffered a good deal from want of sufficient food; but it was nothing like so bad, at the very worst, as if you're suffering in London. In India, in that war time, if you suffered, you were along with a number in just the same boat as yourself; and there's always something to hope for when you're an army. It's different if you're walking the streets of London by yourself—I felt it, sir, for a little bit after my return—and if you haven't a penny, you feel as if there wasn't a hope. If you have friends it may be different, but I had none. It's no comfort if

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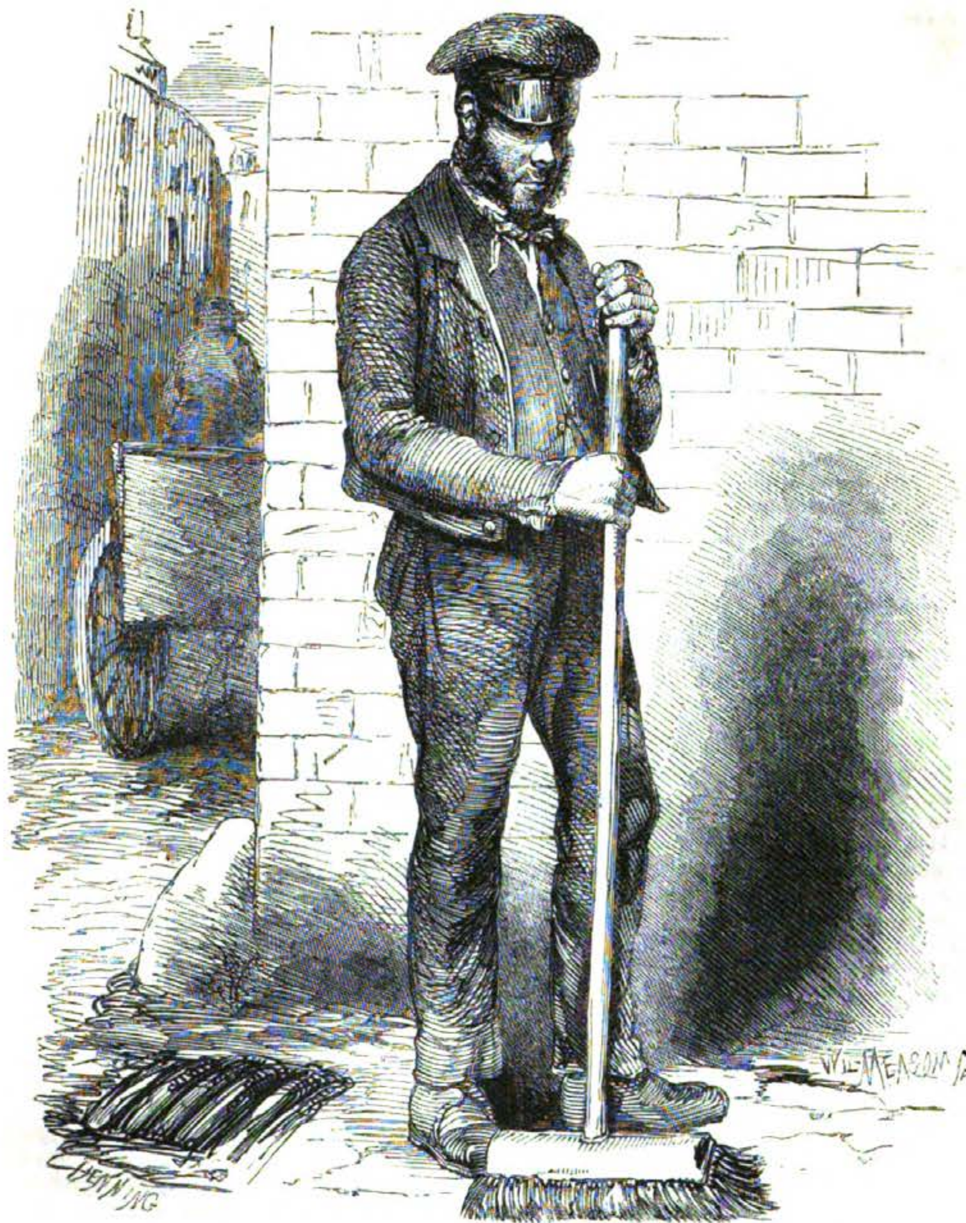

THE ABLE-BODIED PAUPER STREET-SWEEPER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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you know hundreds are suffering as you are, for you can't help and cheer one another as soldiers can.

"Well, sir, as I've told you, I saw a good deal of service all through that war. Indeed I served thirteen years and four months, and was then discharged on account of ill health. If I'd served eight months longer that would have been fourteen years, and I should have been entitled to a pension. I believe my illness was caused by the hardships I went through in the campaigns, fighting and killing men that I never saw before, and until I was in India had never heard of, and that I had no ill-will to; certainly not, why should I? they never did me any wrong. But when it comes to war, if you can't kill them they'll kill you. When I got back to London I applied at the East India House for a pension, but was refused. I hadn't served my time, though that wasn't my fault.

"I then applied for work in the *Times* machine office, and they were kind enough to put me on. But I wasn't master of the work, for there was new machinery, wonderful machinery, and a many changes. So I couldn't be kept on, and was some time out of work, and very badly off, as I've said before, and then I got work as a scavenger. O, I knew nothing about sweeping before that. I'd never swept anything except the snow in the north of India, which is quite a different sort of thing to London dirt. But I very soon got into the way of it. I found no difficulty about it, though some may pretend there is an art in it. I had 15*s.* a week, and when I was no longer wanted I got employment as a street-orderly. I never was married, and have only myself to provide for. I'm satisfied that the street-orderly is far the best plan for street-cleaning. Nothing else can touch it, in my opinion, and I thought so before I was one of them, and I believe most working scavengers think so now, though they mayn't like to say so, for fear it might go again their interest.

"Oh, yes, I'm sometimes questioned by gentlemen that may be passing in the streets while I'm at work, all about our system. They generally say, 'and a very good system, too.' One said once, 'It shows that scavengers can be decent men; they weren't when I was first in London, above 40 years ago.' Well, I sometimes get the price of a pint of beer given to me by gentlemen making inquiries, but very seldom."

Until about eighteen months ago none but unmarried men were employed by the Association, and these all resided in one locality, and under one general superintendence or system. The boarding and lodging of the men has, however, been discontinued about fifteen months; for I am told it was found difficult to encourage industrial and self-reliant pursuits in connection with public eleemosynary aid. Married men are now employed, and all the street-orderlies reside at their own homes; the adults, married or single, receiving 12*s.* a week each; the boys, 6*s.*; while to each man is gratuitously supplied a blouse of blue serge, costing 2*s.* 6*d.*, and a glazed hat, costing the same amount.

The system formerly adopted was as follows:—

The men were formed into a distinct body, and established in houses taken for them in Ham-yard, Great Windmill-street, Haymarket.

"The wages of the men," states the Report, "were fixed at 12*s.* each per week; that is, 9*s.* were charged for board and lodging, and 3*s.* were paid in money to each man on Saturday afternoon, out of which he was expected to pay for his clothing and washing. The men had provided for them clean wholesome beds and bedding, a common sitting-room, with every means of ablution and personal cleanliness, including a warm bath once a week. Their food was abundant and of the best quality, viz., coffee and bread and butter for breakfast, at eight o'clock; round of beef, bread, and vegetables, four times a week for dinner, at one o'clock; nutritious soup and bread, or bread and cheese, forming the afternoon repast of the other three days. At six in the evening, when they returned from their labours, they were refreshed with tea or coffee, and bread and butter; or for supper, at nine, each had a large basin of soup, with bread. Thus, three-fourths of their wages being laid out for them to advantage, the men were well lodged and fed; and they have always declared themselves satisfied, comfortable, and happy, under the arrangements that were made for them. Under the charge of their intelligent and active superintendent, the street-orderlies soon fell into a state of the most exact discipline and order; and when old orderlies were drafted off, either to enter the service of parish boards who adopted the system, or were recommended into service, or some other superior position in life, and when new recruits came to supply their places, the latter found no difficulty in conforming to the rules laid down for the performance of their duties, as well as for their general conduct. 'Military time' regulated their hours of labour, refreshment, and rest; due attention was required from all; and each man (though a scavenger) was expected to be cleanly in his person, and respectful in his demeanour; indeed, nothing could be more gratifying than the conduct of these men, both at home and abroad."

"In their domicile in Ham Yard," continues the Report, "the street-orderlies have invariably been encouraged to follow pursuits which were useful and improving, after their daily labours were at an end; for this, a small library of history, voyages, travels, and instructive and entertaining periodical works, was placed at their disposal; and it is truly gratifying to the Council to be able to state, that the men evinced great satisfaction, and even avidity, in availing themselves of this source of intellectual pleasure and improvement. Writing materials also were provided for them, for the purpose of practice and improvement, as well as for mutual instruction in this most necessary and useful art; and it must be gratifying to the members of the Association to be informed, that, in April last, 34 out of 40 men appended their

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signatures, distinctly and well written, to a document which was submitted to them. Such a fact will at least prove, that when poor persons are employed, well fed, and lodged, and cared for in the way of instruction, they do not always mis-spend their time, nor, from mere preference, run riot in pot-houses and scenes of low debauchery. It is to be borne in mind, however, that one-half of these men were persons of almost every trade and occupation, from the artizan to the shopman and clerk, and therefore previously educated; the other half consisted of labourers and persons forsaken and indigent from their birth, and formerly dependent on workhouse charity or chance employment for their scanty subsistence; consequently in a state of utter ignorance as to reading and writing.

"Every night, after supper, prayers were read by the superintendent; and it has frequently been a most edifying as well as gratifying sight to members of your council, as well as to other persons of rank and station in society, who have visited the Hospice in Ham Yard at that interesting hour, to observe the decorum with which these poor men demeaned themselves; and the heartfelt solemnity with which they joined in the invocations and thanks to their Creator and Preserver!

"Each Sunday morning, at 8 o'clock, a portion of the church service was read, followed by an extemporaneous discourse or exhortation by the secretary to the Hospice. They were marshalled to church twice on the Sabbath, headed by the superintendent and foremen; and generally divided into two or three bodies, each taking a direction to St. James's, St. Anne's, or St. Paul's, Covent Garden; in all of which places of worship they had sitting accommodation provided by the kindness of the clergy and churchwardens. On Tuesday evenings they had the benefit of receiving pastoral visits and instruction from several of the worthy clergymen of the surrounding parishes."

This is all very benevolent, but still very wrong. There is but one way of benefiting the poor, viz., by developing their powers of self-reliance, and certainly not in treating them like children. Philanthropists always seek to do too much, and in this is to be found the main cause of their repeated failures. The poor are expected to become angels in an instant, and the consequence is, they are merely made *hypocrites*. Moreover, no men of any independence of character will submit to be washed, and dressed, and fed like schoolboys; hence none but the worst classes come to be experimented upon. It would seem, too, that this overweening disposition to play the part of *ped-agogues* (I use the word in its literal sense) to the poor, proceeds rather from a love of power than from a sincere regard for the people. Let the rich become the advisers and assistants of the poor, giving them the benefit of their superior education and means—but *leaving the people to act for themselves*—and they will do a great good, developing in them a higher standard of comfort and moral excellence, and so, by improving their tastes, inducing a necessary change in their habits. But such as seek merely to *lord it* over those whom distress has placed in their power, and strive to bring about the *villeinage* of benevolence, making the people the philanthropic, instead of the feudal, serfs of our nobles, should be denounced as the arch-enemies of the country. Such persons may mean well, but assuredly they achieve the worst towards the poor. The curfew-bell, whether instituted by benevolence or tyranny, has the same degrading effect on the people—destroying their principle of self-action, without which we are all but as the beasts of the field.

Moreover, the laying out of the earnings of the poor is sure, after a time, to sink into "a job;" and I quote the above passage to show that, despite the kindest management, eleemosynary help is *not* a fitting adjunct to the industrial toil of independent labourers.

The residences of the street-orderlies are now in all quarters where unfurnished rooms are about 1*s.* 9*d.* or 2*s.* a week. The addresses I have cited show them residing in the outskirts and the heart of the metropolis. The following returns, however, will indicate the ages, the previous occupations, the education, church-going, the personal habits, diet, rent, &c., of the class constituting the street-orderlies, better than anything I can say on the matter.

Before any man is employed as a street-orderly, he is called upon to answer certain questions, and the replies from 67 men to these questions supply a fund of curious and important information—important to all but those who account the lot of the poor of *no* importance. In presenting these details, I beg to express my obligations to Mr. Colin Mackenzie, the enlightened and kindly secretary of the Association.

I shall first show what is the order of the questioning, then what were the answers, and I shall afterwards recapitulate, with a few comments, the salient characteristics of the whole.

The questions are after this fashion; the one I adduce having been asked of a scavager to whom a preference was given:—

The Parish of St. Mary, Paddington.—Questions asked of Parish Scavagers, applying for employment as Street-Orderlies, with the answers appended.

Name?—W—— C——.

Age?—35 years.

How long a scavenger?—Three months.

What occupation previously?—Gentleman's footman.

Married or single?—Married.

Reading, writing, or other education?—Yes.

Any children?—One.

Their ages?—Three years.

Wages?—Nine shillings per week.

Any parish relief?—No.

What and how much food the applicants have usually purchased in a week.

Meat?—2*s.* 6*d.*

Bacon?—None.

Fish?—None.

Bread?—2*s.*

Potatoes?—4*d.*

Butter?—6*d.*

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Tea and sugar?—1*s.*

Cocoa?—None.

What rent they pay?—2*s.*

Furnished or unfurnished lodgings?—Unfurnished.

Any change of dress?—No.

Sunday clothing?—No.

How many shirts?—Two shirts.

Boots and shoes?—One pair.

How much do they lay out for clothes in a year?—I have nothing but what I stand upright in.

Do they go to church or chapel?—Sometimes.

If not, why not?—It is from want of clothes.

Do they ever bathe?—No.

Does the wife go out to, or take in work?—Yes.

What are her earnings?—Uncertain.

Do they have anything from charitable institutions or families?—No.

When ill; where do they resort to?—Hospitals, dispensaries, and the parish doctor.

Do their children go to any school; and what?—Paddington.

Do they ever save any money; how much, and where?—

How much do they spend per week in drink?

Do not passers by, as charitable ladies, &c., give them money; and how much per week?—No.

Such are the questions asked, and I now give the answers of 67 individuals.

Their ages were:—

10 were from 20 to 30	15 from 50 to 60
13 „ 30 „ 40	4 „ 60 „ 70.
24 „ 40 „ 50	1 „ 70

The greatest number of any age was 7 persons of 45 years respectively.

Their previous occupations had been:—

22 labourers.	1 sweep.
3 at the business "all their lives."	1 haybinder.
3 dustmen.	1 gaslighter.
3 ostlers.	1 dairyman.
2 stablemen.	1 ploughman.
2 carmen.	1 gardener.
2 porters.	1 errand boy.
2 gentlemen's servants.	1 fur dresser.
2 greengrocers.	1 fur dyer.
1 following dust-cart.	1 skinner.
1 excavator.	1 leather dresser.
1 gravel digging.	1 letter-press printer.
1 stone breaking in yards.	1 paper stainer.
1 at work in the brick-fields.	1 glass blower.
1 at work in the lime-works.	1 farrier.
1 coal porter.	1 plasterer.
	1 clerk.
	1 vendor of goods.
	1 licensed victualler.

Therefore, of 67 scavagers
12 had been artizans.
55 „ unskilled workmen.

Hence about five-sixths belong to the unskilled class of operatives.

Time of having been at scavagering.

3 "all their lives" at the business.	4 from 5 to 10 years.
1 about 27 years.	34 „ 1 „ 5 „
6 from 15 to 20 years.	13 twelve months and less.
6 „ 10 „ 15 „	

Hence it would appear, that few have been at the business a long time. The greater number have not been acting as scavagers more than five years.

State of education.—Could they read and write?

45 answered yes.	5 could read only.
4 replied that they could read and write.	12 could do neither.
	1 was deaf and dumb.

Hence it would appear, that rather more than two-thirds of the scavagers have received *some little* education.

Did they go to church or chapel?

22 answered yes.	1 not often.
9 went to church.	17 never went at all.
4 „ chapel.	1 was ashamed to go.
4 „ the Catholic chapel.	1 went out of town to enjoy himself.
1 „ both church and chapel.	2 made no return (1 being deaf and dumb).
5 went sometimes.	

Thus it would seem, that not quite two-thirds regularly attend some place of worship; that about one-eleventh go occasionally; and that about one-fourth never go at all.

Why did they not go to church?

12 had no clothes.
55 returned no answer (1 being deaf and dumb).

Hence of those who never go (19 out of 67), very nearly two-thirds (say 12 in 19) have no clothes to appear in.

Did they bathe?

59 answered no.	Thames.
3 replied yes.	2 returned "sometimes."
2 said they did in the	1 was deaf and dumb.

Hence it appeared, that about seven-eighths never bathe, although following the filthiest occupation.

Were they married or single?

56 were married.	6 were single.
5 „ widowers.	

Thus it would seem, that about ten-elevenths are or have been married men.

How many children had they?

1 had 15.	6 had 1 each.
1 „ 6.	16 „ none (6 of these being single men).
2 „ 5 each.	2 returned their family as grown up without stating the number.
11 „ 4 „	
19 „ 3 „	
9 „ 2 „	

Consequently 51 out of 61, or five-sixths, are married, and have families numbering altogether 165 children; the majority had only 3 children, and this was about the average family.

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What were the ages of their children?

11 were grown up.
2 between 30 and 40.
9 " 20 and 30.
49 " 10 and 20.
80 " 1 and 10.
8 were 1 year and under.
5 were returned at home.
1 returned as dead.

One-half of the scavagers' children, therefore, are between 1 and 10 years of age; the majority would appear to be 8 years old.

Some were said to be grown up, but no number was given.

Did their children go to school?

13 answered yes.
13 to the National School
5 to the Ragged School.
2 to Catholic.
2 to Parish.
6 to local schools.
1 replied that he went sometimes.
2 returned no.
1 replied that his children were "not with him."
22 (of whom 16 had no children, and 1 was deaf and dumb) made no reply.

From this it would seem, that a large majority—41 out of 51, or four-fifths—of the parents who have children send them to school.

Did their wives work?

15 returned no.
6 said their wives were "unable."
1 had lost the use of her limbs.
2 did, but "not often."
4 did "when they could."
10 worked "sometimes."
12 answered yes.
1 sold cresses.
15 made no return (11 having no wives and 1 being deaf and dumb).

Hence two-fifths of the wives (22 out of 56) do no work, 16 do so occasionally, and 13, or one-fourth, are in the habit of working.

What were wives' earnings?

10 returned them as "uncertain."
1 "didn't know."
1 estimated them at 1*s.* 6*d.* per week.
1 at 1*s.* to 2*s.* "
2 at 2*s.* "
3 at 2*s.* or 3*s.* "
2 at about 3*s.* "
1 at 2*s.* to 4*s.* per week.
1 at 3*s.* or 4*s.* "
1 at 3*d.* or 4*d.* per day.
43 gave no returns (having either no wives, or their wives not working).
1 was deaf and dumb.

So that, out of 29 wives who were said to work, 16 occasionally and 13 regularly, there were returns for 23. Nearly half of their earnings were given as uncertain from their seldom doing work, while the remainder were stated to gain from 1*s.* to 4*s.* per week; about 2*s.* 6*d.* perhaps would be a fair average.

What wages were they themselves in the habit of receiving?

3 had 16*s.* 6*d.* per week.
2 " 16*s.* "
28 " 15*s.* "
3 " 14*s.* 6*d.* "
1 " 14*s.* "
2 " 12*s.* "
15 had 9*s.* per week.
4 " 8*s.* "
5 " 7*s.* "
4 " 1*s.* 1½*d.* a day and 2 loaves.

Hence it is evident, that one-half receive 15*s.* or more a week, and about a fourth 9*s.*

It was not the parishes, however, but the contractors with the parishes, who paid the higher rates of wages: Mr. Dodd, for St. Luke's; Mr. Westley, for St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate; Mr. Parsons, for Whitechapel; Mr. Newman, for Bethnal-green, &c.

These wages the scavagers laid out in the following manner:—

For rent, per week.

1 paid 4*s.*
1 " 3*s.* 6*d.*
8 " 3*s.*
14 " 2*s.* 6*d.*
33 " 2*s.*
4 " 1*s.* 6*d.*
1 paid 1*s.* 3*d.*
2 " 1*s.*
1 lived rent free.
1 paid for board and lodging.
1 lived with mother.

Hence it would appear, that near upon half the number paid 2*s.* rent. The usual rent paid seems to be between 2*s.* and 3*s.*, five-sixths of the entire number paying one or other of those amounts. Only three lived in furnished lodgings, and the rents of these were, respectively, two at 2*s.* 6*d.* and the other at 2*s.*

For bread, per week.

1 expended 5*s.* 3*d.*
1 " 5*s.*
1 " 4*s.* 7*d.*
1 " 4*s.* 6*d.*
1 " 4*s.* 3*d.*
7 " 4*s.*
13 " 3*s.* 6*d.*
8 " 3*s.*
3 " 2*s.* 6*d.*
4 " 2*s.* 3*d.*
13 " 2*s.*
4 expended 1*s.* 6*d.*
1 " 1*s.* 9*d.*
4 two loaves a day from parish.
3 gave a certain sum per week to their wives or mothers to lay out for them, and 1 boarded and lodged.
1 was deaf and dumb.

Thus it would seem, that the general sum expended weekly on bread varies between 2*s.* and 4*s.* The average saving from free-trade, therefore, would be between 4*d.* and 8*d.*, or say 6*d.*, per week.

For meat, per week.

4 expended 4*s.*
5 " 3*s.* 6*d.*
11 " 3*s.*
12 " 2*s.* 6*d.*
1 " 2*s.* 4*d.*
5 " 2*s.*
4 " 1*s.* 6*d.*
1 " 1*s.* 2*d.*
9 " 1*s.*
2 " 10*d.*
2 " 6*d.*
1 expended 8*d.*
1 once a week.
4 had none.
5 no returns (3 of this number gave a weekly allowance to wives or mothers, 1 was deaf and dumb, and 1 paid for board and lodging).

By the above we see, that the sum usually expended on meat is between 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* per week, about one-third of the entire number expending that sum. All those who expended 1*s.* and less per week had 9*s.* and less for their week's labour. The average saving from the cheapening of provisions would here appear to be between 5*d.* and 6*d.* per week at the outside.

For tea and sugar, per week.

2 paid 2*s.* 6*d.*
1 " 2*s.* 4*d.*
1 " 2*s.* 3*d.*
19 " 2*s.*
2 " 1*s.* 9*d.*
4 " 1*s.* 8*d.*
12 " 1*s.* 6*d.*
5 " 1*s.* 4*d.*
5 paid 1*s.* 3*d.*
5 " 1*s.* 2*d.*
13 " 1*s.*
2 " 8*d.*
5 no returns: 1 deaf and dumb, 1 board and lodging, and 3 making allowances.

The sum usually expended on tea and sugar seems to be between 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* per week.

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For fish, per week.

3 expended 1*s*.
5 „ 8*d*.
23 „ 6*d*.
8 „ 4*d*.
28 „ nothing.
4 allowed so much per week to wives, or mother, or landlady.
1 deaf and dumb.

Hence one-third spent 6*d*. weekly in fish, and one-third nothing.

For bacon, per week.

1 expended 1*s*.
2 „ 10*d*.
1 „ 9*d*.
5 „ 8*d*.
9 „ 6*d*.
1 expended 4*d*.
43 „ nothing.
4 allowances to wives, &c.
1 deaf and dumb.

The majority (two-thirds), therefore, do not have bacon. Of those that do eat bacon, the usual sum spent weekly is 6*d*. or 8*d*.

For butter, per week.

1 expended 1*s*. 8*d*.
24 „ 1*s*.
11 „ 10*d*.
12 „ 8*d*.
11 „ 6*d*.
1 expended 3*d*.
2 „ nothing.
4 made allowances.
1 deaf and dumb.

Thus one-third expended 1*s*., and about one-sixth spent 10*d*.; another sixth, 8*d*.; and another sixth, 6*d*. a week, for butter.

For potatoes, per week.

1 spent 1*s*.
2 „ 10*d*.
6 „ 8*d*.
1 „ 7*d*.
18 „ 6*d*.
6 spent 4*d*.
28 spent nothing.
4 made allowances.
1 deaf and dumb.

About one-fourth spent 6*d*.; the greater proportion, however (nearly one-half), expended nothing upon potatoes weekly.

For clothes, yearly.

2 expended 2*l*.
2 „ 1*l*. 10*s*.
2 „ 1*l*. 5*s*.
3 „ 1*l*.
1 „ 18*s*.
1 „ 17*s*.
1 „ 15*s*.
4 „ 12*s*.
1 „ 10*s*.
34 couldn't say.
1 had 2 pairs of boots a year, but no clothes.
2 expended "not much."
2 got them as they could.
1 expended a few shillings.
1 said it "all depends."
2 returned "nothing."
1 was deaf and dumb.
6 made no return.

Hence 43 out of 67, or nearly two-thirds, spent little or nothing upon their clothes.

Had they a change of dress?

28 had a change of dress.
38 had not.
1 was deaf and dumb.

Above one-half, therefore, had no other clothes but those they worked in.

Had they any Sunday clothing?

20 had some.
45 had none.
21 made no return.
1 deaf and dumb.

More than two-thirds, then, had no Sunday clothes.

How many shirts had they?

10 had 3 shirts.
54 „ 2 „
2 had 1 shirt.
1 was deaf and dumb.

The greater number, therefore, had two shirts.

How many shoes had they?

27 had 2 pairs.
39 „ 1 „
1 was deaf and dumb.

Thus the majority had only one pair of shoes.

How much did they spend in drink?

1 expended 2*s*. a week.
1 „ 1*s*. or 2*s*. „
2 „ 1*s*. 6*d*. „
4 „ 1*s*. „
1 „ 6*d*. „
1 „ 3*d*. or 5*d*. „
7 said they "couldn't say."
1 said he "wouldn't say."
1 said "that all depends."
2 said they "had none to spend."
2 expended nothing.
44 gave no return (1 deaf and dumb).

Hence answers were given by one-third, of whom the greatest number "couldn't say." (?) Of the ten who acknowledged spending anything upon drink, the greater number, or 4, said they spent 1*s*. a week only. But?

Did they save any money?

36 answered no.
31 gave no reply (1 being deaf and dumb).

What did they in case of illness coming upon themselves or families?

28 went to the dispensary
8 went to the hospital.
6 „ parish doctor.
3 wives went to the lying-in hospital.
1 went to the workhouse.
2 said "nothing."
1 "never troubled any."
8 made no reply (1 being deaf and dumb).

The greater number, then, go, when ill, to the dispensary.

Were they in receipt of alms?

56 answered no.
2 „ sometimes.
3 „ yes.
6 made no returns (1 being deaf and dumb).

Did the passers-by give them anything?

49 answered no.
2 „ sometimes beer.
1 answered never.
2 „ seldom.
1 answered very seldom.
12 no returns (1 being deaf and dumb).

Did they receive any relief from their parishes?

56 replied no.
4 had 2 loaves and 1*s*. a day as wages.
1 had 4 loaves a week.
1 „ a 4-lbs. loaf.
1 had 15 lbs. of bread.
2 answered "not at present."
2 made no returns.

Thus the greater proportion (five-sixths), it will be seen, had no relief; two of those who had relief received 9*s*. wages a week, and two others only 7*s*., while four received part of their wages from the parish in bread.

These analyses are not merely the characteristics of the applicant or existent street-orderlies; they are really the annals of the poor in all that relates to their domestic management in regard to meat and clothes, the care of their children, their church-going, education, previous callings, and parish relief. The inquiry is not discouraging as to the character of the poor, and I must call attention to the circumstance of how rarely it is

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that so large a collection of facts is placed at the command of a public writer. In many of the public offices the simplest information is as jealously withheld as if statistical knowledge were the first and last steps to high treason. I trust that Mr. Cochrane's example in the skilful arrangement of the returns connected with the Association over which he presides, and his courteous readiness to supply the information, gained at no small care and cost, will be more freely followed, as such a course unquestionably tends to the public benefit.

It will be seen from these statements, how hard the struggle often is to obtain work in unskilled labour, and, when obtained, how bare the living. Every farthing earned by such workpeople is necessarily expended in the support of a family; and in the foregoing details we have another proof as to the diminution of the purchasing fund of the country, being in direct proportion to the diminution of the wages. If 100 men receive but 7*s.* a week each for their work, their yearly outlay, to "keep the bare life in them," is 1820*l.* If they are paid 16*s.* a week, their outlay is 4160*l.*; an expenditure of 2340*l.* more in the productions of our manufactures, in all textile, metal, or wooden fabrics; in bread, meat, fruit, or vegetables; and in the now necessaries, the grand staple of our foreign and colonial trade—tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, rice, and tobacco. *Increase your wages, therefore, and you increase your markets.* For manufacturers to underpay their workmen is to cripple the demand for manufactures. To talk of the over-production of our cotton, linen, and woollen goods is idle, when thousands of men engaged in such productions are in rags. It is not that there are too many makers, but too few who, owing to the decrease of wages, are able to be buyers. Let it be remembered that, out of 67 labouring men, three-fourths could not afford to buy proper clothing, expending thereupon "little" or "nothing," and, I may add, *because* earning little or nothing, and so having scarcely anything to expend.

I now come to *the cost of cleansing the streets upon the street-orderly system*, as compared with that of the ordinary modes of payment to contractors, &c. It will have been observed, from what has been previously stated, that the Council of the Association contend that far higher amounts may be realized for street manure when collected clean, according to the street-orderly plan. If, by a better mode of collecting the street dirt, it be kept unmixed, its increase in value and in price may be most positively affirmed.

Before presenting estimates and calculations of cost, I may remind the reader; that under the street-orderly system no watering carts are required, and none are used where the system is carried out in its integrity. To be able to dispense with the watering of the streets is not merely to get rid of a great nuisance, but to effect a considerable saving in the rates.

I now give two estimates, both relating to the same district:—

Comparative Expense of Cleaning and Watering the Streets, &c., of St. James's Parish; under the system now in operation by the Paving Board, and under the sanitary system of employing street-orderlies, as recommended by 779 ratepayers. It is assumed, from reasonable data, that the superficial contents of all the streets, lanes, courts, and alleys in the parish, do not amount to more than 80,000 square yards.

"*Present Annual Expense of Cleansing St. James's Parish:—*

	£	s.	d.
Paid to contractor for carrying away slop, including expense of brooms	£800	0	0
Paid to 23 men, average wages, 10*s.* per week, 52 weeks	598	0	0
	£1398	0	0

"*Annual Expense of Street-Orderly System:—*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
30 men (including those with hand-barrows), at 10*s.* per week, 52 weeks	£780	0	0			
Expense of brooms	30	0	0			
Cartage of slop	100	0	0			
				£910	0	0
				£488	0	0
Saving by diminished expense of street-watering throughout the parish				450	0	0
Annual prospective saving				£930	0	0

"Obs.—The sum of 800*l.* per annum was paid to the contractor on account of expenses incurred for the removal of slop. During the three years previous to 1849, the contractor paid money to the parish for permission to remove the house-ashes, the value of which was then 2*s.* per load; it is now 2*s.* 6*d.* In St. Giles's and St. George's parishes, whose surface is more than twice the extent of St. James's, the expense of slop-cartage, in 1850, was 304*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*, whilst the sum received for cattle-manure collected by street-orderlies, was 73*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*; and the slop-expenses for the four months ending November 29, were 59*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, whilst the manure sold for 21*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* Thus has the slop-expense in these extensive united parishes been reduced to less than 120*l.* per annum. Since the preceding estimate was submitted to the Commissioners of Paving, the street-orderly system has been introduced into St. James's parish; and it is confidently expected that the 'Annual Prospective saving' of 938*l.*, will be fully realised."

A similar estimate has just been sent into the authorities of the great parish of St. Marylebone, but its results do not differ from the one I have just cited.

I next present an estimate contrasting the expense of the street-orderly method with the cost of employing sweeping-machines:—

"Comparative Expense of Cleansing and Watering the Streets, &c., of St. Martin's Parish, under the system now in operation by the Paving Board, and under the sanatory system of employing street-orderlies, as recommended by 703 ratepayers. It is assumed, from reasonable data, that the superficial contents of all the streets, lanes, courts, and alleys in the parish, amount to about 70,000 square yards.

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"*Expenses by Machinery in St. Martin's Parish.*

	£	s.	d
Annual payment to street-machine proprietor..........	980	0	0
Watering rate (1847)	644	16	8½
Salaries to clerks	391	0	0
Support of 28 able-bodied men in workhouse, thrown out of work, at 4*s*. 6*d*. per man	327	12	0
	£2343	8	8½

"*Expenditure by the Employment of Street-Orderlies.*

	£	s.	d.
Maintenance of 28 street-orderlies to keep clean 70,000 yards (presumed contents), at 2500 yards each man, at 12*s*. per week	768	0	0
Two inspectors of orderlies, at 15*s*. per week........	78	0	0
One superintendent of ditto, at 1*l*. per week....	52	0	0
Wear and tear of brooms ..	36	8	0
Interest on outlay for barrows, brooms, and shovels..	26	19	0
Watering rate (not required)	..	..	..
Value of manure pays for cartage......	..	..	..
	961	7	0
Annual saving by street-orderlies......	1382	1	8½
	2343	8	8½

I now give an estimate concerning a smaller district, *one of the divisions of St. Pancras parish.* It was embodied in a Report read at a meeting in Camden-town, on the desirableness of introducing the street-orderly system:—

The Report set forth that the Committee had "made a minute investigation into the present systems of street-cleansing, as adopted under the superintendence of Mr. Bird, the parish surveyor, and under that of the National Philanthropic Association.

"From the 26th of March, 1848, to the 26th of March, 1849, the *Directors of the Poor expended in paving and cleansing, &c., the three and a quarter miles under their charge*, 3545*l*. 19*s*. 7*d*.; of this the following items were for cleansing, viz.—

	£	s.	d.
Labour	249	13	0
Tools	10	12	0
Slop carting....	496	0	0
Proportion of foreman's salary..........	39	0	0
	795	5	0

"*The street-orderly system of cleansing* the said roads in the most efficient manner would give the following expenditure per annum:—

	£	s.	d.
Thirty-four men to cleanse 3¼ miles, at the rate of 2000 superficial yards each man, 12*s*. per week each	1060	16	0
Two inspectors of orderlies, at 15*s*. per week each..........	78	0	0
Superintendent	104	0	0
Cost of brooms, shovels, &c...	83	0	0
No allowance for slop-carting, the National Philanthropic Association holding that the manure, properly collected, will more than pay for its removal	..	..	..
	1325	16	0
Deduct cost of cleansing by the old mode	795	5	0
	530	11	0

"The apparent extra cost, therefore, would be 530*l*. 11*s*. The vestry, however, would see that the charge for supporting 34 able-bodied men in the workhouse is at least 5*s*. per week each, or 442*l*. per annum. This, therefore, must be deducted from the 530*l*. 11*s*., leaving the extra cost 88*l*. 11*s*. per annum. This sum, the committee were assured, will be not only repaid by the reduced outlay for repairs, which the new system will effect; but a very great saving will be the result of the thorough cleansed state in which the roads will be constantly maintained. Under the late system, to find the roads in a cleansed state was the exception, not the rule; and when all the advantages likely to result from the new system were taken into consideration, the committee did not hesitate to recommend it for adoption in its most efficient form."

Concerning the *expense of cleansing the City by the street-orderly system*, Mr. Cochrane says:—

"The number required for the whole surface (including the footways, courts, &c.) would be about 250 men and boys.

"Upon the present system this number would be formed in three divisions:—

"First division.—170 to begin work at 6 a.m., and end 6 p.m. Second division, called relief and aids.—30 boys boys from 12 at noon to 10. Third division.—50 men from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. Total, 250.

"The men and boys are now working at from 6*s*. to 12*s*. per week.

These 250 men and boys would cost for wages during the year about........	£5100
Twelve foremen, at 40*l*. per annum....	480
Two superintendents at 50*l*. each........	100
Brooms, &c........	325
Barrows............	100
Two clerks, at 100*l*. each..............	200
Manager...........	100
	£6405

"No items are given for slopping or cartage, as, if the streets are properly attended to, there ought to be no slop, whilst the value of the manure may be more than equivalent for the expense of its removal.

"Some slop-carts will, however, be occasionally required for Smithfield-market and similar localities; making, therefore, ample allowance for contingencies, it is confidently considered that the expense for cleansing the whole of the city of London by street-orderlies would not exceed 8000*l*. per annum."

"*Expenses of Cleansing and Watering the Streets, &c., of the City of London, on the old system of Scavaging, from June, 1845, to June,* 1846.

	Annual Expense.
To scavaging contractors	£6040
Value of ashes and dust of the city of London, given gratis to the above contractors in the year ending 1846, and now purchased by them for the year ending 1847	5500
Estimated contributions levied for watering streets..........	4000
Salaries to surveyors, inspectors, beadles, clerks, &c., of Sewers' Office, according to printed account, March 3, 1846............	2485
Expense for cleaning out sewers and gully-holes (not known)	
Annual expense under the imperfect system of street-cleansing.	£18,025

"Number of men employed, 58.

"State of the Streets:—Inhabitants always complaining of their being muddy in winter and dusty in summer."

Two estimates, then, show an expectation of a yearly saving of no less than 2320*l*. to the rate-payers of two parishes alone; 938*l*. to St. James's, and 1382*l*. to St. Martin's. And this, too, if all that be augured of this system be realized, with a freedom from street dust and dirt unknown under other methods of scavagery. I think it right,

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however, to express my opinion that even in the reasonable prospect of these great savings being effected, it is a paltry, or rather a false, because miscalled, economy to speculate on the payment of 10*s.* and 12*s.* a week to street-labourers in the parishes of St. James and St. Martin respectively, when so many of the contractors pay their men 16*s.* weekly. If this low hire be justifiable in the way of an experiment, it can never be justifiable as a continuance of the *reward* of labour.

If the street-orderly system is to be the means of *permanently* reducing the wages of the regular scavagers from 16*s.* to 12*s.* a week, then we had better remain afflicted with the physical dirt of our streets, than the moral filth which is sure to proceed from the poverty of our people—but if it is to be a means of elevating the pauper to the dignity of the independent labour, rather than dragging the independent labourer down to the debasement of the pauper, then let all who wish well to their fellows encourage it as heartily and strenuously as they can—otherwise the sooner it is denounced as an insidious mode of defrauding the poor of one-fourth of their earnings the better; and it is merely in the belief that Mr. Cochrane and the Council of the Association *mean* to keep faith with the public and increase the men's wages to those of the regular trade, that the street-orderly system is advocated here. If our philanthropists are to reduce wages 25 per cent., then, indeed, the poor man may cry, "*save me from my friends.*"

As to the positive and definite working of the street-orderly system as an *economical* system, no information can be given beyond the estimates I have cited, as it has never been duly tested on a sufficiently large scale. Its working has been, of necessity, desultory. It has, however, been introduced into St. George's, Bloomsbury; St. James's, Westminster; and is about to be established in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; and in the course of a year or two it seems that it will be sufficiently tested. That its working has hitherto been desultory is a necessity in London, where "vested interests" look grimly on any change or even any inquiry. That it deserves a full and liberal testing seems undeniable, from the concurrent assent of all parishioners who have turned their attention to it.

It remains to show the expenses of the Philanthropic Association, for I am unable to present an account of street-orderlyism separately. The two following tables fully indicate to what an extent the association is indebted to the private purse of Mr. Cochrane, who by this time has advanced between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.*

"BALANCE SHEET.

Receipts and Expenditure of the National Philanthropic Association, for the Promotion of Social and Sanatory Improvements and the Employment of the Poor, from 29th September, 1846, to 29th September, 1849.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
To subscriptions and donations from the 29th September, 1846, to 29th September, 1849	1393	16	7
Balance due to president, 29th September, 1849....	5739	19	9
	7133	16	4

Cr.	£	s.	d.
By balance due to president, as per Balance Sheet, Sept. 29, 1846	2935	17	9
Secretary's salary	300	0	0
Rent of offices, &c...........	248	10	0
Salaries to clerks, messengers, &c..	371	19	4
Do. to collectors	312	18	1
Commission to do.	130	5	6
Printing and stationery ..	556	17	0
Hire of rooms for public meetings	60	10	0
Advertisements and newspapers	244	5	3
Bill posting....	8	12	6
Salaries to persons in charge of free lavatories in Ham-yard, Great Windmill-st., St. James's ..	10	18	2
Brooms, barrows, and shovels, for the use of street-orderlies	86	8	0
Charges of contractors and others for removal of street slop, &c...........	58	9	6
Food, lodging, and wages to street-orderlies, domiciled in Ham-yard, Great Windmill-street, St. James's......	980	11	4
Clothing for the street-orderlies	13	3	2
Baths provided for do.	5	15	10
Sundry expenses for offices, including postage-stamps, &c...	92	7	11
Law expenses..	8	10	10
Builder's charges for free lavatories in Ham-yard	95	13	10
Amount advanced to the late secretary for improving the dwellings of the poor ..	20	0	0
Farther advances made by president on various occasions for the general purposes of the Association	592	2	4
	7133	16	4

Audited by us, Oct. 19th, 1849, Charles Shepherd Lenton, 33, Leicester-square; and Joseph Child, 43, Leicester-square."

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Street-Orderlies.—City Surveyor's Report.

I have been favoured with a Report "upon street-cleansing and in reference to the Street-Orderly System," by the author, Mr. W. Haywood, the Surveyor to the City Commission of Sewers, who has invited my attention to the matter, in consequence of the statements which have appeared on the subject in "London Labour and the London Poor."

Mr. Haywood, whose tone of argument is courteous and moderate, and who does not scruple to do justice to what he accounts the good points of the street-orderly system, although he condemns it as a whole, gives an account of the earlier scavaging of the city, not differing in any material respect from that which I have already printed. He represents the public ways of the City, which I have stated to be about 50 miles, as "about 51 miles lineal, about 770,157 superficial yards in area." This area, it appears, comprehends 1000 different places.

In 1845 the area of the carriage-way of the City was estimated at 418,000 square yards, and the footway at 316,000, making a total of 734,000; but since that period new streets have been made and others extensively widened. The precincts of Bridewell, St. Bartholomew, St. James's, Duke's-place, Aldgate, and others, have been added to the jurisdiction of the Sewers Commission by Act of Parliament, so that the Surveyor now estimates the area of the carriage-way of the City of London at 441,250 square yards, and the footway at 328,907, making a total of 770,157 square yards.

"I am fully impressed," observes Mr. Haywood, "with the great importance to a densely-populated city of an efficient cleansing of the public ways. Probably after a perfect system of sewage and drainage (which implies an adequate water supply), and a well-paved surface (which I have always considered to be little inferior in its importance to the former, and which is indispensable to obtaining clean sweeping), good surface cleansing ranks next in its beneficial sanitary influence; and most certainly the comfort gained by all through having public thoroughfares in a high degree of cleanliness is exceedingly great."

Mr. Haywood expresses his opinion that streets "ordure soddened"—smelling like "stable yards,"—dangerous to the health of the inhabitants—impassable from mud in winter and from dust in summer—and inflicting constant pecuniary loss, "can only exist in an appreciable degree in thoroughfares swept much less frequently" than the streets within the jurisdiction of the City Commissioners of Sewers. In this opinion, however, Mr. Haywood comes into direct collision with the statements put forth by the Board of Health, who have insisted upon the insanitary state of the metropolitan streets, more strongly, perhaps, in their several Reports, than has Mr. Cochrane.

But Mr. Haywood believes that not only are the assertions of the Board of Health as to the unwholesome state of the metropolitan thoroughfares unfounded as regards the city of London, but he asserts that from the daily street-sweeping, "the surface there is maintained in as high an average condition of cleanliness, as the means hitherto adopted will enable to be attained."

"Nor does this apply," says Mr. Haywood, "to the main thoroughfares only. In the poorer courts and alleys within the city, where a high degree of cleanliness is, at least, as needful, in a sanitary point of view, as in the larger and wider thoroughfares, the facilities for efficient sweeping are as great, if not greater, than in other portions of your jurisdiction. For many years past the whole of the courts and alleys which carts do not enter, have been paved with flagstone, laid at a good inclination, and presenting an uniform smooth *non-absorbent* surface: in many of these courts where the habits of the people are cleanly, the scavenger's broom is almost unneeded for weeks together; in others, where the habit prevails of throwing the refuse of the houses upon the pavements, the daily sweeping is highly essential; but in all these courts the surface presents a condition which renders good clean sweeping a comparatively easy operation, that which is swept away being mostly dry, or nearly so."

After alluding to the street-orderly principle of scavaging, "to clean and keep clean," Mr. Haywood observes, "between the '*street-orderly system*' and the periodical or intermittent sweeping there is this difference, that upon the former system there should be (if it fulfils what it professes) no deposit of any description allowed to remain much longer than a few minutes upon the surface, and that there should be neither mud in the wet weather, nor dust in the dry weather, upon the public ways; whilst, upon the latter system, the deposit necessarily accumulates between the periods of sweeping, commencing as soon as one sweeping has terminated, gradually increasing, and being at its point of extreme accumulation at the period when the next sweeping takes place: the former, then, is, or should be, a system of prevention; the latter, confessedly, but a system of palliation or cure.

"The more frequent the periodical sweeping, therefore, the nearer it approximates in its results to the '*street-orderly system*,' inasmuch as the accumulations, being frequently removed, must be smaller, and the evils of mud, dust, effluvia, &c., less in proportion.

"Now to fulfil its promise: upon the 'street-orderly system,' there should be men both day and night within the streets, who should constantly remove the manure and refuse, and, failing this, if there be only cessation for six hours out of the twenty-four of the 'continuous cleansing,' it becomes at once a periodical cleansing but a degree in advance of the daily sweeping, which has been now for years in operation within the city of London."

This appears to me to be an extreme conclusion:—because the labours of the street-orderly system cease when the great traffic ceases, and when, of course, there is comparatively little or no dirt

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deposited in the thoroughfares, therefore, says Mr. Haywood, "the City system of cleansing once per day is *only a degree* behind that system of which the principle is incessant cleansing at such time as the dirtying is incessant." The two principles are surely as different as light and darkness:—in the one the cleansing is intermittent and the dirt constant; in the other the dirt is intermittent and the cleanliness constant—constant, at least, so long as the causes of impurity are so.

Mr. Haywood, however, states that the Commissioners were so pleased with the appearance of the streets, when cleansed on the street-orderly system, which "was *certainly much to be admired*," that they introduced a somewhat similar system, calling their scavngers "daymen," as they had the care of *keeping* the streets clean, *after* a daily morning sweeping by the contractor's men. They commenced their work at 9 A.M. and ceased at 6 P.M. in the summer months, and at half-past 4 P.M. in the winter. In the summer months 36 daymen were employed on the average; in the winter months, 46. The highest number of scavaging daymen employed on any one day was 63; the lowest was 34. The area cleansed was about 47,000 yards (superficial measure), and with the following results, and the following cost, from June 24, 1846, to the same date, 1847:—

	Yards Superficial.
The average area cleansed during the summer months, per man per diem, was	1298
Ditto during winter, per man per diem, was	1016
The average of both summer and winter months was, per man per diem	1139

The cost of the experiment was for daymen (including brooms, barrows, shovels, cartage, &c.* .	£1450	18
One Foreman at	78	0
And the total cost of the experiment .	£1528	18

"The daily sweeping," Mr. Haywood says, "which for the previous two years had been established throughout the City, gave at that time *very great satisfaction*. It was quite true that the streets which the daymen attended to, *looked superior* to those cleansed only *periodically*, but the practical value of the difference was considered by many not to be worth the sum of money paid for it. It was also felt that, if it was continued, it should upon principle be extended at least to all streets of similar traffic to those upon which it had been tried; and as, after due consideration, the Commission thought that one daily sweeping was sufficient, both for health and comfort, the day or continuous sweeping was abandoned, and the whole City only received, from that time to the present, the usual daily sweeping."

The "present" time is shown by the date of Mr. Haywood's Report, October 13, 1851. The reason assigned for the abandonment of the system of the daymen is peculiar and characteristic. The system of continuous cleansing gave very great satisfaction, although it was but a degree in advance of the once-a-day cleansing. The streets which the daymen attended to "looked," and of course were, "superior" in cleanliness to those scavaged periodically. It was also felt that the principle should "be extended at least to all streets of similar traffic;" and why was it not so extended? Because, in a word, "it was not worth the money;" though by what standard the value of public cleanliness was calculated, is not mentioned.

* The wages paid are not stated.

The main question, therefore, is, what is the difference in the cost of the two systems, and *is* the admitted "superior cleanliness" produced by the continuous mode of scavaging, in comparison with that obtained by the intermittent mode, of sufficient public value to warrant the increased expense (if any)—in a word, as the City people say—is it *worth the money?*

First, as to the comparative cost of the two systems: after a statement of the contracts for the dusting and cleansing of the City (matters I have before treated of) Mr. Haywood, for the purpose of making a comparison of the present City system of scavaging with the street-orderly system, gives the table in the opposite page to show the cost of street cleansing and dusting within the jurisdiction of the City Court of Sewers.

Mr. Haywood then invites attention to the subjoined statement of the National Philanthropic Association, on the occurrence of a demonstration as to the efficiency and economy of the street-orderly system.

"Association for the Promotion of Street Paving, Cleansing, Draining, &c., 20, Vere Street, Oxford Street, January 26th, 1846.

"Approximation to the total Expenses connected with cleansing, as an experiment, certain parts of the City of London, commencing December, 1845, for the period of two months.

	£.	s.	d.
"350 brooms, being an average of 5 brooms for each man	25	18	10
For carting	99	1	9
For advertising	65	0	0
For rent of store-room, 3*l*. 14*s*.; Clerks' salaries, 12*l*.; Messengers, 5*l*. 5*s*.; wooden clogs for men, 2*l*. 5*s*. 10*d*.; expenses of washing wood pavement, 5*l*.	28	4	10
Expenses of barrows	24	14	0
Christmas dinner to men, foremen, and superintendents (97)	15	12	6
83 men (averaging at 2*s*. 6*d*. per day) for 9 weeks	573	15	0
4 superintendents at 25*s*. 4*d*., foreman at 18*s*., cart foreman 20*s*., storekeeper 18*s*., chief superintendents 2*l*., for 9 weeks ..	112	10	0
For various small articles, brushes, rakes, &c.	36	7	8
Petty expenses of the office, postages, &c., and stationery	6	0	0
Approximation to the total cost of the expense	£987	4	7

Signed, M. DAVIES, Secretary."

"I will now," says Mr. Haywood, "without further present reference to the Report of the Association, proceed to form an estimate of the expenses of the system as they would have been if it had been extended to the whole City, and which estimate will be based upon the informa-

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TABLE SHOWING THE COST OF STREET CLEANSING AND DUSTING WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE CITY COURT OF SEWERS.

Date.	Mode of Contracting, whether Contracts for Dusting and Scavenging were let separately or together.	Leading or Principal feature in the Regulations for the Dusting and Cleansing.	Sum paid for Scavenging and Dusting, or for Scavenging only during the year.	Sum received by Commission for Sale of Dust when the Contracts were let separately.	Total Disbursements by the Commission for Scavenging and Dusting.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Year ending Michaelmas, 1841	separately	Main streets of largest traffic running east and west cleansed *daily*, other principal streets *every other day*, the whole of the remainder of the public ways *twice* a week; dust to be removed at least *twice* a week.	4590 6 0	Amounts paid and received are balanced	4590 6 0
„ 1842	separately		3633 17 0		3633 17 0
„ 1843	together		2084 4 6		2084 4 6
		Average per Annum for 3 Years.			3436 2 6
„ 1844	separately	Main line of streets cleansed *daily*, other principal streets *every other day*, and all other place *twice* in every week; dust to be removed at least *twice* a week.	3826 12 6	Amounts paid and received are balanced	3826 12 6
„ 1845	separately		2033 2 0		2833 2 0
		Average per Annum of the 2 Years			3329 17 3
„ 1846	separately	*Daily cleansing* throughout every public way of every description; dust to be removed twice a week.	6034 6 0	1354 5 0	4680 1 0
„ 1847	separately		8014 2 0	4455 5 0	3558 17 0
„ 1848	separately		7226 1 6	1328 15 0	5897 6 6
„ 1849	together		7486 11 6		7486 11 6
„ 1850	together		6779 16 0		6779 16 0
„ 1851	together		6328 17 0		6328 17 0
		Average per Annum of the last 6 Years			5788 11 6

NOTE.—From 24th June, 1846, to 24th June, 1847, the Commission made their own experiment upon the Street-Orderly System—the expenses of such experiment are included in the above amounts. In 1849 the area of the jurisdiction of the Commission was increased by the addition of various precincts under the City of London Sewers' Act.

tion as to the expenses of the system, furnished by the experiment or demonstration made by the Association within your jurisdiction.

"The total cost of the experiment was £987 4*s.* 7*d.*, and, deducting the charges under the head of advertising, Christmas dinner, and petty cash expenses, and also that for office-rent, clerks, messengers, &c., and assigning £50 as the value of the implements at that time for future use, there is left a balance of £822 7*s.* 3*d.* as the clear cost of the experiment.

"The experiment was tried for a period of eight weeks exactly, according to the return made to the Commission by the Superintendent of the Association, but as in the statement of expenses the wages appear to be included for a period of nine weeks, I have assumed nine weeks as the correct figure, and the experiment must therefore have cost a sum of £822 7*s.* 3*d.* for that period, or at the rate of about £91 per week.

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	Squ. Yards
"Now the total area of the carriage-way of the City of London was at that time	418,000
"And the area of the foot-way . .	316,000
"Making a total of	734,000
"And the area of the carriage-way cleaned by the street-orderlies was	30,670
"And the area of the foot-way . .	18,590
"Making a total of	49,260

"The total area of foot-way and carriage-way cleansed was therefore 1-15th of the whole of the carriage-way and foot-way of the City; or, taken separately, the carriage-way cleansed was somewhat more than 1-14th of the whole of the City carriage-way.

"It has been seen also that the total cost of cleansing this 1-14th portion of the carriage-way, after deducting all extraneous expenses, was at the rate per week of £91
Or at the rate, per annum, of £4732

"To assign an expenditure in the same proportion for the remaining 13-14ths of the whole carriage-way area of the City would not be just, for, in the first place, allowance must be made, owing to the dirt brought off from the adjacent streets, which, it is assumed, would not have been the case had they also been cleansed upon the street-orderly system; and moreover, as the majority of the streets cleansed were those of large traffic, a larger proportion of labour was needed to them than would have been the case had the experiment been upon any equal area of carriage-way, taken from a district comprehending streets of all sizes and degrees of traffic; but if I assume that the 1-14th portion of the City cleansed represents 1-11th of the whole in the labour needed for cleansing the whole of the City upon the same system, I believe I shall have made a very fair deduction, and shall, if anything, err in favour of the experiment.

"Estimating, therefore, the expense of cleansing the whole of the City carriage-way upon the street-orderly system according to the expenses of the experiment made in 1845-6, and from the data then furnished, it appears that cleansing upon such system would have come to an annual sum of 52,052*l.*

"It will be seen that there is a remarkable difference between this estimate of 52,052*l.* per annum and that of 18,000*l.* per annum estimated by the Association, and given in their Report of the 26th January, 1846; and what is more remarkable is, that my estimate is framed not upon any assumption of my own, but is a dry calculation based upon the very figures of expense furnished by the Association itself, and hereinbefore recited."

A second demonstration, carried on in the City by the street-orderlies, is detailed by Mr. Haywood, but as he draws the same conclusions from it, there is no necessity to do other than allude to it here.

According to the above estimate, it certainly must be admitted that the difference between the two accounts is, as Mr. Haywood says, "remarkable"—the one being nearly three times more than the other. But let us, for fairness' sake, test the cost of cleansing the City thoroughfares upon the continuous plan of scavaging by the figures given in Mr. Haywood's own report, and see whether the above conclusion is warranted by the facts there stated. From June, 1846, to June, 1847, we have seen that several of the main streets in the City were cleansed continuously throughout the day by what were called "daymen"—that is to say, 47,000 superficial yards of the principal thoroughfares were *kept* clean (*after* the daily cleansing of them by the contractor's men) by a body of men similar in their mode of operation to the street-orderlies, and who removed all the dirt as soon as deposited between the hours of the principal traffic. The cost of this experiment (for such it seems to have been) was, for the twelve months, as we have seen, 1528*l.* 18*s.* Now if the expense of cleansing 47,000 superficial yards upon the continuous method was 1529*l.*, then, according to Cocker, 770,157 yards (the total area of the public ways of the City) would cost 25,054*l.*; and, adding to this 6328*l.* for the sum paid to the contractors for the daily scavaging, we have only 31,382*l.* for the gross expense of cleansing the whole of the City thoroughfares once a day by the "regular scavagers," and *keeping* them clean *afterwards* by a body similar to the street-orderlies—a difference of upwards of 20,000*l.* between the facts and figures of the City Surveyor.

It would appear to me, therefore, that Mr. Haywood has erred, in estimating the probable expense of the street-orderly system of scavaging applied to the City at 52,000*l.* per annum, for, by his own showing, it actually cost the authorities for the one year when it was tried there, only 1529*l.* for 47,000 superficial yards, at which rate 770,000 yards could not cost more than 31,500*l.*, and this, even allowing that the same amount of labour would be required for the continuous cleansing of the minor thoroughfares as was needed for the principal ones. That the error is an oversight on the part of the City Surveyor, the whole tone of his Report is sufficient to assure us, for it is at once moderate and candid.

It must, on the other hand, be admitted, that Mr. Haywood is perfectly correct as to the difference between the cost of the "demonstration" of the street-orderly system of cleansing in the City, and the estimated cost of that mode of scavaging when brought into regular operation there; this, however, the year's experience of the City "day-men" shows, could not possibly exceed 32,000*l.*, and might and probably would be much less, when we take into account the smaller quantity of labour required for the minor thoroughfares—the extra value of the street manure when collected free from mud—the saving in the expense of watering the streets (this not being required under the orderly system)—and the abolition of the daily scavaging, which is included in the sum above cited, but

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which would be no longer needed were the orderlies employed, such work being performed by them at the commencement of their day's labours; so that I am disposed to believe, all things considered, that somewhere about 20,000*l*. per annum might be the gross expense of continuously cleansing the City. Mr. Cochrane estimates it at 18,000*l*. But whether the admitted superior cleanliness of the streets, and the employment of an extra number of people, will be held by the citizens to be worth the extra money, it is not for me to say. If, however, the increased cleanliness effected by the street-orderlies is to be brought about by a decrease of the wages of the regular scavagers from 16*s*. to 12*s*. a week, which is the amount upon which Mr. Cochrane forms his estimate, then I do not hesitate to say the City authorities will be gainers, in the matter of poor-rates at least, by an adherence to the present method of scavaging, paying as they do the best wages, and indeed affording an illustrious example to all the metropolitan parishes, in refusing to grant contracts to any master scavagers but such as consent to deal fairly with the men in their employ. And I do hope and trust, for the sake of the working-men, the City Commissioners of Sewers will, should they decide upon having the City cleansed *continuously*, make the same requirement of Mr. Cochrane, before they allow his street-orderlies to displace the regular scavagers at present employed there.

Benefits to the community, gained at the expense of "the people," are really great evils. The street-orderly system is a good one when applied to parishes employing paupers and paying them 1*s*. 1½*d*. and a loaf per day, or even nothing, except their food, for their labour. Here it elevates paupers into independent labourers; but, applied to those localities where the highest wages are paid, and there is the greatest regard shown for the welfare of the workmen, it is merely a scurf-system of degrading the independent labourers to the level of paupers, by reducing the wages of the regular scavagers from 16*s*. to 12*s*. per week. The avowed object of the street-orderly system is to provide employment for able-bodied men, and so to *prevent* them becoming a *burthen to the parish*. But is not a reduction of the scavager's wages to the extent of 25 per cent. a week, more likely to *encourage* than to *prevent* such a result? This is the weak point of the orderly system, and one which gentlemen calling themselves *philanthropists* should really blush to be parties to.

After all, the opinion to which I am led is this—the street-orderly system is incomparably the best mode of scavaging, and the payment of the men by "*honourable*" masters the best mode of employing the scavagers. The evils of the scavaging trade appear to me to spring chiefly from the parsimony of the parish authorities—either employing their own paupers without adequate remuneration, or else paying such prices to the contractors as almost necessitates the under-payment of the men in their employ. Were I to fill a volume, this is all that could be said on the matter.

Of the "Jet and Hose" System of Scavaging.

There appears at the present time a bent in the public mind for an improved system of scavagery. Until the ravages of the cholera in 1832, and again in 1848, roused the attention of Government and of the country, men seemed satisfied to dwell in dirty streets, and to congratulate themselves that the public ways were dirtier in the days of their fathers; a feeling or a spirit which has no doubt existed in all cities, from the days of those original scavagers, the vultures and hyenas of Africa and the East, the adjutants of Calcutta, and the hawks—the common glades or kites of this country—and which, we are told, in the days of Henry VIII. used to fly down among the passengers to remove the offal of the butchers and poulterers' stalls in the metropolitan markets, and in consideration of which services it was forbidden to kill them—down to the mechanical sweeping of the streets of London, and even to Mr. Cochrane's excellent street-orderlies.

Besides the plan suggested by Mr. Cochrane, whose orderlies cleanse the streets without wetting, and consequently without dirtying, the surface by the use of the watering-cart, there is the opposite method proposed by Mr. Lee, of Sheffield, and other gentlemen, who recommend street-cleansing by the hose and jet, that is to say, by flushing the streets with water at a high pressure, as the sewers are now flushed; and so, by *washing* rather than *sweeping* the dirt of the streets into the sewers, through the momentum of the stream of water, dispensing altogether with the scavager's broom, shovel, and cart.

In order to complete this account of the scavaging of the streets of London, I must, in conclusion, say a few words on this method, advocated as it is by the Board of Health, and sanctioned by scientific men. By the application of a hose, with a jet or water pipe attached to a fire-plug, the water being at high pressure, a stream of fluid is projected along the street's surface with force enough to *wash* away all before it into the sewers, while by the same apparatus it can be thrown over the fronts of the houses. This mode of street-cleansing prevails in some American cities, especially in Philadelphia, where the principal thoroughfares are said to be kept admirably clean by it; while the fronts of the houses are as bright as those in the towns of Holland, where they are washed, not by mechanical appliances, but by water thrown over them out of scoops by hand labour—one of the instances of the minute and indefatigable industry of the Dutch.

It is stated in one of the Reports of the Board of Health, that "unless cleansing be general and simultaneous, much of the dirt of one district is carried by traffic into another. By the subdivision of the metropolis into small districts, the duty of cleansing the *public* carriage-way is thrown upon a number of obscure and irresponsible authorities; while the duty of cleansing the *public* footways, which are no less important, *are* charged upon multitudes of private individuals." [The grammar

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is the Board of Health's grammar.] "It is a false pecuniary economy, in the case of the poorest inhabitants of court or alley, who obtain their livelihood by any regular occupation, to charge upon each family the duty of cleansing the footway before their doors. The performance of this service daily, at a rate of 1*d.* *per week* per house or per family, would be an economy in soap and clothes to persons the average value of whose time is never less than 2*d.* per hour." [This is at the rate of 2*s.* a day; did this most innocent Board *never* hear of work yielding 1*s.* 6*d.* a week? But the sanitary authorities seem to be as fond as teetotallers of "going to extremes."]

In another part of the same Report the process and results are described. It is also stated that for the success of this method of street purification the pavement must be good; for "a powerful jet, applied by the hose, would scoop out hollows in unpaved places, and also loosen and remove the stones in those that are badly paved." As every public place ought to be well-paved, this necessity of new and good pavement is no reasonable objection to the plan, though it certainly admits of a question as to the durability of the roads—the macadamized especially—under this continual soaking. Sir Henry Parnell, the great road authority, speaks of wet as the main destroyer of the highways.

It is stated in the Report, after the mention of experiments having been made by Mr. Lovick, Mr. Hale, and Mr. Lee (Mr. Lee being one of the engineering inspectors of the Board), that

"Mr. Lovick, at the instance of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers, conducted his experiments with such jets as could be obtained from the water companies' mains in eligible places; but the pressure was low and insufficient. Nevertheless, it appeared that, taking the extra quantity of water required at the actual expense of pumping, the paved surfaces might be washed clean at one-half the price of the scavagers' manual labour in sweeping. Mr. Lee's trials were made at Sheffield, with the aid of a more powerful and suitable pressure, and he found that with such pressure as he obtained the cleansing might be effected in one-third the time, and at one-third the usual expense, of the scavagers' labour of sweeping the surface with the broom." [This expense varies, and the Board nowhere states at what rate it is computed; the scavagers' wages varying 100 per cent.]

"The effect of this mode of cleansing in close courts and streets," it is further stated, "was found to be peculiarly grateful in hot weather. The water was first thrown up and diffused in a thin sheet, it was then applied rapidly to cleansing the surface and the side walls, as well as the pavements." Mr. Lovick states that the immediate effect of this operation was to lower the temperature, and to produce a sense of freshness, similar to that experienced after a heavy thunder-shower in hot weather. But there is nothing said as to the probable effect of this state of things in winter—a hard frost for instance. The same expedient was resorted to for cooling the yards and outer courts of hospitals, and the shower thrown on the windows of the wards afforded great relief. Mr. Lovick, in his Report on the trial works for cleansing courts, states:—

"The importance of water as an agent in the improvement and preservation of health being in proportion to the unhealthiness or depressed condition of districts, its application to close courts and densely-populated localities, in which a low sanitary condition must obtain, is of primary importance. Having shown the practicability of applying this system (cleansing by jets of water) to the general cleansing of the streets, my further labours have been, and are now, directed to this end.

"For the purpose of ascertaining the effect produced by operations of this nature upon the atmosphere, two courts were selected: Church-passage, New Compton-street, open at both ends, with a carriage-way in the centre, and footway on each side; and Lloyd's-court, Crown-street, St. Giles's, a close court, with, at one entrance, a covered passage about 40 feet in length: both courts were in a very filthy condition; in Church-passage there were dead decaying cats and fish, with offal, straw, and refuse scattered over the surface; at one end an entrance to a private yard was used as a urinal; in every part there were most offensive smells.

"Lloyd's-court was in a somewhat similar condition, the covered entrance being used as a general urinal, presenting a disgusting appearance; the whole atmosphere of the court was loaded with highly-offensive effluvia; in the covered entrance this was more particularly discernible.

"The property of water, as an absorbent, was rendered strikingly apparent in the immediate and marked effects of its application, a purity and freshness remarkably contrasted to the former close and foul condition prevailing throughout. A test of this, striking and unexpected, was the change at different periods in the relative condition of atmosphere of the courts and of the contiguous streets. In their ordinary condition, as might have been expected, the atmosphere was purer in the streets than in the courts; it was to be inferred that the cleansing would have more nearly assimilated these conditions. This was not only the case, but it was found to have effected a complete change; the atmosphere of the courts at the close of the operations being far fresher and purer than the atmosphere of the streets. The effect produced was in every respect satisfactory and complete; and was the theme of conversation with the lookers-on, and with the men who conducted the operations.

"The expense of these operations, including water, would be, for—

"Church-passage (time, five minutes), 1¼*d.*

"Lloyd's-court (time, ten minutes), 3¼*d.*

"Mr. Hale, another officer, gave a similar statement."

Other experiments are thus detailed:—

"Lascelles-court, Broad-street, St. Giles's. This court was pointed out to me as one of the worst in London. Before cleansing it smelt *intolerable*," [*sic*] "and looked disgusting. Besides an abun-

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dance of ordinary filth arising from the exposure of refuse, the surface of the court contained heaps of human excrement, there being only one privy to the whole court, and that not in a state to be publicly used. . . . . . The cleansing operations were commenced by sprinkling the court with deodorising fluid, mixed with 20 times its volume of water; a great change, from a very pungent odour to an imperceptible smell, was immediately effected; after which the refuse of the court was washed away, and the pavement thoroughly cleansed by the hose and jet; and now this place, which before was in a state almost indescribable, presented an appearance of comparative comfort and respectability."

It is stated as the result of another experiment in "an ordinary wide street with plenty of traffic," that "water-carts and ordinary rains only create the mud which the jet entirely removes, giving to the pavement the appearance of having been as thoroughly cleansed as the private stone steps in front of the houses."

With respect to Mr. Lee's experiments in Sheffield, I find that Messrs. Guest, of Rotherham, are patentees of a tap for the discharge of water at high pressures, and that they had adapted their invention to the purpose of a fire-plug and stand pipe suitable for street-cleansing by the hose and jet. Church-street, one of the principal thoroughfares, was experimentally cleansed by this process: "The carriage-way is from 20 to 24 feet wide, and about 150 yards long. It was washed almost as clean as a house-floor in five minutes." Mr. Lee expresses his conviction that, by the agency of the hose and jet, every street in that populous borough might be cleansed at about 1*s.* per annum for each house. "The principal thoroughfares," he states, "could be thus made perfectly clean, three times every week, before business hours, and the minor streets and lanes twice, or once per week, at later hours in the day, by the agency of an abundant supply of water, at *less than half the sum necessary for the cartage alone* of an equal quantity of refuse in a solid or semi-fluid condition."

The highways most frequented in Sheffield constitute about one-half of the whole extent of the streets and roads in the borough, measuring 47 miles. This length, Mr. Lee computes, might be effectually cleansed with the hose and jet, ten miles of it three times a week, 21 miles twice a week, and 16 miles once a week, a total of 88 miles weekly, or 4576 miles yearly. The quantity of Water required would be 3000 gallons a mile, or a yearly total of 13,728,000 gallons. This water might be supplied, Mr. Lee opines, at 1*d.* per 1000 gallons (57*l.* 4*s.* per annum), although the price obtained by the Water-works Company was 6¼*d.* per 1000 gallons (371*l.* 16*s.* per annum). "I now proceed," he says, "to the cost of labour: 4576 miles per annum is equal to 14⅔ miles for each working day, or to six sets of two men cleansing 2½ miles per day each set. To these must be added three horses and carts, and three carters, for the removal of such *débris* as cannot be washed away and for such parts of the town as cannot be cleansed by this system, making a total of fifteen men. Their wages I would fix at 50*l.* per annum each. The estimate is as follows:—

	£
"Annual interest upon the first cost of hose and pipes, three horses and carts	30
Fifteen men's wages	750
Three horses' provender . . .	150
Wear, tear, and depreciation of hose, &c.	250
Management and incidentals, say . .	120
	£1300."

The estimate, it will be seen, is based on the supposition that *the water supply should be at the public cost,* and not a specific charge for the purposes of street-cleansing.

The 47 miles of highway of Sheffield is but three miles less than those of the city of London, the cost of cleansing which is, according to the estimate before given, no less than 18,000*l.*

The Sheffield account is divested of all calculations as to house-dust and ashes, and the charge for watering-carts; but, taking merely the sum paid to scavaging contractors, and assigning 1000*l.* (out of the 2485*l.*), as the proportion of salaries, &c., under the department of scavagery in the management of the City Commissioners, we find that while the expense of street-cleansing by the Sheffield hose and jet was little more than 34*l.*, in London, by the ordinary mode, it was upwards of 140*l.* per mile, or more than four times as much. The hose and jet system is said to have washed the streets of Sheffield as clean as a house-floor, which could not be said of it in London. The streets of the City, it should also be borne in mind, are now swept daily; Mr. Lee proposes only a periodical cleaning for Sheffield, or once, twice, and thrice a week. Of the cost of the experiments made in London with the hose and jet, in Lascelles-court, &c., nothing is said.

Street-cleansing by the hose and jet is, then, as yet but an experiment. It has not, like the street-orderly mode, been tested continuously or systematically; but the experiments are so curious and sometimes so startling in their results that it was necessary to give a brief account of them here, in order to render this account of the cleansing of the streets of the metropolis as comprehensive as possible. For my own part, I must confess the street-orderly system appears to excel all other modes of scavagery, producing at once the greatest cleanliness with the greatest employment to the poor. Nor am I so convinced as the theoretic and crotchety Board of Health as to the healthfulness of dampness, or the daily evaporation of a sheet of even clean water equal in extent to the entire surface of the London streets. It is certainly *doubtful,* to say the least, whether so much additional moisture might *improve* the public health, which the Board are instituted to protect; rain certainly contributes to cleanliness, and yet no one would advocate continued wet weather as a source of general convalescence.

I shall conclude this account of the scavaging

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of London, with the following brief statement as to the mode in which these matters are conducted abroad.

In Paris, where our system of parochial legislation and management is unknown, the scavaging of the streets—so frequently matters of private speculation with us—is under the immediate direction of the municipality, and the Government publish the returns, as they do of the revenue of their capital from the abattoirs, the interments, and other sources.

In the *Moniteur* for December 10, 1848, it is stated that the refuse of the streets of Paris sells for 500,500 francs (20,020*l.*), when sold by auction in the mass; and 3,800,000 francs (equal to 152,000*l.*) when, after having lain in the proper receptacles, until fit for manure, it is sold by the cubic foot. In 1823, the streets of Paris were leased for 75,000 francs (3000*l.*) per annum in 1831 the value was 166,000 francs (6640*l.*); and since 1845 the price has risen to the sum first named, viz., 500,500 francs (20,020*l.*); from which, however, is to be deducted the expense of cleansing, &c. I may add, that the receptacles alluded to are large places provided by Government, where the manure is deposited and left to ferment for twelve or eighteen months.

Of the Cost and Traffic of the Streets of London.

I have, at page 183 of the present volume, given a brief statement of the annual cost attending the keeping of the streets of the metropolis in working order.

The formation of the streets of a capital like London, the busiest in the world—streets traversed daily by what Cowper, even in his day, described as "the ten thousand wheels" of commerce—is an elaborate and costly work.

In my former account I gave an estimate which referred to the amount dispensed weekly in wages for the labour of the workmen engaged in laying down the paved roads of the metropolis. This was at the rate of 100,000*l.* per week; that is to say, calculating the operation of relaying the streets to occupy one year in every five, there is no less than 5,200,000*l.* expended in that time among the workpeople so engaged. The sum expended in labour for the continued repairs of the roads, after being so relaid, appears to be about 20,000*l.* per week*, or, in round numbers, about 1,000,000*l.* a year; so that the gross sum annually disbursed to the labourers engaged in the construction of the roads of London would seem to be about 2,250,000*l.*, that is to say, 1,000,000*l.* for repairing the old roads, and 1,250,000*l.* per annum for laying down new ones in their place.

It now remains for me to set forth the gross cost of the metropolitan highways, that is to say, the sum annually expended in both labour and materials, as well for relaying as for repairing the roads.

The granite-built streets cost, when relaid, about 11,000*l.* the mile, of ten yards' width, which is at the rate of 12*s.* 6*d.* the square yard, materials and labour included, the granite (Aberdeen) being 1*l.* 5*s.* per ton, and one ton of "seven-inch" being sufficient to cover about three square yards.

The average cost of a macadamized road, materials and labour included, if constructed from the foundation, is about 4400*l.* per street mile (ten yards wide)—5*s.* the superficial yard being a fair price for materials and labour.

Wood pavement, on the other hand, costs about 9680*l.* a mile of ten yards' width for materials and labour, which is at the rate of 11*s.* the superficial yard.

The cost of *repairs*, materials and labour included, is, for granite pavement about 1½*d.* per square yard, or 100*l.* the street mile of ten yards wide; for "Macadam" it is from 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*, or an average of 1*s.* 6*d.* per superficial yard, which is at the rate of 1320*l.* the street mile; while the wood pavement costs about the same for repairs as the granite.

The total cost of repairing the streets of London, then, may be taken as follows:—

	£
Repairing granite-built streets, per mile of ten yards wide	100
Repairing macadamized roads, per street mile	1320
Repairing wood pavement, per street mile	100

Or, as a total for all London,—

Repairing 400 miles of granite-built streets, at 100*l.* per mile	40,000
Repairing 1350 miles of macadamized streets, at 1320*l.* per mile	1,782,000
Repairing five miles of wood, at 100*l.* per mile	500
	£1,822,500

The following, on the other hand, may be taken as the total cost of *reconstructing* the London streets:—

	£
Granite-built streets, per mile ten yards wide	11,000
Macadamized streets, per street mile	4,400
Wood " "	9,680

Or, as a total for the entire streets and roads of London,—

	£
Relaying 400 miles of granite-built streets, at 11,000*l.* per mile	4,400,000
Relaying 1350 miles of macadamized streets, at 4400*l.* per mile	5,940,000
Relaying five miles of wood-built streets, at 9680*l.*	48,400
	£10,388,400

But the above refers only to the road, and besides this, there is, as a gentleman to whom I am much indebted for valuable information on the subject, reminds me, the foot paving, granite curb, and granite channel not included. The usual price for *paving* is 8*d.* per foot superficial,

* At p. 183 the sum of 18,225*l.* is said to be expended in repairs *annually*; it should have been *weekly*.

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when laid—granite curb 1*s.* 7*d.* per foot run, and granite channel 12*s.* per square yard.

"Now, presuming that three-fourths of the roads," says my informant, "have paved foot-paths on each side at an average width of six feet exclusive of curb, and that one-half of the macadamized roads have granite channels on each side, and that one-third of all the roads have granite curb on each side; these items for 400 miles of granite road, 1350 macadamized, and 5 miles of wood—together 1755 miles—will therefore amount to

	£ s. d.
Three-fourths of 1755 miles of streets paved on each side, six feet wide, at 8*d.* per foot superficial	2,779,392 0 0
One-half of 1350 miles of macadamized roads with one foot of granite channel on each side, at 12*s.* per yard square .	458,537 4 5
One-third of 1755 miles of road with granite curb on each side, at 1*s.* 7*d.* per foot run .	489,060 0 0
	3,726,989 4 5
Cost of constructing 1755 miles of roadway . . .	10,388,400 0 0
Total cost of constructing the streets of London . .	£14,115,389 4 5

"Accordingly the original cost of the metropolitan pavements exceeds fourteen millions sterling, and, calculating that this requires renewal every five years, the gross annual expenditure will be at the rate of 2,500,000*l.* per annum, which, added to 1,822,500*l.*, gives 4,322,500*l.*, or upwards of four millions and a quarter sterling for the entire annual cost of the London roadways.

"From rather extensive experience," adds my informant, "in building operations, and consequently in making and paying for roads, I am of opinion that the amount I have shown is under rather than above the actual cost.

"In a great many parts of the metropolis the roads are made by the servants of a body of Commissioners appointed for the purpose; and from dear-bought experience I can say they are a public nuisance, and would earnestly caution speculating builders against taking building ground or erecting houses in any place where the roads are under their control. The Commissioners are generally old retired tradesmen, and have very little to occupy their attention, and are often quite ignorant of their duties; I have reason to believe, too, that some of them even use their little authority to gratify their dislike to some poor builder in their district, by meddling and quibbling, and while that is going on the houses which have been erected can neither be let nor sold; so that as the bills given for the materials keep running, the builder, when they fall due, is ruined, for his creditors will not take his unlet houses for their debts, and no one else will purchase them until let, for none will rent them without proper accesses. I feel certain that in those parts where the roads are made by Commissioners three times more builders, in proportion to their number, get into difficulties than in the districts where they are permitted to make the roads themselves."

The paved ways and roads of London, then, it appears, cost in round numbers 10,000,000*l.* sterling, and require nearly 2,000,000*l.* to be expended upon them annually for repairs.

But this is not the sole expense attendant upon the construction of the streets of the metropolis. Frequently, in the formation of new lines of thoroughfare, large masses of property have to be bought up, removed, and new buildings erected at considerable cost. In a return made pursuant to an order of the Court of Common Council, dated 23rd October, 1851, for "An account of all moneys which have been raised for public works executed, buildings erected, or street improvements effected, out of the Coal Duties receivable by the Corporation of London in the character of trustees for administration or otherwise, since the same were made chargeable by Parliament for such purposes in the year 1766," the following items are given relating to the cost of the formation of new streets and improvements of old ones:—

Street Improvements forming New Thoroughfares.

	Amount raised for Public Works, &c. £. s. d.
Building the bridge across the river Thames, from Blackfriars, in the city of London, to Upper Ground-street, in the county of Surrey, now called Blackfriars Bridge, and forming the avenues thereto, and embanking the north abutment of the said bridge—(Entrusted to the Corporation of the city of London)	210,000 0 0
Making a new line of streets from Moorfields, opposite Chiswell-street, towards the east into Bishopsgate-street (now Crown-street and Sun-street), also from the east end of Chiswell-street westward into Barbican—(Corporation of the city of London) . .	16,500 0 0
Making a new street from Crispin-street, near Spitalfields Church, into Bishopsgate-street (now called Union-street), in the city of London and in the county of Middlesex—(Commissioners named in Act 18, George III., c. 78) .	9,000 0 0
Opening communications between Wapping-street and Ratcliffe-highway, and between Old Gravel-lane and Virginia-street, all in the county of Middlesex —(Commissioners appointed under Act 17, Geo. III., c. 22)	1,000 0 0
Formation of Farringdon-street, removal of Fleet-market, and erection of Farringdon-market, in the city of London —(Corporation of the city of London).	250,000 0 0
Formation of a new street from the end of Coventry-street to the junction of Newport-street and Long-acre (Cranbourn-street), continuing the line of street from Waterloo Bridge, already completed to Bow-street (Upper Wellington-street), and thence northward into Broad-street, Holborn, and thence to Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury, extending Oxford-street in a direct line through St. Giles's, so as to communicate with Holborn at or near Southampton-street (New Oxford-street); also widening the northern and	

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	£	s.	d.
Brought forward . .	486,500	0	0
southern extremities of Leman-street, Goodman's-fields, and forming a new street from the northern side of Whitechapel to the front of Spitalfields Church (Commercial-street), and forming a new street from Rosemary-lane to East Smithfield, near to the entrance of the London-docks; also formation of a street from the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament towards Buckingham Palace, in the city of Westminster (Victoria-street), all in the county of Middlesex; also formation of a line of new street between Southwark and Westminster Bridges, in the county of Surrey—(Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues)	665,000	0	0
NOTE.—The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods have been authorised to raise further moneys on the credit of the duty of 1*d.* per ton for further improvements in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields, but the Chamberlain is not officially cognizant of the amount.			
Forming a new street from the northern end of Victoria-street, Holborn (formed by the Corporation to Clerkenwell-green, all in the county of Middlesex) —(Clerkenwell Improvement Commissioners)	25,000	0	0
Formation of a new line of streets from King William-street, London Bridge, to the south side of St. Paul's Cathedral, by widening and improving Cannon-street, making a new street from Cannon-street, near Bridge-row, to Queen-street, and another street from the west side of Queen-street, in a direct line to St. Paul's-churchyard, and widening Queen-street, from the junction of the said new street to Southwark Bridge; also improving Holborn Bridge and Field-lane, and effecting an improvement in Gracechurch-street and Ship Tavern-passage, all in the city of London—(Corporation of the city of London) . .	500,000	0	0
Finishing the new street left incomplete by the Clerkenwell Improvement Commissioners, from the end of Victoria-street, Farringdon-street, to Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, all in the county of Middlesex—(Corporation of the City of London)	88,000	0	0
Total cost of forming the above-mentioned new thoroughfares . . .	1,764,500	0	0

Improving existing Thoroughfares.

	£	s.	d.
Improving existing approaches, and forming new approaches to new London Bridge, viz., in High-street, Tooley-street, Montague-close, Pepper-alley Whitehorse-court, Chequer-court, Claingate, Churchyard-passage, St. Saviour's churchyard, Carter-lane, Boar's-head-place, Fryingpan-alley, Green Dragon-court, Joyner-street, Red Lion-street, Counter-street, Three Crown-court, and the east front of the Town Hall, all in the Borough of Southwark; also ground and premises at the north-west foot of London Bridge, Upper Thames-street, Red-cross-wharf, Mault's-wharf, High Timber-street and Broken-wharf, Swan-passage, Churchyard-alley, site of Fishmonger's Hall, Great East-cheap, Little Eastcheap, Star-court, Fish-street-hill, Little Tower-street, Idol-lane, St. Mary-at-hill, Crooked-lane, Miles-lane, Three Tun-alley, Warren-court, Cannon-street, Grace-church-street, Bell-yard, Martin's-lane, Nicholas-lane, Clement's-lane, Ab-church-lane, Sherborne-lane, Swithin's-lane, Cornhill, Lombard-street, Dove-court, Fox Ordinary-court, Old Post Office Chambers, Mansion-house-street, Princes-street, Coleman-street, Coleman-street-buildings, Moorgate-street, London Wall, Lothbury, Tokenhouse-yard, King's Arms-yard, Great Bell-alley, Packer's-court, White's-alley, Great Swan-alley, Crown-court, George-yard, Red Lion-court, Cateaton-street, Gresham-street, Milk-street, Wood-street, King-street, Basinghall-street, Houndsditch, Ladlane, Threadneedle-street, Aldgate High-street, and Maiden-lane, all in the City of London—(Corporation of the City of London)	1,016,421	18	1
Widening and improving the entrance into London near Temple-bar, improving the Strand and Fleet-street, and formation of Pickett-street, and for making a new street from the east end of Snow-hill to the bottom of Holborn-hill, now called Skinner-street—(Corporation of the City of London)	246,300	0	0
Widening and improving Dirty-lane and part of Brick-lane, leading from Whitechapel to Spitalfields, and for paving Dirty-lane, Petticoat-lane, Wentworth-street, Old Montague-street, Chapel-street, Princes-row, &c., all in the county of Middlesex—(Commissioners appointed by the Act 18, Geo. III., c. 80)	1,500	0	0
Widening the avenues from the Minories, through Goodman's-yard into Prescott-street, and through Swan-street and Swan-alley into Mansell-street, and from Whitechapel through Somerset-street into Great Mansell-street, all in the county of Middlesex —(Commissioners named in Act 18, George III., c. 50)	1,500	0	0
Total cost of improving the above-mentioned thoroughfares . . .	1,265,721	18	1

Paving.

	£	s.	d.
Paving the road from Aldersgate Bars to turnpike in Goswell-street, in the county of Middlesex—(Commissioners Sewers, &c., of the City of London) .	5,500	0	0
Completing the paving of the town borough of Southwark and certain parts adjacent—(Commissioners for executing Act 6, George III., for paving town and borough of Southwark)	4,000	0	0
Total cost of paving the above-mentioned thoroughfares	9,500	0	0

Hence the aggregate expense of the preceding improvements has been upwards of 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

I have now, in order to complete this account of the cost of paving and cleansing the thoroughfares of the metropolis, only to add the following statement as to the traffic of the principal thoroughfares in the city of London, for which I am indebted to Mr. Haywood, the City Surveyor.

By the subjoined Return it will be seen that there are two tides as it were in the daily current of locomotion in the City—the one being at its flood at 11 o'clock A.M., after which it falls gradually till 2 o'clock, when it is at its lowest ebb, and then begins to rise, gradually till 5 o'clock, when it reaches its second flood, and then begins to decline once more. The point of greatest traffic in the City is London-bridge, where the conveyances passing and repassing amount to 13,099 in the course of twelve hours*.

* At p. 185 the traffic of London Bridge is stated to be 13,000 conveyances per hour, instead of per 12 hours.

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THE RUBBISH-CARTER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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Of these it would appear, that 9351 consist of one-horse vehicles and equestrians, 3389 of two-horse conveyances, and only 359 of vehicles drawn by more than two horses. The one-horse vehicles would seem to be between two and three times as many as the two-horse, which form about one-fourth of the whole, while those drawn by more than two horses constitute about one-sixtieth of the entire number.

The Return does not mention the state of the weather on the several days and hours at which the observations were made, nor does it tell us whether there was any public event occurring on those days which was likely to swell or diminish the traffic beyond its usual proportions. The table, moreover, it should be remembered, is confined to the observations of only one day in each locality, so that we must be guarded in receiving that which records a mere accidental set of circumstances as an example of the general course of events. It would have been curious to have extended the observations throughout the night, and so have ascertained the difference in the traffic; and also to have noted the decrease in the number of vehicles passing during a continuously wet as well as a showery day. The observations should be further carried out to different seasons, in order to be rendered of the highest value. Mr. Haywood and the City authorities would really be conferring a great boon on the public by so doing.

Of the Rubbish Carters.

The public cleansing trade, I have before said, consists of as many divisions as there are distinct species of refuse to be removed, and these appear to be four. There is the *house*-refuse, consisting of two different kinds, as (1) the wet house-refuse or "slops," and "night-soil," and (2) the dry house-refuse, or dust and soot; and there is the *street*-refuse, also consisting of two distinct kinds, as (3) the wet street-refuse, or mud and dirt; and (4) the dry street-refuse or "rubbish."

I now purpose dealing with the labourers engaged in the collection and removal of the last-mentioned kind of refuse.

Technologically there are several varieties of "rubbish," or rather "*dirt*," for such appears to be the generic term, of which "rubbish" is *strictly* a species. Dirt, according to the understanding among the rubbish-carters, would seem to consist of any solid earthy matter, which is of an useless or refuse character. This dirt the trade divides into two distinct kinds, viz.:—

1. "Soft dirt," or refuse clay (of which "dry dirt," or refuse soil or mould, is a variety).

2. "Hard-dirt," or "hard-core," consisting of the refuse bricks, chimney-pots, slates, &c., when a house is pulled down, as well as the broken bottles, pans, pots, or crocks, and oyster-shells, &c., which form part of the contents of the dust-man's cart.

The phrase "hard-core"* seems strictly to mean all such refuse matter as will admit of being used as the foundation of roads, buildings, &c. "Rubbish," on the other hand, appears to be limited, by the trade, to "dry dirt;" out of the trade, however, and etymologically speaking, it signifies all such *dry* and *hard* refuse matter as is rendered useless by wear and tear*. The term *dirt*, on the other hand, is generally applied to *soft* refuse matter, and *dust* to *dry* refuse matter in a state of minute division, while *slops* is the generic term for all *wet* or *liquid* refuse matter. I shall here restrict the term rubbish to all that dry and hard refuse matter which is the residuum of certain worn-out or "used-up" earthen commodities, as well as the surplus earth which is removed whenever excavations are made, either for the building of houses, the cutting of railways, the levelling of roads, the laying down of pipes or drains, and the sinking of wells.

The commodities whose residuum goes to swell the annual supply of *rubbish*, are generally of an earthy nature. Such commodities as are made of *fibrous* or *textile* materials, go, when "used up," chiefly to form manure if of an animal nature, and to be converted into paper if of a vegetable origin. The refuse materials of our woollen clothes, our old coats and trousers, are either torn to pieces and re-manufactured into shoddy, or become the invigorators of our hop and other plants; whereas those of our linen or cotton garments, our old shirts and petticoats, form the materials of our books and letters; while our old ropes, &c., are converted into either brown paper or oakum. Those commodities, on the other hand, which are made of *leathern* materials, become, when worn out, the ingredients of the prussiate of potash and other nitrogenised products manufactured by our chemists. Our old *wooden* commodities, again, are used principally to kindle our fires; while the refuse of our fires themselves, whether the soot which is deposited in the chimney above, or the ashes which fall below, are employed mainly to increase the fertility of our land. Our worn-out *metal* commodities, on the other hand, are newly melted, and go to form fresh commodities when the metals are of the scarcer kind, as gold, silver, copper, brass, lead, and even iron; and when of the more common kind, as is the case with old tin, and occasionally iron vessels, they either become the ingredients in some of our chemical manufactures, or else when formed of tin are cut up into smaller and inferior commodities. Even the detritus of our *streets* is used as the soil of our market gardens. All this we have already seen, and we have now to deal more particularly with

* The *core* in this term may be a corruption of the Saxon *Carr*, a rock, rather than that which would at first suggest itself as its origin, viz., the Latin *cor*, the heart. *Hard-core* would therefore mean hard rock-like rubbish, instead of lumps of rubbish having a hard nucleus or heart.

* The term *rubbish* is a polite corruption of the original word *rubbage*, which is still used by uneducated people; *ish* is an *adjectival* termination, as whitish, slavish, brutish, &c., and is used only in connection with such substantives as are derived from adjectives, as English, Scottish, &c. Whereas the affix *age* is strictly substantival, as sewage, garbage, wharfage, &c., and is found applied only to adjectives derived from substantives, as *savage*. A like polite corruption is found in the word *pudding*, which should be strictly *puddin*: the addition of the g is as gross a mistake as saying *garding* for *garden*. There is no such verb as to *pud* whence could come the substantival participle *pudding*: and the French word from which we derive our term is *poudin* without the *g*, like *jardin*, the root of our *garden*.

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STREET

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF VEHICLES AND HORSES PASSING THROUGH HOURS OF 8 A.M. AND 8 P.M., UPON CERTAIN

Date.	Situation.	Hour ending 9 A.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 10 A.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 11 A.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 12 A.M. Vehicles drawn by			
		1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	
8th July, 1850.	Temple Bar Gate	230	61	20	292	192	42	448	235	21	505	222	30	A
9th ,, ,,	Holborn Hill, by St. Andrew's Church	250	65	12	380	166	6	480	181	9	530	154	14	B
10th ,, ,,	Ludgate Hill, by Pilgrim-street	268	76	17	290	170	16	454	261	13	420	210	6	C
11th ,, ,,	Newgate-street, by Old Bailey	250	59	11	360	155	13	433	184	11	367	137	5	D
12th ,, ,,	Aldersgate-street, by Fann-street	140	20	8	198	52	11	150	44	14	147	36	13	E
13th ,, ,,	Cheapside, by Foster-lane	345	110	18	483	301	21	703	385	36	768	300	11	F
15th ,, ,,	Poultry, by Mansion House	287	103	24	437	315	10	654	398	19	690	373	17	G
16th ,, ,,	Finsbury Pavement, by South-place	185	63	14	252	123	10	330	138	7	250	129	8	H
17th ,, ,,	Cornhill, by Royal Exchange	98	56	7	172	177	15	252	210	17	270	184	7	I
18th ,, ,,	Threadneedle-street	47	47	4	67	77	1	162	97	3	160	50	4	J
19th ,, ,,	Gracechurch-street, by St. Peter's-alley	202	50	6	200	99	23	308	113	18	320	175	12	K
20th ,, ,,	Lombard-street, by Birchin-lane	121	15	1	87	28	2	140	12	4	174	14	..	L
22nd ,, ,,	Bishopsgate Within, by Great St. Helen's	194	58	7	253	144	11	323	164	13	277	143	10	M
23rd ,, ,,	London Bridge	519	139	22	744	339	45	955	334	43	820	274	30	N
24th ,, ,,	Bishopsgate-street Witht, by City boundr.	148	51	4	197	121	11	310	134	3	170	109	7	O
25th ,, ,,	Aldgate High-street, by ditto	335	68	22	291	111	20	292	115	10	287	145	10	P
26th ,, ,,	Leadenhall-st., rear of East India House	193	45	13	272	141	16	388	196	11	340	150	5	Q
27th ,, ,,	Eastcheap, by Philpot-lane	274	35	26	203	40	13	340	46	12	320	34	18	R
29th ,, ,,	Tower-street, by Mark-lane	132	22	15	180	37	5	220	32	10	220	39	12	S
30th ,, ,,	Lower Thames-street, by Botolph-lane	79	7	2	117	10	3	153	15	7	90	7	8	T
31st ,, ,,	Blackfriars Bridge	268	42	17	280	78	23	409	99	10	393	89	34	U
1st Aug. ,,	Upper Thames-street, rear of Queen-street	97	28	15	172	43	12	126	28	11	160	42	21	V
2nd ,, ,,	Smithfield Bars	180	16	7	206	18	6	180	16	6	254	14	9	W
3rd ,, ,,	Fenchurch-street	175	20	11	198	60	4	205	41	7	298	39	6	X
		5017	1256	303	6421	2997	339	8415	3478	315	8230	3159	297	

STREET TRAFFIC.

TABLE SHOWING TOTALS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION OF VEHICLE PASSING PER HOUR AND PER DAY OF 12 HOURS THROUGH CERTAIN STREETS WITHIN THE CITY OF LONDON.

Date.	Situation.	Hours Ending 9 A.M.	10 A.M.	11 A.M.	12 Noon	1 P.M.	2 P.M.	3 P.M.	4 P.M.	5 P.M.	6 P.M.	7 P.M.	8 P.M.	Total of 12 Hours	Average per Hour.
1850.															
July 8	Temple Bar Gate	311	526	704	757	691	661	791	737	738	671	537	614	7741	645
,, 9	Holborn-hill, by St. And. Ch.	327	552	670	698	623	606	535	377	915	445	841	317	6906	575
,, 10	Ludgate-hill, by Pilgrim-st.	361	476	728	636	789	514	628	531	619	584	543	420	6829	569
,, 11	Newgate-st., by Old Bailey	320	528	628	509	555	537	564	738	572	563	467	394	6375	531
,, 12	Aldersgate-st., by Fann-st.	168	261	208	196	214	235	194	219	235	233	229	198	2590	215
,, 13	Cheapside, by Foster-lane	473	805	1124	1169	1020	1009	1067	1076	1106	964	808	492	11053	921
,, 15	Poultry, by Mansion House	414	762	1071	1080	1043	941	875	910	956	825	902	595	10274	856
,, 16	Finsbury-pave., by South-pl	262	385	475	387	364	345	293	347	483	475	400	244	4460	371
,, 17	Cornhill, by Roy. Exchange	161	364	479	461	487	441	493	451	468	430	354	327	4916	409
,, 18	Threadneedle-street	98	145	262	214	211	154	212	195	198	205	148	108	2150	179
,, 19	Gracech-st., by St. Pet.-alley	258	322	439	507	392	423	464	516	461	436	338	331	4887	407
,, 20	Lombard-st., by Birchin-la	137	117	156	188	169	232	237	304	243	209	130	106	2228	185
,, 22	Bishopsg.-st., by Gt. St. Hel.	259	408	500	430	396	238	439	432	541	450	404	345	4842	403
,, 23	London Bridge	680	1128	1332	1124	1094	1048	1101	1180	1344	1308	962	798	13099	1091
,, 24	Bishp.-st. out, by Cy. Bound	203	329	447	286	307	342	390	335	430	439	323	279	4110	342
,, 25	Aldgate High-street, ditto	425	422	417	442	445	379	389	409	405	401	331	289	4754	396
,, 26	Leadenhall-st., E. I. House	251	429	595	495	594	563	625	569	466	588	437	418	5930	494
,, 27	Eastcheap, by Philpot-lane	335	346	398	372	378	343	368	393	398	349	294	128	4102	341
,, 29	Tower-street, by Mark-lane	169	222	262	271	292	324	290	262	282	238	164	114	2890	240
,, 30	L. Thames-st, by Botolph-la	88	130	175	105	105	108	118	147	168	121	69	46	1380	115
,, 31	Blackfriars Bridge	327	381	518	516	465	336	385	416	570	548	463	337	5262	438
Aug. 1	U. Thames-st., rear of Qn.-st	140	227	165	223	205	160	164	213	253	312	176	93	2331	194
,, 2	Smithfield Bars	203	230	202	277	276	255	334	267	328	289	288	159	3108	259
,, 3	Fenchurch-street	206	262	253	343	293	269	272	327	364	259	249	545	3642	303
		6576	9757	12208	11686	11408	10466	11068	11351	12543	11342	9757	7697	125859	10488

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TRAFFIC.

CERTAIN THOROUGHFARES WITHIN THE CITY OF LONDON, BETWEEN THE DAYS DURING THE YEAR 1850.

	Hour ending 1 P.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 2 P.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 3 P.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 4 P.M. Vehicles drawn by		
	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.
A	460	218	13	415	230	19	550	231	10	496	237	4
B	453	160	10	435	158	13	373	150	12	270	100	7
C	530	256	3	330	180	4	400	221	7	288	242	1
D	390	156	9	377	155	5	390	167	7	525	201	12
E	165	40	9	180	49	6	150	32	12	172	40	7
F	680	334	6	664	336	9	665	338	4	730	339	7
G	680	358	5	595	337	9	548	321	6	575	330	5
H	243	115	6	223	118	4	184	107	2	215	128	4
I	275	208	4	253	180	8	305	185	3	276	172	3
J	160	50	1	120	32	2	164	46	2	157	37	1
K	295	87	10	330	81	12	360	93	11	375	123	18
L	160	9	..	215	15	2	227	9	1	283	20	1
M	260	125	11	164	70	4	320	113	6	287	140	5
N	775	296	23	765	255	28	793	284	24	845	305	30
O	191	112	4	243	96	3	285	97	8	231	103	1
P	300	135	10	249	123	7	260	112	17	274	122	13
Q	415	168	11	385	171	7	353	158	14	387	172	10
R	340	27	11	300	28	15	310	38	20	345	40	8
S	260	26	6	270	30	15	252	34	4	226	26	10
T	83	21	1	100	8	..	100	15	3	130	13	4
U	365	78	22	253	65	18	302	73	10	340	66	10
V	160	35	10	120	31	9	125	33	6	160	44	9
W	252	18	6	232	19	4	305	20	9	250	11	6
X	240	45	8	223	39	7	220	46	6	267	54	6
	8132	3077	199	7441	2815	210	7941	2923	204	8104	3065	182

	Hour ending 5 P.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 6 P.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 7 P.M. Vehicles drawn by			Hour ending 8 P.M. Vehicles drawn by		
	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.
A	470	255	13	435	219	17	329	200	8	405	198	11
B	639	251	25	330	111	4	615	209	17	219	92	6
C	375	235	9	360	220	4	330	210	3	214	202	4
D	390	177	5	415	142	6	337	126	4	250	136	8
E	187	36	12	185	40	8	175	44	10	141	46	11
F	671	427	8	645	303	16	482	319	7	271	212	9
G	565	381	10	505	310	10	455	344	3	292	299	4
H	340	135	8	300	159	16	242	142	16	140	101	3
I	255	206	7	242	180	8	177	176	1	186	140	1
J	150	45	3	157	45	3	115	30	3	77	31	..
K	302	135	24	310	113	13	253	79	6	250	75	6
L	223	20	..	180	26	3	115	15	..	94	12	..
M	380	150	11	320	123	7	270	127	7	222	120	3
N	975	326	33	970	305	33	680	264	18	510	258	30
O	309	113	8	305	126	8	203	112	8	177	99	3
P	248	141	16	276	110	15	220	100	11	190	96	3
Q	295	166	5	390	183	15	292	139	6	260	152	6
R	340	43	15	280	58	11	230	59	5	109	16	3
S	230	39	13	195	34	9	137	25	2	94	16	4
T	143	23	2	100	15	6	52	14	3	40	4	2
U	450	103	17	446	87	15	361	89	13	265	66	6
V	185	52	16	241	54	17	139	25	12	71	13	9
W	305	17	6	265	20	4	269	10	9	145	14	..
X	300	57	7	215	36	8	193	53	3	516	28	1
	8727	3543	273	8067	3019	256	6671	2911	175	5138	2426	133

STREET TRAFFIC.

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EACH DESCRIPTION OF VEHICLE PASSING THROUGH CERTAIN STREETS WITHIN THE CITY OF LONDON, BETWEEN THE HOURS OF 8 A.M. AND 8 P.M. (12 HOURS.)

Date.	Situation.	Total Number of Vehicles drawn by			Total of the whole.	Average Number per Hour.			Average of the whole.
		1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.		1 Horse and Equestrians.	2 Horses.	3 Horses or more.	
8th July, 1850.	Temple Bar Gate	5035	2498	208	7741	419	208	17	645
9th ,, ,,	Holborn Hill, by St. Andrew's Church	4974	1797	135	6906	414	149	11	575
10th ,, ,,	Ludgate Hill, by Pilgrim-street	4259	2483	87	6829	354	207	7	569
11th ,, ,,	Newgate-street, by Old Bailey	4484	1795	96	6375	373	149	8	531
12th ,, ,,	Aldersgate-street, by Fann-street	1990	479	121	2590	165	40	10	215
13th ,, ,,	Cheapside, by Foster-lane	7107	3794	152	11053	592	316	12	921
15th ,, ,,	Poultry, by Mansion House	6283	3869	122	10274	523	332	10	856
16th ,, ,,	Finsbury Pavement, by South-place	2904	1458	98	4460	242	121	8	371
17th ,, ,,	Cornhill, by Royal Exchange	2761	2074	81	4916	230	172	7	409
18th ,, ,,	Threadneedle-street	1536	587	27	2150	128	49	2	179
19th ,, ,,	Gracechurch-st., by St. Peter's-alley	3505	1223	159	4887	292	102	13	407
20th ,, ,,	Lombard-street, by Birchin-lane	2019	195	14	2228	168	16	1	185
22nd ,, ,,	Bishopsgate-st., by Great St. Helen's	3270	1477	95	4842	272	123	8	403
23rd ,, ,,	London Bridge	9351	3389	359	13099	779	282	30	1091
24th ,, ,,	Bishopsgate-st., out, by City Boundy.	2769	1273	68	4110	230	106	5	342
25th ,, ,,	Aldgate High-street, ditto	3222	1378	154	4754	268	114	12	396
26th ,, ,,	Leadenhall-street, East India House	3970	1841	119	5930	330	153	10	494
27th ,, ,,	Eastcheap, by Philpot-lane	3481	464	157	4102	290	38	13	341
29th ,, ,,	Tower-street, by Mark-lane	2416	369	105	2890	201	30	8	240
30th ,, ,,	Lower Thames-st., by Botolph-lane	1187	152	41	1380	98	12	3	115
31st ,, ,,	Blackfriars Bridge	4132	935	195	5262	344	78	16	438
1st Aug. ,,	Upper Thames-st., rear of Queen-st.	1756	428	147	2331	146	35	12	194
2nd ,, ,,	Smithfield Bars	2843	193	72	3108	237	16	6	259
3rd ,, ,,	Fenchurch-street	3050	518	74	3642	254	43	6	303
		88304	34669	2886	125859	7358	2889	240	10488

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the refuse of the sole remaining materials, viz., those of an *earthy* kind, and out of which are made our bricks, our earthenware and porcelain, as well as our glass, plaster, and stone commodities. What becomes of all these materials when the articles made of them are no longer fit for use? The old glass is, like the old metal, remelted and made into new commodities; some broken bottles are used for the tops of walls as a protection against trespassers; and the old bricks, when sound, are employed again for inferior brickwork; but what becomes of the rest of the earthen materials—the unsound bricks or "bats," the old plaster and mortar, the refuse slates and tiles and chimney-pots, the broken pans, and dishes, and other crocks—in a word, the potsherds and pansherds *, as the rubbish-carters call them—what is done with these?

But rubbish, as we have seen, consists not only of refuse earthen commodities, but of refuse earth itself: such as the soil removed during excavations for the foundations of houses, for the cuttings of railways, the levelling of roads, the formation of parks, the laying down of pipes or drains, and the sinking of wells. For each and all of these operations there is necessarily a certain quantity of soil removed, and the question that naturally occurs to the mind is, what is done with it?

There is, moreover, a third kind of rubbish, which, though having an animal origin, consists chiefly of earthy matter, and that is the shells of oysters, and other shell-fish. Whence go they, since these shells are of a comparatively indestructible nature, and thousands of such fish are consumed annually in the metropolis? What, the inquirer asks, becomes of the refuse bony coverings of such fish?

Let us first, however, endeavour to estimate what quantity of each of these three kinds of rubbish is annually produced in London, beginning with the refuse earthen commodities.

There is no published account of the quantity of *crockeryware* annually manufactured in this country. Mr. McCulloch tells us, "It is estimated, that the *value* of the various sorts of earthenware produced at the potteries may amount to about 1,700,000*l.* or 1,800,000*l.* a year; and that the earthenware produced at Worcester, Derby, and other parts of the country, may amount to about 850,000*l.* or more, making the whole value of the manufacture 2,550,000*l.* or 2,650,000*l.* a year." What proportion of this quantity may fall to the share of the metropolis, and what proportion of the whole may be annually destroyed, I know of no means of judging. We must therefore go some other way to work in order to arrive at the required information. Now, it has been before shown, that the quantity of "dust," or dry refuse from houses, annually collected, amounts to 900,000 tons or chaldrons yearly; and I find, on inquiry at the principal "yards," that the average quantity of Potsherds and broken crockery is at the rate of about half a bushel to every load of dust, or say 1 per cent. out of the entire quantity collected. At other yards, I find the proportion of sherds to be about the same, so that we may fairly assume that the gross quantity of broken earthenware produced in London is in round numbers 9000 loads or tons per annum. The sherds run about 250 pieces to the bushel, and assuming every five of such pieces to be the remains of an entire article, there would be in each bushel the fragments of fifty earthenware vessels; and thus the total quantity of crockeryware destroyed yearly in the metropolis will amount to 18,000,000 vessels.

As to the quantity of *refuse bricks*, the number annually produced, which is between 1,500,000,000 and 2,000,000,000, will give us no knowledge of the quantity yearly converted into rubbish. In order to arrive at this, we must ascertain the number of houses pulled down in the course of the twelvemonth; and I find, by the Returns of the Registrar-General, that the buildings removed between 1841 and 1851 have been as follows:—

DECREASE IN THE NUMBER OF HOUSES THROUGHOUT LONDON BETWEEN 1841 AND 1851.

	Total Decrease in 10 Years.	Annual Average Decrease.
St, Martin's	116	11·6
St. James's, Westminster	130	13·0
St. Giles's	181	18·1
Strand	389	38·9
Holborn	86	8·6
East London	11	1·1
West London	265	26·5
London, City of	592	59·2
Whitechapel	2	·2
St. Saviour's, Southwark	46	4·6
St. Olave's	158	15·8
Total	1976	197·6

Thus, then, we perceive that there have been, upon an average, very nearly 200 houses annually pulled down in London within the last ten years, and I find, on inquiry among those who are likely to be the best-informed on such matters, that each house so pulled down will yield from 40 to 50 loads of rubbish; so that, altogether, the quantity of refuse bricks, slates, tiles, chimney-pots, &c., annually produced in London must be no less than 8000 loads.

But the above estimate refers only to those houses which have been pulled down and never rebuilt; so that, in order to arrive at the gross quantity of this kind of rubbish yearly produced in the metropolis, we must add to the preceding amount the quantity accruing from such houses as are pulled down and built up again, or newly fronted and repaired, which are by far the greater number. These, I find, may be estimated at between 5 and 10 per cent. of the gross number of houses in

* This is the Saxon *sceard*, which means a sheard, remnant, or fragment, and is from the verb *sceran*, signifying both to shear and to share or divide. The low Dutch *schaard* is a piece of pot, a fragment.

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the metropolis. In some quarters (the older parts of London, for instance,) the proportion is much higher, while in the suburbs, or newer districts, it is scarcely half per cent. Each of the houses so new-fronted or repaired may be said to yield, on an average, 10 loads of rubbish, and, at this rate, the yearly quantity of refuse bricks, mortar, &c., proceeding from such a source, will be 150,000 loads per annum; so that the total amount of rubbish produced in London by the demolition and reparation of houses would appear to be about 160,000 loads yearly.

The quantity of refuse *oyster shells* may easily be found by the number of oysters annually sold in Billingsgate-market. These, from the returns which I obtained from the market salesmen, and printed at p. 63 of the first volume of this work, appear to be, in round numbers, 500,000,000; and, calculating that one-third of this quantity is sent into the country, the total number of shells remaining in the metropolis may be estimated at about 650,000,000. Reckoning, then, that 500 shells go to the bushel (the actual number was found experimentally to be between 525 and 550), and consequently that 20,000 are contained in every load, we may conclude that the gross quantity of refuse oyster shells annually produced in London average somewhere about 30,000 loads. That this is an approximation to the true quantity there can be little doubt, for, on inquiry at one of the largest dust-yards, I was informed by the hill-man that the quantity of oyster-shells collected with the refuse dust from houses in the vicinity of Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and other localities at the east-end of the metropolis, averages 6 bushels to the load of dust; about the west-end, however, half a bushel or a bushel to each load is the average ratio; while from the City there is none, the house "dust" there being free from oyster-shells. In taking one district, however, with another, I am assured that the average may be safely computed at 2 bushels of oyster-shells to every 3 loads of dust; hence, as the gross amount of house-dust is equal to 900,000 tons or loads per annum, the quantity of refuse oyster-shells collected yearly by the dustmen may be taken at 15,000 loads. But, besides these, there is the quantity got rid of by the costermongers, which seldom or never appear in the dust-bins. The costers sell about 124,000,000 oysters per annum, and thus the extra quantity of shells resulting from these means would be about 12,400 loads; so that the gross quantity of refuse oyster-shells actually produced in London may be said to average between 25,000 and 30,000 loads per annum.

There still remains the quantity of *refuse earth* to be calculated; this may be estimated as follows:—

1. *Foundations of Houses.*—Each house that is built requires the ground to be excavated from two to three yards deep, the average area of each being about nine yards square. This gives between 160 and 200 cubic yards of earth removed from the foundation of each house. A cubic yard of earth is a load, so that there are between 160 and 200 loads of earth displaced in the building of every new house.

The following statement shows—

THE NUMBER OF HOUSES BUILT THROUGHOUT LONDON BETWEEN 1841 AND 1851.

	Total No. of Houses built in 10 Years.	Average No. of Houses built per Year.
West Districts . . .	9,624	962·4
North Districts . . .	13,778	1377·8
Central Districts . .	349	34·9
East Districts . . .	8,343	834·3
South Districts . . .	14,807	1480·7
Total . .	46,901	4690·1

Hence, estimating the number of new houses built yearly in the metropolis at 4500, the total quantity of earth removed for the foundations of the buildings throughout London would be 800,000 loads per annum.

2. *The Cuttings of Railways.*—The railways formed within the area of the metropolis during the last ten years have been—the Great Northern; the Camden Town, and Bow; the West India Docks and Bow; and the North Kent Lines. The extension of the Southampton Railway from Vauxhall to Waterloo-bridge, as well as the Richmond Line, has also been formed within the same period, but for these no cuttings have been made.

The Railway Cuttings made within the area of the Metropolis Proper during the last ten years have been to the following extent:—

RAILWAYS.	Length of Cutting.	Width of Cutting.		Depth of Cutting.	Quantity of earth Removed.
		At top.	At bottom.		
	Miles.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Loads.
Great Northern . . .	1¼	12	10	10	290,400
Camden Town and Bow .	1¼	12	10	10	290,400
West India Docks and Bow	2	15	10	12	528,000
North Kent	2	15	10	12	528,000

Hence, the gross quantity of earth removed from railway cuttings within the last ten years has been 1,636,800 loads, or say, in round numbers, 160,000 loads per annum.

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3. *The Cutting of Roads and Streets.*—According to a Return presented to Parliament, there were 200 miles of new streets formed within the metropolitan police district between the years 1839-49; but in the formation of these no earth has been taken away; on the contrary a considerable quantity has been required for their construction. In the case of the lowering of Holborn-hill, that which was removed from the top was used to fill up the hollow.

4. *The Formation of Parks.*—The only park that has been constructed during the last ten years in the metropolis is Victoria Park, at the east end of the town; but I am informed that, in the course of the works there, no earth was carted away, the soil which was removed from one part being used for the levelling of another.

5. *Pipe and Sewer Works.*—The earth displaced in the course of these operations is usually put back into the ground whence it was taken, excepting in the formation of some new sewer, and then a certain proportion has to be carted away. Upon inquiry among those who are likely to be best informed, I am assured that 1000 loads may be taken as the quantity carted away in the course of the last year.

6. *Well-sinking.*—In this there has been but little done. Those who are best informed assure me that within the last ten years no such works of any magnitude have been executed.

The account as to the quantity of rubbish removed in London, then, stands thus:—

	Loads per Annum.
Refuse Earthen Materials.	
Potsherds and Pansherds . . .	9,000
Old bricks, tiles, slates, mortar, &c. .	160,000
Oyster-shells	25,000
Refuse Earth.	
Foundations of houses	800,000
Railway cuttings	160,000
Pipe and sewer laying	1,000
	1,155,000

Thus, then, we perceive that the gross quantity of rubbish that has to be annually removed throughout the metropolis is upwards of 1,000,000 loads per annum.

Now what is done with the vast amount of refuse matter? Whither is it carried? How is it disposed of?

The rubbish from the house building or removing is of no value to the master carter, and is shot gratuitously wherever there is the privilege of shooting it; this privilege, however, is very often usurped. Great quantities used to be shot in what were, until these last eight years, Bishop Bonner's Fields, but now Victoria Park. At the present time this sort of rubbish is often slily deposited in localities generally known as "the ruins," being places from which houses, and indeed streets, have been removed, and the sites left bare and vacant.

But the main localities for the deposition of this kind of refuse are in the fields round about the metropolis. Each particular district appears to have its own special "shoot," as it is called, for rubbish, of which the following are the principal.

Rubbish shoots.

The rubbish of Kensington and Chelsea is shot in the Pottery Grounds and Kensington-fields.
The rubbish of St. George's Hanover-square, Marylebone, and Paddington, is shot in the fields about Notting-hill and Kilburn.
The rubbish of Westminster, Strand, Holborn, St. Martin's, St. Giles's, St. James's, Westminster, West London, and Southwark, is shot in Cubitt's fields at Millbank and Westminster improvements.
The rubbish of Hampstead is shot in the fields at back of Haverstock-hill.
The rubbish of Saint Pancras is shot in the Copenhagen-fields.
The rubbish of Islington, Clerkenwell, and St. Luke's, is shot in the Eagle Wharf-road and Shepherdess-fields.
The rubbish of East London and City is shot in the Haggerstone-fields.
The rubbish of Whitechapel, St. George's in the East, and Stepney, is shot in Stepney fields.
The rubbish of Hackney, Bethnal-green, and Shoreditch, is shot in the Bonkers-pond, Hackney-road.
The rubbish of Poplar is shot in the fields at back of New Town, Poplar.
The rubbish of Bermondsey is shot in the Bermondsey fields.
The rubbish of Newington, Camberwell, and Lambeth, is shot in Walworth-common and Kennington-fields.
The rubbish of Wandsworth is shot in Pottershole, Wandsworth-common.
The rubbish of Greenwich and Lewisham is shot in Russia-common, near Lewisham.
The rubbish of Rotherhithe is used for ballast.

The quantity of rubbish annually shot in each of the above-mentioned localities appears to range from 5000 up to as high as 30,000 and 40,000 loads.

Of the earth removed in forming the foundation of new houses, between one-fourth and one-sixth of the whole is used to make the gardens at the back, and the bed of the roads in front of them, while the entire quantity of the soil displaced in the execution of the "cuttings" of railways is carted away in the trucks of the company to form embankments in other places. Hence there would appear to be about from 160,000 to 200,000 loads of refuse bricks, potsherds, pansherds, and oyster-shells, and about 600,000 loads of refuse earth deposited every year in the fields or "shoots" in the vicinity of the metropolis.

The refuse earth displaced in forming the foundations of houses is generally carted away by the builders' men, so that it is principally the refuse bricks, &c., that the rubbish-carters are engaged in removing; these they usually carry to the shoots already indicated, or to such other localities where the hard core may be needed for forming the foundation of roads, or the rubbish be required for certain other purposes.

The principal *use to which the "rubbish" is put*

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is for levelling, when the hollow part of any newly-made road has to be filled up, or garden or lawn ground has to be levelled for a new mansion. Rubbish, at one time, was in demand for the ballasting of small coasting vessels. For such ballasting 2*d.* a ton has to be paid to the corporation of the Trinity House. This rubbish has been used, but sometimes surreptitiously, for ballast, unmixed with other things. It is, however, light and inferior ballast, and occupies more space than the gravel ballast from the bed of the Thames.

Suppose that a collier requires ballast to the extent of 60 tons; if house rubbish be used it will occupy the hold to a greater height by about 10 inches than would the ballast derived from the bed of the Thames. The Thames ballast is supplied at 1*s.* a ton; the rubbish-ballast, however, was only 3*d.* to 6*d.* a ton, but now it is seldom used unless to mix with manure, which might be considered too wet and soft, and likely to ferment on the voyage to a degree unpleasant even to the mariners used to such freights. The rubbish, I am told, checks the fermentation, and gives consistency to the manure.

I am assured by a tradesman, who ships a considerable quantity of stable manure collected from the different mews of the metropolis, that comparatively little rubbish is now used for ballast (unless in the way I have stated); even for mixing, but a few tons a week are required up and down the river, and perhaps a small quantity from the wharfs on the several canals. Nothing was ever paid for the use of this rubbish as ballast, the carters being well satisfied to have the privilege of shooting it. Two of the principal shoots by the river side were at Bell-wharf, Shadwell, and off Wapping-street. The rubbish of Rotherhithe, it will be seen, is mainly "shot" as ballast.

The "*hard-core*" is readily got rid of; sometimes it is shot gratuitously (or merely with a small gratuity for beer to the men); but if it have to be carted three or four miles, it is from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* a load. This is used for the foundations of houses, the groundwork of roads, and other purposes where a hard substratum is required. The hard-core on a new road is usually about nine inches deep. There are on an average 20 miles of streets, 15 yards wide, formed annually in London. Hence there would be upwards of 100,000 loads of hard-core required for this purpose alone. Where the soil is of a gravelly nature, but little hard rubbish is needed. Oyster-shells *did* form a much greater portion than they do now of the hard substratum of roads. Eight or nine years ago the costermongers could sell their oyster-shells for 6*d.* a bushel. Now they cannot, or do not, sell them at all; and the law not only forbids their deposit in any place whatever, but forbids their being scattered in the streets, under a penalty of 5*l.* But as the same law provides no place where these shells may be deposited, the costermongers are in what one of them described to me as "a quandary." One man, who with his wife kept two stalls in Tottenham Court-road, one for fish (fresh and dried) and for shell-fish, and the other for fruit and vegetables, told me that he gave "one of those poor long-legged fellows who were neither men nor boys, and who were always starving and hanging about for a two-penny job, two-pence to carry away a hamper-full of shells and get rid of them as he best could. O, where he put them, sir," said the man, "I don't know, I wouldn't know; and I shouldn't have mentioned it to you, only I saw you last winter and know you're inquiring for an honest purpose."

Another costermonger who has a large barrow of oysters and mussels, and sometimes of "wet fish" near King's-cross, and at the junction of Leather-lane with Back-hill, Hatton-garden, was more communicative: "If you'll walk on with me, sir," he said, "*I'll* show you where they're shot. You may mention my name if you like, sir; I don't care a d—— for the crushers; not a blessed d——." He accordingly conducted me to a place which seemed adapted for the special purpose. At the foot of Saffron-hill and the adjacent streets runs the Fleet-ditch, now a branch of the common sewers; not covered over as in other parts, but open, noisome, and, as the dark water flows on, throwing up a sickening stench. The ditch is indifferently fenced, so that any one with a little precaution may throw what he pleases into it. "There, sir," said my companion, "there's the place where more oyster-shells is thrown than anywhere in London. They're thrown in in the dark." Assuredly the great share of blame is not to those who avail themselves of such places for illegal purposes, but to those who leave such filthy receptacles available. The scattered oyster-shells along all the approaches, on both sides, to this part of the open Fleet-ditch, evince the use that is made of it in violation of the law. Many of the costers, however, keep the shells by them till they amount to several bushels, and then give the rubbish-carters a few pence to dispose of them for them.

Some of the costermongers, again, obtain leave to deposit their oyster-shells in the dustmen's yards, where quantities may be seen whitening the dingy dust-heaps, and a large quantity are collected with the house-dust and ashes, together with the broken crockery from the dust-bins of the several houses. The oyster-shells are carted away with the pan-sherds, &c., for the purposes I have mentioned.

I now come to deal with the rubbish-carters, that is to say, with the labourers engaged in the removal of the "hard" species of refuse; of which we have seen there are between 160,000 and 200,000 loads annually carted away; the refuse earth, or "soft dirt," being generally removed by the builders' men, and the refuse, crockeryware, &c., by the dustmen, when collecting the dust from the "bins" of the several houses.

The master *Rubbish-Carters* are those who keep carts and horses to be hired for carting away the old materials when houses or walls are pulled down. They are also occasionally engaged in carrying away the soil or rubbish thrown up from the foundations of buildings; the excavations of docks, canals, and sewers; the digging

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of artesian wells, &c. This seems to comprise what in this carrying or removing trade is accounted "rubbish."

Perhaps not one of these tradesmen is solely a rubbish-carter, for they are likewise the carters of new materials for the use of builders, such as lime, bricks, stone, gravel, slates, timber, iron-work, chimney-pieces, &c. Some of them are public carmen; licensed carmen if they work, or ply, in the City; but beyond the City boundaries no licence is necessary. This complication perplexes the inquiry, but I purpose to confine it, as much as possible, to the rubbish-carters proper, having defined what may be understood by "rubbish." These carters are also employed in digging, pick-axing, &c., at the buildings, the rubbish of which they are engaged to remove.

Among the conveyors of rubbish are no distinctions as to the kind. Any of them will one week cart old bricks from a house which has been pulled down, and the next week be busy in removing the soil excavated where the foundations and cellars of a new mansion have been dug.

From inquiries made in each of the different districts of the metropolis, there appear to be from 140 to 150 tradesmen who, with the carting of bricks, lime, and other building commodities, add also that of rubbish-carting. These "masters" among them find employment for 840 labouring men, some of whom I find to have been in the service of the same employer upwards of 20 years.

The Post-Office Directory, under the head of rubbish-carters, gives the names of only 35 of the principal masters, of whom several are marked as scavagers, dust-contractors, nightmen, and road-contractors. The occupation abstract of the census, on the other hand, totally ignores the existence of any such class of workmen, masters as well as operatives. I find, however, by actual visitation and inquiry in each of the metropolitan districts, and thus learning the names of the several masters as well as the number of men in their employment, that there may be said to be, in round numbers, 150 master rubbish-carters, employing among them 840 operatives throughout London.

A large proportion of this number of labouring men, however, are casual hands, who have been taken on when the trade was busy during the summer (which is the the "brisk season" of rubbish-cartage), and who are discharged in the slack time; during which period they obtain jobs at dust-carting or scavaging, or some such out-door employment. Among the employers there are scarcely any who are purely rubbish-carters, the large majority consisting of dust and road-contractors, carmen, dairymen, and persons who have two or three horses and carts at their disposal. When a master builder or bricklayer obtains a contract, he hires horses and carts to take away any rubbish which may previously have been deposited. The contract of the King's Cross Terminus of the Great Northern Railway, for instance, has been undertaken by Mr. W. Jay, the builder; and, not having sufficient conveyances to cart the rubbish away, he has hired horses and carts of others to assist in the removal of it. The same mode is adopted in other parts of the metropolis, where any improvements are going on. The owners of horses and carts let them out to hire at from 7*s.* for one horse, to 14*s.* for two per day. If, however, the job be unusually large, the master rubbish-carters often take it by contract themselves.

Although the *operative rubbish-carters* may be classed among unskilled labourers, they are, perhaps, less miscellaneous, as a body, than other classes of open-air workers. Before they can obtain work of the best description it is necessary that they should have some knowledge of the management of a horse in the drawing of a loaded carriage, or of the way in which the animal should be groomed and tended in the stable. I was told by an experienced carman, that he, or any one with far less than his experience, could in a moment detect, merely by the mode in which a man would put the harness on a horse and yoke him to the cart, whether he was likely to prove a master of his craft in that line or not. My informant had noticed, more especially many years ago, when labour was not so abundantly obtainable as it was last year, that men out of work would offer him their services as carmen even if they had never handled a whip in their lives, as if little more were wanted than to walk by the horse's side. An experienced carter knows how to ease and direct the animal when heavily burdened, or when the road is rugged; and I am assured by the same informant, that he had known one of his horses more fatigued after traversing a dozen miles with a "yokel" (as he called him), or an incompetent man, than the animal had been after a fifteen miles' journey with the same load under the care of a careful and judicious driver. This knowledge of the management of a horse is most essential when men are employed to work "single-handed," or have confided to them singly a horse and cart; when they work in gangs it is not insisted upon, except as regards the "carman," or the man having charge of the horse or the team.

The master rubbish-carters generally are more particular than they used to be as to the men to whom they commit the care of their horses. It may be easy enough to learn to drive a horse and cart, but a casual labourer will now hardly get employment in rubbish-carting of a "good sort" unless he has attained that preliminary knowledge. The foreman of one of the principal contractors said to me, "It would never do to let a man learn his business by practising on our horses." I mention this to show, that although rubbish-carting is to be classed among unskilled labours, *some* training is necessary.

I am informed that one-third of the working rubbish-carters have been rubbish-carters from their youth, or cart, car, or waggon-drivers, for they all seem to have known changes; or they have been used to the care of horses in the capacity of ostlers, stable-men, helpers, coaching-inn porters, coachmen, grooms, and horse-breakers. Of

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the remainder, one-half, I am informed, have "had a turn" at such avocations as scavagery, bricklayers' labouring, dock work, railway excavating, night work, and the many toils to which such men resort in their struggles to obtain bread, whatever may have been their original occupation, which is rarely that of an artizan. The other, and what may be called the greater half of the remaining number, is composed of agricultural labourers who were rubbish-carters in the country, and of the many men who have had the care of horses and vehicles in the provinces, and who have sought the metropolis, depending upon their thews and sinews for a livelihood, as porters, or carmen, or labourers in almost any capacity. The most of these men at the plough, the harrow, the manure-cart, the hay and corn harvests, have been practised carters and horse drivers before they sought the expected gold in the streets of London. Full a third of the whole body of rubbish-carters are Irishmen, who in Ireland were small farmers, or cottiers, or agricultural labourers, or belonged to some of the classes I have described.

The mechanics among rubbish-carters I heard estimated, by men with equal means of information, as one in twenty and one in fifteen. Among these *quondam* mechanics were more farriers, cart and wheel wrights, than of other classes.

It seems to be regarded as an indispensable thing that working rubbish-carters should have one quality—bodily strength. I am told that one employer, who died a few weeks ago, used to say to any applicant for work, "It's no use asking for it, if you wish to keep it, unless you can lift a horse up when he's down."

As I have shown of the scavagers, &c., the employers in rubbish-carting may be classed as "honourable" and "scurfs." The men do not use the word "honourable," nor any equivalent term, but speak of their masters, though with no great distinctiveness, as being either "good," or "scurfs." As in other branches of unskilled labour where there are no trade societies or general trade regulations among the operatives, there are few distinctive appellations.

From the facts I have collected in connection with this trade, it would appear that there are 180 master rubbish-carters in the metropolis, about 140 of whom pay 18*s*. or more per week as wages, while the remaining 40 pay less than that amount. The latter constitute what the men term the scurf portion of the trade; so that the honourable masters among the rubbish-carters may be said to comprise seven-ninths of the whole.

I will first treat of the circumstances, characteristics, and wages of the men employed in the honourable trade.

And first, as regards *the division of labour* among the operative rubbish-carters, the work is as simple as possible.

There are—

1. *The Rubbish-Carters* proper, or "carmen," who are engaged principally in conveying the refuse brick or earth to the several shoots.

2. *The Rubbish-Shovellers*, or "gangers," who are engaged principally in filling the cart with the rubbish to be removed. Generally speaking, the two offices are performed by the same individual, who is both carter and shoveller, and it is only in large works that the gangers are employed.

Master builders and others who require the aid of rubbish-carters for the removal of earth or any other kind of rubbish from ground about to be built upon, or from old buildings about to be repaired or pulled down, either hire horses, carts, and carmen, by the day, of the master rubbish-carters, or pay a certain price per load for the removal of the rubbish. If the job be likely to last some length of time, the builders pay the masters so much per load for carting away the rubbish; but if the job be only for a short period, the horses, carts, and carmen are hired of the masters for the time. The price paid to the master rubbish-carter ranges from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 6*d*. per load for the removal of rubbish and bringing back such bricks, lime, or sand as may be required for the building. The master rubbish-carter, in all cases, pays the men engaged in the removal of the rubbish.

The operative rubbish-carters (except in a very few instances) never work in gangs, either in the construction of new buildings or in old buildings about to be pulled down or repaired. In digging the foundations of new houses, the master builders, or speculators, building upon their own ground employ their own excavators, and engage rubbish-carters to remove the refuse earth, the latter being merely occupied in carting it away.

The principle of simple co-operation or gang-work occasionally prevails; and, when this is the case, the gang is employed in shovelling and picking, while the carman, as the shovellers throw out the rubbish, fills or shovels the rubbish into the cart.

Each rubbish-carter will, on an average, convey away from two to five loads a day, according to the distance he has to take it. Calculating 850 men to remove four loads per diem for five months in a year, the gross quantity of rubbish annually removed would be very nearly 326,000 loads.

In the regular trade *the hours of daily labour* are twelve, or from six to six; but the men are allowed half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for tea, and almost invariably leave at half-past five, so postponing the "tea" half-hour until after the termination of their work. In winter the hours are generally "between the lights," but on very short, dark, or foggy days, lanterns are used. The men employed by one firm "often made up," I was told by one of them, "for lost time, by shovelling by moonlight." The carman, however, has to get to his stable in the summer at four o'clock in the morning, and to tend his horse after he has done work at night; so that the usual hours of labour with him are fifteen and sixteen per day, as well as Sunday-work.

The rubbish-carters are *paid by the week*, 18*s*. to 20*s*. being the weekly amount; and by *the load*, which is indeed piece-work. The payment to the

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TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF OPERATIVE RUBBISH-CARTERS EMPLOYED THROUGHOUT LONDON, THE WAGES RECEIVED BY THEM, THE NUMBER OF WEEKS THEY ARE EMPLOYED, AS WELL AS THE QUANTITY OF RUBBISH REMOVED BY THEM IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR.

District	Master Rubbish Carters.	No. of Operative Rubbish-Carters.	No. of Shovellers working in Gangs.	Quantity of Rubbish carted Daily.	Quantity of Rubbish carted Annually.	No. of days in the week each Operative is employed at Rubbish-Carting.	No. of weeks during the year each Operative is engaged in Removing Rubbish.	Weekly Wages of Rubbish-Carters.	Weekly Wages of the Operatives working in Gangs at Rubbish-Carting.
				lds.	loads.			s.	s.
Kensington.	Mr. J. Bird	5	..	15	2340	6	26	18	..
	— Hough	3	..	9	1404	6	26	18	..
	— Dubbins	3	..	9	1404	6	26	18	..
	— Taylor	3	..	12	1872	6	26	18	..
	— Gale	3	..	12	1872	6	26	18	..
	— G. Bird	10	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
Chelsea.	— Nicholls	10	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
	— Emmerson	5	..	15	2340	6	26	18	..
	— Freeman	5	..	15	2340	6	26	18	..
	— Pattison	2	..	6	936	6	26	18	..
	— Porter	6	..	18	2808	6	26	18	..
St. George's, Hanover-sq.	— Rawlins	4	..	16	1248	6	13	18	..
	— Wells	2	..	8	624	6	13	18	..
	— Watkins	5	..	15	1170	6	13	18	..
	— Liddiard	5	..	15	1170	6	13	18	..
Westminster.	— Farmer	4	..	16	1920	6	20	18	..
	— Bugbee	6	4	30	2340	6	13	18	18
	— Reddin	6	4	30	2340	6	13	18	18
	— Francis	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
Westminster Improvements.	— Chadwick	3	..	15	2340	6	26	18	..
	— Francis	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
	— Farmer	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
	— Duggan	8	..	40	6240	6	26	18	..
St. Martin's.	— T. Cooper	3	3	24	1872	6	13	18	20
	— Wall	2	2	16	1248	6	13	18	20
	— Duggan	4	..	16	1248	6	13	18	..
St. James's, Westminster.	— Nicolls	5	..	20	1560	6	13	18	..
	— Wells	2	..	8	624	6	13	18	..
	— Watkins	5	..	15	810	6	9	18	..
Mary-le-bone.	— Freeman	3	..	12	2808	6	39	18	..
	— Curmock	4	..	16	2496	6	26	18	..
	— Nicolls	8	..	24	1872	3	26	18	..
	— Watkins	10	..	40	4160	4	26	18	..
	— Perkins	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
	— Culverwell	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
West London.	Mr. Rutty	3	..	12	360	5	6	18	..
	— Kitchener	3	..	15	360	6	4	18	..
	— Wickham	3	..	12	240	5	4	18	..
	— Porter	4	..	16	864	6	9	18	..
West London Improvements.	— Crook	3	..	6	468	6	13	18	..
	— M'Carthy	6	..	30	4680	6	26	20	..
	— Reddin	5	..	25	3900	6	26	18	..
	— Rooke	6	..	30	4680	6	26	18	..
	— Bugbee	5	..	25	3900	6	26	18	..
	— Chadwick	5	..	25	3900	6	26	18	..
London City.	— Bateman	3	..	12	288	6	4	18	..
	— Tame	4	..	12	216	6	3	18	..
	— Walker	2	..	8	144	6	3	18	..
	— Harmadu	3	..	9	216	6	4	18	..
	— Bindy	2	..	6	72	3	4	18	..
London City Improvements.	— Duggan	10	..	50	7800	6	26	16	..
	— Bugbee	20	..	100	15600	6	26	18	..
	— Gould	10	..	50	7800	6	26	18	..
Shoreditch.	— Booth	5	..	20	360	3	6	18	..
	— Styles	2	..	8	96	3	4	18	..
	— Wood	5	..	20	780	3	13	18	..
	— Gould	5	..	20	1560	6	13	18	..
Bethnal Green.	— Calvert	2	..	8	240	3	10	15	..
	— Newman	2	..	6	234	3	13	16	..
	— Rooke	4	..	16	624	3	13	18	..
	— Tilley	3	..	12	936	6	13	18	..
Whitechapel.	— Newman	3	..	9	216	3	8	16	..
	— Tomkins	2	..	6	234	3	13	18	..
	— Abbott	2	..	6	90	3	5	18	..
St. George's in the East.	— Clarke	6	..	18	360	4	5	16	..
	— Calvert	4	..	16	192	3	4	15	..
	— Newman	3	..	12	216	3	6	16	..
	— Tomkins	2	..	6	108	3	6	18	..
Stepney.	— Abbott	6	..	18	432	3	8	18	..
	— Newman	4	..	16	288	3	6	16	..
	— Potter	3	..	12	180	3	5	16	..
	— Church	3	..	12	216	3	6	15	..

District	Name								
Paddington.	Mr. Curmock	3	..	12	936	6	13	18	..
	— Tame	6	..	18	432	3	8	18	..
	— Humphries	6	..	18	702	3	13	16	..
	— Nicolls	3	..	12	268	3	13	18	..
Hampstead.	— Seal & Jackson	2	..	6	936	6	26	20	..
	— Kirtland	1	..	3	468	6	26	20	..
	— Hingston	1	..	3	117	3	13	20	..
	— Batterbury	1	..	3	117	3	13	20	..
St. Pancras.	— Smith	2	..	8	384	4	12	18	..
	— Perkins	8	..	24	1872	6	13	18	..
	— Reddin	6	..	24	2304	6	16	18	..
	— Jay	6	..	24	2304	6	16	18	..
	— M. Rose	3	..	12	468	3	13	18	..
Islington.	— Eldred	4	..	20	1920	6	16	16	..
	— Croot	3	..	12	936	6	13	16	..
	— Speller	2	..	8	288	6	6	16	..
	— J. Rose	5	..	20	1560	6	13	16	..
Hackney.	— Piper	3	..	9	702	6	13	18	..
	— Rumball	6	..	18	2808	6	26	18	..
	— Booth	5	..	15	1170	6	13	18	..
St. Giles's.	— Duggan	3	..	12	936	6	13	16	..
	— Freeman	4	..	16	624	3	13	18	..
	— Bugbee	2	..	8	768	6	16	18	..
	— Wall	2	..	8	288	6	6	19	..
	— Mildwater	2	..	6	180	6	5	18	..
St. Giles's Improvements.	— Reddin	10	..	50	3900	6	13	18	..
	— Bugbee	10	..	50	3900	6	13	18	..
	— North	3	..	12	432	6	6	18	..
	— Nicolls	5	..	20	1560	6	13	18	..
Strand.	— Piper	4	..	16	384	6	4	18	..
	— Reddin	5	..	20	480	6	4	18	..
	— Ellis	3	..	12	180	3	5	18	..
	— Cooper	3	..	12	108	3	3	18	..
Holborn.	— Lovell	2	..	8	312	3	13	18	..
	— M'Carthy	6	..	24	1872	6	13	18	..
	— Wells	3	..	12	468	3	13	18	..
	— Ellis	3	..	12	324	3	9	18	..
Holborn and New Oxford-street Improvements.	— Reddin	20	..	80	6240	6	13	18	..
	— Bugbee	10	..	40	3120	6	13	18	..
	— Nicolls	5	..	20	480	3	8	18	..
	— Ellis	6	..	24	936	3	13	18	..
	— T. Brown	3	..	12	624	4	13	18	..
Clerkenwell.	— Wood	4	..	16	576	6	6	18	..
	— Johnstone	3	..	15	360	6	4	17	..
	— Clarkson	6	..	24	432	6	3	16	..
	— North	3	..	12	144	3	4	18	..
	— J. Brown	2	..	6	180	6	5	18	..
St. Luke's.	— Rhodes	5	..	20	500	5	5	18	..
	— Wood	5	..	20	360	3	6	18	..
	— Dodd	5	..	20	1200	6	10	16	..
	— Gould	10	..	30	2340	6	13	18	..
East London.	— Pratt & Sewell	3	..	9	351	3	13	18	..
	— Tomkins	2	..	6	234	3	13	18	..
	— Crook	2	..	6	234	3	13	18	..
	— Abbott	2	..	8	384	6	8	18	..

District	Name								
Poplar.	Mr. Pine	3	..	12	324	3	9	18	..
	— Monk	3	..	12	780	5	13	18	..
	— Tingey	2	..	8	240	3	10	18	..
	— Gabriel	4	..	16	624	3	13	18	..
	— Jones	3	..	12	192	4	4	18	..
St. George's,	— Reddin	10	..	40	3120	6	13	18	..
	— G. Whitten	2	..	10	780	6	13	18	..
St. Olave's,	— Webbon	3	..	12	936	6	13	18	..
	— Reddin	10	..	40	3120	6	13	18	..
St. Saviour's, Southwark.	— Bugbee	2	..	6	72	•3	4	18	..
	— Ryder	2	..	6	72	3	4	18	..
	— Wright	1	..	3	36	3	4	18	..
Bermondsey.	— Peake	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
	— Duckett	12	..	36	5616	6	26	18	..
	— Elworthy	8	..	24	3744	6	26	18	..
	— Slee	5	..	20	3120	6	26	18	..
	— Adams	4	2	20	4680	6	39	18	18
Newington.	— Gutteris	3	..	9	270	6	5	18	..
	— Crawley	2	..	8	256	4	8	18	..
	— Martainbody	6	..	24	960	4	10	18	..
Wandsworth.	— Nicholson	5	..	15	1170	6	13	17	..
	— Mears	3	..	6	468	6	13	17	..
	— Parsons	4	..	16	864	6	9	17	..
	— Easton	3	..	15	720	6	8	17	..
Lambeth.	— J. Whitton	10	..	40	2080	4	13	19	..
	— G. Whitton	8	..	24	1248	4	13	19	..
	— Kenning	2	..	10	390	3	13	18	..
Camberwell.	— Hook	6	..	18	540	3	10	18	..
	— Michel	2	..	8	384	6	8	18	..
	— Marsland	2	..	8	128	4	4	18	..
	— Walton	2	..	6	144	4	6	18	..
	— Evans	1	..	3	90	6	5	18	..
Rotherhithe.	— Walker	10	..	30	3240	6	18	15	..
	— Brown	8	..	24	936	3	13	18	..
	— Hobman	12	..	36	1404	3	13	18	..
	— East	6	..	18	702	3	13	18	..
	— Stevens	5	..	20	1560	6	13	15	..
Greenwich.	— Jeffry	2	..	10	600	6	10	15	..
	— Turtle	5	..	15	720	6	8	14	..
	— Hiscock	2	..	6	432	6	12	17	..
	— Allen	2	..	10	780	6	13	12	..
Woolwich.	— Connall	5	..	10	1560	6	26	16	..
	— Waller	3	..	6	468	6	13	15	..
	— Miller	6	..	12	936	6	13	15	..
	— Fuller	8	..	16	960	6	10	15	..
	— Barnes	4	..	12	648	6	9	15	..
	— Sharpe	12	..	36	1404	3	13	15	..
	— Taylor	8	..	24	2016	6	14	15	..
	— Ginno	5	..	20	780	3	13	15	..
	— Millard	4	..	10	390	3	13	15	..
	— Graham	3	..	9	270	3	10	15	..
Lewisham.	— Peakes	5	..	15	810	6	9	15	..
	— Wellard	3	..	12	936	6	13	15	..
	— Fleckell	6	..	18	1404	6	13	15	..
	— Hollis	4	..	12	288	3	8	15	..
	Total	840	15	3134	259831				

operatives by the load varies from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, for it is necessarily regulated by the distance to be traversed. If the rubbish have to be carted a mile to its destination—or, as the men call it, to "the shoot"—of course it is to be so conveyed at a proportionally lower rate than if it had to be driven two or three miles. The employment of men by the load, however, becomes less every year, and the reason, I am assured, is this:—The great stress of the labour falls upon the horse. If the animal be strong and manageable, a man, for the sake of conveying an extra load a day, might overtax its powers, injure it gradually, and deteriorate its strength and its value. The operative carters, on their part, have complained that sometimes even "good" employers have set them to work by the load with "hard old horses," which no management could get out of their slow, long-accustomed pace. Thus a man might clear by the piece-work but 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, with a horse not worth 15*l.*; while another carter, with a superior animal worth twice as much, might clear 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* Some "hard" masters, I was informed, liked these old horses, because they were bought cheap, and though they brought in less than superior animals they were easier kept; while if less were earned by the piece-work with such horses, less was paid in wages; and if the horse broke its leg, or was killed, or injured, it was more easily replaced. This mode of employment is, as I have said, less and less carried into effect; but it is still one of the ways in which a working carter may be made a sufferer, because a principal accessary of his work—the horse—may not be capable of the requisite exertion.

The nominal wages of the rubbish-carters in the best employ are from 18*s.* to 20*s.* a week; in the worse-paid trade 15*s.* is the more general price; but even as little as 12*s.* is given by some masters.

The actual wages are the same as the nominal in the honourable trade, with the addition of perquisites in beer to the men of from 1*s.* to 2*s.* weekly, and of "findings," especially to the carmen, of an amount I could not ascertain, but perhaps realizing 6*d.* a week. One carman put all he found on one side to buy new year's clothes for his children, and on new year's eve last year he had 48*s.* 0½*d.*, "money, and what brought money;" but this is far from an usual case.

The rate of wages paid to the operative rubbish-carters throughout the different districts of London, I find, by inquiries in each locality, to be by no means uniform. For instance, at Hampstead the wages are unexceptionally 20*s.* per week; while at Kensington, Chelsea, and indeed the whole of the west districts of London, they are 18*s.* weekly; in St. Martin's parish, however, 19*s.* a week is paid by two masters. In the north districts again, 18*s.* a week is generally paid; with the exception of Hampstead, where the weekly wages for the same labour are as high as 20*s.*, and Islington, where they are as low as 16*s.* In the central districts, too, the wages are generally 18*s.*; the lower rate of 17*s.* and 16*s.* per week being paid in certain places by "cutting" and "grasping" individuals, who form isolated exceptions to the rule. In a certain portion of the eastern districts, such as Bethnal Green, St. George's in the East, and Stepney, 16*s.* and 15*s.* a week appears to be the rule; while in Shoreditch and Poplar 18*s.* is paid by all the masters. The southern districts of the metropolis are equally irregular in their rates of wages. Lewisham pays as low as 15*s.*, and Woolwich the same weekly sum, with one exception. Wandsworth, on the other hand, pays uniformly 17*s.*; while in Southwark, Bermondsey, Newington, and Camberwell, the wages paid by all are 18*s.* In Lambeth as much as 19*s.* is given by two masters out of three; whereas, in Greenwich one master pays 14*s.*, and the other even as low as 12*s.* a week. When I come to treat of the lower-paid trade, I shall explain the causes of the above difference as regards wages.

The analysis of the facts I have collected on this subject is as follows:—Out of 180 masters, employing among them 840 men, there are—

				Wages per Week.
5	masters employing	11	men, and paying	20*s.*
5	,, ,,	30	,, ,,	19*s.*
127	,, ,,	605	,, ,,	18*s.*
6	,, ,,	20	,, ,,	17*s.*
16	,, ,,	70	,, ,,	16*s.*
19	,, ,,	97	,, ,,	15*s.*
1	,, ,,	5	,, ,,	14*s.*
1	,, ,,	2	,, ,,	12*s.*

Hence, three-fourths of the operatives may be said to receive 18*s.* weekly, and about one-sixth 16*s.*

The perquisites in this trade are more in beer than in money, nor are they derived from the employers, unless exceptionally. They are given to the rubbish-carters by the owners of the premises where they work, and may, in the best trade, amount, in beer or in money to buy beer, to from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* weekly per man. The other perquisites are what is found in the digging of the rubbish for the carts, and in the shooting of it. As in other trades of a not dissimilar character, there appears to be no fixed rule as to "treasure trove." One man told me that in digging or shovelling each man kept what he found; another said the men drank it. Anything found, however, when the cart is emptied is the perquisite of the carman. "It's luck as is everything;" said one carman. "There was a mate of mine as hadn't not no better work nor me, once found an old silver coin, like a bad half-crown, as a gen'lman he knowed gave him five good shillings for, and he found a silver spoon as fetched 1*s.* 9*d.*, in one week, and that same week on the same ground *I* got nothing but five bad ha'pennies. I once worked in the City where the Sun office now is, just by the Hall of Commerce in Threadneedle-street, and something was found in the Hall as now is; it was a French church once; and an old gent gave us on the sly 1*s.* a day for beer, to show him or tell him of anything we

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turned up queer. We did show him things as we thought queer, and they looked queer, but he all'us said 'Chi-ish,' or 'da-amn.' From what I've heard him say to another old cove as sometimes was with him, they looked for something Roman Catholic." My informant no doubt meant "Roman," as in digging the foundations of the Hall of Commerce a tesselated Roman pavement was found at a great depth.

Among these workmen are *no Trade Societies, no Benefit or Sick-Clubs*, and, indeed, no measures whatever for the upholding of accustomed wages, or providing "for a rainy day," unless individually. If a rubbish-carter be sick, the men in the same employ, whatever their number, 10 or 40, contribute on the Saturday evenings 6*d.* each, towards his support, until the patient's convalescence. There are no Houses of Call.

The *payment is in the master's yard* on the Saturday evening, and always in money. There are no drawbacks, unless for any period during the hours of regular labour, when a man may have been absent from his work. Fines there are none, except in large establishments among the carmen where many horses are kept, and then, if a man do not keep his regular stable-hours in the mornings, especially the Sunday mornings, he is fined 6*d.* These fines are spent by the carmen generally, and most frequently in beer.

The *usual way of applying for work* is to call at the yards or premises, or, more frequently, to take a round in the districts where it is known that buildings or excavations are being carried on, to inquire of the men if a hand be wanted. Sometimes a foreman may be there who has authority to "put on" new hands; if not, the applicant, with the prospect of an engagement in view, calls upon any party he may be directed to. Several men told me that when they were engaged nothing was said about character. The employers seem to be much influenced by the applicant's appearance.

I must now give a brief description of the rubbish-carter, and the scene of his labours.

Any one who observes, and does not merely see, the labour of the rubbish-carter, will have been struck with the stolid indifference with which these men go about their work, however much the scene of their labours, from its historical associations, may interest the better informed. So it was when the rubbish carters were employed in removing the ruins of the old Houses of Parliament, and of that portion of the Tower which suffered from the ravages of the fire; and so it would be if they were directed to-morrow to commence the demolition and rubbish-carting of Westminster Abbey, the Temple Church, or St. Paul's, even in their present integrity.

Sometimes the scene of the rubbish-carter's industry presents what may be called a "piteous aspect." This was not long ago the case in Cannon-street, City, and the adjacent courts and alleys; when the houses had been cleared of their furniture, the windows were removed (giving the house what may be styled a "blind" look); most of the doors had been taken away, as well as some of the floors. Large cyphers, scrawled in whitewash on the walls and woodwork, intimated the different "lots," and all spoke of desertion; the only moving thing to be seen, perhaps, was some flapping paper, torn from the sides of a room and which fluttered in the wind.

A scene of exceeding bustle follows the apparent desolateness of the premises. When the whole has been disposed of to the several purchasers, the further and final work of demolition begins. Baskets filled with the old bricks are rapidly lowered by ropes and pulleys into the carts below, it being the carter's business to empty them, and then up the empty baskets are drawn, as if by a single jerk. The sound of the hammer used in removing and separating the old bricks of the building, the less frequent sound of the pick-axe, the rumble of the stones and bricks into the cart, the noise of the pulleys, the shouts of the men aloft, crying "be-low there!" the half-articulate exclamations of the carters choked with dust, form a curious medley of noises. The atmosphere is usually a cloud of dust, which sticks to the men's hair like powder. The premises are boarded round, and if adjoining a thoroughfare the boards are closely fitted, to prevent the curious and the loiterers obstructing the current of passengers. The work within is confined to the labourers; "no persons admitted except on business" seems a rule rigidly enforced. The only men inside who appear idle are the over-lookers, or surveyors. They stand with their hands in their breeches' pockets; and a stranger to the business might account them uninterested spectators, but for the directions they occasionally give, now quietly, and now snappishly; while the Irishmen show an excessive degree of activity, the assumption of which never deceives an overlooker.

From twelve to one is the customary dinner-hour, and then all is quiet. On visiting some new buildings at Maida-hill, I found seven men, out of about 30, all fast asleep in the nooks and corners of the piles of bricks and rubbish, the day being fine. The others were eating their dinners at the public-houses or at their own homes.

In the progress of pulling down, the work of removal goes on very rapidly where a strong force is employed—the number varying from about twelve to 30 men. A four-storied house is often pulled down to its basement, and the contents of the walls, floors, &c., removed, in ten days or a fortnight.

As the work of demolition goes on, the rubbish-carter loads the cart with the old bricks, mortar, and refuse which the labourers have displaced. In some places, where a number of buildings is being removed at the same time, an inclined plane or road is formed by the rubbish-carters, up and down which the horses and vehicles can proceed. Until such means of carriage have been employed, the rubbish from the interior foundation is often shot in a mound within the premises, and carried off when the way has been formed, excepting such portion as may be retained for any purpose.

In hot weather, many of the rubbish-carters in the fair trade work in their shirts, a broad woollen belt being strapped round the waist, which, they

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say, supports "the small of the back" in their frequent bending and stooping. Some wear woollen night-caps at this work when there is much dust; and nearly all the men in the honourable trade wear the "strong men's" half-boots, laced up in the front, as the best protectors of the feet from the intrusion of rubbish.

In the cold weather, the rubbish-carter's working dress is usually a suit of strong drab-white fustian. The suit comprises a jacket with two large pockets. The cost of such a suit, new, at a slop-tailor's, is from 28*s*. to 35*s*.; from a good shop, and of better materials, 40*s*. to 55*s*. Some prefer stout corduroy to fustian trowsers; and some work in short smock-frocks.

Having thus shown the nature of the work, the class of men employed, and the amount of remuneration, I proceed to describe the characteristics of the rubbish-carters employed by the honourable masters; I will then describe the state of the labourers who are *casually* rather than *constantly* employed; and finally speak of the condition and habits of the lower-paid workers under the cheap masters.

The Ability to Read and Write.—I think I heard of fewer instances of defective education among the rubbish-carters than among other classes of unskilled labourers. The number of men who could read and not write, I found computed at about one-half. It appears that the children of these men are very generally sent to school, which is certainly a healthful sign as to the desire of the parents to do justice to their offspring. As among other classes, I met with uneducated men who had exaggerated notions of the advantages of the capability of reading and writing, and men who possessed such capability representing it as a worthless acquirement.

The *majority of the Rubbish-Carters* in the honourable trade *are*, I am informed, *really married men*, and have families "born in lawful wedlock." One decent and intelligent man, to whom I was referred, said (his wife being present and confirming his statement): "I don't know how it is, sir, but they say one scabbed sheep will affect a flock." "Oh! it's dreadful," said the wife; "but some way it seems to run in places. Now, we've lived among people much in our own way of life in Clerkenwell, and Pentonville, and Paddington. Well, we've reason to believe, that there wasn't much living together unmarried in Clerkenwell or Pentonville, but a goodish deal in Paddington. I don't know why, for they seemed to live one with another, just as men do with their wives. But if there's daughters, sir, as is growing up and gets to know it, as they're like enough to do, ain't it a bad example? Yes, indeed," said the wife, "and I'm told they call going together in that bad way—they ought all to be punished—without ever entering a church or chapel, getting 'ready married.'" I inquired if they were not perhaps married quietly at the Registrar's office? "O, that," said Mrs. B——, "ain't like being married at all. *I* would never have consented to such a way, but I'm pretty certain they don't as much as do that. No, sir," (in answer to another inquiry), "I hope, and think, it ain't so bad among young couples as it was, but its bad enough as it is, God he knows." The proportions of Wedlock and Concubinage I could not learn, for the woman, I was assured, always took the man's name; and both man and woman, unless in their cups or their quarrels, declared they were man and wife, only there was no good in wasting money to get their "marriage lines" all for no use.

The Politics of the rubbish-carters are, I am assured by some of the best informed among them, of no fixity, or principle, or inclination whatever, as regards one-half of the entire body; and that the other half, whether ignorant or not, are Chartists, the Irish generally excepted; and they, I understood, as I had learned on previous occasions, had no political opinions, unless such as were entertained by their priests. Strong, rude, and ignorant as many of these carters are, I am told that few of them took part in any public manifestation of opinion, or in any disturbance, unless they were out of work. "I think I know them well," one of their body said to me, "and as long as they have pretty middling of work, it'll take a very great thing indeed to move 'em. If they was longish out of work and felt a pinch, very likely they'd be found ready for anything."

With respect to Free Trade, I am told that these men sometimes discuss it, and formerly discussed it far more frequently among themselves, but that it was not above one in a dozen, and of the better sort only, who cared to talk about it either now or then. There seems no doubt that the majority, whether they understand its principles and working or not, are favourable to it; I may say, from all I could learn, that the *great* majority are. I heard of one rubbish-carter, formerly a small farmer, who left London for some other employment, in the spring, contending, and taking pains to enforce his conviction, that Free Trade would ruin the best interests of rubbish-carters, as year by year there would be more agricultural labourers resorting to the great towns to look for such work as rubbish-carting, for every farmer would employ more Irish labourers at his own terms, and even the 8*s*. a week, the extent of the earnings of the agricultural labourers in some parishes, would be undersold by the Irish. Last winter, he said, very many countrymen came to London, and would do so the next, and more and more every year, and so make labour cheaper.

As far as I could extend my inquiries and observations, this man's arguments—although I cannot say I heard any one offer to controvert them—were not considered sound, nor his facts fully established. There were certainly great numbers of good hands out of employment last winter, and many new applicants for work; "but buildings," I was told by a carman, "are of course always slacker carried on in the winter. Now, this year, so far (beginning of October), things seem to promise pretty well in our business, and so if it's good this winter and was bad the last, why, as there's the same Free Trade, it seems as if it had nothing to do with it. There's not so

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much building going on now as there was a few years ago, but trade's steadier, I think."

Other rubbish-carters, in the best trade, said that they had found little difference for six or eight years, only as bread was cheaper or dearer; and, if Free Trade made bread cheap, no man ought to say a word against it, "no matter about anything else." Of course I give these opinions as they came to me.

As to Food, these labourers, when in full work, generally live what they consider *well;* that is, they eat meat and have beer to their meals every day. Three of them told me that they could not say what their living cost separately, as they took all their meals at home with their families, their wives laying out the money. One couple had six children, and the husband said they cost him about 17*s.* a week in food, or about 2*s.* 6*d.* per head, reckoning a pint of beer a day for himself, and not including the youngest, which was an infant at the breast. The father earned 22*s.* weekly, and the eldest child, a boy, 3*s.* 6*d.* a week for carrying out and collecting the papers for a news'-agent. The wife could earn nothing, although an excellent washerwoman, the cares of her family occupying her whole time. She always had "the cold shivers," she said, "if ever she thought of John's being out of work, but he was a steady man, and had been pretty fortunate." If these men were engaged on a job at any distance, they sometimes breakfasted before starting, or carried bread and butter with them, and eat it to a pint of coffee if near enough to a coffee-shop, but in some places they were not near enough. Their dinners they carried with them, generally cold meat and bread, in a basin covered with a plate, a handkerchief being tied round it so as to keep the plate firm and afford a hold to the bearer. "It's not always, you see, sir," said a rubbish-carter, "that there's a butcher's shop near enough to run to and buy a bit of steak and get it dressed at a tap-room fire, just for buying a pint of beer, and have a knife and fork, and a plate, and salt found you into the bargain, and pepper and mustard too, if you'll give the girl or the man 1*d.* a week or so. But we're glad to get a good cold dinner. O, as to beer, it would be a queer out-of-the-way place indeed where a landlord didn't send out a man to a building with beer." One single man, who told me he was only a small eater, gave me the following as his *daily* bill of fare, as he rarely took any meals at his lodgings:

	s.	*d.*
Half-quartern loaf	0	2¾
Butter	0	1
Coffee (twice a day)	0	3
Eleven o'clock beer, sometimes a pint and sometimes half-a-pint, but often obtained as a perquisite . . . (average)	0	1½
½ lb. of beef steak, or a chop, or four or five pennyworth of cold meat from a cook-shop . . . (average)	0	5
Potatoes	0	1
Dinner beer	0	2
Bread and cheese and beer for supper .	0	4
	1	8¼

This was the average cost of his daily food, while on Sundays he generally paid 1*s.* 6*d.* for breakfast and tea, and a good dinner off a hot joint with baked potatoes from the oven, along with the family and other lodgers. He had a good walk every Sunday morning, he said, but liked to sleep away the afternoon. He found his own Sunday beer, costing 4*d.* dinner and supper, but he didn't eat anything at supper, as he wasn't inclined after resting all day, and so his weekly expenses in food were:—

	s.	*d.*
Six working days, at 1*s.* 8¼*d.* a day	10	1½
Sunday	1	10
Week's food	11	11½

To this, in the way of drink or luxuries, I might add, the carter said, 2*d.* a day for gin (although he wasn't a drinker and was very seldom tipsy), "for I treat a friend to a quartern one day and may-be he stands treat the next." Also 4*d.* for Sunday gin, as he and the other men took a glass just before dinner for an appetite, and he took one after dinner to send him asleep. Add, too, 3*d.* a week for tobacco. In all 1*s.* 7*d.*, which swells the weekly cost of eating, drinking, and smoking to 13*s.* 6½*d.* His washing was 4*d.* a week (he washed his working jacket and trowsers himself), his rent 2*s.* 6*d.* for a bed to himself; so that, 16*s.* 4½*d.* being spent out of an earning of 18*s.*, he had but 1*s.* 5½*d.* a week left for his clothes, shoes, &c. If he wanted a shilling or two for anything, he said, he knocked off his supper, and then nothing was allowed in his reckoning for perquisites, so he might be 2*s.* in hand, at least 2*s.*, every week in a regular way of living. This man expressed his conviction that no man, who had to work hard, could live at smaller cost than he did. That numbers of men did so, he admitted, but he "couldn't make it out." The two ways of living which I have described may be taken as the modes prevalent among this class of labourers, who seek to live "comfortably." Others who "rough it" live at less cost, dining, for instance, off a pennyworth of pudding and half a pint of beer.

I ascertained that among the rubbish-carters, *those most frequently attendant on public worship are the Irish Roman Catholics,* and such Englishmen as had been agricultural labourers in rural parishes, and had been reared in the habit of church-going; a habit in which, but not without many exceptions, they still persevere. Among London-bred labourers such habits are rarely formed.

The abodes of the better description of rubbish-carters are not generally in those localities which are crowded with the poor. They reside in the streets off the Edgeware and Harrow-roads, as building has been carried on to a very great extent in Westbourne, Maida-hill, &c.; in Portland-town, Camden-town, Somers-town, about King's-cross; in Islington, Pentonville, and Clerkenwell; off the Commercial and Mile-end-roads; in Walworth, Camberwell, Kennington, and Newington; and, indeed, in all the quarters where building has been prosecuted on an extensive

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scale. I was in some of their apartments, and found them tidy and comfortable-looking: one was especially so. Some stone-fruit on the mantel-shelf shone as if newly painted, and the fender and fire-irons glittered from their brightness to the fire of the small grate. The husband, however, was in good earnings, and the wife cleared about 5*s.* weekly on superior needlework. There was one thing painful to observe—the contrast between the robust and sun-burnt look of the husband, and the delicate and pallid, not to say sickly, appearance of the wife. The rents for unfurnished apartments vary from 2*s.* to 5*s.*, but rarely the latter, unless the wife take in a little washing. I heard of some at 2*s.*, but very few; 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* are common prices.

I heard of no partiality for amusements among the rubbish-carters, beyond what my informant spoke of—a visit to the play. Some, I was told, but principally the younger men, never missed going to a fair, which was not too far off. I think not quite one-half of those I spoke to, with the best earnings, had been to the Exhibition. Of the worst paid, I am told, not one in 50 went; one man told me that he had no amusements but his pipe and his beer. Some of them, I was assured, drank half a gallon of beer in a day, but at intervals, so as not to be intoxicated. "A hand at cribbage" is a favourite public-house game among a few of these men; but not above one in half-a-dozen, I was assured, "knew the cards," and not one in two dozen played them.

These, then, are the characteristics of the labouring rubbish-carters employed in the honourable trade.

A fine-looking man, upwards of six feet in stature and of proportionate bulk, with so smart a set to his bushy whiskers, and a look of such general tidiness (after he had left off work in the evening), that he might have been taken for a life-guardsman had it not been for a slight slouch of the shoulders, and a very unmilitary gait, gave me the following account:—

"I 'm a London man," he said, "and though I 'm not yet 25, I 've kept myself for the last five years. I 've worked at rubbish-carting and general ground-work (digging for pipe-laying, &c.,) as we nearly all do, but mainly at rubbish-carting, and I 'm at that now. My friends are in the same line, so I helped them: I was big enough, and was brought up that way. O, yes, I can read and write, but I haven't time, or very seldom, to read anything but a newspaper now and again. I 'm a carman now, and have a very good master. I 've served him, more or less, for three years. I have had 25*s.* a week, and I have had 29*s.*, but that included over-work. Two hours extra work a day makes an extra day in the week, you see, sir. O, yes, I might have saved money, and I 'm trying to save 25*l.* now to see if I can't raise a horse and cart, and begin for myself in a small way, general jobbing. I 've been used to cart mould, and gravel, and turf for gentlemen's gardens, or when gardens have been laid out in new buildings, as well as rubbish, for the same master. Last year I set to work in hard earnest in the same way, and this is where it is that always stops me. Mr. —— [his employer] is very busy now, and things look pretty well about here [Camden-town], but I don't know how it is in other parts. It was the same last year, but trade fell off in the winter, and I was three months out of work. O, that 's a common case, especial with young men, for of course the old hands has the preference. That 's where it is, you see, sir; it 's a *uncertain* trade. It 's always that new shoes is wanted, but it ain't always new houses. My money all went, and then all my things went to the pawn, and when I got fairly to work again, I had a shirt and a shilling left, and owed some little matters. I 'd saved well on to 50*s.*, and could have gone on saving, but for being thrown out. Then, when you get into regular wages again, there 's your uncle to meet, and there 's always something wanted—a pair of half-boots, or a new shirt, or a new tool, or something; so one loses heart about it, and I can't abear not to appear respectable.

"I pay 2*s.* a week for my lodging, but it 's only for half a bed. The house is let out that way to single men like me, so each bed brings in 4*s.* a week. There 's two beds in the room where I sleep; I don't know how many in all. Why, yes, it 's a respectable sort of a place, but I don't much like it. There 's plenty such places; some 's decent and some 's not. Oh, certainly, a place of your own 's best, if it 's ever so humble, but it wouldn't suit a man like me. I may work one week at Paddington, and the next at Bow, and if I had a furnished room at Paddington, what good would it be if I went to work at Bow? Only the bother and expense of removing my sticks again and again. O, people that find lodgings for such as me, know that well enough, and makes a prey of us, of course.

"I take my meals at a public-house or a coffee-shop. O yes, I live well enough. I have meat every day to dinner; a man like me must keep up his strength, and you can't do that without good meat. It 's all nonsense about vegetables and all that, as if men's stomachs were like cows'. I have bread and butter and tea or coffee for breakfast and tea, sometimes a few cresses with it just to sweeten the blood, which is the proper use of vegetables. A pint of beer or so for supper, but I don't care about supper, though now and then I take a bit of bread and cheese with a nice fresh onion to it. Well, I 'm sure I can't say what I lay out in my living in a week; sometimes more and sometimes less. I keep no account; I pay my way as I go on. Some weeks when I get my Saturday night's wage, I have from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* left from last Saturday night's money, but that 's only when I 've had nothing to lay out beyond common. Now, last week I was 4*s.* 9*d.* to the good, and this week I shall be about the ditto; but then I want a waistcoat and a silk handkerchief for my neck for Sunday wear; so I must draw on my Saturday night. There 's a gentleman takes care of my money for me, and I carry him what I have over in a week, and he takes care of it for me. I did a good deal of

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work about his houses—he has a block of them—and his own place, and I've gardened for him; and from what I've heard, my money's safer with him than with a Savings' Bank. When I want to draw he likes to be satisfied what it's for, and he's lent me as much as 33*s.* in different sums, when I was hard up. He's what I call a real gentleman. He says if I ever go to him tipsy to draw, and says it quite solemn like, he'll take me by the scruff of the neck and kick me out; though [laughing] he can't be much above five foot, and has gray hairs, and seems a feeble sort of a man, I mean of a gentleman. He enters all I pay in a book. Here it is, sir, for this year, if you'd like to see it. I wasn't able to put anything by for a goodish bit. I lost my book once, but I knew how much, and so did Mr. ——, and he put it down in a lump.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
July 18	In hand	1	3	0
25	Received	0	3	6
Aug. 9	"	0	3	6
23	"	0	5	0
Sept. 13	"	0	9	6
20	"	0	4	0
27	"	0	4	0
		£2	12	6

"If I can't save a little to start myself on when I'm a single man, I can't ever after, I fancy; so I'm a trying.

"No, my expenses, over and above my living and lodging and washing, and all that, ain't heavy. Yes, I'm very fond of a good play, very. Some galleries is 6*d.*, and some 3*d*; but then there's refreshment and that, so it costs 1*s.* a time. Perhaps I go once a week, but only in autumn and winter, when nights get long, and we leave work at half-past five. The last time I was at the play was at the Marylebone, but there was some opera pieces that don't suit me; such stuff and nonsense. I like something very lively, or else a deep tragedy. Sadler's Wells is the place, sir. I mean to go there to-morrow night. Yes, I'm very fond of the pantomimes. Concerts I've been at, but don't care for them. They're as dear at 2*d.* as an egg a penny, and an egg's only a bite.

"Well, I've gone to church sometimes, but a carman hasn't time, for he has his horses to attend to on Sunday mornings, and that uses up his morning. No, I never go now. Work must be done. It ain't my fault. I'm sure, if I could have my wish, I'd never do anything on a Sunday.

"Yes, there's far too many as undersells us in work. I know that, but I don't like to think about them or to talk about them." [He seemed desirous to ignore the very existence of the scurf rubbish-carters.] "They're Irish many of them. They're often quarrelsome and blood-thirsty, but I know many decent men among the Irishmen in our gangs. There's good and bad among them, as there is among the English. There's very few of the Irish that are carmen; they haven't been much used to horses.

"I have done a little as a nightman when I worked for Mr. ——. He was a parish contractor, and undertook such jobs, and liked to put strong men on to them. I didn't like it. I can't think it's a healthy trade. I can't say, but I heard it represented, that in this particular calling there was a great deal of under-contracting going on when the railway undertakings generally received a severe check, and when a great number of hands were thrown out of employment, and sought employment in rubbish-carting generally, and apart from railway-work. These hands suffered greatly for a long time. The tommy-shops and the middle-man system were enough to swallow the largest amount of railway wages, so that very few had saved money, and they were willing to work for very low wages. A good many of these people went to endeavour to find work at the large new docks being erected at Great Grimsby, near Boston, in Lincolnshire. Some of the more prudent were able to raise the means of emigrating, and from one cause or other the pressure of this surplus labour among rubbish-carters and excavators, as regards the metropolis, became relieved."

Of Casual Labour in General, and that of the Rubbish-Carters in Particular.

The subject of casual labour is one of such vast importance in connection with the welfare of a nation and its people, and one of which the causes as well as consequences seem to be so utterly ignored by economical writers and unheeded by the public, that I purpose here saying a few words upon the matter in general, with the view of enabling the reader the better to understand the difficulties that almost all unskilled and many skilled labourers have to contend with in this country.

By *casual* labour I mean such labour as can obtain only *occasional* as contradistinguished from *constant* employment. In this definition I include all classes of workers, literate and illiterate, skilled and unskilled, whose professions, trades, or callings expose them to be employed temporarily rather than continuously, and whose incomes are in a consequent degree fluctuating, casual, and uncertain.

In no country in the world is there such an extent, and at the same time such a diversity, of casual labour as in Great Britain. This is attributable to many causes—commercial and agricultural, natural and artificial, controllable and uncontrollable.

I will first show what are the causes of casual labour, and then point out its effects.

The causes of casual labour may be grouped under two heads:—

I. *The Brisk and Slack Seasons, and Fit Times*, or periodical increase and decrease of work in certain occupations.

II. *The Surplus Hands* appertaining to the different trades.

First, as to the briskness or slackness of employment in different occupations. This depends in different trades on different causes, among which may be enumerated—

A. The weather.

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B. The seasons of the year.
C. The fashion of the day.
D. Commerce and accidents.

I shall deal with each of these causes *seriatim*.

A. The labour of thousands is influenced by the *weather;* it is suspended or prevented in many instances by stormy or rainy weather; and in some few instances it is promoted by such a state of things.

Among those whose labour cannot be executed on *wet days*, or executed but imperfectly, and who are consequently deprived of their ordinary means of living on such days, are—paviours, pipe-layers, bricklayers, painters of the exteriors of houses, slaters, fishermen, watermen (plying with their boats for hire), the crews of the river steamers, a large body of agricultural labourers (such as hedgers, ditchers, mowers, reapers, ploughmen, thatchers, and gardeners), costermongers and all classes of street-sellers (to a great degree), street-performers, and showmen.

With regard to the degree in which agricultural (or indeed in this instance woodland) labour may be influenced by the weather, I may state that a few years back there had been a fall of oaks on an estate belonging to Col. Cradock, near Greta-bridge, and the poor people, old men and women, in the neighbourhood, were selected to strip off the bark for the tanners, under the direction of a person appointed by the proprietor: for this work they were paid by the basket-load. The trees lay in an open and exposed situation, and the rain was so incessant that the "barkers" could scarcely do any work for the whole of the first week, but kept waiting under the nearest shelter in the hopes that it would "clear up." In the first week of this employment nearly one-third of the poor persons, who had commenced their work with eagerness, had to apply for some temporary parochial relief. A rather curious instance this, of a parish suffering from the casualty of a very humble labour, and actually from the attempt of the poor to earn money, and do work prepared for them.

On the other hand, some few classes may be said to be benefited by the rain which is impoverishing others: these are cabmen (who are the busiest on *showery* days), scavagers, umbrella-makers, clog and patten-makers. I was told by the omnibus people that their vehicles filled better in hot than in wet weather.

But the labour of thousands is influenced also by the *wind;* an easterly wind prevailing for a few days will throw out of employment 20,000 dock labourers and others who are dependent on the shipping for their employment; such as lumpers, corn-porters, timber-porters, ship-builders, sail-makers, lightermen, watermen, and, indeed, almost all those who are known as 'long-shoremen. The same state of things prevails at Hull, Bristol, Liverpool, and all our large ports.

Frost, again, is equally inimical to some labourers' interests; the frozen-out market-gardeners are familiar to almost every one, and indeed all those who are engaged upon the land may be said to be deprived of work by severely cold weather.

In the weather alone, then, we find a means of starving thousands of our people. Rain, wind, and frost are many a labourer's natural enemies, and to those who are fully aware of the influence of "the elements" upon the living and comforts of hundreds of their fellow-creatures, the changes of weather are frequently watched with a terrible interest. I am convinced that, altogether, a wet day deprives not less than 100,000, and probably nearer 200,000 people, including builders, bricklayers, and agricultural labourers, of their ordinary means of subsistence, and drives the same number to the public-houses and beer-shops (on this part of the subject I have collected some curious facts); thus not only decreasing their income, but positively increasing their expenditure, and that, perhaps, in the worst of ways.

Nor can there be fewer dependent on the winds for their bread. If we think of the vast number employed either directly or indirectly at the various ports of this country, and then remember that at each of these places the prevalence of a particular wind must prevent the ordinary arrival of shipping, and so require the employment of fewer hands; we shall have some idea of the enormous multitude of men in this country who can be starved by "a nipping and an eager air." If in London alone there are 20,000 people deprived of food by the prevalence of an easterly wind (and I had the calculation from one of the principal officers of the St. Katherine Dock Company), surely it will not be too much to say that throughout the country there are not less than 50,000 people whose living is thus precariously dependent.

Altogether I am inclined to believe, that we shall not be over the truth if we assert there are between 100,000 and 200,000 individuals and their families, or half a million of people, dependent on the elements for their support in this country.

But this calculation refers to those classes only who are deprived of a certain number of *days'* work by an alteration of the weather, a cause that is essentially *ephemeral* in its character. The other series of natural events influencing the demand for labour in this country are of a more *continuous* nature—the stimulus and the depression enduring for weeks rather than days. I allude to the *second* of the four circumstances above-mentioned as inducing briskness or slackness of employment in different occupations, viz.:—

B. The seasons.

These are the seasons of the year, and not the arbitrary seasons of fashion, of which I shall speak next.

The following classes are among those exposed to the uncertainty of employment, and consequently of income, from the above cause, since it is only in particular seasons that particular works, such as buildings, will be undertaken, or that open-air pleasure excursions will be attempted: carpenters, builders, brickmakers, painters, plasterers, paper-hangers, rubbish-carters, sweeps, and riggers and lumpers, the latter depending mainly

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THE MILKMAID'S GARLAND.

THE ORIGINAL OF THE SWEEP'S MAY-DAY EXHIBITION.

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on the arrival of the timber ships to the Thames (and this, owing to the ice in the Baltic Sea and in the river St. Lawrence, &c., takes place only at certain seasons of the year), coal-whippers and coal-porters (the coal trade being much brisker in winter), market-porters, and those employed in summer in steam-boat, railway, van, and barge excursions.

Then there are the casualties attending agricultural labour, for, although the operations of nature are regular "even as the seed time follows the harvest," there is, almost invariably, a smaller employment of labour after the completion of the haymaking, the sheep-shearing, and the grain-reaping labours.

For the hay and corn harvests it is well known that there is a periodical immigration of Irishmen and women, who clamour for the *casual* employment; others, again, leave the towns for the same purpose; the same result takes place also in the fruit and pea-picking season for the London green-markets; while in the winter such people return some to their own country, and some to form a large proportion of the casual class in the metropolis. A tall Irishman of about 34 or 35 (whom I had to see when treating of the religion of the street Irish) leaves his accustomed crossing-sweeping at all or most of the seasons I have mentioned, and returns to it for the winter at the end of October; while his wife and children are then so many units to add to the casualties of the street sale of apples, nuts, and onions, by overstocking the open-air markets.

The autumnal season of hop-picking is the grand rendezvous for the vagrancy of England and Ireland, the stream of London vagrancy flowing freely into Kent at that period, and afterwards flowing back with increased volume. Men, women, and children are attracted to the hop harvest. The season is over in less than a month, and then the casual labourers engaged in it (and they are nearly all casual labourers) must divert their industry, or their endeavours for a living, into other channels, swelling the amount of casualty in unskilled work or street-trade.

Numerically to estimate the influence of the seasons on the labour-market of this country is almost an overwhelming task. Let us try, however: there are in round numbers one million agricultural labourers in this country; saying that in the summer four labourers are employed for every three in the winter, there would be 250,000 people and their families, or say 1,000,000 of individuals, deprived of their ordinary subsistence in the winter time; this, of course, does not include those who come from Ireland to assist at the harvest-getting—how many these may be I have no means of ascertaining. Added to these there are the natural vagabonds, whom I have before estimated at another hundred thousand (see p. 408, vol. i.), and who generally help at the harvest work or the fruit or hop-picking.

Then there are the carpenters, who are 163,000 in number; the builders, 9200; the brickmakers, 18,000; the painters, 48,200; the coal-whippers, 9200; the coal-miners, 110,000; making altogether 350,000 people, and estimating that for every four hands employed in the brisk season, there are only three required in the slack, we have 80,000 more families, or 300,000 people, deprived of their living by the casualty of labour; so that if we assert that there are, at the least, including agricultural labourers, 1,250,000 people thus deprived of their usual means of living, we shall not be very wide of the truth.

The next cause of the briskness or slackness of different employments is—

C. Fashion.

The London fashionable season is also the parliamentary season, and is the "briskest" from about the end of February to the middle of July.

The workmen most affected by the aristocratic, popular, or general fashions, are—

Tailors, ladies' habit-makers, boot and shoemakers, hatters, glovers, milliners, dress-makers, mantua-makers, drawn and straw bonnet-makers, artificial flower-makers, plumassiers, stay-makers, silk and velvet weavers, saddlers, harness-makers, coach-builders, cabmen, job-coachmen, farriers, livery stable keepers, poulterers, pastry-cooks, confectioners, &c., &c.

The above-mentioned classes may be taken, according to the Occupation Abstract of the last Census, at between 500,000 and 600,000; and, assuming the same ratio as to the difference of employment between the brisk and the slack seasons of the trades, or, in other words, that 25 per cent. less hands are required at the slack than at the brisk time of these trades, we have another 150,000 people, who, with their families, may be estimated altogether at say 500,000, who are thrown out of work at a certain season, and have to starve on as best they can for at least three months in the year.

The last-mentioned of the causes inducing briskness or slackness of employment are—

D. Commerce and Accidents.

Commerce has its periodical fits and starts. The publishers, for instance, have their season, generally from October to March, as people read more in winter than in summer; and this arrangement immediately effects the printers and bookbinders; there is no change, however, as regards the newspapers and periodicals. Again, the early importation to this country of the new foreign fruits gives activity to the dock and wharf labourers and porters and carmen. Thus the arrival here, generally in autumn, of the nut, chestnut, and grape (raisin) produce of Spain; of the almond crops in Portugal, Spain, and Barbary; the date harvest in Morocco, and different parts of Africa; the orange gathering in Madeira, and in St. Michael's, Terceira, and other islands of the Azores; the fig harvest from the Levant; the plum harvest of the south of France; the currant picking of Zante, Ithaca, and other Ionian Islands;—all these events give an activity, as new fruit is always most saleable, to the traders in these southern productions; and more shopmen, shop-porters, wharf labourers, and assistant lightermen are required—casually required—for the time.

I was told by a grocer, with a country connec-

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tion, and in a large way of business, that for three weeks or a month before Christmas he required the aid of four fresh hands, a shopman, an errand-boy, and two porters (one skilled in packing), for whom he had nothing to do after Christmas. If in the wide sweep of London trade there be 1000 persons, including the market salesmen, the retail butchers, the carriers, &c., so circumstanced, then 4000 men are *casually* employed, and for a very brief time.

The brief increase of the carrying business generally about Christmas, by road, water, or railway, is sufficiently indicated by the foregoing account.

The employment, again, in the cotton and woollen manufacturing districts may be said to depend for its briskness on commerce rather than on the seasons.

Accidents, or extraordinary social events, promote casual labour and then depress it. Often they depress without having promoted it.

During the display of the Great Exhibition, there were some thousands employed in the different capacities of police, packing, cleaning, porterage, watching, interpreting, door-keeping and money-taking, cab-regulating, &c.; and after the close of the Exhibition how many were retained? Thus the Great Exhibition fostered casual, or uncertain labour. Foreign revolutions, moreover, affect the trade of England: speculators become timid and will not embark in trade or in any proposed undertaking; the foreign import and export trades are paralysed; and fewer clerks and fewer labourers are employed. Home political agitations, also, have the same effect; as was seen in London during the corn-law riots, about 35 years ago (when only eight members of the House of Commons supported a change in those laws); the Spafields riots in 1817; the affair in St. Peter's-field, Manchester, in 1819; the disturbances and excitement during the trial of Queen Caroline, in 1820-1, and the loss of life on the occasion of her funeral in 1821; the agitation previously to the passing of the Reform Bill had a like effect; the meeting on Kennington Common on the 10th of April;—in all these periods, indeed, employment decreased. Labour is affected also by the death of a member of the royal family, and the hurried demand for general mourning, but in a very small degree to what was once the case. A West-End tailor employing a great number of hands did not receive a single order for mourning on the death of Queen Adelaide; while on the demise of the Princess Charlotte (in 1817) thousands of operative tailors, throughout the three kingdoms, worked day and night, and for double wages, on the general mourning. Gluts in the markets, an increase of heavy bankruptcies and "panics," such as were experienced in the money market in 1825-6, and again in 1846, with the failure of banks and merchants, likewise have the effect of augmenting the mass of casual labour; for capitalists and employers, under such circumstances, expend as little as possible in wages or employment until the storm blows over. Bad harvests have a similar depressing effect.

There are also the consequences of changes of taste. The abandonment of the fashions of gentlemen's wearing swords, as well as embroidered garments, flowing periwigs, large shoe-buckles, all reduced able artizans to poverty by depriving them of work. So it was, when, to carry on the war with France, Mr. Pitt introduced a tax on hair powder. Hundreds of hair-dressers were thrown out of employment, many persons abandoning the fashion of wearing powder rather than pay the tax. There are now city gentlemen, who can remember that when clerks, they had sometimes to wait two or three hours for "their turn" at a barber's shop on a Sunday morning; for they could not go abroad until their hair was dressed and powdered, and their queues trimmed to the due standard of fashion. So it has been, moreover, in modern times in the substitution of silk for metal buttons, silk hats for stuff, and in the supersedence of one material of dress by another.

These several causes, then, which could only exist in a community of great wealth and great poverty have rendered, and are continually rendering, the labour market uncertain and over-stocked; to what extent they do and have done this, it is, of course, almost impossible to say *precisely;* but, even with the strongest disposition to avoid exaggeration, we may assert that there are in this country no less than 125,000 families, or 500,000 people, who depend on the weather for their food; 300,000 families, or 1,250,000 people, who can obtain employment only at particular seasons; 150,000 more families, or 500,000 people, whose trade depends upon the fashionable rather than the natural seasons, are thrown out of work at the cessation of the brisk time of their business; and, perhaps, another 150,000 of families, or 500,000 people, dependent on the periodical increase and decrease of commerce, and certain social and political accidents which tend to cause a greater or less demand for labour. Altogether we may assert, with safety, that there are at the least 725,000 families, or three millions of men, women, and children, whose means of living, far from being certain and constant, are of a precarious kind, depending either upon the rain, the wind, the sunshine, the caprice of fashion, or the ebbings and flowings of commerce.

But there is a still more potent cause at work to increase the amount of *casual* labour in this country. Thus far we have proceeded on the assumption that at the brisk season of each trade there is full employment for all; but this is far from being the case in the great majority, if not the whole, of the instances above cited. In almost all occupations there is in this country a *superfluity of labourers*, and this alone would tend to render the employment of a vast number of the hands of a casual rather than a regular character. In the generality of trades the calculation is that one-third of the hands are fully employed, one-third partially, and one-third unemployed throughout the year. This, of course, would be the case if there were twice too many work-people; for suppose the number of work-people in

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a given trade to be 6000, and the work sufficient to employ (fully) only half the quantity, then, of course, 2000 might be occupied their whole time, 2000 more might have work sufficient to occupy them half their time, and the remaining 2000 have no work at all; or the whole 4000 might, on the average, obtain three months' employment out of the twelve; and this is frequently the case. Hence we see that a surplusage of hands in a trade tends to change the employment of the great majority from a state of constancy and regularity into one of casualty and precariousness.

Consequently it becomes of the highest importance that we should endeavour to ascertain what are the circumstances inducing a surplusage of hands in the several trades of the present day. A *surplusage of hands* in a trade may proceed from three different causes, viz.:—

1. The alteration of the hours, rate, or mode of working, or else the term of hiring.
2. The increase of the hands themselves.
3. The decrease of the work.

Each of these causes is essentially distinct; in the first case there is neither an increase in the number of hands nor a decrease in the quantity of work, and yet a surplusage of labourers is the consequence, for it is self-evident that if there be work enough in a given trade to occupy 6000 men all the year round, labouring twelve hours per day for six days in the week, the same quantity of work will afford occupation to only 4000 men, or one-third less, labouring between fifteen and sixteen hours per diem for seven days in the week. The same result would, of course, take place, if the workman were made to labour one-third more *quickly*, and so to get through one-third more work in the same time (either by increasing their interest in their work, by the invention of a new tool, by extra supervision, or by the subdivision of labour, &c., &c.), the same result would, of course, ensue as if they laboured one-third longer hours, viz., one-third of the hands must be thrown out of employment. So, again, by altering the *mode or form of work*, as by producing on the large scale, instead of the small, a smaller number of labourers are required to execute the same amount of work; and thus (if the market for such work be necessarily limited) a surplusage of labourers is the result. Hence we see that the alteration of the hours, rate, or mode of working may tend as positively to overstock a country with labourers as if the labourers themselves had unduly increased.

But this, of course, is on the assumption that both the quantity of work and the number of hands remain the same. The next of the three causes, above mentioned as inducing a surplusage of hands, is that which arises from a positive *increase in the number of labourers*, while the quantity of work remains the same or increases at a less rate than the labourers; and the third cause is, where the surplusage of labourers arises not from any alteration in the number of hands, but from a positive *decrease in the quantity of work*.

These are distinctions necessary to be borne clearly in mind for the proper understanding of this branch of the subject.

In the first case both the number of hands and the quantity of work remain the same, but the term, rate, or mode of working is changed.

In the second, hours, rate, or mode of working remain the same, as well as the quantity of work, but the number of hands is increased.

And in the third case, neither the number of hands nor the hours, rate, or mode of working is supposed to have been altered, but the work only to have decreased.

The surplusage of hands will, of course, be the same in each of these cases.

I will begin with the first, viz., that which induces a surplusage of labourers in a trade by enabling fewer hands to get through the ordinary amount of work. This is what is called the "economy of labour."

There are, of course, only three modes of economizing labour, or causing the same quantity of work to be done by a smaller number of hands.

1st. By causing the men to work *longer*.

2nd. By causing the men to work *quicker*, and so get through more work in the same time.

3rd. By *altering the mode* of work, or hiring, as in the "large system of production," where fewer hands are required; or the custom of temporary hirings, where the men are retained only so long as their services are needed, and discharged immediately afterwards.

First, of that mode of economizing labour which depends on an *increase of either the ordinary hours or days for work*. This is what is usually termed over-work and Sunday-work, both of which are largely creative of surplus hands. The hours of labour in mechanical callings are usually twelve, two of them devoted to meals, or 72 hours (less by the permitted intervals) in a week. In the course of my inquiries for the *Chronicle*, I met with slop cabinet-makers, tailors, and milliners who worked sixteen hours and more daily, their toil being only interrupted by the necessity of going out, if small masters, to purchase materials, and offer the goods for sale; or, if journeymen in the slop trade, to obtain more work and carry what was completed to the master's shop. They worked on Sundays also; one tailor told me that the coat he worked at on the previous Sunday was for the Rev. Mr. ——, who "little thought it," and these slop-workers rarely give above a few minutes to a meal. Thus they toil 40 hours beyond the hours usual in an honourable trade (112 hours instead of 72), in the course of a week, or between three and four days of the regular hours of work of the six working days. In other words, two such men will in less than a week accomplish work which should occupy three men a full week; or 1000 men will execute labour fairly calculated to employ 1500 at the least. A paucity of employment is thus caused among the general body, by this system of over-labour decreasing the share of work accruing to the several operatives, and so adding to surplus hands.

Of over-work, as regards excessive labour, both in the general and fancy cabinet trade, I heard

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the following accounts, which different operatives concurred in giving; while some represented the labour as of longer duration by at least an hour, and some by two hours, a day, than I have stated.

The labour of the men who depend entirely on "the slaughter-houses" for the purchase of their articles is usually seven days a week the year through. That is, seven days—for Sunday work is all but universal—each of 13 hours, or 91 hours in all; while the established hours of labour in the "honourable trade" are six days of the week, each of 10 hours, or 60 hours in all. Thus 50 per cent. is added to the extent of the production of low-priced cabinet-work, merely from "over-hours;" but in some cases I heard of 15 hours for seven days in the week, or 105 hours in all.

Concerning the hours of labour in this trade, I had the following minute particulars from a garret-master who was a chair-maker:—

"I work from six every morning to nine at night; some work till ten. My breakfast at eight stops me for ten minutes. I can breakfast in less time, but it's a rest; my dinner takes me say twenty minutes at the outside; and my tea, eight minutes. All the rest of the time I'm slaving at my bench. How many minutes' rest is that, sir? Thirty-eight; well, say three-quarters of an hour, and that allows a few sucks at a pipe when I rest; but I can smoke and work too. I have only one room to work and eat in, or I should lose more time. Altogether I labour 14¼ hours every day, and I must work on Sundays—at least 40 Sundays in the year. One may as well work as sit fretting. But on Sundays I only work till it's dusk, or till five or six in summer. When it's dusk I take a walk. I'm not well-dressed enough for a Sunday walk when it's light, and I can't wear my apron on that day very well to hide patches. But there's eight hours that I reckon I take up every week one with another, in dancing about to the slaughterers. I'm satisfied that I work very nearly 100 hours a week the year through; deducting the time taken up by the slaughterers, and buying stuff—say eight hours a week—it gives more than 90 hours a week for my work, and there's hundreds labour as hard as I do, just for a crust."

The East-end turners generally, I was informed, when inquiring into the state of that trade, labour at the lathe from six o'clock in the morning till eleven and twelve at night, being 18 hours' work per day, or 108 hours per week. They allow themselves two hours for their meals. It takes them, upon an average, two hours more every day fetching and carrying their work home. Some of the East-end men work on Sundays, and not a few either, said my informant. "Sometimes I have worked hard," said one man, "from six one morning till four the next, and scarcely had any time to take my meals in the bargain. I have been almost suffocated with the dust flying down my throat after working so many hours upon such heavy work too, and sweating so much. It makes a man drink where he would not."

This system of over-work exists in the "slop" part of almost every business—indeed, it is the principal means by which the cheap trade is maintained. Let me cite from my letters in the *Chronicle* some more of my experience on this subject. As regards the London mantua-makers, I said:—"The workwomen for good shops that give fair, or tolerably fair wages, and expect good work, can make six average-sized mantles in a week, *working from ten to twelve hours a day;* but the slop-workers, by toiling from thirteen to sixteen hours a day, will make *nine* such sized mantles in a week. In a season of twelve weeks 1000 workers for the slop-houses and warehouses would at this rate make 108,000 mantles, or 36,000 more than workers for the fair trade. Or, to put it in another light, these slop-women, by being compelled, in order to live, to work such over-hours as inflict lasting injury on the health, supplant, by their over-work and over-hours, the labour of 500 hands, working the regular hours."

The following are the words of a chamber-master, working for the cheap shoe trade:—

"From people being obliged to work twice the hours they once *did* work, or that in reason they *ought* to work, a glut of hands is the consequence, and the masters are led to make reductions in the wages. They take advantage of our poverty and lower the wages, so as to undersell each other, and command business. My daughters have to work fifteen hours a day that we may make a bare living. They seem to have no spirit and no animation in them; in fact, such very hard work takes the youth out of them. They have no time to enjoy their youth, and, with all their work, they can't present the respectable appearance they ought." "I" (interposed my informant's wife) "often feel a faintness and oppression from my hard work, as if my blood did not circulate."

The better class of artizans denounce the system of Sunday working as the most iniquitous of all the impositions. They object to it, not only on moral and religious grounds, but economically also. "Every 600 men employed on the Sabbath," say they, "deprive 100 individuals of a week's work. Every six men who labour seven days in the week must necessarily throw one other man out of employ for a whole week. The seventh man is thus deprived of his fair share of work by the overtoiling of the other six." This Sunday working is a necessary consequence of the cheap slop-trade. The workmen cannot keep their families by their six days' labour, and therefore they not only, under that system, get less wages and do more work, but by their extra labour throw so many more hands out of employment.

Here then, in the over-work of many of the trade, we find a vast cause of surplus hands, and, consequently, of casual labour; and that the work in these trades has not proportionately increased is proven by the fact of the existence of a superfluity of workmen.

Let us now turn our attention to the second of the causes above cited, viz., *the causing of men to*

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work quicker, and so to accomplish more in the same time. There are several means of attaining this end; it may be brought about either (*a*) by making the workman's gains depend directly on the quantity of work executed by him, as by the substitution of piece-work for day-work; (*b*) by the omission of certain details or parts necessary for the perfection of the work; (*c*) by decreasing the workman's pay, and so increasing the necessity for him to execute a greater quantity of work in order to obtain the same income; (*d*) increasing the supervision, and encouraging a spirit of emulation among the workpeople; (*e*) by dividing the labour into a number of simple and minute processes, and so increasing the expertness of the labourers; (*f*) by the invention of some new tool or machine for expediting the operations of the workman.

I shall give a brief illustration of each of these causes *seriatim*, showing how they tend to produce a surplusage of hands in the trades to which they are severally applied. And first, as to *making the workman's gains depend directly on the quantity of work executed by him.*

Of course there are but two direct modes of paying for labour—either by the day or by the piece. Over-work by day-work is effected by means of what is called the "strapping system" (as described in the *Morning Chronicle* in my letter upon the carpenters and joiners), where a whole shop are set to race over their work in silence one with another, each striving to outdo the rest, from the knowledge that anything short of extraordinary exertion will be sure to be punished with dismissal. Over-work by piece-work, on the other hand, is almost a necessary consequence of that mode of payment—for where men are paid by the quantity they do, of course it becomes the interest of a workman to do more than he otherwise would.

"Almost all who work by the day, or for a fixed salary, that is to say, those who labour for the gain of others, not for their own, have," it has been well remarked, "no interest in doing more than the smallest quantity of work that will pass as a fulfilment of the mere terms of their engagement. Owing to the insufficient interest which day labourers have in the result of their labour, there is a natural tendency in such labour to be extremely inefficient—a tendency only to be overcome by vigilant superintendence on the part of the persons who *are* interested in the result. The 'master's eye' is notoriously the only security to be relied on. But superintend them as you will, day labourers are so much inferior to those who work by the piece, that, as was before said, the latter system is practised in all industrial occupations where the work admits of being put out in definite portions, without involving the necessity of too troublesome a surveillance to guard against inferiority (or scamping) in the execution." But if the labourer at piece-work is made to produce a greater quantity than at day-work, and this solely by connecting his own interest with that of his employer, how much more largely must the productiveness of workmen be increased when labouring wholly on their own account! Accordingly it has been invariably found that whenever the operative unites in himself the double function of capitalist and labourer, as the "garret-master" in the cabinet trade, and the "chamber-master" in the shoe trade, making up his own materials or working on his own property, his productiveness, single-handed, is considerably greater than can be attained even under the large system of production, where all the arts and appliances of which extensive capital can avail itself are brought into operation.

As regards the increased production by *omitting certain details necessary for the due perfection of the work*, it may be said that "scamping" adds at least 200 per cent. to the productions of the cabinet-maker's trade. I ascertained, in the course of my previous inquiries, several cases of this over-work from scamping, and adduce two. A very quick hand, a little master, working, as he called it, "at a slaughtering pace," for a warehouse, made 60 plain writing-desks in a week of 90 hours; while a first-rate workman, also a quick hand, made 18 in a week of 70 hours. The scamping hand said he must work at the rate he did to make 14*s.* a week from a slaughter-house; and so used to such style of work had he become, that, though a few years back he did West-end work in the best style, he could not now make eighteen desks in a week, if compelled to finish them in the style of excellence displayed in the work of the journeyman employed for the honourable trade. Perhaps, he added, he couldn't make them in that style at all. The frequent use of rosewood veneers in the fancy cabinet, and their occasional use in the general cabinet trade gives, I was told, great facilities for scamping. If in his haste the scamping hand injure the veneer, or if it have been originally faulty, he takes a mixture of gum shellac and "colour" (colour being a composition of Venetian red and lamp black), which he has ready by him, rubs it over the damaged part, smooths it with a slightly-heated iron, and so blends it with the colour of the rosewood that the warehouseman does not detect the flaw. In the general, as contradistinguished from the fancy, cabinet trade I found the same ratio of "scamping." A good workman in the better-paid trade made a four-foot mahogany chest of drawers in five days, working the regular hours, and receiving, at piece-work price, 35*s.* A scamping hand made five of the same size in a week, and had time to carry them for sale to the warehouses, wait for their purchase or refusal, and buy material. But for the necessity of doing this the scamping hand could have made seven in the 91 hours of his week, though of course in a very inferior manner. "They would hold together for a time," I was assured, "and that was all; but the slaughterer cared only to have them viewly and cheap." These two cases exceed the average, and I have cited them to show what *can* be done under the scamping system.

We now come to the *increased rate of working induced by a reduction of the ordinary rate of remuneration of the workman.* Not only is it true that over-work makes under-pay, but the

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converse of the proposition is equally true, that under-pay makes over-work—that is to say, it is true of those trades where the system of piece-work or small mastership admits of the operative doing the utmost amount of work that he is able to accomplish; for the workman in such cases seldom or never thinks of reducing his expenditure to his income, but rather of increasing his labour, so as still to bring his income, by extra production, up to his expenditure. Hence we find that, as the wages of a trade descend, so do the labourers extend their hours of work to the utmost possible limits—they not only toil earlier and later than before, but the Sunday becomes a work-day like the rest (amongst the "sweaters" of the tailoring trade Sunday labour, as I have shown, is almost universal); and when the hours of work are carried to the extreme of human industry, then more is sought to be done in a given space of time, either by the employment of the members of their own family, or apprentices, upon the inferior portion of the work, or else by "scamping it." "My employer," I was told by a journeyman tailor working for the Messrs. Nicoll, "reduces my wages one-third, and the consequence is, I put in two stitches where I used to give three." "I must work from six to eight, and later," said a pembroke-table-maker to me, "to get 18*s*. now for my labour, where I used to get 54*s*. a week—that's just a third. I could in the old times give my children good schooling and good meals. Now children have to be put to work very young. I have four sons working for me at present. Not only, therefore, does any stimulus to extra production make over-work, and over-work make under-pay; but under-pay, by becoming an additional provocative to increased industry, again gives rise in its turn to over-work. Hence we arrive at a plain unerring law—*over-work makes under-pay and under-pay makes over-work.*

But the above means of increasing the rate of working refer solely to those cases where the extra labour is induced by making it the *interest* of the workman so to do. The other means of extra production is *by stricter supervision of journeymen, or those paid by the day.* The shops where this system is enforced are termed "strapping-shops," as indicative of establishments where an undue quantity of work is expected from a journeyman in the course of the day. Such shops, though not directly making use of cheap labour (for the wages paid in them are generally of the higher rate), still, by exacting more work, may of course be said, in strictness, to encourage the system now becoming general, of less pay and inferior skill. These strapping establishments sometimes go by the name of "scamping shops," on account of the time allowed for the manufacture of the different articles not being sufficient to admit of good workmanship.

Concerning this "*strapping*" system I received the following extraordinary account from a man after his heavy day's labour. Never in all my experience had I seen so sad an instance of over-work. The poor fellow was so fatigued that he could hardly rest in his seat. As he spoke he sighed deeply and heavily, and appeared almost spirit-broken with excessive labour:—

"I work at what is called a strapping shop," he said, "and have worked at nothing else for these many years past in London. I call 'strapping' doing as much work as a human being or a horse possibly can in a day, and that without any hanging upon the collar, but with the foreman's eyes constantly fixed upon you, from six o'clock in the morning to six o'clock at night. The shop in which I work is for all the world like a prison; the silent system is as strictly carried out there as in a model gaol. If a man was to ask any common question of his neighbour, except it was connected with his trade, he would be discharged there and then. If a journeyman makes the least mistake, he is packed off just the same. A man working at such places is almost always in fear; for the most trifling things he's thrown out of work in an instant. And then the quantity of work that one is forced to get through is positively awful; if he can't do a plenty of it, he don't stop long where I am. No one would think it was possible to get so much out of blood and bones. No slaves work like we do. At some of the strapping shops the foreman keeps continually walking about with his eyes on all the men at once. At others the foreman is perched high up, so that he can have the whole of the men under his eye together. I suppose since I knew the trade that a *man does four times the work that he did formerly.* I know a man that's done four pairs of sashes in a day, and one is considered to be a good day's labour. What's worse than all, the men are every one striving one against the other. Each is trying to get through the work quicker than his neighbours. Four or five men are set the same job, so that they may be all pitted against one another, and then away they go every one striving his hardest for fear that the others should get finished first. They are all tearing along from the first thing in the morning to the last at night, as hard as they can go, and when the time comes to knock off they are ready to drop. I was hours after I got home last night before I could get a wink of sleep; the soles of my feet were on fire, and my arms ached to that degree that I could hardly lift my hand to my head. Often, too, when we get up of a morning, we are more tired than when we went to bed, for we can't sleep many a night; but we mustn't let our employers know it, or else they'd be certain we couldn't do enough for them, and we'd get the sack. So, tired as we may be, we are obliged to look lively, somehow or other, at the shop of a morning. If we're not beside our bench the very moment the bell's done ringing, our time's docked—they wont give us a single minute out of the hour. If I was working for a fair master, I should do nearly one-third, and sometimes a half, less work than I am now forced to get through, and, even to manage that much, I shouldn't be idle a second of my time. It's quite a mystery to me how they *do* contrive to get so much work

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out of the men. But they are very clever people. They know how to have the most out of a man, better than any one in the world. They are all picked men in the shop—regular 'strappers,' and no mistake. The most of them are five foot ten, and fine broad-shouldered, strong-backed fellows too—if they weren't they wouldn't have them. Bless you, they make no words with the men, they sack them if they 're not strong enough to do all they want; and they can pretty soon tell, the very first shaving a man strikes in the shop, what a chap is made of. Some men are done up at such work—quite old men and gray with spectacles on, by the time they are forty. I have seen fine strong men, of 36, come in there and be bent double in two or three years. They are most all countrymen at the strapping shops. If they see a great strapping fellow, who they think has got some stuff about him that will come out, they will give him a job directly. We are used for all the world like cab or omnibus horses. Directly they've had all the work out of us, we are turned off, and I am sure, after my day's work is over, my feelings must be very much the same as one of the London cab horses. As for Sunday, it is *literally* a day of rest with us, for the greater part of us lay a-bed all day, and even that will hardly take the aches and pains out of our bones and muscles. When I 'm done and flung by, of course I must starve."

The next means of inducing a quicker rate of working, and so economizing the number of labourers, is by the *division* and *subdivision of labour*. In perhaps all the skilled work of London, of the better sort, this is more or less the case; it is the case in a much smaller degree in the country.

The nice subdivision makes the operatives perfect adepts in their respective branches, working at them with a greater and a more assured facility than if their care had to be given to the whole work, and in this manner the work is completed in less time, and consequently by fewer hands.

In illustration of the extraordinary increased productiveness induced by the division of labour, I need only cite the well-known cases:—

"It is found," says Mr. Mill, "that the productive power of labour is increased by carrying the separation further and further; by breaking down more and more every process of industry into parts, so that each labourer shall confine himself to an even smaller number of simple operations. And thus, in time, arise those remarkable cases of what is called the division of labour, with which all readers on subjects of this nature are familiar. Adam Smith's illustration from pin-making, though so well-known, is so much to the point, that I will venture once more to transcribe it. 'The business of making a pin is divided into eighteen distinct operations. One man draws out the wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, and a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on, is a peculiar business; to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper. I have seen a small manufactory where ten men only were employed, and were some of them, consequently, performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of 4000 pins of a middling size.

"'Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of 48,000 pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of 48,000 pins, might be considered as making 4800 pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they certainly could not each of them have made 20, perhaps not one pin in a day.'"

M. Say furnishes a still stronger example of the effects of division of labour, from a not very important branch of industry certainly, the manufacture of playing cards. "It is said by those engaged in the business, that each card, that is, a piece of pasteboard of the size of the hand, before being ready for sale, does not undergo fewer than 70 operations, every one of which might be the occupation of a distinct class of workmen. And if there are not 70 classes of work-people in each card manufactory, it is because the division of labour is not carried so far as it might be; because the same workman is charged with two, three, or four distinct operations. The influence of this distribution of employment is immense. I have seen a card manufactory where thirty workmen produced daily 15,500 cards, being above 500 cards for each labourer; and it may be presumed that if each of these workmen were obliged to perform all the operations himself, even supposing him a practised hand, he would not, perhaps, complete two cards in a day; and the 30 workmen, instead of 15,500 cards, would make only 60."

One great promoter of the decrease of manual labour is to be found in the economy of labour from a very different cause to any I have pointed out as tending to the increase of surplus hands and casual labour, viz., to *the use of machinery*.

In this country the use of machinery has economised the labour both of man and horse to a greater extent than is known in any other land, and that in nearly all departments of commerce or traffic. The total estimated machine power in the kingdom is 600,000,000 of human beings, and this has been all produced within the last century. In agriculture, for example, the threshing of the corn was the peasant's work of the later autumn and of a great part of the winter, until towards the latter part of the last century. The harvest was hardly considered complete until the corn was threshed by the peasants. On the first introduction of the threshing machines, they were demolished in many places by the country labourers, whose rage was excited to find that their winter's work, instead of being regular, had become *casual*.

But the use of these machines is now almost

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universal. It would, of course, be the height of absurdity to say that threshing machines could possibly increase the number of threshers, even as the reaping machines cannot possibly increase the number of reapers; their effect is rather to displace the greater number of labourers so engaged, and hence indeed the "economy" of them. It is not known what number of men were, at any time, employed in threshing corn. Their displacement was gradual, and in some of the more remote parts of the provinces, the flails of the threshers may be heard still, but if a threshing machine—for they are of different power—do the work, as has been stated, of six labourers, the economization or displacement of manual labour is at once shown to be the economization and displacement of the whole labour (for a season) of a country side; thus increasing surplus hands.

In other matters—in the unloading vessels by cranes, in *all* branches of manufactures, and even in such minor matters as the grinding of coffee berries, and the cutting and splitting of wood for lucifer matches, an immense amount of manual labour has been minimized, economized, or displaced by steam machinery. On my inquiry into the condition of the London sawyers, I found that the labour of 2000 men had been displaced by the steam saw-mills of the metropolis alone. At one of the largest builder's I saw machines for making mortises and tenons, for sticking mouldings, and, indeed, performing all the operations of the carpenter—one such machine doing the work, perhaps, of a hundred men. I asked the probable influence that such an instrument was likely to have on the men? "Ruin them all," was the laconic reply of the superintendent of the business! Within the last year casks have been made by machinery—a feat that the coopers declared impossible. Wheels, also, have been lately produced by steam. I need, however, as I have so recently touched upon the subject, do no more than call attention to the information I have given (p. 240, vol. ii.) concerning the use of machinery in lieu of human labour. It is there shown that if the public street-sweeping were effected, throughout the metropolis, by the machines, nearly 196 of the 275 manual labourers, now scavaging for the parish contractors, would be thrown out of work, and deprived of 7438*l*., out of their joint earnings, in the year.

It is the fashion of political economists to insist on the general proposition that machinery increases the demand for labour, rather than decreases it; when they write unguardedly, however, they invariably betray a consciousness that the benefits of machinery to manual labourers are not quite so invariable as they would otherwise make out. Here, for instance, is a confession from the pamphlet on "the Employer and Employed," published by the Messrs. Chambers, gentlemen who surely cannot be accused of being averse to economical doctrines. It is true the pamphlet is intended to show the evils of strikes to working men, but it likewise points out the evils of mechanical power to the same class when applied to certain operations.

"Strikes also lead to *the superseding of hand labour by machines*," says this little work. "In 1831, on the occasion of a strike at Manchester, several of the capitalists, afraid of their business being driven to other countries, had recourse to the celebrated machinists, Messrs. Sharp and Co. of Manchester, requesting them to direct the inventive talents of their partner, Mr. Roberts, to the construction of a self-acting mule, in order to emancipate the trade from galling slavery and impending ruin. Under assurances of the most liberal encouragement in the adoption of his invention, Mr. Roberts suspended his professional pursuits as an engineer, and set his fertile genius to construct a spinning automaton. In the course of a few months he produced a machine, called the 'Self-acting Mule,' which, in 1834, was in operation in upwards of 60 factories; *doing the work of the head spinners so much better than they could do it themselves, as to leave them no chance against it.*

"In his work on the 'Philosophy of Manufactures,' Dr. Ure observes on the same subject—'The elegant art of calico-printing, which embodies in its operations the most elegant problems of chemistry, as well as mechanics, had been for a long period the sport of foolish journeymen, who turned the liberal means of comfort it furnished them into weapons of warfare against their employers and the trade itself. They were, in fact, by their delirious combinations, plotting to kill the goose which laid the golden eggs of their industry, or to force it to fly off to a foreign land, where it might live without molestation. In the spirit of Egyptian task-masters, the operative printers dictated to the manufacturers the number and quality of the apprentices to be admitted into the trade, the hours of their own labour, and the wages to be paid them. At length capitalists sought deliverance from this intolerable bondage in the resources of science, and were speedily reinstated in their legitimate dominion of the head over the inferior members. The four-colour and five-colour machines, which now render calico-printing an unerring and expeditious process, are mounted in all great establishments. It was under the high-pressure of the same despotic confederacies, that self-acting apparatus for executing the dyeing and rinsing operations has been devised.'

"The croppers of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the hecklers or flax-dressers, can unfold 'a tale of wo' on this subject. Their earnings exceeded those of most mechanics; but the frequency of strikes among them, and the irregularities in their hours and times of working, compelled masters to substitute machinery for their manual labour. *Their trades, in consequence, have been in a great measure superseded.*"

It must, then, be admitted that machinery, *in some cases at least*, does displace manual labour, and so tend to produce a surplusage of labourers, even as over-work, Sunday-work, scamping-work, strapping-work, piece-work, minutely-divided work, &c., have the same effect so long as the quantity of work to be done remains unaltered. *The extensibility of the market* is the one circumstance

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which determines whether the economy of labour produced by these means is a blessing or a curse to the nation. To apply mechanical power, the division of labour, the large system of production, or indeed any other means of enabling a less number of labourers to do the same amount of work *when the quantity of work to be done is limited in its nature*, as, for instance, the threshing of corn, the sawing of wood, &c., is necessarily to make either paupers or criminals of those who were previously honest independent men, living by the exercise of their industry in that particular direction. Economize your labour one-half, in connection with a particular article, and you must sell twice the quantity of that article or displace a certain number of the labourers; that is to say, suppose it requires 400 men to produce 4000 commodities in a given time, then, if you enable 200 men to produce the same quantity in the same time, you must get rid of 8000 commodities, or deprive a certain number of labourers of their ordinary means of living. Indeed, the proposition is almost self-evident, though generally ignored by social philosophers: economize your labour at a greater rate than you expand your markets, and you must necessarily increase your paupers and criminals in precisely the same ratio. "The division of labour," says Mr. Mill, following Adam Smith, "is limited by the extent of the market. If by the separation of pin-making into ten distinct employments 48,000 pins can be made in a day, this separation will only be advisable if the number of accessible consumers is such as to require every day something like 48,000 pins. If there is a demand for only 25,000, the division of labour can be advantageously carried but to the extent which will every day produce that smaller number." Again, as regards the large system of production, the same authority says, "the possibility of substituting the large system of production for the small depends, of course, on the extent of the market. The large system can only be advantageous when a large amount of business is to be done; it implies, therefore, either a populous and flourishing community, or a great opening for exportation." But these are mere glimmerings of the broad incontrovertible principle, that *the economization of labour at a greater rate than the expansion of the markets, is necessarily the cause of surplus labour in a community.*

The effect of machinery in depriving the families of agricultural labourers of their ordinary sources of income is well established. "Those countries," writes Mr. Thornton, "in which the class of agricultural labourers is most depressed, have all one thing in common. Each of them was formerly the seat of a flourishing manufacture carried on by the cottagers at their own homes, which has now decayed or been withdrawn to other situations. Thus, in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, the wives and children of labouring men had formerly very profitable occupation in making lace; during the last war a tolerable lace-maker, working eight hours a day, could easily earn 10*s*. or 12*s*. a week; the profits of this employment have been since so much reduced by the use of machinery, that a pillow lacemaker must now work twelve hours daily to earn 2*s*. 6*d*. a week."

The last of the conditions above cited, as causing the same or a greater amount of work to be executed with a less quantity of labour, is *the large system of production*. Mr. Babbage and Mr. Mill have so well and fully pointed out "the economy of labour" effected in this manner, that I cannot do better than quote from them upon this subject:—

"Even when no additional subdivision of the work," says Mr. Mill, "would follow an enlargement of the operations, there will be good economy in enlarging them to the point at which every person to whom it is convenient to assign a special occupation will have full employment in that occupation." This point is well illustrated by Mr. Babbage:—"If machines be kept working through the 24 hours" [which is evidently the only economical mode of employing them], "it is necessary that some person shall attend to admit the workmen at the time they relieve each other; and whether the porter or other servant so employed admit one person or twenty, his rest will be equally disturbed. It will also be necessary occasionally to adjust or repair the machine; and this can be done much better by a workman accustomed to machine-making than by the person who uses it. Now, since the good performance and the duration of machines depend, to a very great extent, upon correcting every shake or imperfection in their parts as soon as they appear, the prompt attention of a workman resident on the spot will considerably reduce the expenditure arising from the wear and tear of the machinery. But in the case of a single lace-frame, or a single loom, this would be too expensive a plan. Here, then, arises another circumstance, which tends to enlarge the extent of the factory. It ought to consist of such a number of machines as shall occupy the whole time of one workman in keeping them in order. If extended beyond that number the same principle of economy would point out the necessity of doubling or tripling the number of machines, in order to employ the whole time of two or three skilful workmen. Where one portion of the workman's labour consists in the exertion of mere physical force, as in weaving, and in many similar arts, it will soon occur to the manufacturer that, if that part were executed by a steam-engine, the same man might, in the case of weaving, attend to two or more looms at once; and, since we already suppose that one or more operative engineers have been employed, the number of looms may be so arranged that their time shall be fully occupied in keeping the steam-engine and the looms in order.

"Pursuing the same principles, the manufactory becomes gradually so enlarged that the expense of lighting during the night amounts to a considerable sum; and as there are already attached to the establishment persons who are up all night, and can therefore constantly attend to it, and also engineers to make and keep in repair any

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machinery, the addition of an apparatus for making gas to light the factory leads to a new extension, at the same time that it contributes, by diminishing the expense of lighting and the risk of accidents from fire, to reduce the cost of manufacturing.

"Long before a factory has reached this extent it will have been found necessary to establish an accountant's department, with clerks to pay the workmen, and to see that they arrive at their stated times; and this department must be in communication with the agents who purchase the raw produce, and with those who sell the manufactured article. It will cost these clerks and accountants little more time and trouble to pay a large number of workmen than a small number, to check the accounts of large transactions than of small. If the business doubled itself it would probably be necessary to increase, but certainly not to double, the number either of accountants or of buying and selling agents. *Every increase of business would enable the whole to be carried on with a proportionally smaller amount of labour.* As a general rule, the expenses of a business do not increase by any means proportionally to the quantity of business. Let us take as an example a set of operations which we are accustomed to see carried on by one great establishment—that of the Post Office.

"Suppose that the business, let us say only of the London letter-post, instead of being centralised in a single concern, were divided among five or six competing companies. Each of these would be obliged to maintain almost as large an establishment as is now sufficient for the whole. Since each must arrange for receiving and delivering letters in all parts of the town, each must send letter-carriers into every street, and almost every alley, and this, too, as many times in the day as is now done by the Post Office, if the service is to be as well performed. Each must have an office for receiving letters in every neighbourhood, with all subsidiary arrangements for collecting the letters from the different offices and re-distributing them. I say nothing of the much greater number of superior officers who would be required to check and control the subordinates, implying not only a greater cost in salaries for such responsible officers, but the necessity, perhaps, of being satisfied in many instances with an inferior standard of qualification, and so failing in the object."

But this refers solely to the "large system of business" as applied to purposes of manufacture and distribution. In connection with agriculture there is the same saving of labour effected. "The large farmer," says Mr. Mill, "has some advantage in the article of buildings. It does not cost so much to house a great number of cattle in one building, as to lodge them equally well in several buildings. There is also some advantage in implements. A small farmer is not so likely to possess expensive instruments. But the principal agricultural implements, even when of the best construction, are not expensive. It may not answer to a small farmer to own a threshing machine for the small quantity of corn he has to thresh; but there is no reason why such a machine should not in every neighbourhood be owned in common, or provided by some person to whom the others pay a consideration for its use. The large farmer can make some saving in cost of carriage. There is nearly as much trouble in carrying a small portion of produce to market, as a much greater produce; in bringing home a small, as a much larger quantity of manure, and articles of daily consumption. There is also the greater cheapness of buying things in large quantities."

A short time ago I went into Buckinghamshire to look into the allotment system. And, in one parish of 1800 acres, I found that some years ago there were seventeen farmers who occupied, upon the average, 100 acres each, and who, previous to the immigration of the Irish harvest-men, *constantly* employed six men a-piece, or, in the aggregate, upwards of 100 hands. Now, however, the farmers in the same parish occupy to the extent of 300 acres each, and respectively employ only six men *and a few extra hands at harvest time.* Thus the number of hands employed by this system has been decreased one-half. I learned, moreover, from a clergyman there, who had resided in Wiltshire, that the same thing was going on in that county also; that small farms were giving way to large farms, and that at least half the labourers had been displaced. The agricultural labourers, at the time of taking the last census, were 1,500,000 in number; so that, if this system be generally carried out, there must be 750,000 labourers and their families, or 3,000,000 people, deprived of their living by it.

Sir James Graham, in his evidence before the Committee on Criminal Commitments, has given us some curious particulars as to the decrease of the number of hands required for agricultural purposes, where the large system of production is pursued in place of the small: he has told us how many hands he was enabled to get rid of by these means, the proportion of labour displaced, it will be seen, amounted to about 10 per cent. of the labouring population. In answer to a question relative to the increase of population in his district, he replied:—

"I have myself taken *very strong means to prevent it*, for it so happens that my whole estate came out of lease in the year 1822, after the currency of a lease of fourteen years; and by *consolidation of farms, and the destruction of cottages, I have diminished, upon my own property, the population to the extent of from 300 to 400 souls.*"

"On how many acres?—On about 30,000 acres." [This is at the rate of one in every 100 acres].

"What was the whole extent of population?—It was under 4000 before I reduced it.

"What became of those 300 or 400?—The greater part of them, being small tenants were, enabled to find farms on the estates of other proprietors, who pursued the opposite course of subdividing their estates for the purpose of obtaining

higher nominal rents; *others have become day labourers*, and as day labourers, I have reason to know, they are more thriving than they were on my estate as small farmers, subject to a high rent, which their want of capital seldom enabled them to pay; two or three of these families went to America.

"Have you any out of work?—None entirely out of work, some only partially employed; but since the *dispersion of this large mass of population*, the supply of labour has not much exceeded the demand, for *whenever I removed a family, I pulled down the house*, and the parochial jealousy respecting settlements is an ample check on the influx of strangers."

Similar to the influence of the large system of production in its displacement of labourers, as enabling a larger quantity of work to be executed by one establishment with a smaller number of hands than would be required were the amount of work to be divided into a number of smaller establishments,—similar to this mode of economizing labour, is that mode of work which, by altering the produce rather than the mode of production, and by substituting an article that requires less labour for one that required more, gets rid of a large quantity of labour, and, consequently, adds to the surplusage of labourers. An instance of this is in the substitution of pasturage for tillage. "*Plough less and graze more*," says Sir J. Graham, the great economist of labour, simply because fewer people will be required to attend to the land. But this plan of grazing instead of ploughing was adopted in this country some centuries back, and with what effect to the labourers and the people at large, the following extract from the work of Mr. Thornton, on over-population, will show:—

"The extension of the woollen manufacture was raising the price of wool; and the little attendance which sheep require was an additional motive for causing sheep farming to be preferred to tillage. Arable land, therefore, began to be converted into pasture; and the seemingly-interminable corn fields, which, like those of Germany at this day, probably extended for miles without having their even surface broken by fences or any other visible boundaries, disappeared. After being sown with grass they were surrounded and divided by inclosures, to prevent the sheep from straying, and to do away with the necessity of having shepherds always on the watch. By these changes the quantity of work to be done upon a farm was exceedingly diminished, and most of the servants, whom it had been usual to board and lodge in the manor and farm-houses, were dismissed. This was not all. The married farm-servants were ousted from their cottages, which were pulled down, and their gardens and fields were annexed to the adjoining meadows. The small farmers were treated in the same way, as their leases fell in, *and were sent to join the daily increasing crowd of competitors for work that was daily increasing in quantity*.

"Even freeholders were in some instances ejected from their lands. This social revolution had probably commenced even before the prosperity of the peasantry had reached its climax; but in 1487 it attracted the notice of Parliament, and an Act was passed to restrain its progress; for already it was observed that inclosures were becoming 'more frequent, whereby arable land, *which could not be manured without people and families, was turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen*;' and that 'tenancies for years, lives, and at will, whereupon most of the yeomanry lived, were turned into demesnes' *. In 1533 †, An act was passed strongly condemning the practice of 'accumulating' farms, which it was declared had reduced 'a marvellous multitude' of the people to poverty and misery, and left them no alternative but to steal, or to die 'pitifully' of cold and hunger. In this Act it was stated that single farms might be found with flocks of from 10,000 to 20,000 sheep upon them; and it was ordained that no man should keep more than 2000 sheep, except upon his own land, or rent more than two farms.

"Two years later it was enacted that the king should have a moiety of the profits of land converted (subsequently to a date specified) from tillage to pastures, until a suitable house was erected, and the land was restored to tillage. In 1552, a law ‡ was made which required that on all estates as large a quantity of land as had been kept in tillage for four years together at any time since the accession of Henry VIII., should be so continued in tillage. But these, and many subsequent enactments of the same kind, had not the smallest effect in checking the consolidation of farms. We find Roger Ascham, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, lamenting the dispersion of families, the ruin of houses, the breaking up and destruction of 'the noble yeomanry, the honour and strength of England.' Harrison also speaks of towns pulled down for sheep-walks; 'and of the tenements that had fallen either down or into the lord's hands;' or had been 'brought and united together by other men, so that in some one manor, seventeen, eighteen, or twenty houses were shrunk.' §

"'Where have been a great many householders and inhabitants,' says Bishop Latimer, 'there is now but a shepherd and his dog.' ‖ And in a curious tract, published in 1581, by one William Stafford, a husbandman is made to exclaim, 'Marry, these inclosures do and undo us all, for they make us pay dearer for our land that we occupy, and causeth that we can have no land to put to tillage; all is taken up for pasture, either for sheep or for grazing of cattle, insomuch that I have known of late a dozen ploughs, within less compass than six miles about me, laid down within this seven years; and where threescore persons or upwards had their livings, now one man, with his cattle, hath all. Those sheep is

* Lord Bacon's Hist. of King Henry VII., Works, vol. v. p. 61.
† 25th Henry VIII. cap. 13.
‡ 5 & 6 Edw. VI., cap. 5.
§ Eden's Hist. of the Poor, vol. 1. p. 118.
‖ Latimer's Sermons, p. 100.

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the cause of all our mischief, for they have driven husbandry out of the country, by which was increased before all kinds of victuals, and now altogether sheep, sheep, sheep.'* While numbers of persons were thus continually driven from their homes, and deprived of their means of livelihood, we need not be at a loss to account for the increase of vagrancy, without ascribing it to the increase of population."

As an instance, within our time, of the same mode of causing a surplusage of labourers, and so adding to the quantity of casual labour in the kingdom, viz., by the extension of pasturage and consequent diminution of tillage, we may cite the "clearances," as they were called, which took place, some few years back, in the Highlands of Scotland. "It is only within the last few years," says the author above quoted, "that the strathes and glens of Sutherland have been *cleared of their inhabitants, and that the whole country has been converted into one immense sheepwalk*, over which the traveller may proceed for 40 miles together without seeing a tree or a stone wall, or anything, but a heath dotted with sheep and lambs† . . . . . . The example of Sutherland is imitated in the neighbouring counties. During the last four years *some hundreds of families* have been 'weeded' out of Ross-shire, and nearly 400 more have received notice to quit next year. Similar notice has been given to 34 families in Cromarty, and only the other day eighteen families, who were living in peace and comfort, in Glencalvie, in Ross-shire, were expelled from the farms occupied for ages by themselves and their forefathers, to make room for sheep." And still we are told to "*plough less and graze more!*"

We now come to the last-mentioned of the circumstances inducing a surplusage of labourers, and, consequently, augmenting the amount of casual labour throughout the kingdom, viz., by *altering the mode of hiring the labourers.* At page 236 of the present volume, I have said, in connection with this part of the subject,—

"Formerly the mode of hiring farm-labourers was by the year, so that the employer was bound to maintain the men when unemployed. But now weekly hirelings and even journey-work, or hiring by the day, prevail, and the labourers being paid mere subsistence-money only when wanted are necessitated to become either paupers or thieves when their services are no longer required. It is, moreover, this change from yearly to weekly and daily hirings, and the consequent discarding of men when no longer wanted, that has partly caused the immense mass of surplus labourers, who are continually vagabondizing through the country, begging or stealing as they go—men for whom there is but some two or three weeks' work (harvesting, hop-picking, and the like) throughout the year."

Blackstone, in treating of the laws relating to master and servant (the greater part of the farm labourers or farm servants, as they were then called, being included under the latter head), tells us at page 425 of his first volume—

"The first sort of servants, acknowledged by the laws of England, are MENIAL SERVANTS; so called from being *intra mœnia*, or domestic. The contract between them and their masters arises upon the hiring. If the hiring be generally, without any particular *time limited*, the law construes it to be a *hiring for a year* (Co. Lit. 42); upon a principle of natural equity, that the servant shall serve, and the master maintain him, throughout all the revolutions of the respective seasons, as well when *there is work to be* done, *as when there is not.*"

Mr. Thornton says, "until recently it had been common for farm servants, even when married and living in their own cottages, to take their meals with their master; and, what was of more consequence, in every farm-house, many unmarried servants, of both sexes, were lodged, as well as boarded. The latter, therefore, even if ill paid, might be tolerably housed and fed, and many of them fared, no doubt, much better than they could have done if they had been left to provide for themselves, with treble their actual wages."

Formerly throughout the kingdom—and it is a custom *still* prevalent in some parts, more especially in the north—single men and women seeking engagements as farm-servants, congregated at what were called the "Hirings," held usually on the three successive market days, which were nearest to May-day and Martinmas-day. The hiring was thus at two periods of the year, but the engagement was usually for the twelvemonth. By the concurrent consent, however, of master and servant, when the hiring took place, either side might terminate it at the expiration of the six months, by giving due notice; or a further hiring for a second twelvemonth could be legally effected without the necessity of again going to the hirings. The servants, even before their term of service had expired, could attend a hiring (generally held under the authority of the town's charter) as a matter of right; the master and mistress having no authority to prevent them. The Market Cross was the central point for the holding of the hirings, and the men and women, the latter usually the most numerous, stood in rows around the cross. The terms being settled, the master or mistress gave the servant "a piece of money," known as a "god's penny" (the "handsel penny"), the offer and acceptance of this god's penny being a legal ratification of the agreement, without any other step. In the old times such engagements had almost always (as shown in the term "God's penny") a character of religious obligation. At the earliest period, the hirings were held in the church-yards; afterwards by the Market Cross.

I have spoken of this matter more in the past than the present tense, for the system is greatly changed as regards the male farm-servant, though little as regards the female. Now the male farm-labourers, instead of being hired for a specific term, are more generally hired by week, by job, or by day; indeed, even "half-a-day's" work is known. At one period it was merely the

* Pictorial History of England, vol. ii. p. 900.
† Reports of the "Commissioner" of the *Times* Newspaper, in June, 1845.

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married country labourers, residing in their own cottages, who were temporarily engaged, but it is now the general body, married and unmarried, old and young, with a few exceptions. Formerly the farmer was bound to find work for six or twelve months (for both terms existed) for his hired labourers. If the land did not supply it, still the man must be maintained, and be paid his full wages when due. By such a provision, the labour and wage of the hired husbandman were regular and rarely *casual;* but this arrangement is now seldom entered into, and the hired husbandman's labour is consequently generally casual and rarely regular. This principle of hiring labourers only for so long as they are wanted, as contradistinguished from the "*principle of natural equity,*" spoken of by Blackstone, which requires that "the servant shall serve and the master maintain him *throughout all the revolutions of the respective seasons, as well when there is work to be done as when there is not,*" has been the cause, perhaps, of more casual labour and more pauperism and crime, in this country, than, perhaps, any other of the antecedents before mentioned. The harvest is now collected solely by casual labourers, by a horde of squalid immigrants, or the tribe of natural and forced vagabonds who are continually begging or stealing their way throughout the country; our hops are picked, our fruit and vegetables gathered by the same precarious hands—wretches who, perhaps, obtain some three months' harvest labour in the course of the year. The ships at our several ports are discharged by the same "*casual hands,*" who may be seen at our docks scrambling like hounds for the occasional bit of bread that is vouchsafed to them; there numbers loiter throughout the day, even on the chance of *an hour's employment;* for the term of hiring has been cut down to the finest possible limits, so that the labourer may not be paid for even a second longer than he is wanted. And since he gets only bare subsistence money when employed, "What," we should ask ourselves, "*must* be his lot when unemployed?"

I now come to consider the circumstances causing an undue increase of the labourers in a country. Thus far we have proceeded on the assumption that both the quantity of work to be done and the number of hands to do it remained stationary, and we have seen that by the mere alteration of the time, rate, and mode of working, a vast amount of surplus, and, consequently, casual labour may be induced in a community. We have now to ascertain how, still assuming the quantity of work to remain unaltered, the same effect may be brought about by an undue *increase of the number of labourers.*

There are many means by which the number of labourers may be increased besides that of a positive increase of the people. These are—

1. By the undue increase of apprentices.
2. By drafting into the ranks of labour those who should be otherwise engaged, as women and children.
3. By the importation of labourers from abroad.
4. By the migration of country labourers to towns, and so overcrowding the market in the cities.
5. By the depression of other trades.
6. By the undue increase of the people themselves.

Each and every of the first-mentioned causes are as effective a circumstance for the promotion of surplus labour, as even the positive extension of the population of the country.

Let me begin with the undue increase of a trade by means of *apprentices.*

This is, perhaps, one of the chief aids to the cheap system. For it is principally by apprentice labour that the better masters, as well as workmen, are undersold, and the skilled labourer consequently depressed to the level of the unskilled. But the great evil is, that the cheapening of goods by this means causes an undue increase in the trade. The apprentices grow up and become labourers, and so the trade is glutted with workmen, and casual labour is the consequence.

This apprentice system is the great bane of the printer's trade. Country printers take an undue number of boys to help them cheap; these lads grow up, and then, finding wages in the provinces depressed through this system of apprentice labour, they flock to the towns, and so tend to glut the labour market, and consequently to increase the number of casual hands.

One cause of the increased surplus and casual labour in such trades as dressing-case, work-box, writing-desk-making and other things in the fancy cabinet trade (among the worst trades even in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green), shoemaking, and especially of women and children's shoes, is the taking of many apprentices by small masters (supplying the great warehouses). As journey-work is all but unknown in the slop fancy cabinet trade, an apprentice, when he has "served his time," must start on his own account in the same wretched way of business, or become a casual labourer in some unskilled avocation, and this is one way in which the hands surely, although gradually, increase beyond the demand. It is the same with the general slop cabinet-maker's trade in the same parts. The small masters supply the "slaughter-houses," the linen-drapers, &c., who sell cheap furniture; they work in the quickest and most scamping manner, and do more work (which is nearly all done on the chance of sale), as they must confine themselves to one branch. The slop chair-makers cannot make tables, nor the slop table-makers, chairs; nor the cheffonier and drawer-makers, bedsteads; for they have not been taught. Even if they knew the method, and *could* accomplish other work, the want of practice would compel them to do it slowly, and the slop mechanic can never afford to work slowly. Such classes of little masters, then, to meet the demand for low-priced furniture, rear their sons to the business, and frequently take apprentices, to whom they pay small amounts. The hands so trained (as in the former instances) are not skilled enough to work for the honourable trade, so that they can only adopt the course pursued by their parents, or masters, before them. Hence a rapid, although again gradual,

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increase of surplus hands; or hence a resort to some unskilled labour, to be wrought casually. This happens too, but in a smaller degree, in trades which are not slop, from the same cause. Concerning the *apprentice system* in the boot and shoe trade, when making my inquiries into the condition of the London workmen, I received the following statements:—

"My employer had seven apprentices when I was with him; of these, two were parish apprentices (I was one), and the other five from the Refuge for the Destitute, at Hoxton. With each Refuge boy he got 5*l.* and three suits of clothes, and a kit (tools). With the parish boys of Covent-garden and St. Andrew's, Holborn, he got 5*l.* and two suits of clothes, reckoning what the boy wore as one. My employer was a journeyman, and by having all us boys he was able to get up work very cheap, though he received good wages for it. We boys had no allowance in money, only board, lodging, and clothing. The board was middling, the lodging was too, and there was nothing to complain about in the clothing. He was severe in the way of flogging. I ran away six times myself, but was forced to go back again, as I had no money and no friend in the world. When I first ran away I complained to Mr. ——— the magistrate, and he was going to give me six weeks. He said it would do me good; but Mr. ——— interfered, and I was let go. I don't know what he was going to give me six weeks for, unless it was for having a black eye that my master had given me with the stirrup. Of the seven only one served his time out. He let me off two years before my time was up, as we couldn't agree. The mischief of taking so many apprentices is this:—The master gets money with them from the parish, and can feed them much as he likes as to quality and quantity; and if they run away soon, the master's none the worse, for he 's got the money; and so boys are sent out to turn vagrants when they run away, as such boys have no friends. Of us seven boys (at the wages our employer got) one could earn 19*s.*, another 15*s.*, another 12*s.*, another 10*s.*, and the rest not less than 8*s.* each, for all worked sixteen hours a day—that 's 4*l.* 8*s.* a week for the seven, or 225*l.* 10*s.* a year. You must recollect I reckon this on nearly the best wages in the women's trade. My employer you may call a sweater, and he made money fast, though he drank a good deal. We seldom saw him when he was drunk; but he *did* pitch into us when he was getting sober. Look how easily such a man with apprentices can undersell others when he wants to work as cheap as possible for the great slop warehouses. They serve haberdashers so cheap that oft enough it 's starvation wages for the same shops."

Akin to the system of using a large number of apprentices is that of *employing boys and girls* to displace the work of men, at the less laborious parts of the trade.

"It is probable," said a working shoemaker to me, "that, independent of apprentices, 200 additional hands are added to our already overburdened trade yearly. Sewing boys soon learn the use of the knife. Plenty of poor men will offer to finish them for a pound and a month's work; and men, for a few shillings and a few weeks' work, will teach other boys to sew. There are many of the wives of chamber-masters teach girls entirely to make children's work for a pound and a few months' work, and there are many in Bethnal-green who have learnt the business in this way. These teach some other members of their families, and then actually set up in business in opposition to those who taught them, and in cutting offer their work for sale at a much lower rate of profit; and shopkeepers in town and country, having circulars sent to solicit custom, will have their goods from a warehouse that will serve them cheapest; then the warehouseman will have them cheap from the manufacturer; and he in his turn cuts down the wages of the work-people, who fear to refuse offers at the warehouse price, knowing the low rate at which chamber-masters will serve the warehouse."

As in all trades where lowness of wages is the rule, the boy system of labour prevails among the cheap cabinet-workers. It prevails, however, among the garret-masters, by very many of them having one, two, three or four youths to help them, and so the number of boys thus employed through the whole trade is considerable. This refers principally to the general cabinet trade. In the fancy trade the number is greater, as the boys' labour is more readily available; but in this trade the greatest number of apprentices is employed by such warehousemen as are manufacturers, as some at the East end are, or rather by the men that they constantly keep at work. Of these men, one has now eight and another fourteen boys in his service, some apprenticed, some merely "engaged" and dischargeable at pleasure. A sharp boy, in six or eight months, becomes "handy;" but four out of five of the workmen thus brought up can do nothing well but their own particular branch, and that only well as far as celerity in production is considered.

It is these boys who are put to make, or as a master of the better class distinguished to me, not to *make* but to put together, ladies' work-boxes at 5*d.* a piece, the boy receiving 2½*d.* a box. 'Such boxes,' said another workman, 'are nailed together; there 's no dove-tailing, nothing of what I call *work*, or workmanship, as you say, about them, but the deal 's nailed together, and the veneer 's dabbed on, and if the deal 's covered, why the thing passes. The worst of it is, that people don't understand either good work or good wood. Polish them up and they look well. Besides—and that 's another bad thing, for it encourages bad work—there 's no stress on a lady's work-box, as on a chair or a sofa, and so bad work lasts far too long, though not half so long as good; in solids especially, if not in veneers."

To such a pitch is this demand for children's labour carried, that there is a market in Bethnal-green, where boys and girls stand twice a week to be hired as binders and sewers. Hence it will be easily understood that it is impossible for the

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skilled and grown artizan to compete with the labour of mere children, who are thus literally brought into the market to undersell him!

Concerning this market for boys and girls, in Bethnal-green, I received, during my inquiries into the boot and shoe trade, the following statements from shopkeepers on the spot:—

"Mr. H—— has lived there sixteen years. The market-days are Monday and Tuesday mornings, from seven to nine. The ages of persons who assemble there vary from ten to twenty, and they are often of the worst character, and a decideded nuisance to the inhabitants. A great many of both sexes congregate together, and most market days there are three females to one male. They consist of sewing boys, shoe-binders, winders for weavers, and girls for all kinds of slop needle-work, girls for domestic work, nursing children, &c. No one can testify, for a fact, that they (the females) are prostitutes; but, by their general conduct, they are fit for anything. The market, some years since, was held at the top of Abbey-street; but, on account of the nuisance, it was removed to the other end of Abbey-street. When the schools were built, the nuisance became so intolerable that it was removed to a railway arch in White-street, Bethnal-green. There are two policemen on market mornings to keep order, but my informant says they require four to maintain anything like subjection."

But *family work, or the conjoint labour of a workman's wife and children*, is an equally extensive cause of surplus and casual labour.

A small master, working, perhaps, upon goods to be supplied at the lowest rates to wholesale warehousemen, will often contribute to this result by the way in which he brings up his children. It is less expensive to him to teach them his own business, and he may even reap a profit from their labour, than to have them brought up to some other calling. I met with an instance of this in an inquiry among the toy-makers. A maker of common toys brought up five children to his own trade, for boys and girls can be made useful in such labour at an early age. His business fell off rapidly, which he attributed to the great and numerous packages of cheap toys imported from Germany, Holland, and France, after the lowering of the duty by Sir Robert Peel's tariff. The chief profit to the toy-maker was derived from the labour, as the material was of trifling cost. He found, on the change in his trade, that he could not employ all his family. His fellow tradesmen, he said, were in the same predicament; and thus surplus hands were created, so leading to casualty in labour.

"The system which has, I believe, the worst effect on the women's trade in the boot and shoe business throughout England is," I said in the *Morning Chronicle*, "chamber-mastering. There are between 300 and 400 chamber-masters. Commonly the man has a wife, and three or four children, ten years old or upwards. The wife cuts out the work for the binders, the husband does the knife-work, the children sew with uncommon rapidity. The husband, when the work is finished at night, goes out with it, though wet and cold, and perhaps hungry—his wife and children waiting his return. He returns sometimes, having sold his work at cost price, or not cleared 1*s*. 6*d*. for the day's labour of himself and family. In the winter, by this means, the shopkeepers and warehouses can take the advantage of the chamber-master, buying the work at their own price. By this means haberdashers' shops are supplied with boots, shoes, and slippers; they can sell women's boots at 1*s*. 9*d*. per pair; shoes, 1*s*. 3*d*. per pair; children's, 6*d*., 8*d*., and 9*d*. per pair, getting a good profit, having bought them of the poor chamber-master for almost nothing, and he glad to sell them at any price, late at night, his children wanting bread, and he having walked about for hours, in vain trying to get a fair price for them; thus, women and children labour as well as husbands and fathers, and, with their combined labours, they only obtain a miserable living."

The labour of the wife, and indeed the whole family—family work, as it is called—is attended with the same evil to a trade, introducing a large supply of fresh hands to the labour market, and so tending to glut with workpeople each trade into which they are introduced, and thus to increase the casual labour, and decrease the earnings of the whole.

"The only means of escape from the inevitable poverty," I said in the same letters, "which sooner or later overwhelms those in connection with the cheap shoe trade, seems to the workmen to be by the employment of his whole family as soon as his children are able to be put to the trade—and yet this only increases the very depression that he seeks to avoid. I give the statement of such a man residing in the suburbs of London, and working with three girls to help him:—

"'I have known the business,' he said, 'many years, but was not brought up to it. I took it up because my wife's father was in the trade, and taught me. I was a weaver originally, but it is a bad business, and I have been in this trade seventeen years. Then I had only my wife and myself able to work. At that time my wife and I, by hard work, could earn 1*l*. a week; on the same work we could not now earn 12*s*. a week. As soon as the children grew old enough the falling off in the wages compelled us to put them to work one by one—as soon as a child could make threads. One began to do that between eight and nine. I have had a large family, and with very hard work too. We have had to lie on straw oft enough. Now, three daughters, my wife, and myself work together, in chamber-mastering; the whole of us may earn, one week with another, 28*s*. a week, and out of that I have eight to support. Out of that 28*s*. I have to pay for grindery and candles, which cost me 1*s*. a week the year through. I now make children's shoes for the wholesale houses and anybody. About two years ago I travelled from Thomas-street, Bethnal-green, to Oxford-street, "on the

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hawk." I then positively had nothing in my inside, and in Holborn I had to lean against a house, through weakness from hunger. I was compelled, as I could sell nothing at that end of the town, to walk down to Whitechapel at ten at night. I went into a shop near Mile-end turnpike, and the same articles (children's patent leather shoes) that I received 8*s.* a dozen for from the wholesale houses, I was compelled to sell to the shopkeeper for 6*s.* 6*d.* This is a very frequent case—very frequent—with persons circumstanced as I am, and so trade is injured and only some hard man gains by it.' "

Here is the statement of a worker at "fancy cabinet" work on the same subject:—

"The most on us has got large families. We put the children to work as soon as we can. My little girl began about six, but about eight or nine is the usual age." *"Oh, poor little things," said the wife, "they are obliged to begin the very minute they can use their fingers at all."* "The most of the cabinet-makers of the East end have from five to six in family, and they are generally all at work for them. The small masters mostly marry when they are turned of 20. You see our trade's coming to such a pass, that unless a man has children to help him he can't live at all. *I've worked more than a month together, and the longest night's rest I've had has been an hour and a quarter; aye, and I've been up three nights a week besides.* I've had my children lying ill, and been obliged to wait on them into the bargain. You see, we couldn't live if it wasn't for the labour of our children, though it makes 'em—poor little things!—old people long afore they are growed up."

"Why, I stood at this bench," said the wife, "with my child, only ten years of age, from four o'clock on Friday morning till ten minutes past seven in the evening, without a bit to eat or drink. I never sat down a minute from the time I began till I finished my work, and then I went out to sell what I had done. I walked all the way from here [Shoreditch] down to the Lowther Arcade, to get rid of the articles." *Here she burst out in a violent flood of tears, saying, "Oh, sir, it is hard to be obliged to labour from morning till night as we do, all of us, little ones and all, and yet not be able to live by it either."*

"And you see the worst of it is, this here children's labour is of such value now in our trade, that there's more brought into the business every year, so that it's really for all the world *like breeding slaves.* Without my children I don't know how we should be able to get along." "There's that little thing," said the man, pointing to the girl ten years of age before alluded to, as she sat at the edge of the bed, "why she works regularly every day from six in the morning till ten at night. She never goes to school. We can't spare her. There's schools enough about here for a penny a week, but we could not afford to keep her without working. If I'd ten more children I should be obliged to employ them all the same way, and there's hundreds and thousands of children now slaving at this business. There's the M——'s; they have a family of eight, and the youngest to the oldest of all works at the bench; and the oldest ain't fourteen. I'm sure, of the 2500 small masters in the cabinet line, you may safely say that 2000 of them, at the very least, has from five to six in family, *and that's upwards of 12,000 children that's been put to the trade since prices has come down.* Twenty years ago I don't think there was a child at work in our business; and I am sure there is not a small master now whose whole family doesn't assist him. But what I want to know is, what's to become of the 12,000 children when they're growed up, and come regular into the trade? Here are all my young ones growing up without being taught anything but a business that I know they must starve at."

In answer to my inquiry as to what dependence he had in case of sickness, "Oh, bless you," he said, "there's nothing but the parish for us. I *did* belong to a Benefit Society about four years ago, but I couldn't keep up my payments any longer. I was in the society above five-and-twenty year, and then was obliged to leave it after all. I don't know of one as belongs to any Friendly Society, and I don't think there is a man as can afford it in our trade now. They must all go to the workhouse when they're sick or old."

The following is from a journeyman tailor, concerning the employment of women in his trade:—

"When I first began working at this branch, there were but very few females employed in it: a few white waistcoats were given out to them, under the idea that women would make them cleaner than men—and so indeed they can. But since the last five years the sweaters have employed females upon cloth, silk, and satin waistcoats as well, and before that time the idea of a woman making a cloth waistcoat would have been scouted. But since the increase of the puffing and the sweating system, masters and sweaters have sought everywhere for such hands as would do the work below the regular ones. Hence the wife has been made to compete with the husband, and the daughter with the wife: they all learn the waistcoat business, and must all get a living. If the man will not reduce the price of his labour to that of the female, why he must remain unemployed; and if the full-grown woman will not take the work at the same price as the young girl, why she must remain without any. The female hands, I can confidently state, have been sought out and introduced to the business by the sweaters, from a desire on their part continually to ferret out hands who will do the work cheaper than others. The effect that this continual reduction has had upon me is this: Before the year 1844 I could live comfortably, and keep my wife and children (I had five in family) by my own labour. My wife then attended to her domestic and family duties; but since that time, owing to the reduction in prices, she has been compelled to resort to her needle, as well as myself, for her living." [On the table was a bundle of crape and bombazine ready to be

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made up into a dress.] "I cannot afford now to let her remain idle—that is, if I wish to live, and keep my children out of the streets, and pay my way. My wife's earnings are, upon an average, 8*s.* per week. She makes dresses. I never would teach her to make waistcoats, because I knew the introduction of female hands had been the ruin of my trade. With the labour of myself and wife now I can only earn 32*s.* a week, and six years ago I could make my 36*s.* If I had a daughter I should be obliged to make her work as well, and then probably, with the labour of the three of us, we could make up at the week's end as much money, as, up to 1844, I could get by my own single hands. My wife, since she took to dressmaking, has become sickly from over-exertion. Her work, and her domestic and family duties altogether, are too much for her. Last night I was up all night with her, and was compelled to call in a female to attend her as well. The over-exertion now necessary for us to maintain a decent appearance, has so ruined her constitution that she is not the same woman as she was. In fact, ill as she is, she has been compelled to rise from her bed to finish a mourning-dress against time, and I myself have been obliged to give her a helping-hand, and turn to at women's work in the same manner as the women are turning to at men's work."

"The cause of the serious decrease in our trade," said another tailor to me, "is the employment given to workmen at their own homes; or, in other words, to the 'sweaters.' The sweater is the greatest evil to us; as the sweating system increases the number of hands to an almost incredible extent—wives, sons, daughters, and extra women, all working 'long days'—that is, labouring from sixteen to eighteen hours per day, and Sundays as well. I date the decrease in the wages of the workman from the introduction of piece-work and giving out garments to be made off the premises of the master; for the effect of this was, that the workman making the garment, knowing that the master could not tell whom he got to do his work for him, employed women and children to help him, and paid them little or nothing for their labour. This was the beginning of the sweating system. The workmen gradually became transformed from journeymen into 'middlemen,' living by the labour of others. Employers soon began to find that they could get garments made at a less sum than the regular price, and those tradesmen who were anxious to force their trade, by underselling their more honourable neighbours, readily availed themselves of this means of obtaining cheap labour. The consequence was, that the sweater sought out where he could get the work done the cheapest, and so introduced a fresh stock of hands into the trade. Female labour, of course, could be had cheaper than male, and the sweater readily availed himself of the services of women on that account. Hence the males who had formerly been employed upon the garments were thrown out of work by the females, and obliged to remain unemployed, unless they would reduce the price of their work to that of the women. It cannot, therefore, be said that the reduction of prices originally arose from there having been more workmen than there was work for them to do. There was no superabundance of hands until female labour was generally introduced—and even if the workmen had increased 25 per cent. more than what they were twenty years back, still that extra number of hands would be required now to make the same number of garments, owing to the work put into each article being at least one-fourth more than formerly. So far from the trade being over-stocked with male hands, if the work were confined to the men or the masters' premises, there would not be sufficient hands to do the whole."

According to the last Census (1841, G.B.), out of a population of 18,720,000 the proportions of the people occupied and unoccupied were as follows:—

Occupied	7,800,000
Unoccupied (including women and children)	10,920,000

Of those who were occupied the following were the proportions:—

Engaged in productive employments *	5,350,000
Engaged in non-productive employments	2,450,000

Of those who were engaged in productive employments, the proportion (in round numbers) ran as follows:—

Men	3,785,000
Women	660,000
Boys and girls	905,000

Here, then, we find nearly one-fifth, or 20 per cent., of our producers to be boys and girls, and upwards of 10 per cent. to be women. Such was the state of things in 1841. In order to judge of the possible and probable condition of the labour market of the country, if this introduction of women and children into the ranks of the labourers be persisted in, let us see what were the proportions of the 10,920,000 men, women, and children who ten years ago still remained unoccupied among us. The ratio was as follows:—

Men	275,000
Women	3,570,000
Boys and girls	7,075,000

Here the unoccupied men are about 5 per cent. of the whole, the children nearly two-thirds, and the wives about one-third. Now it appears that out of say 19,000,000 people, 8,000,000 were, in 1841, occupied, and by far the greater number, 11,000,000, unoccupied.

Who were the remaining eleven millions, and what were they doing? They, of course, consisted principally of the unemployed wives and children of the eight millions of people before specified, three millions and a half of the number

* I have here included those engaged in Trade and Commerce, and employers as well as the employed among the *producers*.

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being females of twenty years of age and upwards, and seven millions being children of both sexes under twenty. Of these children, four millions, according to the "age abstract," were under ten years, so that we may fairly assume that, at the time of taking the last census, *there were very nearly seven millions of wives and children of a workable age still unoccupied*. Let us suppose, then, that these seven millions of people are brought in competition with the five million producers. What is to be the consequence? If the labour market be overstocked at present with only five millions of people working for the support of nineteen millions (I speak according to the Census of 1841), what would it be if another seven millions were to be dragged into it? And if wages are low now, and employment is precarious on account of this, what will not both work and pay sink to when the number is again increased, and the people clamouring for employment are at least treble what they are at present? When the wife has been taught to compete for work with the husband, and son and daughter to undersell their own father, what will be the state of our labour market then?

But the labour of wives, and children, and apprentices, is not the only means of glutting a particular trade with hands. There is another system becoming every day more popular with our enterprising tradesmen, and this is the *importation of foreign labourers*. In the cheap tailoring this is made a regular practice. Cheap labour is regularly imported, not only from Ireland (the wives of sweaters making visits to the Emerald Isle for the express purpose), but small armies of working tailors, ready to receive the lowest pittance, are continually being shipped into this country. That this is no exaggeration let the following statement prove:—

"I am a native of Pesth, having left Hungary about eight years ago. By the custom of the country I was compelled to travel three years in foreign parts, before I could settle in my native place. I went to Paris, after travelling about in the different countries of Germany. I stayed in Paris about two years. My father's wish was that I should visit England, and I came to London in June, 1847. I first worked for a West end show shop—not *directly* for them—but through the person who is their middleman getting work done at what rates he could for the firm, and obtaining the prices they allowed for making the garments. I once worked four days and a half for him, finding my own trimmings, &c., for 9*s*. For this my employer would receive 12*s*. 6*d*. He then employed 190 hands; he *has* employed 300. Many of those so employed set their wives, children, and others to work, some employing as many as five hands this way. The middleman keeps his carriage, and will give fifty guineas for a horse. I became unable to work from a pain in my back, from long sitting at my occupation. The doctor told me not to sit much, and so, as a countryman of mine was doing the same, I employed hands, making the best I could of their labour. I have now four young women (all Irish girls) so employed. Last week one of them received 4*s*., another 4*s*. 2*d*., the other two 5*s*. each. They find their board and lodging, but I find them a place to work in, a small room, the rent of which I share with another tailor, who works on his own account. There are not so many Jews come over from Hungary or Germany as from Poland. The law of travelling three years brings over many, but not more than it did. The revolutions have brought numbers this year and last. They are Jew tailors flying from Russian and Prussian Poland to avoid the conscription. I never knew any of these Jews go back again. *There is a constant communication among the Jews, and when their friends in Poland, and other places, learn they are safe in England, and in work and out of trouble, they come over too. I worked as a journeyman in Pesth, and got 2s. 6d. a week, my board and washing, and lodging, for my labour.* We lived well, everything being so cheap. The Jews come in the greatest number about Easter. They try to work their way here, most of them. Some save money here, but they never go back; if they leave England it is to go to America."

The labour market of a particular place, however, comes to be overstocked with hands, not only from the introduction of an inordinate number of apprentices and women and children into the trade, as well as the importation of workmen from abroad, but the same effect is produced by *the migration of country labourers to towns*. This, as I have before said, is specially the case in the printer's and carpenter's trades, where the cheap provincial work is executed chiefly by apprentices, who, when their time is up, flock to the principal towns, in the hopes of getting better wages than can be obtained in the country, owing to the prevalence of the apprentice system of work in those parts. The London carpenters suffer greatly from what are called "improvers," who come up to town to get perfected in their art, and work for little or no wages. The work of some of the large houses is executed mainly in this way; that of Mr. Myers was, for instance, against whom the men lately struck.

But the unskilled labour of towns suffers far more than the skilled from the above cause.

The employment of unskilled labourers in towns is being constantly rendered more casual by the migrations from the country parts. The peasants, owing to the insufficiency of their wages, and the wretchedness of their dwellings and diet, in Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and elsewhere, leave their native places without regret, and swell the sum of unskilled labour in towns. This is shown by the increase of population far beyond the excess of births over deaths in those counties where there are large manufacturing or commercial towns; whilst in purely agricultural counties the increase of population does not keep pace with the excess of births. "Thus in Lancashire," writes Mr. Thornton, in his work on Over-Population, "the increase of the population in the ten years ending in 1841, was 330,210, and in Cheshire, 60,919; whilst the excess of

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ONE OF THE FEW REMAINING CLIMBING SWEEPS.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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births was only 150,150 in the former, and 28,000 in the latter. In particular towns the contrast is still more striking. In Liverpool and Bristol the annual deaths actually exceed the births, so that these towns are only saved from depopulation by their rural recruits, yet the first increased the number of its inhabitants in ten years by more than one-third, and the other by more than one-sixth. In Manchester, the annual excess of births could only have added 19,390 to the population between 1831 and 1841; the actual increase was 68,375. The number of emigrants (immigrants) into Birmingham, during the same period, may, in the same way, be estimated at 40,000; into Leeds, at 8000; into the metropolis, at 130,000. On the other hand, in Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, the actual addition to the population, in the same decennial period, was only 15,491, 31,802, and 39,253 respectively; although the excess of births over deaths in the same counties was about 20,000, 38,600, and 48,700."

The unskilled labour market suffers, again, from the depression of almost any branch of skilled labour; for whatever branch of labour be depressed, and men so be deprived of a sufficiency of employment, one especial result ensues—the unskilled labour market is glutted. The skilled labourer, a tailor, for instance, may be driven to work for the wretched pittance of an East end slop-tailor, but he cannot "turn his hand" to any other description of skilled labour. He cannot say, "I will make billiard-tables, or book-cases, or boots, or razors;" so that there is no resource for him but in unskilled labour. The Spitalfields weavers have often sought dock labour; the turners of the same locality, whose bobbins were once in great demand by the silk-winders, and for the fringes of upholsterers, have done the same; and in this way the increase of casual labour increases the poverty of the poor, and so tends directly to the increase of pauperism.

We have now seen what a vast number of surplus labourers may be produced by an extension of time, rate, or mode of working, as well as by the increase of the hands, by other means than by *the increase of the people themselves.* If, however, we are increasing our workers at a greater rate than we are increasing the means of work, the excess of workmen must, of course, remain unemployed. But are we doing this?

Let us test the matter on the surest data. In the first instance let us estimate the increase of population, both according to the calculations of the late Mr. Rickman and the returns of the several censuses. The first census, I may observe, was taken in 1801, and has been regularly continued at intervals of ten years. The table first given refers to the population of England and Wales:—

INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	Population, England and Wales.	Numerical Increase.	Increase per Cent.	Annual Increase per cent.	Increase per Cent. in 50 Years, from 1801 to 1851 = 101.	Annual average increase per Cent., 1·41.
*1570	4,038,879					
1600	4,811,718	772,839	19	0·6		
1630	5,601,517	789,799	16	0·5		
1670	5,773,646	172,129	3	0·08		
1700	6,045,008	271,362	5	0·2		
1750	6,517,035	472,027	8	0·2		
†1801	8,892,536	2,375,501	37	0·7		
1811	10,164,068	1,271,532	14	1·4		
1821	11,999,322	1,835,250	18	1·8		
1831	13,896,797	1,897,475	16	1·6		
1841	15,914,148	1,982,489	14	1·4		
1851	17,922,768	1,968,341	13	1·3		

* The amount of the population from 1570 to 1750, as here given, is copied from Rickman's tables, as published by the Registrar-General.

† The population at the decennial term, as here given, is the amended calculation of the Registrar-General, as given in the new census tables.

INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF SCOTLAND.

Years.	Population, Scotland.	Numerical Increase.	Increase per Cent.	Annual Increase per Cent.	Increase per Cent. in 50 years, from 1801 to 1851 = 78.	Annual rate of Increase per Cent., 1·16.
*1755	1,265,380					
†1801	1,608,420	343,040	27	0·6		
1811	1,805,864	197,444	12	1·3		
1821	2,091,512	285,657	16	1·6		
1831	2,364,386	272,865	13	1·3		
1841	2,620,184	255,798	11	1·1		
1851	2,870,784	245,237	10	1·0		

* From returns furnished by the clergy.

† The returns here cited are copied from those given by the Registrar-General in the new census.

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INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF IRELAND.

Years.	Population, Ireland.	Numerical Increase and Decrease. † denotes Increase. * „ Decrease.	Increase and Decrease per Cent.	Annual rate of Increase and Decrease per Cent.	Total Decrease in 30 Years, from 1821 to 1851 = 4 per Cent.	Annual rate of Decrease for 30 Years, from 1821 to 1851, ·1 per Cent.
1731[a]	2,010,221					
1754[b]	2,372,634	† 362,413	†19			
1767	2,544,276	† 171,642	† 7			
1777	2,690,556	† 146,280	† 6			
1785	2,845,932	† 155,376	† 6			
1788	4,040,000	†1,194,068	†42			
1805[c]	5,395,456	†1,355,456	†34			
1813[d]	5,937,858	† 542,402	†10			
1821[e]	6,801,827	† 863,969	†15	†1·4		
1831	7,767,401	† 965,574	†14	†1·3		
1841	8,175,124	† 407,723	† 5	† ·5		
1851	6,515,794	*1,659,330	*20	*1·8		

a Returns obtained through an inquiry instituted by the Irish House of Lords.
b The population from 1754–1788 is estimated from the "hearth money" returns.
c Newenham's Inquiry into the Population of Ireland.
d Estimate from incomplete census.
e First complete census.

INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	Population.	Numerical Increase.	Decennial Increase per Cent.	Annual Increase per Cent.	Increase in 30 years, from 1821 to 1851 = 31 per Cent.	Annual Rate of Increase ·9 per Cent.
1821	20,892,670					
1831	24,028,584	3,135,914	15	1·4		
1841	26,709,456	2,680,872	11	1·1		
1851	27,309,346	599,890	2	0·2		

Discarding, then, all conjectural results, and adhering solely to the returns of the censuses, we find that, according to the official numberings of the people *throughout the kingdom*, the increased rate of population is, in round numbers, 10 per cent. every ten years; that is to say, where 100 persons were living in the United Kingdom in 1821, there are 130 living in the present year of 1851. The average increase in England and Wales for the last 50 years may, however, be said to be 1·5 per cent. per annum, the population having doubled itself during that period.

How, then, does this rate of increase among the people, and consequently the labourers and artizans of the country, correspond with the rate of increase in the production of commodities, or, in plain English, the means of employment? *This* is the main inquiry.

The only means of determining the total amount of commodities produced, and consequently the quantity of work done in the country, is from official returns, submitted to the Parliament and the public as part of the "revenue" of the kingdom. These afford a broad and accurate basis for the necessary statistics; and to get rid of any speculating or calculating on the subject, I will confine my notice to such commodities; giving, however, further information bearing on the subject, but still derived from official sources, so that there may be no doubt on the matter. The facts in connection with this part of the subject are exhibited in the table given in the next page.

The majority of the articles there specified supply the elements of trade and manufacture in furnishing the materials of our clothing, in all its appliances of decency, comfort, and luxury. The table relates, moreover, to our commerce with other countries—to the ships which find profitable employment, and give such employment to our people, in the aggregate commerce of the nation. Under almost every head, it will be seen, the increase in the means of labour has been more extensive than has the increase in the number of labourers; in some instances the difference is wide indeed.

The annual rate of increase among the population has been ·9 per cent. From 1801 to 1841 the population of the kingdom at the outside cannot be said to have doubled itself. Yet the productions in cotton goods *were not less than ten times greater in* 1851 *than in* 1801. The increase in the use of wool from 1821 to 1851 was more than sixfold; that of the population, I may repeat, *not* twofold. In *twenty* years (1831 to 1851) the hides were more than doubled in amount as a means of production; in *fifty* years the population has not increased to the same amount. Can any one, then, contend that the labouring population has extended itself at a greater rate than the means of labour, or that the vast mass of surplus labour throughout the country is owing to the working classes having increased more rapidly than the means of employing them?

Thus, it is evident, that the means of labour

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TABLE SHOWING THE INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTIONS AND COMMERCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, FROM 1801-1850.

† denotes increase. * „ decrease.	1801.	1811.	Increase and Decrease per Cent. from 1801 to 1811.	1821.	Increase per Cent. from 1811 to 1821.	1831.	Increase and Decrease per Cent. from 1821 to 1831.	1841.	Increase per Cent. from 1831 to 1841.	1850.	Increase per Cent. from 1841 to 1850.	Total Increase per Cent.	Average Annual Increase per Cent.
Soap ....in lbs.	55,500,000	80,000,000	†44	97,000,000	†21	127,500,000	†31	170,500,000	†34	205,000,000	20	269	5·3
Cotton .... „	56,000,000	92,000,000	†64	137,000,000	†49	273,000,009	†99	437,000,000	†60	664,700,000	52	1087	21·7
Wool .... „	....	....	..	10,000,000	..	30,000,000	†200	53,000,000	†77	72,675,000	37	627	20·9
Silk .... „	1,000,000	1,500,000	†50	2,250,000	†50	4,250,000	†89	5,000,000	†18	7,159,000	43	616	12·3
Flax .... „	....	....	..	55,000,000	..	104,000,000	†89	151,000,000	†45	204,000,000	35	271	9·0
Hemp .... „	....	....	..	....	..	56,500,000	..	73,000,000	†29	117,447,000	61	108	5·4
Hides .... „	....	....	..	....	..	26,000,000	..	51,000,000	†96	66,300,000	30	155	7·7
Official Value of Exports* in £	24,500,000	21,750,000	*11	40,250,000	†85	60,000,000	†49	101,750,000	†70	197,309,000	94	705	14·1
Official Value of Imports „	....	25,500,000	..	29,750,000	†17	48,250,000	†62	62,750,000	†30	100,460,000	60	294	7·3
Tonnage of Vessels belonging to British Empire	....	....	..	2,560,203	..	2,581,964	† 1	3,512,480	†36	4,232,962	21	65	2·2
Tonnage of Vessels entering Ports	....	....	..	1,895,000	..	3,241,927	†71	4,652,376	†44	7,110,476	53	274	9·1

* The *official* value was established long ago; it represents a price put upon merchandise or commodities; it is in reality a fixed value, and serves to indicate the relative extent of imports and exports in different years. The *declared* value is simply the market price.

have increased at a more rapid pace than the labouring population. But the increase in "property" of the country, in that which is sometimes called the "staple" property, being the assured possessions of the class of proprietors or capitalists, as well as in the profits, prove, that, if the labourers of the country have been hungering for want of employment, at least the wealth of the nation has kept pace with the increase of the people, while the profits of trade have exceeded it.

AMOUNT OF THE PROPERTY AND INCOME OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Year.	Property assessed to Property-tax.	Annual Profits of Trade.
1815 . .	£60,000,000	£37,000,000
1842 . .	95,250,000	
1844 . .	......	60,000,000
Increase . .	58 per cent.	
„ . .	......	62 per cent.
Annual rate of increase . . .	1·7 per cent.	1·7 per cent.

Here, then, we find, that the property assessed to the property tax has increased 35,250,000*l.* in 27 years, from 1815 to 1842, or upwards of 1,000,000*l.* sterling a year; this is at the rate of 1·7 per cent. every year, whereas the population of Great Britain has increased at the rate of only 1·4 per cent. per annum. But the amount of assessment under the property tax, it should be borne in mind, does not represent the full value of the possessions, so that among this class of proprietors there is far greater wealth than the returns show.

As regards the annual profits of trade, the increase between the years 1815 and 1844 has been 23,000,000*l.* in 29 years. This is at the rate of 1·7 per cent. per annum, and the annual increase in the population of Great Britain is only 1·4 per cent. But the amount of the profits of trade is unquestionably greater than appears in the financial tables of the revenue of the country; consequently there is a greater increase of wealth over population than the figures indicate.

The above returns show the following results:—

	Increase per Cent. per Ann.
Population of the United Kingdom .	·9
Productions from	21 to 5
Exports	14
Imports	5
Shipping entering Ports . . .	9
Property	1·7
Profits of trade	1·7

Far, very far indeed then, beyond the increase of the population, has been the increase of the wealth and work of the country.

And now, after this imposing array of wealth, let us contemplate the reverse of the picture: let us inquire if, while we have been increasing in riches and productions far more rapidly than we have been increasing in people and producers—let us inquire, I say, if we have been numerically increasing also in the sad long lists of paupers and criminals. Has our progress in poverty and crime been "*pari passu*," or been more than commensurate in the rapidity of its strides?

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TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PAUPERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.*

Years.	Number of Paupers relieved, Quarters ending Lady-day.	Numerical Increase and Decrease. † denotes Increase. * ,, Decrease.	Annual Increase and Decrease per Cent.	
1840	1,199,529			Increase per Cent. from 1840 to 1848 = 56. Annual Increase, 7 per Cent.
1841	1,299,048	† 99,519	† 7·8	
1842	1,427,187	†128,139	†10	
1843	1,539,490	†112,303	† 8	
1844	1,477,561	†938,071	†60	
1845	1,470,970	* 6,591	* 0·4	
1846	1,332,089	* 38,881	* 3	
1847	1,721,350	†389,261	†29	
1848	1,876,541	†155,191	† 9	

Here, then, we have an increase of 56 per cent. in less than ten years, though the increase of the population of England and Wales, in the same time, was but 13 per cent.; and let it be remembered that the increase of upwards of 650,000 paupers, in nine years, has accrued since the New Poor Law has been in what may be considered full working; a law which many were confident would result in a diminution of pauperism, and which certainly cannot be charged with offering the least encouragement to it. Still in *nine* years, our poverty increases while our wealth increases, and our paupers grow nearly four times as quick as our people, while the profits on trade nearly double themselves in little more than a quarter of a century.

We now come to the records of criminality:—

TABLE SHOWING THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF CRIMINALS IN ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1805–1850.

	Annual Average Number of Criminals Committed.	Numerical Increase.	Decennial Increase per Cent.	Annual Increase per Cent.	Increase per Cent. in the 45 years.	
1805	4,605					Annual Average Increase per Cent., 11·7.
1811	5,375	770	17	2·8		
1821	9,783	4408	82	8·2	504	
1831	15,318	5535	57	5·7		
1841	22,305	6987	46	4·6		
1850	27,814	5509	25	3·6		

From these results—and such figures are facts, and therefore stubborn things—the people cannot be said to have increased beyond the wealth or the means of employing them, for it is evident that *we increase in poverty and crime as we increase in wealth, and in both far beyond our increase in numbers.* The above are the bare facts of the country—it is for the reader to explain them as he pleases.

As yet we have dealt with those causes of casual labour only which may induce a surplusage of labourers without any *decrease taking place in the quantity of work.* We have seen, first, how the number of the unemployed may be increased either by altering the hours, rate, or mode of working, or else by changing the term of hiring, and this while the number of labourers remains the same; and, secondly, we have seen how the same results may ensue from increasing the number of labourers, while the conditions of working and hiring are unaltered. Under both these circumstances, however, the actual quantity of work to be done in the country has been supposed to undergo no change whatever; and at present we have to point out not only how the amount of surplus, and, consequently, of casual labour, in the kingdom, may be increased by *a decrease of the work*, but also how the work itself may be made to decrease. To know the causes of the one we must ascertain the antecedents of the other. What, then, are the circumstances inducing a decrease in the quantity of work? and,

* The official returns as to the number of paupers are most incomplete and unsatisfactory. In the 10th annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, p. 480 (1844), a table is printed which is said to give the returns from the earliest period for which authentic Parliamentary documents have been received, and this sets forth the number of paupers in England and Wales, for the *entire twelve months* in the years 1803, 1813, 1814, and 1815; then comes a long interval of "no returns," and after 1839 we have the numbers for only *three months* in each year, from 1840 up to 1843; in the first annual Report (1848) these returns for one quarter in each year are continued up to 1848; and then we get the returns for only two days in each year, the 1st of July and the 1st of January, so that to come to any conclusion amid so much inconsistency is utterly impossible. The numbers above given would have been continued to the present period, could any comparison have been instituted. The numbers for the periods (not above given) are—

1803	1,040,716	Number of paupers for the entire twelve months.
1813	1,426,065	
1814	1,402,576	
1815	1,319,851	
1849 (1st Jan.)	940,851	Number of paupers for two separate days in each year.
,, (1st July)	846,988	
1850 (1st Jan.)	899,830	
,, (1st July)	796,318	
1851 (1st Jan.)	829,440	

consequently, what the circumstances inducing an increase in the amount of surplus and casual labour?

In the first place we may induce a large amount of casual labour *in particular districts*, not by decreasing the gross quantity of work required by the country, but by merely shifting the work into new quarters, and so decreasing the quantity in the ordinary localities. "The west of England," says Mr. Dodd, in his account of the textile manufactures of Great Britain, "was formerly, and continued to be till a comparatively recent period, the most important clothing district in England. The changes which the woollen manufacture, as respects both localization and mode of management, has been and is now undergoing, are very remarkable. Some years ago the 'west of England cloths' were the test of excellence in this manufacture; while the productions of Yorkshire were deemed of a coarser and cheaper character. At present, although the western counties have not deteriorated in their product, the West Riding of Yorkshire has made giant strides, by which equal skill in every department has been attained; while the commercial advantages resulting from coal-mines, from water-power, from canals and railroads, and from vicinage to the eastern port of Hull and the western port of Liverpool, give to the West Riding a power which Gloucestershire and Somersetshire cannot equal. The steam-engine, too, and various machines for facilitating some of the manufacturing processes, have been more readily introduced into the former than into the latter; a circumstance which, even without reference to other points of comparison, is sufficient to account for much of the recent advance in the north."

Of late years the products of many of the west of England clothing districts have considerably declined. Shepton Mallet, Frome and Trowbridge, for instance, which were at one time the seats of a flourishing manufacture for cloth, have now but little employment for the workmen in those parts; and so with other towns. "At several places in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, and others of the western counties," says Mr. Thornton, "most of the cottagers, fifty years ago, were weavers, whose chief dependence was their looms, though they worked in the field at harvest time and other busy seasons. By so doing they kept down the wages of agricultural labourers, who had no other employment; and now that they have themselves become dependent upon agriculture, in consequence of the removal of the woollen manufacture from the cottage to the factory" [as well as to the north of England], "these reduced wages have become their own portion also;" or, in other words, since the shifting of the woollen manufacture in these parts, the quantity of casual labour in the cultivation of the land has been augmented.

The same effect takes place, of course, if the work be shifted to the Continent, instead of merely to another part of our own country. This has been the main cause of the misery of the straw-plaiters of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. "During the last war," says the author before quoted, "there were examples of women (the wives and children of labouring men) earning as much as 22*s.* a week. The profits of this employment have been so much reduced by the competition of Leghorn hats and bonnets, that a straw-plaiter cannot earn much more than 2*s.* 6*d.* in the week."

But the work of particular localities may not only decrease, and the casual labour, in those parts, increase in the same proportion, by shifting it to other localities (either at home or abroad), even while the gross quantity of work required by the nation remains the same, but the quantity of work may be less than ordinary at *a particular time*, even while the same gross quantity annually required undergoes no change. This is the case in those periodical gluts which arise from over-production, in the cotton and other trades. The manufacturers, in such cases, have been increasing the supplies at a too rapid rate in proportion to the demand of the markets, so that, though there be no decrease in the requirements of the country, there ultimately accrues such a surplus of commodities beyond the wants and means of the people, that the manufacturers are compelled to stop producing until such time as the regular demand carries off the extra supply. And during all this time either the labourers have to work half-time at half-pay, or else they are thrown out of employment altogether.

Thus far we have proceeded in the assumption that the actual quantity of work required by the nation *does not decrease in the aggregate, but only in particular places or at particular times*, owing to a greater quantity than usual being done in other places or at other times *. We have still to consider what are the circumstances which tend to *diminish the gross quantity of work required by the country.* To understand these we must know the conditions on which all work depends; these are simply the conditions of demand and supply, and hence to know what it is that regulates the demand for commodities, and what it is that regulates the supply of them, is also to know what it is that regulates the quantity of work required by the nation.

Let me begin with the decrease of work arising from a *decrease of the demand* for certain commodities. This decrease of demand may proceed from one of three causes:—

1. An increase of cost.
2. A change of taste or fashion.
3. A change of circumstances.

The *increase of cost* may be brought about either by an increase in the expense of production or by a tax laid upon the article, as in the case of hair-powder, before quoted. Of the *change of taste or fashion*, as a means of decreasing the

* It might at first appear that, when the work is shifted to the Continent, there would be a proportionate decrease of the aggregate quantity at home, but a little reflection will teach us that the foreigners must take something from us in *exchange* for their work, and so increase the quantity of our work in certain respects as much as they depress it in others.

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demand for a certain article of manufacture, and, consequently, of a particular form of labour, many instances have already been given; to these the following may be added:—"In Dorsetshire," says Mr. Thornton, "the making of wire shirt-buttons (now in a great measure superseded by the use of mother-o'-pearl) once employed great numbers of women and children." So it has been with the manufacture of metal coat-buttons; the change to silk has impoverished hundreds.

The decrease of work arising from a *change of circumstances* may be seen in the fluctuations of the iron trade; in the railway excitement the demand for labour in the iron districts was at least tenfold as great as it is at present, and so again with the demand for arms during war time; at such periods the quantity of work in that particular line at Birmingham is necessarily increased, while the contrary effects, of course, ensue immediately the requirements cease, and a large mass of surplus and casual hands is the result. It is the same with the soldiers themselves, as with the gun and sword makers; on the disbanding of certain portions of the army at the conclusion of a war, a vast amount of surplus labourers are poured into the country to compete with those already in work, and either to drag down their weekly earnings, or else, by obtaining *casual* employment in their stead, to reduce the gross quantity of work accruing to each, and so to render their incomes not only less in amount but less constant and regular. Within the last few weeks no less than 1000 policemen employed during the Exhibition have been discharged, of course with a like result to the labour market.

The circumstances tending to *diminish the supply* of certain commodities, are—

1. Want of capital.
2. Want of materials.
3. Want of labourers.
4. Want of opportunity.

The *decrease of the quantity of capital* in a trade may be brought about by several means: it may be produced by a want of security felt among the moneyed classes, as at the time of revolutions, political agitations, commercial depressions, or panics; or it may be produced by a deficiency of enterprise after the bursting of certain commercial "bubbles," or the decline of particular manias for speculation, as on the cessation of the railway excitement; so, again, it may be brought about by a failure of the ordinary produce of the year, as with bad harvests.

The *decrease of the quantity of materials*, as tending to diminish the supply of certain commodities, may be seen in the failure of the cotton crops, which, of course, deprive the cotton manufacturers of their ordinary quantity of work. The same diminution in the ordinary supply of particular articles ensues when the men engaged in the production of them "strike" either for an advance of wages, or more generally to resist the attempt of some cutting employer to reduce their ordinary earnings; and lastly, a like decrease of work necessarily ensues when the *opportunity of working is changed*. Some kinds of work, as we have already seen, depend on the weather—on either the wind, rain, or temperature; while other kinds can only be pursued at certain seasons of the year, as brick-making, building, and the like; hence, on the cessation of the opportunities for working in these trades, there is necessarily a great decrease in the quantity of work, and consequently a large increase in the amount of surplus and therefore casual labour.

We have now, I believe, exhausted the several causes of that vast national evil—casual labour. We have seen that it depends,

First, upon certain times and seasons, fashions and accidents, which tend to cause a periodical briskness or slackness in different employments;

And secondly, upon the number of surplus labourers in the country.

The circumstances inducing surplus labour we have likewise ascertained to be three.

1. An alteration in the hours, rate, or mode of working, as well as in the mode of hiring.
2. An increase of the hands.
3. A decrease of the work, either in particular places, at particular times, or in the aggregate, owing to a decrease either in the demand or means of supply.

Any one of these causes, it has been demonstrated, must necessarily tend to induce an over supply of labourers and consequently a casualty of labour, for it has been pointed out that an over supply of labourers does not depend *solely* on an increase of the workers beyond the means of working, but that a decrease of the ordinary quantity of work, or a general increase of the hours or rate of working, or an extension of the system of production, or even a diminution of the term of hiring, will also be attended with the same result—facts which should be borne steadily in mind by all those who would understand the difficulties of the times, and which the "economists" invariably ignore.

On a careful revision of the whole of the circumstances before detailed, I am led to believe that there is considerable truth in the statement lately put forward by the working classes, that only one-third of the operatives of this country are fully employed, while another third are partially employed, and the remaining third wholly unemployed; that is to say, estimating the working classes as being between four and five millions in number, I think we may safely assert—considering how many depend for their employment on particular times, seasons, fashions, and accidents, and the vast quantity of over-work and scamp-work in nearly all the cheap trades of the present day, the number of women and children who are being continually drafted into the different handicrafts with the view of reducing the earnings of the men, the displacement of human labour in some cases by machinery, and the tendency to increase the division of labour, and to extend the large system of production beyond the requirements of the

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markets, as well as the temporary mode of hiring —all these things being considered, I say I believe we may safely conclude that, out of the four million five hundred thousand people who have to depend on their industry for the livelihood of themselves and families, there is (owing to the extraordinary means of economizing labour which have been developed of late years, and the discovery as to how to do the work of the nation with fewer people) barely sufficient work for the *regular* employment of half of our labourers, so that only 1,500,000 are fully and constantly employed, while 1,500,000 more are employed only half their time, and the remaining 1,500,000 wholly unemployed, obtaining a day's work *occasionally* by the displacement of some of the others.

Adopt what explanation we will of this appalling deficiency of employment, one thing at least is certain: we cannot *consistently with the facts of the country*, ascribe it to an increase of the population beyond the means of labour; for we have seen that, while the people have increased during the last fifty years at the rate of ·9 per cent. per annum, the wealth and productions of the kingdom have far exceeded that amount.

Of the Casual Labourers among the Rubbish-Carters.

The casual labour of so large a body of men as the rubbish-carters is a question of high importance, for it affects the whole unskilled labour market. And this is one of the circumstances distinguishing unskilled from skilled labour. Unemployed cabinet-makers, for instance, do not apply for work to a tailor; so that, with skilled labourers, only one trade is affected in the slack season by the scarcity of employment among its operatives. With unskilled labourers it is otherwise. If in the course of next week 100 rubbish-carters were from any cause to be thrown out of employment, and found an impossibility to obtain work at rubbish-carting, there would be 100 fresh applicants for employment among the bricklayer's-labourers, scavagers, nightmen, sewermen, dock-workers, lumpers, &c. Many of the 100 thus unemployed would, of course, be willing to work at reduced wages merely that they might subsist; and thus the hands employed by the regular and "honourable" part of those trades are exposed to the risk of being underworked, as regards wages, from the surplusage of labour in other unskilled occupations.

The employment of the rubbish-carters depends, in the first instance, upon the *season*. The services of the men are called into requisition when houses are being built or removed. In the one case, the rubbish-carters cart away the refuse earth; in the other they remove the old materials. The *brisk season* for the builders, and consequently for the rubbish-carters, is, as I heard several of them express it, "when days are long." From about the middle of April to the middle of October is the *brisk* season of the rubbish-carters, for during those six months more buildings are erected than in the winter half of the year. There is an advantage in fine weather in the masonry becoming *set;* and efforts are generally made to complete at least the carcase of a house before the end of October, at the latest.

I am informed that the difference in the employment of labourers about buildings is 30 per cent.—one builder estimated it at 50 per cent.—less in winter than in summer, from the circumstance of fewer buildings being then in the course of erection. It may be thought that, as rubbish-carters are employed frequently on the foundation of buildings, their business would not be greatly affected by the season or the weather. But the work is often more difficult in wet weather, the ground being heavier, so that a smaller extent of work only can be accomplished, compared to what can be done in fine weather; and an employer may decline to pay six days' wages for work in winter, which he might get done in five days in summer. If the men work by the piece or the load the result is the same; the rubbish-carter's employer has a smaller return, for there is less work to be charged to the customer, while the cost in keeping the horses is the same.

Thus it appears that under the most favourable circumstances about *one-fourth* of the rubbish-carters, even in the honourable trade, may be exposed to the evils of non-employment merely from the state of the weather influencing, more or less, the custom of the trade, and this even during *the* six months' employment out of the year; after which the men must find some other means of earning a livelihood.

There are, in round numbers, 850 operative rubbish-carters employed in the brisk season throughout the metropolis; hence 212 men, at this calculation, would be regularly deprived of work every year for six months out of the twelve. It will be seen, however, on reference to the table here given, that the average number of weeks each of the rubbish-carters is employed throughout the twelve months is far below 26; indeed many have but three and four weeks work out of the 52.

By an analysis of the returns I have collected on this subject I find the following to have been the actual term of employment for the several rubbish-carters in the course of last year:—

Men.		Employment in the Year.			
9	had	39	weeks, or	9	months.
214	„	26	„	6	„
4	„	20	„	5	„
10	„	18	„		
28	„	16	„	4	„
8	„	14	„		
353	„	13	„	3	„
4	„	12	„		
34	„	10	„		
29	„	9	„		
38	„	8	„	2	„
38	„	6	„		
27	„	5	„		
45	„	4	„	1	„
15	„	3	„		
856					

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Hence about one-fourth of the trade appear to have been employed for six months, while upwards of one-half had work for only three months or less throughout the year—many being at work only three days in the week during that time.

The rubbish-carter is exposed to another casualty over which he can no more exercise control than he can over the weather; I mean to what is generally called *speculation*, or a rage for building. This is evoked by the state of the money market, and other causes upon which I need not dilate; but the effect of it upon the labourers I am describing is this: capitalists may in one year embark sufficient means in building speculations to erect, say 500 new houses, in any particular district. In the following year they may not erect more than 200 (if any), and thus, as there is the same extent of unskilled labour in the market, the number of hands required is, if the trade be generally less speculative, less in one year than in its predecessor by the number of rubbish-carters required to work at the foundations of 300 houses. Such a cause may be exceptional; but during the last ten years the inhabited houses in the five districts of the Registrar-General have increased to the extent of 45,000, or from 262,737 in 1841, to 307,722 in 1851. It appears, then, that the annual increase of our metropolitan houses, concluding that they increase in a regular yearly ratio, is 4500. Last year, however, as I am informed by an experienced builder, there were rather fewer buildings erected (he spoke only from his own observations and personal knowledge of the business) than the yearly average of the decennial term.

The casual and constant wages of the rubbish-carters may be thus detailed. The whole system of the labour, I may again state, must be regarded as *casual*, or—as the word imports in its derivation from the Latin *casus*, a chance—the labour of men who are occasionally employed. Some of the most respectable and industrious rubbish-carters with whom I met, told me they generally might make up their minds, though they might have excellent masters, to be six months of the year unemployed at rubbish-carting; this, too, is less than the average of this chance employment.

Calculating, then, the rubbish-carter's receipt of *nominal wages* at 18*s*., and his *actual wages* at 20*s*. in the honourable trade, I find the following amount to be paid.

By nominal wages, I have before explained, I mean what a man is *said* to receive, or has been *promised* that he shall be paid weekly. Actual wages, on the other hand, are what a man positively *receives*, there being sometimes additions in the form of perquisites or allowances; sometimes deductions in the way of fines and stoppages; the additions in the rubbish-carting trade appear to average about 2*s*. a week. But these *actual wages* are received only so long as the men are employed, that is to say, they are the *casual* rather than the *constant* earnings of the men working at a trade, which is essentially of an occasional or temporary character; the average employment at rubbish-carting being only three months in the year.

Let us see, therefore, what would be the constant earnings or income of the men working at the better-paid portion of the trade.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The gross actual wages of ten rubbish-carters, casually employed for 39 weeks, at 20*s*. per week, amount to	390	0	0
The gross actual wages of 250 rubbish-carters, casually employed for 26 weeks, at 20*s*. per week .	6500	0	0
The gross actual wages of 360 rubbish-carters, casually employed for 13 weeks, at 20*s*. per week .	4600	0	0
Total gross actual wages of 620 of the better-paid rubbish-carters .	11,490	0	0

But this, as I said before, represents only the *casual* wages of the better-paid operatives—that is to say, it shows the amount of money or money's worth that is positively received by the men while they are in employment. To understand what are the *constant* wages of these men, we must divide their gross casual earnings by 52, the number of weeks in the year: thus we find that the constant wages of the ten men who were employed for 39 weeks, were 15*s*. instead of 20*s*. per week—that is to say, their wages, equally divided throughout the year, would have yielded that constant weekly income. By the same reasoning, the 20*s*. per week casual wages of the 250 men employed for 26 weeks out of the 52, were equal to only 10*s*. constant weekly wages; and so the 360 men, who had 20*s*. per week casually for only three months in the year, had but 5*s*. a week *constantly* throughout the whole year. Hence we see the enormous difference there may be between a man's casual and his constant earnings at a given trade.

The next question that forces itself on the mind is, how do the rubbish-carters live when no longer employed at this kind of work?

When the slack season among rubbish-carters commences, nearly one-fifth of the operatives are discharged. These take to scavaging or dustman's work, as well as that of navigators, or, indeed, any form of unskilled labour, some obtaining full employ, but the greater part being able to "get a job only now and then." Those masters who keep their men on throughout the year are some of them large dust contractors, some carmen, some dairymen, and (in one or two instances in the suburbs, as at Hackney) small farmers. The dust-contractors and carmen, who are by far the more numerous, find employment for the men employed by them as rubbish-carters in the season, either at the dust-yard or carrying sand, or, indeed, carting any materials they may have to move—the wages to the men remaining the same; indeed such is the transient character of the rubbish-carting trade, that there are no masters or operatives who devote themselves solely to the business.

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THE EFFECTS OF CASUAL LABOUR IN GENERAL.

HAVING now pointed out the causes of casual labour, I proceed to set forth its effects.

All casual labour, as I have said, is necessarily *uncertain* labour; and wherever uncertainty exists, there can be no foresight or pro-vidence. Had the succession of events in nature been irregular,—had it been ordained by the Creator that similar causes under similar circumstances should *not* be attended with similar effects,—it would have been impossible for us to have had any knowledge of the future, or to have made any preparations concerning it. Had the seasons followed each other fitfully,—had the sequences in the external world been variable instead of invariable, and what are now termed "constants" from the regularity of their succession been changed into inconstants,—what provision could even the most prudent of us have made? Where all was dark and unstable, we could only have guessed instead of reasoned as to what was to come; and who would have deprived himself of present enjoyments to avoid future privations, which could appear neither probable nor even possible to him? Pro-vidence, therefore, is simply the result of certainty, and whatever tends to increase our faith in the uniform sequences of outward events, as well as our reliance on the means we have of avoiding the evils connected with them, necessarily tends to make us more prudent. Where the means of sustenance and comfort are fixed, the human being becomes conscious of what he has to depend upon; and if he feel *assured* that such means may fail him in old age or in sickness, and be fully impressed with the *certainty* of suffering from either, he will immediately proceed to make some provision against the time of adversity or infirmity. If, however, his means be *uncertain*—abundant at one time, and deficient at another—a spirit of speculation or gambling with the future will be induced, and the individual get to believe in "luck" and "fate" as the arbiters of his happiness rather than to look upon himself as "the architect of his fortunes"—trusting to "chance" rather than his own powers and foresight to relieve him at the hour of necessity. The same result will necessarily ensue if, from defective reasoning powers, the ordinary course of nature be not sufficiently apparent to him, or if, being in good health, he grow too confident upon its continuance, and, either from this or other causes, is led to believe that death will overtake him before his powers of self-support decay.

The ordinary effects of uncertain labour, then, are to drive the labourers to improvidence, recklessness, and pauperism.

Even in the classes which we do not rank among labourers, as, for instance, authors, artists, musicians, actors, uncertainty or irregularity of employment and remuneration produces a spirit of wastefulness and carelessness. The steady and daily accruing gains of trade and of some of the professions form a certain and staple income; while in other professions, where a large sum may be realized at one time, and then no money be earned until after an interval, incomings are rapidly spent, and the interval is one of suffering. This is part of the very nature, the very essence, of the casualty of employment and the delay of remuneration. The past privation gives a zest to the present enjoyment; while the present enjoyment renders the past privation faint as a remembrance and unimpressive as a warning. "Want of providence," writes Mr. Porter, "on the part of those who live by the labour of their hands, and whose employments so often depend upon circumstances beyond their control, is a theme which is constantly brought forward by many whose lot in life has been cast beyond the reach of want. It is, indeed, greatly to be wished, for their own sakes, that the habit were general among the labouring classes of saving some part of their wages when fully employed, against less prosperous times; but it is difficult for those who are placed in circumstances of ease to *estimate the amount of virtue that is implied in this self-denial.* It must be a hard trial for one who has recently, perhaps, seen his family enduring want, to deny them the small amount of indulgences, which are, at the best of times, placed within their reach."

It is easy enough for men in smooth circumstances to say, "the privation is a man's own fault, since, to avoid it, he has but to apportion the sum he may receive in a lump over the interval of non-recompense which he knows will follow." Such a course as this, experience and human nature have shown not to be easy—perhaps, with a few exceptions, not to be possible. It is the starving and not the well-fed man that is in danger of surfeiting himself. When pestilence or revolution are rendering life and property *casualties* in a country, the same spirit of improvident recklessness breaks forth. In London, on the last visitation of the plague, in the reign of Charles II., a sort of Plague Club indulged in the wildest excesses in the very heart of the pestilence. To these orgies no one was admitted who had not been bereft of some relative by the pest. In Paris, during the reign of terror in the first revolution, the famous Guillotine Club was composed of none but those who had lost some near relative by the guillotine. When they met for their half-frantic revels every one wore some symbol of death: breast pins in the form of guillotines, rings with death's-heads, and such like. The duration of their own lives these Guillotine Clubbists knew to be uncertain, not merely in the ordinary uncertainty of nature, but from the character of the times; and this feeling of the jeopardy of existence, from the practice of violence and bloodshed, wrought the effects I have described. Life was more than naturally casual. When the famine was at the worst in Ireland, it was remarked in the *Cork Examiner*, that in that city there never had been seen more street "larking" or street gambling among the poor lads and young men who were really starving. This was a natural result of the casualty of labour and the consequent casualty of food. Persons, it should be remembered, do not insure houses or shops that

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are "doubly or trebly hazardous;" they gamble on the uncertainty.

Mr. Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," cites a fact bearing immediately upon the present subject.

"The formation of a canal, which has been in progress during the last five years, in the north of Ireland (this was written in 1847), has afforded steady employment to a portion of the peasantry, who before that time were suffering all the evils, so common in that country, which result from the precariousness of employment. Such work as they could previously get came at uncertain intervals, and was sought by so many competitors, that the remuneration was of the scantiest amount. In this condition of things the men were improvident, to recklessness; their wages, insufficient for the comfortable sustenance of their families, were wasted in procuring for themselves a temporary forgetfulness of their misery at the whiskey-shop, and the men appeared to be sunk into a state of hopeless degradation. From the moment, however, that work was offered to them which was *constant in its nature and certain in its duration*, and on which their weekly earnings would be sufficient to provide for their comfortable support, *men who had been idle and dissolute were converted into sober hard-working labourers, and proved themselves kind and careful husbands and fathers;* and it is stated as a fact, that, notwithstanding the distribution of several hundred pounds weekly in wages, the whole of which must be considered as so much additional money placed in their hands, the consumption of whiskey was absolutely and *permanently* diminished in the district. During the comparatively short period in which the construction of this canal was in progress, some of the most careful labourers—men who most probably before then never knew what it was to possess five shillings at any one time—saved sufficient money to enable them to emigrate to Canada."

There can hardly be a stronger illustration of the blessing of constant and the curse of casual labour. We have competence and frugality as the results of one system; poverty and extravagance as the results of the other; and among the very same individuals.

In the evidence given by Mr. Galloway, the engineer, before a parliamentary committee, he remarks, that "when employers are competent to show their men that their business is *steady and certain*, and when men find that they are likely to have *permanent* employment, they have always *better habits and more settled notions*, which will make them *better men* and *better workmen*, and will produce great benefits to all who are interested in their employment."

Moreover, even if payment be assured to a working man regularly, *but deferred for long intervals*, so as to make the returns lose all appearance of regularity, he will rarely be found able to resist the temptation of a tavern, and, perhaps, a long-continued carouse, or of some other extravagance to his taste, when he receives a month's dues at once. I give an instance of this in the following statement:—

For some years after the peace of 1815 the staffs of the militias were kept up, but not in any active service. During the war the militias performed what are now the functions of the regular troops in the three kingdoms, their stations being changed more frequently than those of any of the regular regiments at the present day. Indeed, they only differed from the "regulars" in name. There was the same military discipline, and the sole difference was, that the militia-men—who were balloted for periodically—could not, by the laws regulating their embodiment, be sent out of the United Kingdom for purposes of warfare. The militias were embodied for twenty-eight days' training, once in four years (seldom less) after the peace, and the staff acted as the drill sergeants. They were usually steady, orderly men, working at their respective crafts when not on duty after the militia's disembodiment, and some who had not been brought up to any handicraft turned out—perhaps from their military habits of early rising and orderliness—very good gardeners, both on their own account and as assistants in gentlemen's grounds. No few of them saved money. Yet these men, with very few exceptions, when they received a month's pay, fooled away a part of it in tippling and idleness, to which they were not at all addicted when attending regularly to their work with its regular returns. If they got into any trouble in consequence of their carousing, it was looked upon as a sort of legitimate excuse, "Why you see, sir, it was the 24th" (the 24th of each month being the pension day).

The thoughtless extravagance of sailors when, on their return to port, they receive in one sum the wages they have earned by severe toil amidst storms and dangers during a long voyage, I need not speak of; it is a thing well known.

These soldiers and seamen cannot be said to have been *casually* employed, but the results were the same as if they had been so employed; the money came to them in a lump at so long an interval as to appear uncertain, and was consequently squandered.

I may cite the following example as to the effects of uncertain earnings upon the household outlay of labourers who suffer from the casualties of employment induced by the season of the year. "In the long fine days of summer, the little daughter of a working brickmaker," I was told, "used to order chops and other choice dainties of a butcher, saying, 'Please, sir, father don't care for the price just a-now; but he must have his chops good; line-chops, sir, and tender, please—'cause he's a brickmaker.' In the winter, it was, 'O please, sir, here's a fourpenny bit, and you must send father something cheap. He don't care what it is, so long as it's cheap. It's winter, and he hasn't no work, sir—'cause he's a brickmaker.'"

I have spoken of the tendency of casual labour to induce intemperate habits. In confirmation of this I am enabled to give the following account as to the increase of the sale of malt liquor in the metropolis *consequent upon wet weather*. The account is derived from the personal observations of a gentleman long familiar with the brewing

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trade, in connection with one of the largest houses. In short, I may state that the account is given on the very best authority.

There are *nine* large brewers in London; of these the two firms transacting the greatest extent of business supply, daily, 1000 barrels each firm to their customers; the seven others, among them, dispose, altogether, of 3000 barrels daily. All these 5000 barrels a day are solely for town consumption; and this may be said to be the *average* supply the year through, but the public-house sale is far from regular.

After a wet day the sale of malt liquor, principally beer (porter), to the metropolitan retailers is from 500 to 1000 barrels more than when a wet day has not occurred; that is to say, the supply increases from 5000 barrels to 5500 and 6000. Such of the publicans as keep small stocks go the next day to their brewers to order a further supply; those who have better-furnished cellars may not go for two or three days after, but the result is the same.

The reason for this increased consumption is obvious; when the weather prevents workmen from prosecuting their respective callings in the open air, they have recourse to drinking, to pass away the idle time. Any one who has made himself familiar with the habits of the working classes has often found them crowding a public-house during a hard rain, especially in the neighbourhood of new buildings, or any public open-air work. The street-sellers, themselves prevented from plying their trades outside, are busy in such times in the "publics," offering for sale braces, belts, hose, tobacco-boxes, nuts of different kinds, apples, &c. A bargain may then be struck for so much and a half-pint of beer, and so the consumption is augmented by the trade in other matters.

Now, taking 750 barrels as the average of the extra sale of beer in consequence of wet weather, we have a consumption beyond the demands of the ordinary trade in malt liquor of 27,000 gallons, or 216,000 pints. This, at 2*d*. a pint, is 1800*l*. for a day's needless, and often prejudicial, outlay caused by the casualty of the weather and the consequent casualty of labour. A censor of morals might say that these men should go home under such circumstances; but their homes may be at a distance, and may present no great attractions; the single men among them may have no homes, merely sleeping-places; and even the more prudent may think it advisable to wait awhile under shelter in hopes of the weather improving, so that they could resume their labour, and only an hour or so be deducted from their wages. Besides, there is the attraction to the labourer of the warmth, discussion, freedom, and excitement of the public-house.

That the great bulk of the consumers of this *additional* beer are of the classes I have mentioned is, I think, plain enough, from the increase being experienced only in that beverage, the consumption of gin being little affected by the same means. Indeed, the statistics showing the ratio of beer and gin-drinking are curious enough (were this the place to enter into them), the most gin, as a general rule, being consumed in the most depressed years.

"It is a fact worth notice," said a statistical journal, entitled "Facts and Figures," published in 1841, "as illustrative of the *tendency of the times of pressure to increase spirit drinking*, that whilst under the privations of last year (1840) the poorer classes paid 2,628,286*l*. tax for spirits; in 1836, a year of the greatest prosperity, the tax on British spirits amounted only to 2,390,188*l*. *So true is it that to impoverish is to demoralise*."

The numbers who imbibe, in the course of a wet day, these 750 barrels, cannot, of course, be ascertained, but the following calculations may be presented. The class of men I have described rarely have spare money, but if known to a landlord, they probably may obtain credit until the Saturday night. Now, putting their *extra* beer-drinking on wet days—for on fine days there is generally a pint or more consumed daily per working man—putting, I say, the *extra* potations at a pot (quart) each man, we find *one hundred and eight thousand* consumers (out of 2,000,000 people, or, discarding the women and children, not 1,000,000)! A number doubling, and trebling, and quadrupling the male adult population of many a splendid continental city.

Of the data I have given, I may repeat, no doubt can be entertained; nor, as it seems to me, can any doubt be entertained that the increased consumption is directly attributable to the casualty of labour*.

Of the Scurf Trade among the Rubbish-Carters.

Before proceeding to treat of the cheap or "scurf" labourers among the rubbish-carters, I shall do as I have done in connection with the casual labourers of the same trade, say a few words on that kind of labour in general, both as to the means by which it is usually obtained and as to the distinctive qualities of the scurf or low-priced labourers; for experience teaches me that the mode by which labour is cheapened is more or less similar in all trades, and it will therefore save much time and space if I here—as with the casual labourers—give the general facts in connection with this part of my subject.

In the first place, then, there are but two direct modes of cheapening labour, viz.:—

1. By making the workmen do *more* work for the *same* pay.
2. By making them do the *same* work for *less* pay.

The first of these modes is what is technically termed "*driving*," especially when effected by compulsory "overwork;" and it is called the "economy of labour" when brought about by more elaborate and refined processes, such as the division of labour, the large system of production, the invention

* The Great Exhibition, I am informed, produced a very small effect on the consumption of porter; and, according to the official returns, 160,000 gallons less spirits were consumed in the first nine months of the present year, than in the corresponding months of the last: thus showing that any occupation of mind or body is incompatible with intemperate habits, for drunkenness is essentially the vice of idleness, or want of something better to do.

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of machinery, and the *temporary*, as contradistinguished from the *permanent*, mode of hiring.

Each of these modes of making workmen do *more* work for the *same* pay, can but have the same depressing effect on the labour market, for not only is the *rate* of remuneration (or ratio of the work to the pay) reduced when the operative is made to do a greater quantity of work for the same amount of money, but, unless the means of disposing of the extra products be proportionately increased, it is evident that just as many workmen must be displaced thereby as the increased term or rate of working exceeds the extension of the markets; that is to say, if 4000 workpeople be made to produce each twice as much as formerly (either by extending the hours of labour or increasing their rate of labouring), then if the markets or means of disposing of the extra products be increased only one-half, 1000 hands must, according to Cocker, be deprived of their ordinary employment; and these competing with those who are in work will immediately tend to reduce the wages of the trade generally, so that not only will the *rate* of wages be decreased, since each will have more work to do, but the actual earnings of the workmen will be diminished likewise.

Of the economy of labour itself, as a means of cheapening work, there is no necessity for me to speak here. It is, indeed, generally admitted, that to economize labour without proportionally extending the markets for the products of such labour, is to deprive a certain number of workmen of their ordinary means of living; and under the head of casual labour so many instances have been given of this principle that it would be wearisome to the reader were I to do other than allude to the matter at present. There are, however, several other means of causing a workman to do more than his ordinary quantity of work. These are :—

1. By extra supervision when the workmen are paid by the day. Of this mode of increased production an instance has already been cited in the account of the strapping-shops given at p. 304, vol. ii.
2. By increasing the workman's interest in his work; as in piece-work, where the payment of the operative is made proportional to the quantity of work done by him. Of this mode examples have already been given at p. 303, vol. ii.
3. By large quantities of work given out at one time; as in "lump-work" and "contract work."
4. By the domestic system of work, or giving out materials to be made up at the homes of the workpeople.
5. By the middleman system of labour.
6. By the prevalence of small masters.
7. By a reduced rate of pay, as forcing operatives to labour both longer and quicker, in order to make up the same amount of income.

Of several of these modes of work I have already spoken, citing facts as to their pernicious influence upon the greater portion of those trades where they are found to prevail. I have already shown how, by extra supervision—by increased interest in the work—as well as by decreased pay, operatives can be made to do more work than they otherwise would, and so be the cause, unless the market be proportionately extended, of depriving some of their fellow-labourers of their fair share of employment. It now only remains for me to set forth the effect of those modes of employment which have not yet been described, viz., the domestic system, the middleman system, and the contract and lump system, as well as the small-master system of work.

Let me begin with the first of the last-mentioned modes of cheapening labour, viz., *the domestic system of work*.

I find, by investigation, that in trades where the system of working on the master's premises has been departed from, and a man is allowed to take his work home, there is invariably a tendency to cheapen labour. These home workers, whenever opportunity offers, will use other men's ill-paid labour, or else employ the members of their family to enhance their own profits.

The domestic system, moreover, naturally induces *over-work and Sunday-work, as well as tends to change journeymen into trading operatives, living on the labour of their fellow-workmen.* When the work is executed off the master's premises, of course there are neither definite hours nor days for labour; and the consequence is, the generality of home workers labour early and late, Sundays as well as week-days, availing themselves at the same time of the co-operation of their wives and children; thus the trade becomes overstocked with workpeople by the introduction of a vast number of new hands into it, as well as by the overwork of the men themselves who thus obtain employment. When I was among the tailors, I received from a journeyman to whom I was referred by the Trades' Society as the one best able to explain the causes of the decline of that trade, the following lucid account of the evils of this system of labour :—

"The principal cause of the decline of our trade is the employment given to workmen at their own homes, or, in other words, to the 'sweaters.' The sweater is the greatest evil in the trade; as the sweating system increases the number of hands to an almost incredible extent—wives, sons, daughters, and extra women, all working 'long days'—that is, labouring from sixteen to eighteen hours per day, and Sundays as well. By this system two men obtain as much work as would give employment to three or four men working regular hours in the shop. Consequently, the sweater being enabled to get the work done by women and children at a lower price than the regular workman, obtains the greater part of the garments to be made, while men who depend upon the shop for their living are obliged to walk about idle. A greater quantity of work is done under the sweating system at a lower price. I consider that the decline of my trade dates from the change of day-work into piece-work. According to the old system, the

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journeyman was paid by the day, and consequently must have done his work under the eye of his employer. It is true that work was given out by the master before the change from day-work to piece-work was regularly acknowledged in the trade. But still it was morally impossible for work to be given out and not be paid by the piece. *Hence I date the decrease in the wages of the workman from the introduction of piece-work, and giving out garments to be made off the premises of the master.* The effect of this was, that the workman making the garment, knowing that the master could not tell whom he got to do his work for him, employed women and children to help him, and paid them little or nothing for their labour. This was the beginning of the sweating system. The workmen gradually became transformed from journeymen into 'middlemen,' living by the labour of others. Employers soon began to find that they could get garments made at a less sum than the regular price, and those tradesmen who were anxious to force their trade, by underselling their more honourable neighbours, readily availed themselves of this means of obtaining cheap labour."

The *middleman system of work* is so much akin to the domestic system, of which, indeed, it is but a necessary result, that it forms a natural addendum to the above. Of this indirect mode of employing workmen, I said, in the *Chronicle*, when treating of the timber-porters at the docks:—

"The middleman system is the one crying evil of the day. Whether he goes by the name of 'sweater,' 'chamber-master,' 'lumper,' or contractor, it is this *trading operative* who is the great means of reducing the wages of his fellow working-men. To make a profit out of the employment of his brother operatives he must, of course, obtain a lower class and, consequently, cheaper labour. Hence it becomes a *business* with him to hunt out the lowest grades of working men—that is to say, those who are either morally or intellectually inferior in the craft—the drunken, the dishonest, the idle, the vagabond, and the unskilful; these are the instruments that he seeks for, because, these being unable to obtain employment at the regular wages of the sober, honest, industrious, and skilful portion of the trade, he can obtain their labour at a lower rate than what is usually paid. Hence drunkards, tramps, men without character or station, apprentices, children—all suit him. Indeed, the more degraded the labourers, the better they answer his purpose, for the cheaper he can get their work, and consequently the more he can make out of it.

"'Boy labour or thief labour,' said a middleman, on a large scale, to me, 'what do I care, so long as I can get my work done cheap?' That this *seeking out* of cheap and inferior labour really takes place, and is a necessary consequence of the middleman system, we have merely to look into the condition of any trade where it is extensively pursued. I have shown, in my account of the tailors' trade printed in the *Chronicle*, that the wives of the sweaters not only parade the streets of London on the look-out for youths raw from the country, but that they make periodical trips to the poorest provinces of Ireland, in order to obtain workmen at the lowest possible rate. I have shown, moreover, that foreigners are annually imported from the Continent for the same purpose, and that among the chamber-masters in the shoe trade, the child-market at Bethnal-green, as well as the workhouses, are continually ransacked for the means of obtaining a cheaper kind of labour. All my investigations go to prove, that it is chiefly by means of this middleman system that the wages of the working men are reduced. It is this contractor — this trading operative — who is invariably the prime mover in the reduction of the wages of his fellow-workmen. He uses the most degraded of the class as a means of underselling the worthy and skilful labourers, and of ultimately dragging the better down to the abasement of the worst. He cares not whether the trade to which he belongs is already overstocked with hands, for, be those hands as many as they may, and the ordinary wages of his craft down to bare subsistence point, it matters not a jot to him; *he* can live solely by reducing them still lower, and so he immediately sets about drafting or importing a fresh and cheaper stock into the trade. If *men* cannot subsist on lower prices, then he takes apprentices, or hires children; if women of chastity cannot afford to labour at the price he gives, then he has recourse to prostitutes; or if workmen of character and worth refuse to work at less than the ordinary rate, then he seeks out the moral refuse of the trade—those whom none else will employ; or else he flies, to find labour meet for his purpose, to the workhouse and the gaol. Backed by this cheap and refuse labour, he offers his work at lower prices, and so keeps on reducing and reducing the wages of his brethren, until all sink in poverty, wretchedness, and vice. Go where we will, look into whatever poorly-paid craft we please, we shall find this *trading operative*, this *middleman* or contractor, at the bottom of the degradation."

The "contract system" or "lump work," as it is called, is but a corollary, as it were, of the foregoing; for it is an essential part of the middleman system, that the work should be obtained by the trading operative in large quantities, so that those upon whose labour he lives should be kept continually occupied, and the more, of course, that he can obtain work for, the greater his profit. When a quantity of work, usually paid for by the piece, is given out at one time, the natural tendency is for the piece-work to pass into lump-work; that is to say, if there be in a trade a number of distinct parts, each requiring, perhaps, from the division of labour, a distinct hand for the execution of it, or if each of these parts bear a different price, it is frequently the case that the master will contract with some one workman for the execution of the whole, agreeing to give a certain price for the job "in the lump," and allowing the workman to get whom he pleases to execute it. This is the case with the piece-working masters in the coach-building trade; but it is not essential to the contract or

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lump system of work, that other hands should be employed; the main distinction between it and piece-work being that the work is given out in large quantities, and a certain allowance or reduction of price effected from that cause alone.

It is this contract or lump work which constitutes the great evil of the carpenter's, as well as of many other trades; and as in those crafts, so in this, we find that the lower the wages are reduced the greater becomes the number of trading operatives or middlemen. For it is when workmen find the difficulty of living by their labour increased that they take to scheming and trading upon the labour of their fellows. In the slop trade, where the pay is the worst, these creatures abound the most; and so in the carpenter's trade, where the wages are the lowest—as among the speculative builders—there the system of contracting and sub-contracting is found in full force.

Of this contract or lump work, I received the following account from the foreman to a large speculating builder, when I was inquiring into the condition of the London carpenters:—

"The way in which the work is done is mostly by letting and subletting. The masters usually prefer to let work, because it takes all the trouble off their hands. They know what they are to get for the job, and of course they let it as much under that figure as they possibly can, all of which is clear gain without the least trouble. How the work is done, or by whom, it's no matter to them, so long as they can make what they want out of the job, and have no bother about it. Some of our largest builders are taking to this plan, and a party who used to have one of the largest shops in London has within the last three years discharged all the men in his employ (he had 200 at least), and has now merely an office, and none but clerks and accountants in his pay. He has taken to letting his work out instead of doing it at home. The parties to whom the work is let by the speculating builders are generally working men, and these men in their turn look out for other working men, who will take the job cheaper than they will; and so I leave you, sir, and the public to judge what the party who really executes the work gets for his labour, and what is the quality of work that he is likely to put into it. The speculating builder generally employs an overlooker to see that the work is done sufficiently well to pass the surveyor. That's all he cares about. Whether it's done by thieves, or drunkards, or boys, it's no matter to him. The overlooker, of course, sees after the first party to whom the work is let, and this party in his turn looks after the several hands that he has sublet it to. The first man who agrees to the job takes it in the lump, and he again lets it to others in the piece. I have known instances of its having been let again a third time, but this is not usual. The party who takes the job in the lump from the speculator usually employs a foreman, whose duty it is to give out the materials and to make working drawings. The men to whom it is sublet only find labour, while the 'lumper,' or first contractor, agrees for both labour and materials. It is usual in contract work, for the first party who takes the job to be bound in a large sum for the due and faithful performance of his contract. He then, in his turn, finds out a sub-contractor, who is mostly a small builder, who will also bind himself that the work shall be properly executed, and there the binding ceases—those parties to whom the job is afterwards let, or sublet, employing foremen or overlookers to see that their contract is carried out. The first contractor has scarcely any trouble whatsoever; he merely engages a gentleman, who rides about in a gig, to see that what is done is likely to pass muster. The sub-contractor has a little more trouble; and so it goes on as it gets down and down. Of course I need not tell you that the first contractor, who does the *least* of all, gets the *most* of all; while the poor wretch of a working man, who positively executes the job, is obliged to slave away every hour, night after night, to get a bare living out of it; and this is the contract system."

A tradesman, or a speculator, will contract, for a certain sum, to complete the skeleton of a house, and render it fit for habitation. He will sublet the flooring to some working joiner, who will, in very many cases, take it on such terms as to allow himself, by working early and late, the regular journeymen's wages of 30*s.* a week, or perhaps rather more. Now this sub-contractor cannot complete the work within the requisite time by his own unaided industry, and he employs men to assist him, often subletting again, and such assistant men will earn perhaps but 4*s.* a day. It is the same with the doors, the staircases, the balustrades, the window-frames, the room-skirtings, the closets; in short, all parts of the building.

The subletting is accomplished without difficulty. Old men are sometimes employed in such work, and will be glad of any remuneration to escape the workhouse; while stronger workmen are usually sanguine that by extra exertion, "though the figure is low, they may make a tidy thing out of it after all." In this way labour is cheapened. "Lump" work, "piece" work, work by "the job," are all portions of the contract system. The principle is the same. "Here is this work to be done, what will you undertake to do it for?"

In number after number of the *Builder* will be found statements headed "Blind Builders." One firm, responding to an advertisement for "estimates" of the building of a church, sends in an offer to execute the work in the best style for 5000*l.* Another firm may offer to do it for somewhere about 3000*l.* The first-mentioned firm would do the work well, paying the "honourable" rate of wages. The under-working firm *must* resort to the scamping and subletting system I have alluded to. It appears that the building of churches and chapels, of all denominations, is one of the greatest encouragement to slop, or scamp, or under-paid work. The same system prevails in many trades with equally pernicious effects.

"If you will allow me," says a correspondent, "I would state that there is one cause of hardship

and suffering to the labouring or handicraftsman, which, to my mind, is far more productive of distress and poor-grinding than any other, or than all other causes put together: I allude to the *contract* system, and especially in reference to printing. Depend upon it, sir, the father of wickedness himself could not devise a more malevolent or dishonest course than that now very generally pursued by those who should be, of all others, the friends of the poor and working man. The Government and the great West-end clubs have reduced their transactions to such a low level in this respect that it seems to be the only question with them, Who will work lowest or supply goods at the lowest figure? And this, too, totally irrespective of the circumstance whether it may not reduce wages or bankrupt the contractor. No matter whether a party who has executed the work required for years be noted for paying a fair and remunerating price to his workmen or sub-tradesmen, and bears the character of a responsible and trustworthy man—all this is as nothing; for somebody, who may be, for aught that is cared, deficient in all these points, will do what is needful at *so much* less; and then, unless willing to reduce the wage of his workpeople, the long-employed tradesman has but the alternative of losing his business or cheating his creditors. And then, to give a smack to the whole affair, the 'Stationery Office' of the Government, or the committee of the club, will congratulate themselves and their auditors on the fact that a diminution in expenses has been effected; a result commemorated perhaps by an addition of salary to the officials in the former case, and of a 'cordial vote of thanks' in the latter. I do not write 'without book,' I can assure you, on these matters; for I have long and earnestly watched the subject, and could fill many a page with the details."

Of the ruinous effects of the contract system in connection with the army clothing, Mr. Pearse, the army clothier, gave the following evidence before the Select Committee on Army and Navy Appointments.

"When the contract for soldier's great coats was opened, Mr. Maberly took it at the same price (13*s.*) in December, 1808; this shows the effect of wild competition. In February following, Esdailes' house, who were accoutrement makers, and not clothiers, got knowledge of what was Mr. Maberly's price, and *they* tendered at 12*s.* 6½*d.* a month afterwards; it was evidently then a struggle for the price, and how the quality the least good (if we may use such a term) could pass. Mr. Maberly did not like to be outbidden by Esdailes; *Esdailes stopped subsequently*, and Mr. Maberly bid 12*s.* 6*d.* three months after, and Mr. Dixon bid again, and got the contract for 11*s.* 3*d.* in October, and in December of that year another public tender took place, and Messrs. A. and D. Cock took it at 11*s.* 5½*d.*, *and they subsequently broke.* It went on in this sort of way,—changing hands every two or every three months, by bidding against each other. Presently, though it was calculated that the great coat was to wear four years, it was found that *those great coats were so inferior in quality, that they wore only two years*, and representations were accordingly made to the Commander-in-Chief, when it was found necessary that great care should be taken to go back to the original good quality that had been established by the Duke of York."

Mr. Shaw, another army clothier, and a gentleman with whose friendship, I am proud to say, I have been honoured since the commencement of my inquiries—a gentleman actuated by the most kindly and Christian impulses, and of whom the workpeople speak in terms of the highest admiration and regard; this gentleman, impressed with a deep sense of the evils of the contract system to the under-paid and over-worked operatives of his trade, addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Army, Navy, and Ordnance Estimates, from which the following are extracts:—

"My Lord, my object more particularly is, to request your lordship will submit to the committee, *as an evidence of the evils of contracts*, the great coat sent herewith, made similar to those supplied to the army, and I would respectfully appeal to them as men, gentlemen, *as Christians*, whether *fivepence*, the price now being given to poor females for making up those coats, is a fair and just price for six, seven, and eight hours' work. . . . My Lord, *the misery amongst the workpeople is most distressing*—of a mass of people, *willing to work*, who cannot obtain it, and of a mass, especially women, most iniquitously paid for their labour, who are in a state of oppression disgraceful to the Legislature, the Government, the Church, and the consuming public. . . . . I would, therefore, most humbly and earnestly call upon your lordship, and the other members of the committee, to recommend an *immediate stop to be put to the system of contracting* now pursued by the different government departments, as being one of false economy, as a system most *oppressive to the poor*, and *being most injurious*, in every way, to the best *interests of the country*."

In another place the same excellent gentleman says:—

"I could refer to the screwing down of other things by the government authorities, but the above will be sufficient to show *how cruelly the workpeople employed in making up this clothing are oppressed; and some of the men will tell you they are tired of life. Last week I found one man making a country police coat, who said his wife and child were out begging.*"

The last mentioned of the several modes of cheapening labour is the "*small-master system*" of work, that is to say, the operatives taking to make up materials on their own account rather than for capitalist employers. In every trade where there are *small* masters, trades into which it requires but little capital to embark, there is certain to be a cheapening of labour. Such a man works himself, and to get work, to meet the exigences of the rent and the demands of the collectors of the parliamentary and parochial taxes, he will often underwork the very journeymen whom he occasionally employs, doing "the job" in such

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cases with the assistance of his family and apprentices, at a less rate of profit than the amount of journeymen's wages.

Concerning these garret masters I said, when treating of the Cabinet trade, in the *Chronicle*, "The cause of the extraordinary decline of wages in the Cabinet trade (even though the hands decreased and the work increased to an unprecedented extent) will be found to consist in the increase that has taken place within the last 20 years of what are called 'garret masters' in the cabinet trade. These garret masters are a class of small 'trade-working masters,' the same as the 'chamber masters' in the shoe trade, supplying both capital and labour. They are in manufacture what 'the peasant proprietors' are in agriculture—their own employers and their own workmen. There is, however, this one marked distinction between the two classes—the garret master cannot, like the peasant proprietor, *eat* what he produces; the consequence is, that he is obliged to convert each article into food immediately he manufactures it—no matter what the state of the market may be. The capital of the garret master being generally sufficient to find him in materials for the manufacture of only one article at a time, and his savings being but barely enough for his subsistence while he is engaged in putting those materials together, he is compelled, the moment the work is completed, to part with it for whatever he can get. He cannot afford to keep it even a day, for to do so is generally to remain a day unfed. Hence, if the market be at all slack, he has to force a sale by offering his goods at the lowest possible price. What wonder, then, that the necessities of such a class of individuals should have created a special race of employers, known by the significant name of 'slaughter-house men'—or that these, being aware of the inability of the 'garret masters' to hold out against any offer, no matter how slight a remuneration it affords for their labour, should continually lower and lower their prices, until the entire body of the competitive portion of the cabinet trade is sunk in utter destitution and misery? Moreover, it is well known how strong is the stimulus among peasant proprietors, or, indeed, any class working for themselves, to extra production. So it is, indeed, with the garret masters; their industry is almost incessant, and hence a greater quantity of work is turned out by them, and continually forced into the market, than there would otherwise be. What though there be a brisk and a slack season in the cabinet-maker's trade as in the majority of others?—slack or brisk, the garret masters must produce the same excessive quantity of goods. In the hope of extricating himself from his overwhelming poverty, he toils on, producing more and more—and yet the more he produces the more hopeless does his position become; for the greater the stock that he thrusts into the market, the lower does the price of his labour fall, until at last, he and his whole family work for less than half what he himself could earn a few years back by his own unaided labour."

The small-master system of work leads, like the domestic system, with which, indeed, it is intimately connected, to the employment of wives, children, and apprentices, as a means of assistance and extra production—for as the prices decline so do the small masters strive by further labour to compensate for their loss of income.

Such, then, are the several modes of work by which labour is cheapened. There are, as we have seen, but two ways of *directly* effecting this, viz., first by making men do more work for the same pay, and secondly, by making them do the same work for less pay. The way in which men are made to do more, it has been pointed out, is, by causing them either to work longer or quicker, or else by employing fewer hands in proportion to the work; or engaging them only for such time as their services are required, and discharging them immediately afterwards. These constitute the several modes of economizing labour, which lowers the rate of remuneration (the ratio of the pay to the work) rather than the pay itself. The several means by which this result is attained are termed "systems of work, production, or engagement," and such are those above detailed.

Now it is a necessity of these several systems, though the actual amount of remuneration is not directly reduced by them, that a cheaper labour should be obtained for carrying them out. Thus, in contract or lump work, perhaps, the price may not be immediately lowered; the saving to the employer consisting chiefly in supervision, he having in such a case only one man to look to instead of perhaps a hundred. The contractor, or lumper, however, is differently situated; he, in order to reap any benefit from the contract, must, since he cannot do the whole work himself, employ others to help him, and to reap any benefit from the contract, this of course must be done at a lower price than he himself receives; so it is with the middleman system, where a profit is derived from the labour of other operatives; so, again, with the domestic system of work, where the several members of the family, or cheaper labourers, are generally employed as assistants; and even so is it with the small-master system, where the labour of apprentices and wives and children is the principal means of help. Hence the operatives adopting these several systems of work are rather the instruments by which cheap labour is obtained than the cheap labourers themselves. It is true that a sweater, a chamber master, or garret master, a lumper or contractor, or a home worker, generally works cheaper than the ordinary operatives, but this he does chiefly by the cheap labourers he employs, and then, finding that he is able to underwork the rest of the trade, and that the more hands he employs the greater becomes his profit, he offers to do work at less than the usual rate. It is not a necessity of the system that the middleman operative, the domestic worker, the lumper, or garret master should be himself underpaid, but simply that he should employ others who are so, and it is thus that such systems of work tend to cheapen the labour of those trades in which they are found to prevail. Who, then, are the cheap labourers?—who the individuals, by means of

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whose services the sweater, the smaller master, the lumper, and others, is enabled to underwork the rest of his trade?—what the general characteristics of those who, in the majority of handicrafts, are found ready to do the same work for less pay, and how are these usually distinguished from such as obtain the higher rate of remuneration?

The cheap workmen in all trades, I find, are divisible into three classes:—

1. The unskilful.
2. The untrustworthy.
3. The inexpensive.

First, as regards the *unskilful*. Long ago it has been noticed how frequently boys were put to trades to which their tastes and temperaments were antagonistic. Gay, who in his quiet, unpretending style often elicited a truth, tells how a century and a half ago the generality of parents never considered for what business a boy was best adapted—

> "But ev'n in infancy decree
> What this or t'other son shall be."

A boy thus brought up to a craft for which he entertains a dislike can hardly become a proficient in it. At the present time thousands of parents are glad to have their sons reared to *any* business which their means or opportunities place within their reach, even though the lad be altogether unsuited to the craft. The consequence is, that these boys often grow up to be unskilful workmen. There are technical terms for them in different trades, but perhaps the generic appellation is "muffs." Such workmen, however well conducted, can rarely obtain employment in a good shop at good wages, and are compelled, therefore, to accept second, third, and fourth-rate wages, and are often driven to slop work.

Other causes may be cited as tending to form unskilful workmen: the neglect of masters or foremen, or their incapacity to teach apprentices; irregular habits in the learner; and insufficient practice during a master's paucity of employment. I am assured, moreover, that hundreds of mechanics yearly come to London *from the country parts*, whose skill is altogether inadequate to the demands of the "honourable trade." Of course, during the finishing of their education they can only work for inferior shops at inferior wages; hence another cause of cheap labour. Of this I will cite an instance: a bootmaker, who for years had worked for first-rate West-end shops, told me that when he came to London from a country town he was sanguine of success, because he knew that he was a *ready* man (a quick workman.) He very soon found out, however, he said, that as he aspired to do the best work, he "had his business to learn all over again;" and until he attained the requisite skill, he worked for "just what he could get:" he was a cheap, because then an unskilful, labourer.

There is, moreover, the cheaper labour of *apprentices*, the great prop of many a slop-trader; for as such traders disregard all the niceties of work, as they disregard also the solidity and perfect finish of any work (finishing it, as it was once described to me, "just to the eye"), a lad is soon made useful, and his labour remunerative to his master, as far as slop remuneration goes, which, though small in a small business, is wealth in a "monster business."

There are, again, the "*improvers*." These are the most frequent in the dress-making and millinery business, as young women find it impossible to form a good connection among a wealthier class of ladies in any country town, unless the "patronesses" are satisfied that their skill and taste have been perfected in London. In my inquiry (in the course of two letters in the *Morning Chronicle*) into the condition of the workwomen in this calling, I was told by a retired dressmaker, who had for upwards of twenty years carried on business in the neighbourhood of Grosvenor-square, that she had sometimes met with "improvers" so tasteful and quick, from a good provincial tuition, that they had really little or nothing to learn in London. And yet their services were secured for one, and oftener for two years, merely for board and lodging, while others employed in the same establishment had not only board and lodging, but handsome salaries. The improver's, then, is generally a cheap labour, and often a very cheap labour too. The same form of cheap labour prevails in the carpenter's trade.

There is, moreover, the labour of *old men*. A tailor, for instance, who may have executed the most skilled work of his craft, in his old age, or before the period of old age, finds his eyesight fail him,—finds his tremulous fingers have not a full and rapid mastery of the needle, and he then labours, at greatly reduced rates of payment, on the making of soldiers' clothing—"sanc-work," * as it is called—or on any ill-paid and therefore ill-wrought labour.

The inferior, as regards the quality of the work, and under-paid class of *women*, in tailoring, for example, again, cheapen labour. It is cheapened, also, by the employment of *Irishmen* (in, perhaps, all branches of skilled or unskilled labour), and of *foreigners*, more especially of Poles, who are inferior workmen to the English, and who will work *very* cheap, thus supplying a low-price labour to those who seek it.

I may remark further, that if a first-rate workman be driven to slop work, he soon loses his skill; he can only work slop; this has been shown over and over again, and so *his* labour becomes cheap in the mart.

2. Of *Untrustworthy Labour* (as a cause of cheap labour) I need not say much. It is obvious that a drunken, idle, or dishonest workman or workwoman, when pressed by want, will and must labour, not for the recompense the labour merits, but for whatever pittance an employer will accord. There is no reliance to be placed in him. Such a man cannot "hold out" for terms, for he is perhaps starving, and it is known that "he cannot be depended upon." In the sweep's trade many of those who work at a lower rate than the rest of

* The term *sanc* in "sanc-work" is the Norman word for blood (Latin, *sanguis*; French, *sang*), so that "sanc-work" means, literally, bloody work, this called either from the sanguinary trade of the soldier, or from the blood-red colour of the cloth.

the trade are men who have lost their regular work by dishonesty.

3. The *Inexpensive class* of workpeople are very numerous. They consist of three sub-divisions:—

(*a*.) Those who have been accustomed to a coarser kind of diet, and who, consequently, requiring less, can afford to work for less.

(*b*.) Those who derive their subsistence from other sources, and who, consequently, do not live by their labour.

(*c*.) Those who are in receipt of certain "aids to their wages," or who have other means of living beside their work.

Of course these causes can alone have influence where the wages are *minimized* or reduced to the lowest ebb of subsistence, in which case they become so many means of driving down the price of labour still lower.

a. Those who, being what is designated hard-reared that is to say, accustomed to a scantier or coarser diet, and who, therefore, "can do" with a less quantity or less expensive quality of food than the average run of labourers, can of course live at a lower cost, and so *afford* to work at a lower rate. Among such (unskilled) labourers are the peasants from many of the counties, who seek to amend their condition by obtaining employment in the towns. I will instance the agricultural labourers of Dorsetshire.

"Bread and potatoes," writes Mr. Thornton, in his work on Over-Population and its Remedy, p. 21, "do really form the staple of their food. As for meat, most of them would not know its taste, if, once or twice *in the course of their lives*, —on the squire's having a son and heir born to him, or on the young gentleman's coming of age,— they were not regaled with a dinner of what the newspapers call 'old English fare.' Some of them contrive to have a little bacon, in the proportion, it seems, of *half a pound a week to a dozen persons*, but they more commonly use fat to give the potatoes a relish; and, as one of them said to Mr. Austin (a commissioner), they don't *always* go without cheese.'"

With many poor Irishmen the rearing has been still harder. I had some conversation with an Irish rubbish-carter, who had been thrown out of work (and was entitled to no allowance from any trade society) in consequence of a strike by Mr. Myers's men. On my asking him how he subsisted in Ireland, "Will, thin, sir," he said, "and it's God's truth, I once lived for days on green things I picked up by the road side, and the turnips, and that sort of mate I stole from the fields. It was called staling, but it was the hunger, 'deed was it. That was in the county Limerick, sir, in the famine and 'viction times; and, glory be to God, I 'scaped when others didn't."

I may observe that the chief local paper, the *Limerick and Clare Examiner*, published twice a week, gave, twice a week, at the period of "the famine and evictions," statements similar to that of my informant.

Now, would not a poor man, reared as the Limerick peasant I have spoken of, who was actually driven to eat the grass, which biblical history shows was once a signal punishment to a great offender—would not such a man work for the veriest dole, rather than again be subjected to the pangs of hunger? In my inquiries among the costermongers, one of them said of the Irish in his trade, and without any bitterness, "they'll work for nothing, and live on less." The meaning is obvious enough, although the assertion is, of course, a contradiction in itself.

"This department of labour," says Mr. Baines, in his History of the Hand-Loom Weavers, is "greatly overstocked, and the price necessarily falls. The evil is aggravated by the multitudes of Irish who have flocked into Lancashire, some of whom, having been linen weavers, naturally resort to the loom, and others learn to weave as the easiest employment they can adopt. Accustomed to a wretched mode of living in their own country, they are contented with wages that would starve an English labourer. They have, in fact, so lowered the *rate* of wages as to drive many of the English out of the employment, and to drag down those who remain in it to their own level."

b. Those who derive their subsistence from other sources can, of course, afford to work cheaper than those who have to live by their labour. To this class belongs the labour of wives and children, who, being supposed to be maintained by the toil of the husband, are never paid "living wages" for what they do; and hence the misery of the great mass of needlewomen, widows, unmarried and friendless females, and the like, who, having none to assist them, are forced to starve upon the pittance they receive for their work. The labour of those who are in prisons, workhouses, and asylums, and who consequently have their subsistence found them in such places, as well as the work of prostitutes, who obtain their living by other means than work, all come under the category of those who can afford to labour at a lower rate than such as are condemned to toil for an honest living. It is the same with apprentices and "improvers," for whose labour the instruction received is generally considered to be either a sufficient or partial recompense, and who consequently look to other means for their support. Under the same head, too, may be cited the labour of amateurs, that is to say, of persons who either are not, or who are too proud to acknowledge themselves, regular members of the trade at which they work. Such is the case with very many of the daughters of tradesmen, and of many who are considered *genteel* people. These young women, residing with their parents, and often in comfortable homes, at no cost to themselves, will, and do, undersell the regular needlewomen; the one works merely for pocket-money (often to possess herself of some article of finery), while the other works for what is called "the bare life."

c. The last-mentioned class, or those who are in possession of what may be called "aids to wages," are differently circumstanced. Such are the men who have other employment besides

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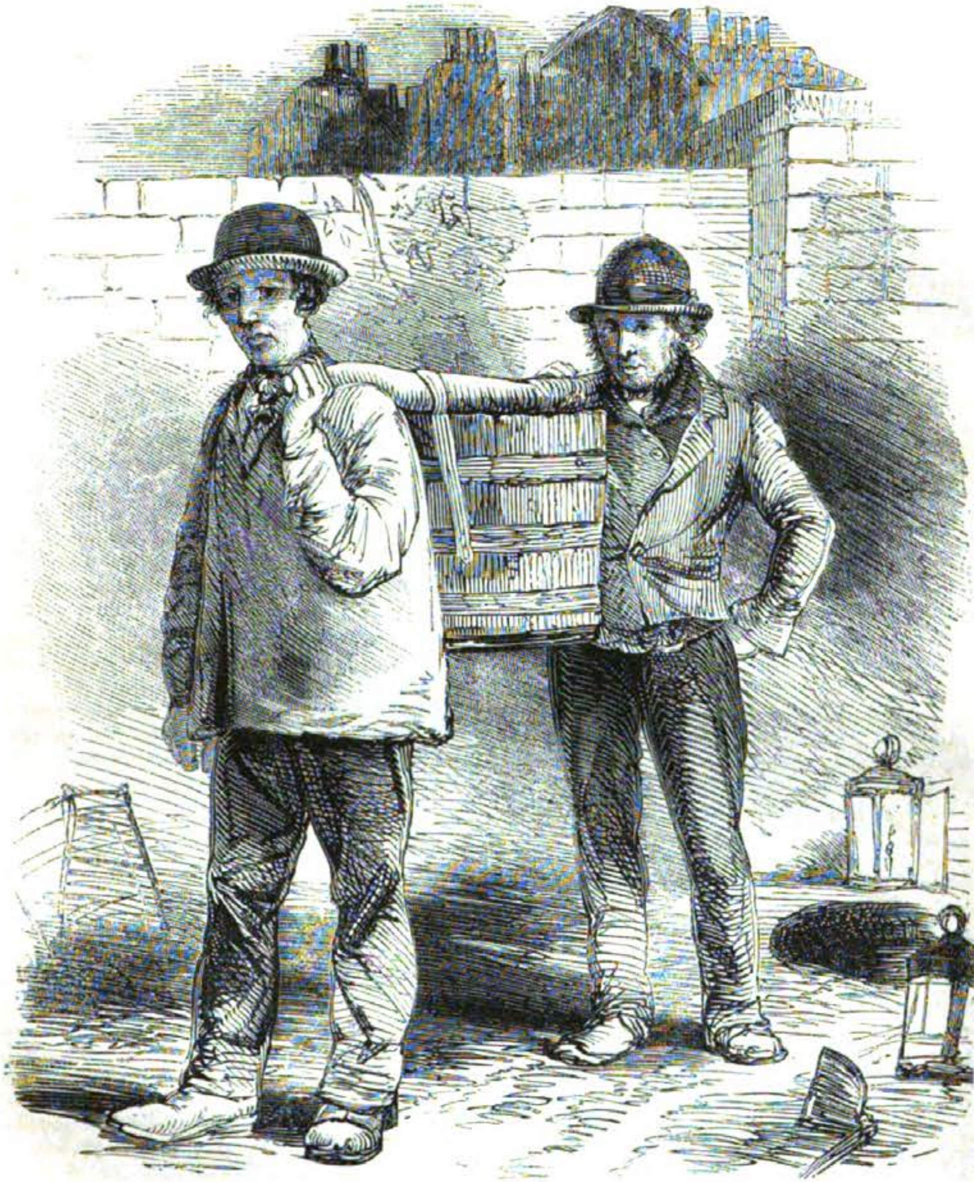

LONDON NIGHTMEN.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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that for which they accept less than the ordinary pay, as is the case with those who attend at gentlemen's houses for one or two hours every morning, cleaning boots, brushing clothes, &c., and who, having the remainder of the day at their own disposal, can afford to work at any calling cheaper than others, because not solely dependent upon it for their living.

The army and navy pensioners (non-commissioned officers and privates) were, at one period, on the disbanding of the militia and other forces, a very numerous body, but it was chiefly the military pensioners whose position had an effect upon the labour of the country. The naval pensioners found employment as fishermen, or in some avocation connected with the sea. The military pensioners, however, were men who, after a career of soldiership, were not generally disposed to settle down into the drudgery of regular work, even if it were in their power to do so; and so, as they always had their pensions to depend upon, they were a sort of universal jobbers, and jobbed cheaply. At the present time, however, this means of cheap labour is greatly restricted, compared with what was the case, the number of the pensioners being considerably diminished. Many of the army pensioners turn the wheels for turners at present.

The allotment of gardens, which yield a partial support to the allottee, are another means of cheap labour. The allotment demands a certain portion of time, but is by no means a thorough employment, but merely an "aid," and consequently a *means*, to low wages. Such a man has the advantage of obtaining his potatoes and vegetables at the cheapest rate, and so can afford to work cheaper than other men of his class. It was the same formerly with those who received "relief" under the old Poor-Law.

And even under the present system it has been found that the same practice is attended with the same result. In the Sixth Annual Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners, 1840, at p. 31, there are the following remarks on the subject:—

"Whilst upon the subject of relief to widows in aid of wages, we must not omit to bring under your Lordship's notice an illustration of the *depressing effect* which is produced by the practice of giving relief in aid of wages to widows upon the earnings of females. Colonel A'Court states:—

"'As regards females, the instance to which I have alluded presents itself in the Portsea Island Union, where, from the insufficiency of workhouse accommodation, as well as from benevolent feelings, small allowances of 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* a week are given to widows with or without small children, or to married women deserted by their husbands. *Having this certain income, however small, they are enabled to work at lower wages than those who do not possess this advantage.* The consequence is, that competition has enabled the shirt and stay manufacturers, who abound in the Union, and who furnish in great measure the London as well as many foreign markets with these articles of their trade, to get their work done at the extraordinary low prices of—stays, complete, 9*d.*; shirts, from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per dozen.

"'The women all declare that they cannot possibly, after working from twelve to fifteen hours per day, earn more than 1*s.* 6*d.* per week. The manufacturers assert that, by steady work, 4*s.* to 6*s.* a week may be earned under ordinary circumstances.

"'In the meantime *the demand for workwomen increases*, and it is by no means unusual to see hand-bills posted over the town requiring from 500 to 1000 additional stitchers.'"

Such, then, is the character of the cheap workers in all trades: go where we will, we shall find the low-priced labour of the trade to consist of either one or other of the three classes above-mentioned; while the *means* by which this labour is brought into operation will be generally by one of the "systems of work" before specified.

The cheap labour of the rubbish-carters' trade appears to be a consequence of two distinct antecedents, viz., casual labour and the prevalence of the contract system among builder's work. The small-master system also appears to have some influence upon it.

First as regards the influence of casual labour in reducing the ordinary rate of wages.

The tables given at p. 290, vol. ii., showing the wages paid to the rubbish-carters, present what appears, and indeed is, a strange discrepancy of payment to the labourers in rubbish-carting. About three-fourths of the rubbish-carters throughout London receive 18*s.* weekly, when in work; in Hampstead, however, the rate of their wages is (uniformly) 20*s.* a week; in Lambeth (but less uniformly), it is 19*s.*; in Wandsworth, 17*s.*; in Islington, 16*s.*; and in Greenwich, 14*s.* and 12*s.* The character of the work, whether executed for 12*s.* or 20*s.* weekly, is the same; why, then, can a rubbish-carter, who works at Hampstead, earn 8*s.* a week more than one who works at Greenwich? An employer of rubbish-carters, and of similar labourers, on a large scale, a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the subject in all its industrial bearings, accounts for the discrepancy in this manner:—

After the corn and the hop-harvests have terminated, there is always an influx of unskilled labourers into Gravesend, Woolwich, and Greenwich. These are the men who, from the natural bent of their dispositions, or from the necessity of their circumstances, resort to the casual labour afforded by the revolution of the seasons, when to gather the crops before the weather may render the harvest precarious and its produce unsound, is a matter of paramount necessity, and the increase of hands employed during this season is, as a consequence, proportionately great. The chief scene of such labour in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, is in the county of Kent; and on the cessation of this work, of course there is a large amount of labour "turned adrift," to seek, the next few days, for any casual employment that may "turn up." In this way, I am assured,

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a large amount of cheap and unskilled labour is being constantly placed at the command of those masters who, so to speak, occupy the line of march to London, and are, therefore, first applied to for employment by casual labourers; who, when engaged, are employed as inferior, or unskilful, workmen, at an inferior rate of remuneration. Greenwich may be looked upon as the first stage or halt for casual labourers, on their way to London.

My informant assured me, as the result of his own observations, that an English labourer would, as a general rule, execute more work by one-sixth, in a week, than an Irish labourer (a large proportion of the casual hands are Irish); that is, the extent of work which would occupy the Irishman six, would occupy the Englishman but five days, were it so calculated. The Englishman was, however, usually more skilled and persevering, and far more to be depended upon. So different was the amount of work, even in rubbish-carting, between an able and experienced hand and one unused to the toil, or one inadequate from want of alertness or bodily strength, or any other cause, to its full and quick execution, that two "good" men in a week have done as much work as three indifferent hands. Thus two men at 18*s.* weekly each are as cheap (only employers cannot always see it), when they are thorough masters of their business, as three unready hands at 12*s.* a week each. The misfortune, however, is, that the 12*s.* a week men have a tendency to reduce the 16*s.* to their level.

With regard to the difference between the wages of Hampstead and Greenwich, I am informed that stationary working rubbish-carters are not too numerous in Hampstead, which is considered as rather "out of the way;" and as that metropolitan suburb is surrounded in every direction by pasture-land and wood-land, it is not in the line of resort of the class of men who seek the casual labour in harvesting, &c., of which I have spoken; it is rarely visited by them, and consequently, the regular hands are less interfered with than elsewhere, and wages have not been deteriorated.

The mode of work among the scurf labourers differs somewhat from that of the honourable part of the trade; the work executed by the scurf masters being for the most part on a more limited scale than that of the others. To meet the demands of builders or of employers generally, when "time" is an object, demands the use of relays of men, and of strong horses. This demand the smaller or scurf master cannot always meet. He may find men, but not always horses and carts, and he will often enough undertake work beyond his means and endeavour to aggrandise his profits by screwing his labourers. The *hours of scurf-employed labour* are nominally the same as the regular trade, but as an Irish carter said, "it's ralely the hours the masther plases, and they're often as long as it's light." The *scurf labourer is often paid by the day*, with "a day's hire, and no notice beyond." I am informed that scurf labourers generally work an hour a day, without extra remuneration, longer than those in the honourable trade.

The rubbish-carters employed by the scurf masters are not, as a body, I am assured, so badly paid as they were a few years back. It is rarely that labouring men can advance any feasible reason for the changes in their trade.

One of the main causes of the deteriorated wages of the rubbish-carters is the system of contracting and subletting. This, however, is but a branch of the ramified system of subletting in the construction of the "scamped" houses of the speculative builders. The building of such houses is sublet, literally from cellar to chimney. The rubbish-carting may be contracted for at a certain sum. The contractor may sublet it to men who will do it for one-fourth less perhaps, and who may sublet the labour in their turn. For instance, the calculation may be founded on the working men's receiving 15*s.* weekly. A contractor, a man possessing a horse, perhaps, and a couple of carts, and hiring another horse, will undertake it on the knowledge of his being able to engage men at 12*s.* or 13*s.* weekly, and so obtain a profit; indeed the reduction of price in such cases must all come out of the labour.

This subletting, I say, is but a small part of a gigantic system, and it is an unquestionable cause of the grinding down of the rubbish-carters' wages, and that by a class who have generally been working men themselves, and risen to be the owners of one or two carts and horses.

From one of these men, now a working carter, I had the following account, which further illustrates the mode of labour as well as of employment.

"I got a little a-head," he stated, "from railway jobbing and such like, and my father-in-law, as soon as I got married, made me a present of 20*l.* unexpected. I started for myself, thinking to get on by degrees, and get a fresh horse and cart every year. But it couldn't be done, sir. If I offered to take a contract to cart the rubbish and dig it, a builder would say,—'I can't wait; you haven't carts and horses enough from your own account, and I can't wait. If you have to hire them I can do that myself.' I was too honest, sir, in telling the plain truth, or I might have got more jobs. It's not a good trade in a small way, for if your horses aren't at work, they're eating their heads off, and you're fretting your heart out. Then I got to do sub-contracting, as you call it. No, it weren't that, it was under-working. I'd go to Mr. V—— as I knew, and say, 'You're on such a place, sir, have you room for me?' 'I think not,' he'd say, 'I've only the regular thing and no advantages—10*s.* 6*d.* for a day's work, horse and cart, or 4*s.* a load.' Those are the regular terms. Then I'd say, 'Well, sir, I'll do it for 8*s.* 6*d.*, and be my own carman;' and so perhaps I'd get the job, and masters often say: 'I know I shall lose at 10*s.* 6*d.*, but if I don't, you shall have something over.' Get anything over! Of course not, sir. I could have lived if I had constant work for two horses and carts, for I would have got a cheap man; such as me must get cheap men to drive the

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second cart, and under my own eye, whenever I could; but one of my poor horses broke his leg, and had to be sent to the knacker's, and I sold the other and my carts, and have worked ever since as a labouring man; mainly at pipe-work. O, yes, and rubbish-carting. I get 18*s.* a week now, but not regular.

"Well, sir, I'm sure I can't say, and I think no man could say, how much there's doing in sub-contracting. If I'm at work in Cannon-street, I don't know what's doing at Notting-hill, or beyond Bow and Stratford. No, I'm satisfied there's not so much of it as there was, but it's done so on the sly; who knows how much is done still, or how little? It's a system as may be carried on a long time, and is carried on, as far as men's labour goes, but it's different where there's horses, and stable rent. They can't be screwed, or under-fed, beyond a certain pitch, or they couldn't work at all, and so there's not as much under-work about horse-labour."

These small men are among the scurf and petty rubbish-carters, and are often the means of depressing the class to which they have belonged.

The employment in the honourable trade at rubbish-carting would be one of the best among unskilled labourers, were it continuous. But it is not continuous, and three-fourths of those engaged in it have only six months' work at it in the year. In the scurf-masters' employ, the work is really "casual," or, as I heard it quite as often described, "chance." In both departments of this trade, the men out of work look for a job in scavagery, and very generally in night-work, or, indeed, in any labour that offers. The Irish rubbish-carters will readily became hawkers of apples, oranges, walnuts, and even nuts, when out of employ, so working in concert with their wives. I heard of only four instances of a similar resource by the English rubbish-carters.

What I have said of the education, religion, politics, concubinage, &c., &c., of the better-paid rubbish-carters would have but to be repeated, if I described those of the under-paid. The latter may be more reckless when they have the means of enjoyment, but their diet, amusements, and expenditure would be the same, were their means commensurate. As it is, they sometimes live very barely and have hardly any amusements at their command. Their dinners, when single men, are often bread and a saveloy; when married, sometimes tea and bread and butter, and occasionally some "block ornaments;" the Irish being the principal consumers of cheap fish.

The labour of the wives of the rubbish-carters is far more frequently that of char-women than of needle-women, for the great majority of these women before their marriage were servant-maids. All the information I received was concurrent in that respect. The wife of a carman who keeps a chandler's shop near the Edgeware-road, greatly resorted to by the class to which her husband belonged, told me that out of somewhere about 25 wives of rubbish-carters or similar workmen, whom she knew, 20 had been domestic servants; what the others had been she did not know.

"I can tell you, sir," said the woman, "charing is far better than needle-work; far. If a young woman has conducted herself well in service, she can get charing, and then if she conducts herself well again, she makes good friends. That's, of course, if they're honest, sir. I know it from experience. My husband—before we were able to open this shop—was in the hospital a long time, and I went out charing, and did far better than a sister I have, who is a capital shirt-maker. There's broken victuals, sometimes, for your children. It's a hard world, sir, but there's a many good people in it."

One woman (before mentioned) earned not less than 5*s.* weekly in superior shirt-making, as it was described to me, which was evidently looked upon as a handsome remuneration for such toil. Another earned 3*s.* 6*d.*; another 2*s.* 6*d.*; and others, with uncertain employ, 2*s.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, and in some weeks nothing. Needle-work, however, is, I am informed, not the work of one-tenth of the rubbish-carters' wives, whatever the earnings of the husband. From all I could learn, too, the wives of the under-paid rubbish-carters earned more, by from 10 to 20 per cent., than those of the better-paid. The earnings of a charwoman in average employ, as regards the wives of the rubbish-carters, is about 4*s.* weekly, without the exhausting toil of the needle-woman, and with the advantage of sometimes receiving broken meat, dripping, fat, &c., &c. The wives of the Irish labourers in this trade are often all the year street-sellers, some of wash-leathers, some of cabbage-nets, and some of fruit, clearing perhaps from 6*d.* to 9*d.* a day, if used to street-trading, as the majority of them are.

The under-paid labourers in this trade are chiefly poor Irishmen. The Irish workmen in this branch of the trade have generally been brought up "on the land," as they call it, in their own country, and after the sufferings of many of them during the famine, 12*s.* a week is regarded as "a rise in the world."

From one of this class I learned the following particulars. He seemed a man of 26 or 28:—

"I was brought up on the land, sir," he said, "not far from Cullin, in the county Wexford. I lived with my father and mother, and shure we were badly off. Shure, thin, we were. Father and mother—the Heavens be their bed—died one soon after another, and some friends raised me the manes to come to this country. Well, thin, indeed, sir, and I can't say how they raised them, God reward them. I got to Liverpool, and walked to London, where I had some relations. I sold oranges in the strates the first day I was in London. God help me, I was glad to do anything to get a male's mate. I've lived on 6*d.* a-day sometimes. I have indeed. There was 2*d.* for the lodging, and 4*d.* for the mate, the tay and bread and butter. Did I live harder than that in Ireland, your honour? Well, thin, I have. I've lived on a dish of potatoes that might cost a penny there, where things is bhutiful and chape. Not like this country. No, no. I wouldn't care to go back. I have no friends there now. Thin I got

ingaged by a man—yis, he was a rubbish-carter—to help him to fill his cart, and then we shot it on some new garden grounds, and had to shovel it about to make the grounds livil, afore the top soil was put on, for the bhutiful flowers and the gravel walks. Tim—yis, he was a counthryman of mine, but a Cor-rk man—said he 'd made a bad bargain, for he was bad off, and he only clared 4*d.* a load, and he 'd divide it wid me. We did six loads in a day, and I got 1*s.* every night for a wake. This was a rise. But one Sunday evening I was standing talking with people as lived in the same coort, and I tould how I was helping Tim. And two Englishmen came to find four men as they wanted for work, and ould Ragin (Regan) tould them what I was working for. And one of 'em said, I was 'a b —— Irish fool,' and ould Ragin said so, and words came on, and thin there was a fight, and the pelleece came, and thin the fight was harder. I was taken to the station, and had a month. I had two black eyes next morning, but was willin' to forget and forgive. No, I 'm not fond of fightin'. I 'm a paceable mun, glory be to God, and I think I was put on. Oh, yis, and indeed thin, your honour, it was a fair fight."

I inquired of an English rubbish-carter as to these fair fights. He knew nothing of the one in question, but had seen such fights. They were usually among the Irish themselves, but sometimes Englishmen were "drawn into them." "Fair fights! sir," he said, "why the Irishes don't stand up to you like men. They don't fight like Christians, sir; not a bit of it. They kick, and scratch, and bite, and tear, like devils, or cats, or women. They 're soon settled if you can get an honest knock at them, but it isn't easy."

"I sarved my month," continued my Irish informant, "and it ain't a bad place at all, the prison. I tould the gintleman that had charge of us, that I was a Roman Catholic, God be praised, and couldn't go to his prayers. 'O very well, Pat,' says he. And next day the praste came, and we were shown in to him, and very angry he was, and said our conduc' was a disgrace to religion, and to our counthry, and to him. Do I think he was right, sir? God knows he was, or he wouldn't have said so.

"I hadn't been out of prison two hours before I was hired for a job, at 10*s.* a week. It was in the city, and I carried old bricks and rubbish along planks, from the inside of a place as was pulled down; but the outside, all but the roof, was standin' until the windor frames, and the door posts, and what other timbers there was, was sould. It was dreadful hard work, carrying the basket of rubbish on your back to the cart. The dust came through, and stuck to my neck, for I was wet all over wid sweatin' so. Every man was allowed a pint of beer a day, and I thought nivver anything was so sweet. I don't know who gave it. The masther, I suppose. Will, thin, sir, I don't know who was the masther; it was John Riley as ingaged me, but *he's* no masther. Yis, thin, and I 've been workin' that way ivver since. I 've sometimes had 14*s.* a week, and sometimes 10*s.*, and sometimes 12*s.* A man like me must take what he can get, and I will take it. I 've been out of work sometimes, but not so much as some, for I 'm young and strong. No, I can't save no money, and I have nothing just now to save it for. When I 'm out of work, I sell fruit in the streets."

This statement, then, as regards the Irish labourers, shows the quality of the class employed. The English labourers, working on the same terms, are of the usual class of men so working,—broken-down men, unable, or accounting themselves unable, to "do better," and so accepting any offer affording the means of their daily bread.

OF THE LONDON CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS.

CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS are a consequence of two things—chimneys and the use of coals as fuel; and these are both commodities of comparatively recent introduction.

It is generally admitted that the earliest mention of *chimneys* is in an Italian MS., preserved in Venice, in which it is recorded that chimneys were thrown down in that city from the shock of an earthquake in 1347. In England, down even to the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, the greater part of the houses in our towns had no chimneys; the fire was kindled on a hearth-stone on the floor, or on a raised grate against the wall or in the centre of the apartment, and the smoke found its way out of the doors, windows, or casements.

During the long, and—as regards civil strife—generally peaceful, reign of Elizabeth, the use of chimneys increased. In a Discourse prefixed to an edition of Holinshed's "Chronicles," in 1577, Harrison, the writer, complains, among other things, "marvellously altered for the worse in England," of the multitude of chimneys erected of late. "Now we have many chimneys," he says, "and our tenderlings complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses. Then we had none but *reredoses*, and our heads did never ache."* He demurs, too, to the change in the material of which the houses were constructed: "Houses were once builded of willow, then we had oaken men; but now houses are made of oak, and our men not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration."

* "Reredos, dossel (*retable*, Fr.; *postergale*, Ital.)," according to Parker's Glossary of Architecture, was "the wall or screen at the back of an altar, seat, &c.; it was usually ornamented with panelling, &c., especially behind an altar, and sometimes was enriched with a profusion of niches, buttresses, pinnacles, statues, and other decorations, which were often painted with brilliant colours.

"The open fire-hearth, frequently used in ancient domestic halls, was likewise called a reredos.

"In the description of Britain prefixed to Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' we are told that formerly, before chimneys were common in mean houses, 'each man made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.'"

The original word would appear to be *dosel* or *reredosel;* for Kelham, in his "Norman Dictionary," explains the word *doser* or *dosel* to signify a hanging or canopy of silk, silver, or gold work, under which kings or great personages sit; also the back of a chair of state (the word being probably a derivative of the Latin *dorsum*, the back. *Dss*, in slang, means a *bed*, a "dossing crib" being a sleeping-place, and has clearly the same origin). A *rere-dos* or *rere-dosel* would thus appear to have been a

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In Shakespeare's time, the chimney-sweepers seem to have become a recognised class of public cleansers, for in "Cymbeline" the poet says—

> "Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
> Nor the furious winter's rages;
> Thou thy worldly task hast done,
> Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages:
> Golden lads and girls all must,
> *As chimney-sweepers* come to dust."

In this beautiful passage there is an intimation, by the "chimney-sweepers" being contrasted with the "golden lads and girls," that their employment was regarded as of the meanest, a repute it bears to the present day.

But chimneys seem, like the "sweeps" or "sweepers," to have been a necessity of a change of fuel. In the days of "rere-dosses," our ancestors burnt only wood, so that they were not subjected to so great an inconvenience as we should be were our fires kindled without the vent of the chimney. Our fuel is coal, which produces a greater quantity of soot, and of black smoke, which is the result of imperfect combustion, than any other fuel, the smoke from wood being thin and pure in comparison.

The first mention of the use of coal as fuel occurs in a charter of Henry III., granting licence to the burgesses of Newcastle to dig for coal. In 1281 Newcastle is said to have had some slight trade in this article. Shortly afterwards coal began to be imported into London for the use of smiths, brewers, dyers, soap-boilers, &c. In 1316, during the reign of Edward I., its use in London was prohibited because of the supposed injurious influence of the smoke. In 1600 the use of coal in the metropolis became universal; about 200 vessels were employed in the London trade, and about 200,000 chaldrons annually imported.

In 1848, however, there were, besides the railway-borne coals, 12,267 cargoes imported, or 3,418,340 tons. The London coal trade now employs 2700 vessels and 21,600 seamen, and constitutes one-fourth of the whole general trade of the Thames.

To understand the *necessity* for chimney-sweepers, and the extent of the work for them to do, that is to say, the quantity of soot deposited in our chimneys during the combustion of the three and a half millions of tons of coals that are now annually consumed in London, we must first comprehend the conditions upon which the evolution of soot depends, soot being simply the fine carbonaceous particles condensed from the smoke of coal fuel, and deposited against the sides of the chimneys during its ascent between the walls to the tops of our houses. These conditions appear to have been determined somewhat accurately during the investigations of the Smoke Prevention Committee.

There are two kinds of smoke from the ordinary materials of combustion—(A) *Opaque*, or black smoke; (B) *Transparent*, or invisible smoke.

A. The *Opaque* smoke, though the most offensive and annoying from its dirtying properties, is, like the muddiest water, the least injurious to animal or vegetable health. It consists of the particles of unconsumed carbon which have not been deposited in the form of soot in the flue or chimney. This is the black smoke which will be further described.

B. *Transparent* smoke is composed of gases which are for the most part invisible, such as carbonic acid and carbonic oxide; also of sulphurous acid, but smokes with that component are both visible and invisible. The sulphurous acid is said by Professor Brande to destroy vegetation, for it has long been a cause of wonder why vegetation in towns did not flourish, since carbonic acid (which is so largely produced from the action of our fires) is the vital air of trees, shrubs, and plants*.

screen placed *behind* anything. I am told, that in the old houses in the north of England, erections at the back of the fire may, to this day, occasionally be seen, with an aperture behind for the insertion of plates, and such other things as may require warming.

A correspondent says there is "a 'reredos,' or open fire-hearth, now to be seen in the extensive and beautiful ruins of the Abbey of St. Agatha, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The ivy now hangs over and partially conceals this reredos; but its form is tolerably perfect, and the stones are still coloured by the action of the fire, which was extinguished, I need hardly say, by the cold water thrown on such places by Henry VIII."

* It has been notorious for many years, that flowers will not bloom in any natural luxuriance, and that fruit will not properly ripen, in the heart of the city. Whilst this is an unquestionable fact, it is also a fact, that greatly as suburban dwellings have increased, and truly as London may be said to have "gone into the country," the greater quantity of the large, excellent, unfailing, and cheap supply of the fruits and vegetables in the London "green" markets are grown within a circle of from ten to twelve miles from St. Paul's. In the course of my inquiries (in the series of letters on Labour and the Poor in the *Morning Chronicle*) into the supply, &c., to the "green markets" of the metropolis, I was told by an experienced market-gardener, who had friends and connections in several of the suburbs, that he fancied, and others in the trade were of the same opinion, that no gardening could be anything but a failure if attempted within "where the fogs went." My informant explained to me that the fogs, so peculiar to London, did not usually extend beyond three or four miles from the heart of the city. He was satisfied, he said, that within half a mile or so of this reach of fog the gardener's labours might be crowned with success. He knew nothing of any scientific reason for his opinion, but as far as a purely London fog extended (without regard to any mist pervading the whole country as well as the neighbourhood of the capital), he thought it was the boundary within which there could be no proper growth of fruit or flowers. That the London fog has its *limits* as regards the manifestation of its greatest density, there can be no doubt. My informant was frequently asked, when on his way home, by omnibus drivers and others whom he knew, and met on their way to town a few miles from it: "How's the fog, sir? *How far?*"

The extent of the London fog, then, if the information I have cited be correct, may be considered as indicating that portion of the metropolis where the population, and consequently the smoke, is the thickest, and within which agricultural and horticultural labours cannot meet with success. "The nuisance of a November fog in London," Mr. Booth stated to the Smoke Committee, "is most assuredly increased by the smoke of the town, arising from furnaces and private fires. It is vapour saturated with particles of carbon which causes all that uneasiness and pain in the lungs, and the uneasy sensations which we experience in our heads. I have no doubt of the density of these fogs arising from this carbonaceous matter."

The loss from the impossibility of promoting vegetation in the district most subjected to the fog is nothing, as the whole ground is already occupied for the thousand purposes of a great commercial city. The matter is, however, highly curious, as a result of the London smoke.

Concerning the frequency of fogs in the district of the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis, it is stated in Weale's "London," that fogs "appear to be owing, 1st,

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I may here observe, that several of the scientific men who gave the results of years of observation and study in their evidence to the Committee of the House of Commons, remarked on the popular misunderstanding of what smoke was, it being generally regarded as something *visible*. But in the composition of smoke, it appears, one product may be visible, and another invisible, and both offensive; while "occasionally you may have from the same materials varieties of products, all invisible, according to the manner to which they are supplied with air."

The Committee requested Dr. Reid to prepare a definition of "smoke," and more especially of "black smoke." The following is the substance of the doctor's definition, or rather description:—

1. *Black Smoke* consists essentially of carbon separated by heat from coal or other combustible bodies. If this smoke be produced at a very high temperature, the carbon forms a loose and powdery soot, comparatively free from other substances; while the lower the temperature at which black soot is formed, the larger is the amount of other substances with which it is mingled, among which are the following:—carbon, water, resin, oily and other inflammable products of various volatilities, ammonia, and carbonate of ammonia.

When the carbon, oils, resin, and water are associated together in certain proportions, they constitute *tar*. *Soft pitch* is produced if the tar be so far heated that the water is expelled; and *hard pitch* (resin blackened by carbon) when the oils are volatilized.

In all cases of ordinary combustion, carbonic acid is formed by the red-hot cinders, or by gases or other compounds containing carbon, acting on the oxygen of the air. This carbonic acid is discharged in general as an *invisible* gas. If the carbonic acid pass through red-hot cinders, or any carbonaceous smoke at a high temperature, it loses one particle of oxygen, and becomes carbonic oxide gas. The lost oxygen, uniting with carbon, forms an additional amount of carbonic oxide gas, which passes to the external atmosphere as an invisible gas, unless kindled in its progress, or at the top of the chimney, when its temperature is sufficiently elevated by the action of air. Carbonic oxide gas burns with a blue flame, and produces carbonic acid gas.

Black smoke is always associated with carburetted hydrogen gases. These may be mechanically blended with the oils and resins, but must be carefully distinguished from them. They form more essentially, when in a state of combustion, the inflammable matters that constitute flame.

2. *Smoke from Charcoal, Coke, and Anthracite*, is always invisible if the material be dry. A flame may appear, however, if carbonic oxide be formed.

3. *Wood or Pyroligneous Smoke* is rarely black. Water and carbonic acid are the products of the full combustion of wood, omitting the consideration of the ash that remains.

4. *Sulphurous Smokes*. Tons of sulphur are annually evolved in various conditions from copper-works. Offensive sulphurous smokes are often evolved from various chemical works, as gas-works, acid-works, &c.

5. *Hydrochloric Acid Smoke* is evolved in general in large quantities from alkali works.

6. *Metallic Smokes*—when ores of lead, copper, arsenic, &c., are used—often contain offensive matter in a minute state of division, and suspended in the smoke evolved from the furnaces.

7. *Putrescent Smokes*, loaded with the products of decayed animal and vegetable matter, are evolved at times from drains in visible vapours, more especially in damp weather. The fœtid particles, when associated with moisture in this smoke, are entirely decomposed when subjected to heat.

Dr. Ure says, speaking of the cause of the ordinary black smoke above described, "The inevitable conversion of atmospheric air into carbonic acid has been hitherto the radical defect of almost all furnaces. The consequence is, that this gaseous matter is mixed with an atmosphere containing far too little oxygen, and instead of burning the carbon and hydrogen, which constitute the coal gases, the carbon is deposited partly in a pulverized form, constituting smoke or soot, and a great deal of the carbon gets half-burnt, and forms what is well known under the name of carbonic oxide, which is half-burnt charcoal."

"The ordinary smoke," Professor Faraday said, in his examination before the Committee, "is the visible black part of the products, the unburnt portions of the carbon. If you prevent the production of carbonic oxide or carbonic acid, you increase the production of smoke. You must with coal fuel either have carbonic acid or oxide, or else black smoke.

"Which is the least noxious?" he was asked, and answered, "As far as regards health, carbonic acid and carbonic oxide are most noxious to health; but it is not so much a question of health as of cleanliness and comfort, because I

to the presence of the river; and, 2ndly, to the fact that the superior temperature of the town produces results precisely similar to those we find to occur upon rivers and lakes. The cold damp currents of the atmosphere, which cannot act upon the air of the country districts, owing to the equality of their specific gravity, when they encounter the warmer and lighter strata over the town, displace the latter, intermixing with it and condensing the moisture. Fogs thus are often to be observed in London, whilst the surrounding country is entirely free from them. The peculiar colour of the London fogs appears to be owing to the fact that, during their prevalence, the ascent of the coal smoke is impeded, and that it is thus mixed with the condensed moisture of the atmosphere. As is well known, they are often so dense as to require the gas to be lighted in midday, and they cover the town with a most dingy and depressing pall. They also frequently exhibit the peculiarity of increasing density after their first formation, which appears to be owing to the descent of fresh currents of cold air towards the lighter regions of the atmosphere.

"They do not occur when the wind is in a dry quarter, as for instance when it is in the east; notwithstanding that there may be very considerable difference in the temperature of the air and of the water or the ground. The peculiar odour which attends the London fogs has not yet been satisfactorily explained; although the uniformity of its recurrence, and its very marked character, would appear to challenge elaborate examination."

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believe that this town is as healthy as other places where there are not these fires.

"It is partly the impure coal gas evolved after the fresh charge of coal which originates the smokes, when not properly supplied with air; but it is a very mixed question. When a fresh charge of coal is put upon the fire, a great quantity of evaporable matter, which would be called impure coal gas according to the language of the question, is produced; and as that matter travels on in the heated place, if there be a sufficient supply of air, both the hydrogen and the carbon are entirely burnt. But if there be an insufficient supply of air, the hydrogen is taken possession of first, and the carbon is set free in its black and solid form; and if that goes into the cool part of the chimney before fresh air gets to it, that carbon is so carried out into the atmosphere and is the smoke in question. Generally speaking, the great rush of smoke is when coal is first put on the fire; and that from the want of a sufficient supply of oxygen at the right time, because the carbon is cooled so low as not to take fire."

This eminent chemist stated also that there was no difference in the ultimate chemical effect upon the air between a wood fire and a coal fire, but with wood there was not so much smoke set free in the heated place, which caused a difference in the gaseous products of wood combustion and of coal combustion. He thought that perhaps wood was the fuel which would be most favourable to health as affecting the atmosphere, inasmuch as it produced more water, and less carbonic acid, as the product of combustion.

What may be called the *peculiarities* of a smoky and sooty atmosphere are of course more strongly developed in London than elsewhere, as the following curious statements show:—

Dr. Reid, in describing metropolitan smoke, spoke of "those black portions of soot that every one is familiar with, which annoy us, for instance, at the Houses of Parliament to such an extent that I have been under the necessity of putting up a veil, about 40 feet long and 12 feet deep, on which, on a single evening, taking the worst kind of weather for the production of soot, we can count occasionally 200,000 visible portions of soot excluded at a single sitting. We count with the naked eye the number of pieces entangled upon a square inch. I have examined the amount deposited on different occasions in different parts of London at the tops of some houses; and on one occasion at the Horse Guards the amount of soot deposited was so great, that it formed a complete and continuous film, so that when I walked upon it I saw the impression of my foot left as distinctly on that occasion as when snow lies upon the ground. The film was exceedingly thin, but I could discover no want of continuity. On other occasions I have noticed in London that the quantity that escapes into individual houses is so great that in a single night I have observed a mixture of soot and of hoar frost collecting at the edge of the door, and forming a stripe three-quarters of an inch in breadth, and bearing an exact resemblance to a pepper and salt grey cloth. Those that I refer to are extreme occasions."

Mr. Booth mentioned, that one of the gardeners of the Botanic Garden in the Regent's-park, could tell the number of days sheep had been in the park from the blackness of their wool, its oleaginous power retaining the black.

Dr. Ure informed the Committee that a column of smoke might be seen extending in different directions round London, according to the way of the wind, for a distance of from 20 to 30 miles; and that Sir William Herschel had told him that when the wind blew from London he could not use his great telescope at Slough.

It was stated, moreover, that when a respirator is washed, the water is rendered dirty by the particles of soot adhering to the wire gauze, and which, but for this, would have entered the mouth.

Professor Brande said, on the subject of the public health being affected by smoke, "I cannot say that my opinion is that smoke produces any unhealthiness in London; it is a great nuisance certainly: but I do not think we have any good evidence that it produces disease of any kind."

"This Committee," said Mr. Beckett, "have been told that, by the mechanical effects of smoke upon the chest and lungs, disease takes place; that is, by swallowing a certain quantity of smoke the respiratory organs are injured; can you give any opinion upon that?"—"One would conceive," replied the Professor, "that that is the case; but when we compare the health of London with that of any other town or place where they are comparatively free or quite free from smoke, we do not find that difference which we should expect in regard to health."

Mr. E. Solly, lecturer on chemistry at the Royal Institution, expressed his opinion of the effect of smoke upon the health of towns:—

"My impression is," he said, "that it produces decided evil in two or three ways: first, mechanically; the solid black carbonaceous matter produces a great deal of disease; it occasions dirt amongst the lower orders, and, if they will not take pains to remove it, it engenders disease. If we could do away the smoke nuisance, I believe a great deal of that disease would be put an end to. But there is another point, and that is, the bad effects produced by the gases, sulphurous acid and other compounds of that nature, which are given out. If we do away with smoke, we shall still have those gases; and I have no doubt that those gases produce a great part of the disease that is produced by smoke."

On the other hand Dr. Reid thought that smoke was more injurious from the dirt it created than from causing impurity in the atmosphere, although "it was obvious enough that the inspiration of a sooty atmosphere must be injurious to persons of a delicate constitution." Dr. Ure pronounced smoke, in the common sense of visible black smoke, unwholesome, but "not so eminently as the French imagine."

Many witnesses stated their conviction that where poor people resided amongst smoke, they

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felt it impossible to preserve cleanliness in their persons or their dwellings, and that made them careless of their homes and indifferent to a decency of appearance, so that the public-house, and places where cleanliness and propriety were in no great estimation, became places of frequent resort, on the plain principle that if a man's home were uncomfortable, he was not likely to stay in it.

"I think," said Mr. Booth, "one great effect of the evil of smoke is upon the dwellings of the poor; it renders them less attentive to their personal appearance, and, in consequence, to their social condition."

It was also stated that there were "certain districts inhabited by the poor, where they will not hang out their clothes to be cleansed; they say it is of no use to do it, they will become dirty as before, and consequently they do not have their clothes washed." The districts specified as presenting this characteristic are St. George's-in-the East and the neighbourhood of Old-street, St. Luke's.

It must not be lost sight of, that whatever evils, moral or physical, without regarding merely pecuniary losses, are inflicted by the excess of smoke, they fall upon the poor, and almost solely on the poor. It is the poor who must reside, as was said, and with a literality not often applicable to popular phrases, "in the thick of it," and consequently there must either be increased washing or increased dirt.

To effect the mitigation of the nuisance of smoke, two points were considered :—

A. The substitution of some other material, containing less bituminous matter, for the "Newcastle coal."

B. The combustion of the smoke, before its emission into the atmospheric air, by means of mechanical contrivances founded on scientific principles.

As regards the first consideration (A) it was recommended that anthracite, or stone Welsh coal, which is a smokeless fuel, should be used instead of the Newcastle coal. This coal is almost the sole fuel in Philadelphia, a city of Quaker neatness beyond any in the United States of North America, and sometimes represented as the cleanest in the world. The anthracite coal is somewhat dearer than Newcastle coal in London, but only in a small degree.

Coke was also recommended as a substitute for coal in private dwellings.

"Are you of opinion," Dr. Reid was asked, "that smoke may be in a great measure prevented by extending the use of gas and coke?" He answered, "In numerous cities, where large quantities of gas are produced, coke is very frequently the principal fuel of the poor, and the difficulty of lighting that coke, and the difficulty of having heat developed by it in sufficient quantity, necessarily led me to look at the construction of the fire-places adapted for it. And on a general review of the question, I do entertain the opinion, that if education were more extended amongst the humblest classes with respect to the economy of their own fireside (I mean, literally, the fire-place, at present), and if gas were greatly extended, so that they did not drain the coal of the gas-works of the last dregs of gaseous matter, which are of very little use as gas, and more to be considered as adding to the bulk for sale than as valuable gas, that a coke might be left which would be easily accendible, which would be economical, and which, if introduced into fire-places where an open fire is desired, would *entirely remove the necessity of sweeping chimneys even with machines*, and would at the same time give as economical a fire as any ordinary fire-place can produce, for an ordinary coal fire rarely is powerful in its calorific emanations till the mass of gas has been expelled, and we see the cherry-red fire. The amount of gas that has escaped previously to the production or coking of the fire, is the gas that is valuable in a manufactory, and if therefore the individual consumer could have, not the hard-burnt stony coke, but the soft coke, in the condition that would give at once a cherry-red fire, we should attain the two great objects—of economising gas, and at the same time of having a lively cheerful fire. Then this led me to look particularly at the price of a gas lamp for a poor man. In a poor man's family, where the breakfast, the tea and dinner, require the principal attention, and he has some plain cooking utensils, in the heat of summer I believe that he will produce as much heat as he wants for those purposes from a single burner, which can be turned on and left all day, which shall not risk any boiling over, and by having this pure heat directed to the object to be warmed, instead of having a heavy iron grate, this plan would, if gas were generally introduced even into the humblest apartments, prove a great source of economy in summer."

Dr. Reid also told the Committee that there was a great prejudice against the use of coke, many persons considering that it produced a sulphurous smell; but as all ordinary coal coked itself, or became coke in an open fire, and was never powerfully calorific till it became coke, the prejudice would die away.

Very little is said in the Report about the smoke of private houses; an allusion, however, is made to that portion of the investigation :—"Your Committee have received the most gratifying assurances of the confident hope entertained by several of the highest scientific authorities examined by them, that the black smoke proceeding from fires in private dwellings, and all other places, may eventually be entirely prevented, either by the adoption of stoves and grates formed for a perfect combustion of the common bituminous coal, or by the use of coke, or of anthracite; but they are of opinion that the present knowledge on that subject is not such as to justify any legislative interference with these smaller fires."

"I should, in prospect," Professor Faraday said to the Committee, "look forward to the possibility of a great reduction of the smoke from coal fires in houses; but my impression is, that, in the present state of things, it would be tyrannical to determine that that must be done which at present we do not know can be done. Still, I think there

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is reason to believe that it can be effected in a very high degree."

Dr. Ure also thought that to extend any smoke enactment to private dwellings might be tyrannical in the present state of the chimneys, but he had no doubt that smoke might be consumed in fires in private dwellings.

Such, then, are the causes and remedies for smoke, and consequently of soot, for smoke, or rather opaque smoke, consists, as we have seen, of merely the gases of combustion with minute particles of carbon diffused throughout them; and as smoke is the result of the imperfect burning of our coals, it follows that chimney-sweepers are but a consequence of our ignorance, and that, as we grow wiser in the art of economising our fuel, we shall be gradually displacing this branch of labourers—the means of preventing smoke being simply the mode of displacing the chimney-sweepers—and this is another of the many facts to teach us that not only are we doubling our population in forty years, but we are likewise learning every year how to do our work with a less number of workers, either by inventing some piece of mechanism that will enable one "hand" to do as much as one hundred, or else doing away with some branch of labour altogether. Here lies the great difficulty of the time. A new element—science, with its offspring, steam—has been introduced into our society within the last century, decreasing labour at a time when the number of our labourers has been increasing at a rate unexampled in history; and the problem is, how to reconcile the new social element with the old social institutions, doing as little injury as possible to the community.

Suppose, for instance, the "smoke nuisance" entirely prevented, and that Professor Faraday's prophecy as to the great reduction of the smoke from coal fires in houses were fulfilled, and that the expectations of the sanguine and intense Committee, who tell us that they have "received *the most gratifying* assurances of the *confident* hope entertained by several of *the highest scientific* authorities, that the black smoke proceeding from fires in private dwellings and all other places may be eventually *entirely* prevented,"—suppose that these expectations, I say, be realized (and there appears to be little doubt of the matter), what is to become of the 1000 to 1500 "sweeps" who live, as it were, upon this very smoke? Surely the whole community should not suffer for them, it will be said. True; but unfortunately the same argument is being applied to each particular section of the labouring class,—and the labourers make up by far the greater part of the community. If we are daily displacing a thousand labourers by the annihilation of this process, and another thousand by the improvement of that, what is to be the fate of those we put on one side? and where shall we find employment for the hundred thousand new "hands" that are daily coming into existence among us? This is the great problem for earnest thoughtful men to work out!

But we have to deal here with the chimney-sweepers as they are, and not as they may be in a more scientific age. And, first, as to *the quantity of soot* annually deposited at present in the London chimneys.

The quantity of soot produced in the metropolis every year may be ascertained in the following manner:—

The larger houses are swept in some instances once a month, but generally once in three months, and yield on an average six bushels of soot per year. A moderate-sized house, belonging to the "middle class," is usually swept four times a year, and gives about five bushels of soot per annum; while houses occupied by the working and poorer classes are seldom swept more than twice, and sometimes only once, in the twelvemonth, and yield about two bushels of soot annually.

The larger houses—the residences of noblemen and the more wealthy gentry—may, then, be said to produce an average of six bushels of soot annually; the houses of the more prosperous tradesmen, about five bushels; while those of the humbler classes appear to yield only two bushels of soot per annum. There are, according to the last returns, in round numbers, 300,000 inhabited houses at present in the metropolis, and these, from the "reports" of the income and property tax, may be said to consist, as regards the average rentals, of the proportions given in the next page.

Here we see that the number of houses whose average rental is above 50*l*. is 53,840; while those whose average rental is above 30*l*., and below 50*l*., are 90,002 in number; and those whose rental is below 30*l*. are as many as 163,880; the average rental for all London, 40*l*. Now, adopting the estimate before given as to the proportionate yield of soot from each of these three classes of houses, we have the following items:—

	Bushels of Soot per Annum.
53,840 houses at a yearly rental above 50*l*., producing 6 bushels of soot each per annum	323,040
90,002 houses at a yearly rental above 30*l*. and below 50*l*., producing 5 bushels of soot each per annum .	450,010
163,880 houses at a yearly rental below 30*l*., producing 2 bushels of soot each per annum . . .	327,760
Total number of bushels of soot annually produced throughout London .	1,100,810

This calculation will be found to be nearly correct if tried by another mode. The quantity of soot depends greatly upon the amount of volatile or bituminous matter in the coals used. By a table given at p. 169 of the second volume of this work it will be seen that the proportion of volatile matter contained in the several kinds of coal are as follows:—

Cannel or gas coals contain 40 to 60 per cent. of volatile matter.

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TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF HOUSES, AT DIFFERENT AVERAGE RENTALS, THROUGHOUT THE METROPOLIS.

Number of Houses whose Average Rental is above £50.			Number of Houses whose Average Rental is above £30 and below £50.			Number of Houses whose Average Rental is below £30.		
	Average Rental.	Number of Houses.		Average Rental.	Number of Houses.		Average Rental.	Number of Houses.
	£			£			£	
Hanover-square, May Fair	150	8,795	Poplar	44	6,882	Chelsea	29	7,629
St. James's	128	3,460	Pancras	41	18,731	Wandsworth	29	8,290
St. Martin's	119	2,323	Hampstead	40	1,719	St. Luke's	28	6,421
London City	117	7,329	Kensington	40	17,292	Lambeth	28	20,520
Marylebone	71	15,955	Clerkenwell	38	7,259	Lewisham	27	5,936
Strand	66	3,938	East London	38	4,785	Whitechapel	26	8,832
West London	65	2,745	St. Saviour's	36	4,613	Hackney	25	9,861
St. Giles's	60	4,778	Westminster	36	6,647	Camberwell	25	9,417
Holborn	52	4,517	St. Olave's	35	2,365	Rotherhithe	23	2,834
		53,840	Islington	35	13,558	St. George's, Southwark	22	7,005
			St. George's-in-the-East	32	6,151	Newington	22	10,468
					90,002	Greenwich	22	14,423
						Shoreditch	20	15,433
						Stepney	20	16,346
						Bermondsey	18	7,095
						Bethnal Green	9	13,370
								163,880

Newcastle or "house" coals, about 37 per cent.

Lancashire and Yorkshire coals, 35 to 40 per cent.

South Welsh or "steam" coals, 11 to 15 per cent.

Anthracite or "stone" coals, none.

The house coals are those chiefly used throughout London, so that every ton of such coals contains about 800 lbs. of volatile matter, a considerable proportion of which appears in the form of smoke; but what proportion and what is the weight of the carbonaceous particles or soot evolved in a given quantity of smoke, I know of no means of judging. I am informed, however, by those practically acquainted with the subject, that a ton of ordinary house coals will produce between a fourth and a half of a bushel of soot*. Now there are, say, 3,500,000 tons of coal consumed annually in London; but a large proportion of this quantity is used for the purposes of gas, for factories, breweries, chemical works, and steam-boats. The consumption of coal for the making of gas in London, in 1849, was 380,000 tons; so that, including the quantity used in factories, breweries, &c., we may, perhaps, estimate the domestic consumption of the metropolis at 2,500,000 tons yearly, which, for 300,000 houses, would give eight tons per house. And when we remember the amount used in large houses and in hotels, as well as by the smaller houses, where each room often contains a different family, this does not appear to be too high an average. Mr. M'Culloch estimates the domestic consumption at one ton per head, men, women, and children; and since the number of persons to each house in London is 7·5, this would give nearly the same result. Estimating the yield of soot to be three-eighths of a bushel per ton, we have, in round numbers, 1,000,000 bushels of soot as the gross quantity deposited in the metropolitan chimneys every year.

Or, to check the estimate another way, there are 350 master sweepers throughout London. A master sweeper in a "large way of business" collects, I am informed, one day with another, from 30 to 40 bushels of soot; on the other hand, small master, or "single-handed" chimney-sweeper is able to gather only about 5 bushels, and scarcely that. One master sweeper said that about 10 bushels a day would, he thought, be a fair average quantity for all the masters, reckoning one day with another; so that at this rate we should have 1,095,500 bushels for the gross quantity of soot annually collected throughout the metropolis.

We may therefore assume the aggregate yield of soot throughout London to be 1,000,000 bushels per annum. Now what is done with this immense mass of refuse matter? Of what use is it?

The soot is purchased from the masters, whose

* The quantity of soot deposited depends greatly on the length, draught, and irregular surface of the chimney. The kitchen flue yields by far the most soot for an equal quantity of coals burnt, because it is of greater length. The quantity above cited is the average yield from the several chimneys of a house. It will be seen hereafter that the quantity collected is only 800,000 bushels; a great proportion of the chimneys of the poor being seldom swept, and some cleansed by themselves.

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perquisite it is, by the farmers and dealers. It is used by them principally for meadow land, and frequently for land where wheat is grown; not so much, I understand, as a manure, as for some quality in it which destroys slugs and other insects injurious to the crops*. Lincolnshire is one of the great marts for the London soot, whither it is transported by railway. In Hertfordshire, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent, however, and many other parts, London soot is used in large quantities; there are persons who have large stores for its reception, who purchase it from the master sweepers, and afterwards sell it to the farmers and send it as per order, to its destination. These are generally the manure-merchants, of whom the Post-Office Directory gives 26 names, eight being marked as dealers in guano. I was told by a sweeper in a large way of business that he thought these men bought from a half to three-quarters of the soot; the remainder being bought by the land-cultivators in the neighbourhood of London. Soot is often used by gardeners to keep down the insects which infest their gardens.

The value of the Soot collected throughout London is the next subject to engage our attention. Many sweepers have represented it as a very curious fact, and one for which they could advance no sufficient reason, that the price of a bushel of soot was regulated by the price of the quartern loaf, so that you had only to know that the quartern loaf was 5*d*. to know that such was the price of a bushel of soot. This, however, is hardly the case at present; the price of the quartern loaf (not regarding the "seconds," or inferior bread), is now, at the end of December, 1851, 5*d*. to 6*d*. according to quality. The price of soot per bushel is but 5*d*., and sometimes but 4½*d*., but 5*d*. may be taken as an average.

Now 1,000,000 bushels of soot, at 5*d*., will be found to yield 20,833*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum. But the whole of this quantity is not collected by the chimney-sweepers, for many of the poorer persons seldom have their chimneys swept; and by the table given in another place, it will be seen that not more than 800,000 bushels are obtained in the course of the year by the London "sweeps." Hence we may say, that there are 800,000 bushels of soot annually collected from the London chimneys, and that this is worth not less than 16,500*l*. per annum.

The next question is, how many people are employed in collecting this quantity of refuse matter, and how do they collect it, and what do they get, individually and collectively, for so doing?

To begin with the number of master and journeymen sweepers employed in removing these 800,000 bushels of soot from our chimneys: according to the Census returns, the number of "sweeps" in the metropolis in the years 1841 and 1831 were as follows:—

Chimney-sweepers.	1841.	1831.	Increase in ten years.
Males, 20 years and upwards	619	421	198
„ under 20 years	370	no returns.	
Females, 20 years & upwards	44	„	
	1033		

But these returns, such as they are, include both employers and employed, in one confused mass. To disentangle the economical knot, we must endeavour to separate the number of master sweepers from the journeymen. According to the Post-Office Directory the master sweepers amount to no more than 32, and thus there would be one more than 1000 for the number of the metropolitan journeymen sweepers; these statements, however, appear to be very wide of the truth.

In 1816 it was represented to the House of Commons, that there were within the bills of mortality, 200 masters, all—except the "great gentlemen," as one witness described them, who were about 20 in number—themselves working at the business, and that they had 150 journeymen and upwards of 500 apprentices, so that there must then have been 850 working sweepers altogether, young and old.

These numbers, it must be borne in mind, were comprised in the limits of the bills of mortality 34 years ago. The parishes in the old bills of mortality were 148; there are now in the metropolis proper 176, and, as a whole, the area is much more densely covered with dwelling-houses. Taking but the last ten years, 1841 to 1851, the inhabited houses have increased from 262,737 to 307,722, or, in round numbers, 45,000.

Now in 1811 the number of inhabited houses in the metropolis was 146,019, and in 1821 it was 164,948; hence in 1816 we may assume the inhabited houses to have been about 155,000; and since this number required 850 working sweepers to cleanse the London chimneys, it is but a rule of three sum to find how many would have been required for the same purpose in 1841, when the inhabited houses had increased to 262,737; this, according to Cocker, is about 1400; so that we must come to the conclusion either that the number of working sweepers had not kept pace with the increase of houses, or that the returns of the census were as defective in this respect as we have found them to be concerning the street-sellers, dustmen, and scavagers. Were we to pursue the same mode of calculation, we should find that if 850 sweepers were required to cleanse the chimneys of 155,000 houses, there should be 1687 such labourers in London now that the houses are 307,722 in number.

But it will be seen that in 1816 more than one-half (or 500 out of 850) of the working chimney-sweepers were apprentices, and in 1841 the chimney-sweepers under 20 years of age, if we are to believe the census, constituted more than one-third of the whole body (or 370 out of 1033). Now as the use of climbing boys was prohibited in 1842, of course this large proportion of the

* Soot of coal is said, by Dr. Ure, in his admirable Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures, to contain "sulphate and carbonate of ammonia along with bituminous matter."

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trade has been rendered useless; so that, estimating the master and journeymen sweepers at 250 in 1816, it would appear that about 500 would be required to sweep the chimneys of the metropolis at present. To these, of course, must be added the extra number of journeymen necessary for managing the machines. And considering the journeymen to have increased threefold since the abolition of the climbing boys, we must add 300 to the above number, which will make the sum total of the individuals employed in this trade to amount to very nearly 800.

By inquiries throughout the several districts of the metropolis, I find that there are altogether 350 master sweepers at present in London; 106 of these are large masters, who seldom go out on a round, but work to order, having a regular custom among the more wealthy classes; while the other 244 consist of 92 small masters and 152 "single-handed" masters, who travel on various rounds, both in London and the suburbs, seeking custom. Of the whole number, 19 reside within the City boundaries; from 90 to 100 live on the Surrey side, and 235 on the Middlesex side of the Thames (without the City boundaries). A large master employs from 2 to 10 men, and 2 boys; and a small one only 2 men or sometimes 1 man and a boy, while a single-handed master employs no men nor boys at all, but does all the work himself.

The 198 masters employ among them 12 foremen, 399 journeymen, and 62 boys, or 473 hands, and adding to them the single-handed master-men who work at the business themselves, we have 823 working men in all; so that, on the whole, there are not less than between 800 and 900 persons employed in cleansing the London chimneys of their soot.

The next point that presents itself in due order to the mind is, as to the *mode of working among the chimney-sweepers*: that is to say, how are the 800,000 bushels of soot collected from the 300,000 houses by these 820 working sweepers? But this involves a short history of the trade.

Of the Sweepers of Old, and the Climbing Boys.

Formerly the chimneys used to be cleansed by the house servants, for a person could easily stand erect in the huge old-fashioned constructions, and thrust up a broom as far as his strength would permit. Sometimes, however, straw was kindled at the mouth of the chimney, and in that way the soot was consumed or brought down to the ground by the action of the fire. But that there were also regular chimney-sweepers in the latter part of the sixteenth century is unquestionable; for in the days of the First James and Charles, poor Piedmontese, and more especially Savoyards, resorted to England for the express purpose. How long they laboured in this vocation is unknown. The Savoyards, indeed, were then the general showmen and sweeps of Europe, and so they are still in some of the cities of Italy and France.

As regards the first introduction of English children into chimneys—the establishment of the use of climbing boys—nothing appears, according to the representations made to Parliament on several occasions, to be known; and little attention seems to have been paid to the condition of these infants—some were but little better—until about 1780, when the benevolent Jonas Hanway, who is said, but not uncontradictedly, to have been the first person who regularly used an umbrella in the streets of London, called public attention to the matter. In 1788 Mr. Hanway and others brought a bill into Parliament for the better protection of the climbing boys, requiring, among other provisions, all master sweepers to be licensed, and the names and ages of all their apprentices registered. The House of Lords, however, rejected this bill, and the 28th George III., c. 48, was passed in preference. The chief alterations sought to be effected by the new Act were, that no sweeper should have more than six apprentices, and that no boy should be apprenticed at a tenderer age than eight years. Previously there were no restrictions in either of those respects.

These provisions were, however, very generally violated. By one of those "flaws" or omissions, so very common and so little creditable to our legislation, it was found that there was no prohibition to a sweeper's employing his own children at what age he pleased; and "some," or "several," for I find both words used, employed their sons, and occasionally their daughters, in chimney climbing at the ages of six, five, and even between four and five years! The children of others, too, were continually being apprenticed at illegal ages, for no inquiry was made into the lad's age beyond the statement of his parents, or, in the case of parish apprentices, beyond the (in those days) not more trustworthy word of the overseers. Thus boys of six were apprenticed—for apprenticeship was almost universal—as boys of eight, by their parents; while parish officers and magistrates consigned the workhouse orphans, as a thing of course, to the starvation and tyranny which they must have known were very often in store for them when apprenticed to sweepers.

The following evidence was adduced before Parliament on the subject of infant labour in this trade:—

Mr. John Cook, a master sweeper, then of Great Windmill-street and Kentish-town, the first who persevered in the use of the machine years before its use was compulsory, stated that it was common for parents in the business to employ their own children, under the age of seven, in climbing; and that as far as he knew, he himself was only between six and seven when he "came to it;" and that almost all master sweepers had got it in their bills that they kept "small boys for register-stoves, and such like as that."

Mr. T. Allen, another master sweeper, was between four and five when articled to an uncle.

Mr. B. M. Forster, a private gentleman, a member of the "Committee to promote the Superseding of Climbing Boys," said, "Some are put to the

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employment very young; one instance of which occurred to a child in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch, who was put to the trade at four and a quarter years, or thereabouts. The father of a child in Whitechapel told me last week, that his son began climbing when he was four years and eight months old. I have heard of some still younger, but only from vague report."

This sufficiently proves at what infantine years children were exposed to toils of exceeding painfulness. The smaller and the more slenderly formed the child, the more valuable was he for the sweeping of flues, the interior of some of them, to be ascended and swept, being but seven inches square.

I have mentioned the employment of female children in the very unsuitable labour of climbing chimneys. The following is all the information given on the subject.

Mr. Tooke was asked, "Have you ever heard of female children being so employed?" and replied, "I have heard of cases at Hadley, Barnet, Windsor, and Uxbridge; and I know a case at Witham, near Colchester, of that sort."

Mr. B. M. Foster said, "Another circumstance, which has not been mentioned to the Committee, is, that there are several little girls employed; there are two of the name of Morgan at Windsor, daughters of the chimney-sweeper *who is employed to sweep the chimneys of the Castle;* another instance at Uxbridge, and at Brighton, and at Whitechapel (which was some years ago), and at Headley near Barnet, and Witham in Essex, and elsewhere." He then stated, on being asked, "Do you not think that girls were employed from their physical form being smaller and thinner than boys, and therefore could get up narrower flues?" "The reason that I have understood was, because their parents had not a sufficient number of boys to bring up to the business." Mr. Foster did not know the ages of these girls.

The inquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons, which led more than any other to the prohibition of this infant and yet painful labour in chimney-sweeping, was held in 1817, and they recommended the "preventing the further use of climbing boys in sweeping of chimneys;" a recommendation not carried into effect until 1832. The matter was during the interval frequently agitated in Parliament, but there were no later investigations by Committees.

I will adduce, specifically, the grievances, according to the Report of 1817, of the climbing boys; but will first present the following extract from the evidence of Mr. W. Tooke, a gentleman who, in accordance with the Hon. Henry Grey Bennet, M.P., and others, exerted himself on the behoof of the climbing boys. When he gave his evidence, Mr. Tooke was the secretary to a society whose object was to supersede the necessity of employing climbing boys. He said:—

"In the year 1800, the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor took up the subject, but little or nothing appears to have been done upon that occasion, except that the most respectable master chimney-sweepers entered into an association and subscription for promoting the cleanliness and health of the boys in their respective services. The Institution of which I am treasurer, and which is now existing, was formed in February, 1803. In consequence of an anonymous advertisement, a large meeting was held at the London Coffee House, and the Society was established; immediate steps were then taken to ascertain the state of the trade; inspectors were appointed to give an account of all the master chimney-sweepers within the bills of mortality, their general character, their conduct towards their apprentices, and the number of those apprentices. It was ascertained, that the total number of master chimney-sweepers, within the bills of mortality, might be estimated at 200, who had among them 500 apprentices; that not above 20 of those masters were reputable tradesmen in easy circumstances, who appeared generally to conform to the provisions of the Act; and which 20 had, upon an average, from four to five apprentices each. We found about 90 of an inferior class of master chimney-sweepers who averaged three apprentices each, and who were extremely negligent both of the health, morals, and education of those apprentices; and about 90, the remainder of the 200 masters, were a class of chimney-sweepers recently journeymen, who took up the trade because they had no other resource; they picked up boys as they could, who lodged with themselves in huts, sheds, and cellars, in the outskirts of the town, occasionally wandering into the villages round, where they slept on soot-bags, and lived in the grossest filth."

The grievances I have spoken of were thus summed up by the Parliamentary Committee. After referring to the ill-usage and hardships sustained by the climbing boys (the figures being now introduced for the sake of distinctness) it is stated:—

"It is in evidence that (1) they are stolen from" [and sold by] "their parents, and inveigled out of workhouses; (2) that in order to conquer the natural repugnance of the infants to ascend the narrow and dangerous chimneys to clean which their labour is required, blows are used; that pins are forced into their feet by the boy that follows them up the chimney, in order to compel them to ascend it, and that lighted straw has been applied for that purpose; (3) that the children are subject to sores and bruises, and wounds and burns on their thighs, knees, and elbows; and that it will require many months before the extremities of the elbows and knees become sufficiently hard to resist the excoriations to which they are at first subject."

1. With regard to the *stealing or kidnapping of children*—for there was often a difficulty in procuring climbing boys—I find mention in the evidence, as of a matter, but not a very frequent matter, of notoriety. One stolen child was sold to a master sweeper for 8*l*. 8*s*. Mr. G. Revely said:—

"I wish to state to the Committee that case in particular, because it comes home to the better sort of persons in higher life. It seems that the

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child, upon being asked various questions, had been taken away: the child was questioned how he came into that situation; he said all that he could recollect was (as I heard it told at that time) that he and his sister, with another brother, were together somewhere, but he could not tell where; but not being able to run so well as the other two, he was caught by a woman and carried away and was sold, and came afterwards into the hands of a chimney-sweeper. He was not afterwards restored to his family, and the mystery was never unravelled; but he was advertised, and a lady took charge of him.

"This child, in 1804, was forced up a chimney at Bridlington in Yorkshire, by a big boy, the younger boy being apparently but four years old. He fell and bruised his legs terribly against the grate. The Misses Auckland of Boynton, who had heard of the child, and went to see him, became interested by his manners, and they took him home with them; the chimney-sweeper, who perhaps got alarmed, being glad to part with him. "Soon after he got to Boynton, the seat of Sir George Strickland, a plate with something to eat was brought him; on seeing a silver fork he was quite delighted, and said, 'Papa had such forks as those.' He also said the carpet in the drawing-room was like papa's; the housekeeper showed him a silver watch, he asked what sort it was—'Papa's was a gold watch;' he then pressed the handle and said, 'Papa's watch rings, why does not yours?' Sir George Strickland, on being told this circumstance, showed him a gold repeater, the little boy pressed the spring, and when it struck, he jumped about the room, saying, 'Papa's watch rings so.' At night, when he was going to bed, he said he could not go to bed until he had said his prayers; he then repeated the Lord's Prayer, almost perfectly. The account he gave of himself was that he was gathering flowers in his mamma's garden, and that the woman who sold him to the sweeper, came in and asked him if he liked riding? He said, 'Yes,' and she told him he should ride with her. She put him on a horse, after which they got into a vessel, and the sails were put up, 'and away we went.' He had no recollection of his name, or where he lived, and was too young to think his father could have any other name than that of papa. He started whenever he heard a servant in the family at Boynton called George, and looked as if he expected to see somebody he knew; on inquiry, he said he had an uncle George, whom he loved dearly. He says his mamma is dead, and it is thought his father may be abroad. From many things he says, he seems to have lived chiefly with an uncle and aunt, whom he invariably says were called Mr. and Mrs. Flembrough. From various circumstances, it is thought impossible he should be the child of the woman who sold him, his manners being 'very civilized,' quite those of a child well educated; his dialect is good, and that of the south of England. This little boy, when first discovered, was conjectured to be about four years old, and is described as having beautiful black eyes and eyelashes, a high nose, and a delicate soft skin."

Mr. J. Harding, a master sweeper, had a fellow apprentice who had been enticed away from his parents. "It is a case of common occurrence," he said, "for children stolen, to be employed in this way. Yes, and children in particular are enticed out of workhouses: there are a great many who come out of workhouses."

The following cases were also submitted to the Committee:—

"A poor woman had been obliged by sickness to go into an hospital, and while she was there her child was stolen from her house, taken into Staffordshire, and there apprenticed to a chimney-sweeper. By some happy circumstance she learned his fate; she followed him, and succeeded in rescuing him from his forlorn situation. Another child, who was an orphan, was tricked into following the same wretched employment by a chimney-sweeper, who gave him a shilling, and made him believe that by receiving it he became his apprentice; the poor boy, either discovering or suspecting that he had been deceived, anxiously endeavoured to speak to a magistrate who happened to come to the house in which he was sweeping chimneys, but his master watched him so closely that he could not succeed. He at last contrived to tell his story to a blind soldier, who determined to right the poor boy, and by *great exertions* succeeded in procuring him his liberty."

It was in country places, however, that the stealing and kidnapping of children was the most frequent, and the threat of "the sweeps will get you" was often held out, to deter children from wandering. These stolen infants, it is stated, were usually conveyed to some distance by the vagrants who had secured them, and sold to some master sweeper, being apprenticed as the child of the vendors, for it was difficult for sweepers in thinly-peopled places to get a supply of climbing boys. It was shown about the time of the Parliamentary inquiry, in the course of a trial at the Lancaster assizes, that a boy had been apprenticed to a sweeper by two travelling tinkers, man and woman, who informed him that the child was stolen from another "traveller," 80 miles away, who was "too fond of it to make it a sweep." The *price* of the child was not mentioned.

Respecting the sale of children to be apprentices to sweepers, Mr. Tooke was able to state that, although in 1816, the practice had very much diminished of late, parents in many instances still *sold their children for three, four, or five guineas.* This sum was generally paid under the guise of an apprentice fee, but it was known to be and was called a "sale," for the parents, real or nominal, never interfered with the master subsequently, but left the infant to its fate.

2. I find the following account of the *means resorted to, in order to induce, or more frequently compel, these wretched infants to work.*

The boy in the first instance went for a month, or any term agreed upon, "on trial," or "to see how he would suit for the business." During this period of probation he was usually well treated and well fed (whatever the character of the master), with little to do beyond running

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errands, and observing the mode of work of the experienced climbers. When, however, he was "bound" as an apprentice, he was put with another lad who had been for some time at the business. The new boy was sent first up the chimney, and immediately followed by the other, who instructed him how to ascend. This was accomplished by the pressure of the knees and the elbows against the sides of the flue. By pressing the knees tightly the child managed to raise his arms somewhat higher, and then by pressing his elbows in like manner he contrived to draw up his legs, and so on. The inside of the flue presented a smooth surface, and there were no inequalities where the fingers or toes could be inserted. Should the young beginner fall, he was sure to light on the shoulders of the boy beneath him, who always kept himself firmly fixed in expectation of such a mishap, and then the novice had to commence anew; in this manner the twain reached the top by degrees, sweeping down the soot, and descended by the same method. This practice was very severe, especially on new boys, whose knees and elbows were torn by the pressure and the slipping down continually—the skin being stripped off, and frequently breaking out in frightful sores, from the constant abrasions, and from the soot and dirt getting into them.

In his evidence before Parliament in 1817 (for there had been previous inquiries), Mr. Cook gave an account of the training of these boys, and on being asked:—"Do the elbows and knees of the boys, when they first begin the business, become very sore, and afterwards get callous, and are those boys employed in sweeping chimneys during the soreness of those parts?" answered, "It depends upon the sort of master they have got; some are obliged to put them to work sooner than others; you must keep them a little at it, or they will never learn their business, even during the sores." He stated further, that the skin broke generally, and that the boys could not ascend chimneys during the sores without *very* great pain. The way that I learn boys is," he continued, "to put some cloths over their elbows and over their knees till they get the nature of the chimney—till they get a little used to it: we call it *padding* them, and then we take them off, and they get very little grazed indeed after they have got the art; but very few will take that trouble. Some boys' flesh is far worse than others, and it takes more time to harden them." He was then asked:—"Do those persons still continue to employ them to climb chimneys?" and the answer was: "Some do; it depends upon the character of the master. None of them of that class keep them till they get well; none. They are obliged to climb with those sores upon them. I never had one of my own apprentices do that." This system of padding, however, was but little practised; but in what proportion it *was* practised, unless by the respectable masters, who were then but few in number, the Parliamentary papers, the only information on the subject now attainable, do not state. The inference is, that the majority, out of but 20 of these masters, with some 80 or 100 apprentices, did treat them well, and what was so accounted. The customary way of training these boys, then, was such as I have described; some even of the better masters, whose boys were in the comparison well lodged and fed, and "sent to the Sunday school" (which seems to have comprised all needful education), considered "padding and such like" to be "new-fangled nonsense."

I may add also, that although the boy carried up a brush with him, it was used but occasionally, only when there were "turns" or defects in the chimney, the soot being brought down by the action of the shoulders and limbs. The climber wore a cap to protect his eyes and mouth from the soot, and a sort of flannel tunic, his feet, legs, and arms being bare. Some of these lads were surprisingly quick. One man told me that, when in his prime as a climbing boy, he could reach the top of a chimney about as quickly as a person could go up stairs to the attics.

The following is from the evidence of Mr. Cook, frequently cited as an excellent master:—

"What mode do you adopt to get the boy to go up the chimney in the first instance?—We persuade him as well as we can; we generally practise him in one of our own chimneys first; one of the boys who knows the trade goes up behind him, and when he has practised it perhaps ten times, though some will require twenty times, they generally can manage it. The boy goes up with him to keep him from falling; after that, the boy will manage to go up with himself, after going up and down several times with one under him: we do this, because if he happens to make a slip he will be caught by the other.

"Do you find many boys show repugnance to go up at first?—Yes, most of them.

"And if they resist and reject, in what way do you force them up?—By telling them we must take them back again to their father and mother, and give them up again; and their parents are generally people who cannot maintain them.

"So that they are afraid of going back to their parents for fear of being starved?—Yes; they go through a deal of hardship before they come to our trade.

"Did you use any more violent means?—Sometimes a rod.

"Did you ever hear of straw being lighted under them?—Never.

"You never heard of any means being made use of, except being beat and being sent home?—No; no other.

"You are aware, of course, that those means being gentle or harsh must depend very much upon the character of the individual master?—It does.

"Of course you must know that there are persons of harsh and cruel disposition; have you not often heard of masters treating their apprentices with great cruelty, particularly the little boys, in forcing them to go up those small flues, which the boys were unwilling to ascend?—Yes; I have forced up many a one myself.

"By what means?—By threatenings, and by giving them a kick or a slap."

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It was also stated that the journeymen used the boys with greater cruelty than did the masters—indeed a delegated tyranny is often the worst—that for very little faults they kicked and slapped the children, and sometimes flogged them with a cat, "made of rope, hard at each end, and as thick as your thumb."

Mr. John Fisher, a master chimney-sweeper, said:—"Many masters, are very severe with their children. To make them go up the chimneys I have seen them make them strip themselves naked; I have been obliged myself to go up a chimney naked."

As respects the cruelties of driving boys up chimneys by kindling straw beneath their feet, or thrusting pins into the soles of their feet, I find the following statements given on the authority of B. M. Forster, Esq., a private gentleman residing in Walthamstow:—

"A lad was ordered to sweep a chimney at Wandsworth; he came down after endeavouring to ascend, and this occurred several times before he gave up the point; at last the journeyman took some straw or hay, and lighted it under him to drive him up: when he endeavoured to get up the last time, he found there was a bar across the chimney, which he could not pass; he was obliged in consequence to come down, and the journeyman beat him so cruelly, to use his own expression, that he could not stand for a fortnight.

"In the whole city of Norwich I could find only nine climbing boys, two of whom I questioned on many particulars; one was with respect to the manner in which they are taught to climb; they both agreed in that particular, that a larger boy was sent up behind them to prick their feet, if they did not climb properly. I purposely avoided mentioning about pricking them with pins, but asked them how they did it; they said that they thrust the pins into the soles of their feet. A third instance occurred at Walthamstow; a man told me that some he knew had been taught in the same way; I believe it to be common, but I cannot state any more instances from authority."

3. On the subject of the *sores, bruises, wounds, burns, and diseases*, to which chimney-sweepers in their apprenticeships were not only exposed, but, as it were, condemned, Mr. R. Wright, a surgeon, on being examined before the Committee, said, "I shall begin with *Deformity*. I am well persuaded that the deformity of the spine, legs, arms, &c., of chimney-sweepers, generally, if not wholly, proceeds from the circumstance of their being obliged not only to go up chimneys at an age when their bones are in a soft and growing state, but likewise from their being compelled by their too merciless masters and mistresses to carry bags of soot (and those very frequently for a great length of distance and time) by far too heavy for their tender years and limbs. The knees and ancle joints mostly become deformed, in the first instance, from the position they are obliged to put them in, in order to support themselves, not only while climbing up the chimney, but more particularly so in that of coming down, when they rest solely on the lower extremities.

"*Sore eyes and eyelids*, are the next to be considered. Chimney-sweepers are very subject to inflammation of the eyelids, and not unfrequently weakness of sight, in consequence of such inflammation. This I attribute to the circumstance of the soot lodging on the eyelids, which first produces irritability of the part, and the constantly rubbing them with their dirty hands, instead of alleviating, increases the disease; for I have observed in a number of cases, when the patient has ceased for a time to follow the business, and of course the original cause has been removed, that with washing and keeping clean they were soon got well.

"*Sores*, for the same reasons, are generally a long time in healing.

"*Cancer* is another and a most formidable disease, which chimney-sweepers in particular are liable to, especially that of the scrotum; from which circumstance, by way of distinction, it is called the 'chimney-sweeper's cancer.' Of this sort of cancer I have seen several instances, some of which have been operated on; but, in general, they are apt to let them go too far before they apply for relief. Cancers of the lips are not so general as cancers of the scrotum. I never saw but two instances of the former, and several of the latter."

The "chimney-sweep's cancer" was always lectured upon as a separate disease at Guy's and Bartholomew's Hospitals, and on the question being put to Mr. Wright: "Do the physicians who are intrusted with the care and management of those hospitals think that disease of such common occurrence, that it is necessary to make it a part of surgical education?"—he replied: "Most assuredly; I remember Mr. Cline and Mr. Cooper were particular on that subject; and having one or two cases of the kind in the hospital, it struck my mind very forcibly. With the permission of the Committee I will relate a case that occurred lately, which I had from one of the pupils of St. Thomas's Hospital; he informed me that they recently had a case of a chimney-sweeper's cancer, which was to have been operated on that week, but the man 'brushed' (to use their expression) or rather walked off; he would not submit to the operation: similar instances of which I have known myself. They dread so much the knife, in consequence of foolish persons telling them it is so formidable an operation, and that they will die under it. I conceive without the operation it is death; for cancers are of that nature that unless you extricate them entirely they will never be cured."

Of the chimney-sweeper's cancer, the following statement is given in the Report: "Mr. Cline informed your Committee by letter, that this disease is rarely seen in any other persons than chimney-sweepers, and in them cannot be considered as frequent; for during his practice in St. Thomas's hospital, for more than 40 years, the number of those could not exceed 20. But your Committee have been informed that the dread of the operation which it is necessary to perform, deters many from submitting to it; and from the

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evidence of persons engaged in the trade, it appears to be much more common than Mr. Cline seems to be aware of.

"*Cough and Asthma.*—Chimney-sweepers are, from their being out at all hours and in all weathers, very liable to cough and inflammation of the chest.

"*Burns.*—They are very subject to burns, from their being forced up chimneys while on fire, or soon after they have been on fire, and while overheated; and however they may cry out, their inhuman masters pay not the least attention, but compel them, too often with horrid imprecations, to proceed.

"*Stunted growth*, in this unfortunate race of the community, is attributed, in a great measure, to their being brought into the business at a very early age."

To *accidents* they were frequently liable in the pursuit of their callings, and sometimes these accidents were the being jammed or fixed, or, as it was called in the trade, "stuck," in narrow and heated flues, sometimes for hours, and until death.

Among these hapless lads were indeed many deaths from accidents, cruelty, privation, and exhaustion, but it does not appear that the number was ever ascertained. There were also many narrow escapes from dreadful deaths. I give instances of each:—

"On Monday morning, the 29th of March, 1813, a chimney-sweeper of the name of Griggs, attended to sweep a small chimney in the brewhouse of Messrs. Calvert and Co., in Upper Thames-street; he was accompanied by one of his boys, a lad of about eight years of age, of the name of Thomas Pitt. The fire had been lighted as early as two o'clock the same morning, and was burning on the arrival of Griggs and his little boy at eight: the fire-place was small, and an iron pipe projected from the grate some little distance, into the flue; this the master was acquainted with (having swept the chimneys in the brewhouse for some years) and therefore had a tile or two taken from the roof, in order that the boy might descend the chimney. He had no sooner extinguished the fire than he suffered the lad to go down; and the consequence, as might be expected, was his almost immediate death, in a state, no doubt, of inexpressible agony. The flue was of the narrowest description, and must have retained heat sufficient to have prevented the child's return to the top, even supposing he had not approached the pipe belonging to the grate, which must have been nearly red-hot; this, however, was not clearly ascertained on the inquest, though the appearance of the body would induce an opinion that he had been unavoidably pressed against the pipe. Soon after his descent, the master, who remained on the top, was apprehensive that something had happened, and therefore desired him to come up; the answer of the boy was, 'I cannot come up, master; I must die here.' An alarm was given in the brewhouse, immediately, that he had stuck in the chimney, and a bricklayer who was at work near the spot attended, and after knocking down part of the brickwork of the chimney, just above the fire-place, made a hole sufficiently large to draw him through. A surgeon attended, but all attempts to restore life were ineffectual. On inspecting the body, various burns appeared; the fleshy part of the legs, and a great part of the feet more particularly, were injured; those parts, too, by which climbing boys most effectually ascend or descend chimneys, viz., the elbows and knees, seemed burnt to the bone; from which it must be evident that the unhappy sufferer made some attempts to return as soon as the horrors of his situation became apparent."

"In the improvement made some years since by the Bank of England, in Lothbury, a chimney, belonging to a Mr. Mildrum, a baker, was taken down, but before he began to bake, in order to see that the rest of the flue was clear, a boy was sent up, and after remaining some time, and not answering to the call of his master, another boy was ordered to descend from the top of the flue and to meet him half-way; but this being found impracticable, they opened the brickwork in the lower part of the flue, and found the first-mentioned boy dead. In the mean time the boy in the upper part of the flue called out for relief, saying, he was completely jammed in the rubbish and was unable to extricate himself. Upon this a bricklayer was employed with the utmost expedition, but he succeeded only in obtaining a lifeless body. The bodies were sent to St. Margaret's Church, Lothbury, and a coroner's inquest, which sat upon them, returned the verdict—Accidental Death."

"In the beginning of the year 1808, a chimney-sweeper's boy being employed to sweep a chimney in Marsh-street, Walthamstow, in the house of Mr. Jeffery, carpenter, unfortunately, in his attempt to get down, stuck in the flue and was unable to extricate himself. Mr. Jeffery, being within hearing of the boy, immediately procured assistance. As the chimney was low, and the top of it easily accessible from without, the boy was taken out in about ten minutes, the chimney-pot and several rows of bricks having been previously removed; if he had remained in that dreadful situation many minutes longer, he must have died. His master was sent for, and he arrived soon after the boy had been released; he abused him for the accident, and, after striking him, sent him with a bag of soot to sweep another chimney. The child appeared so very weak when taken out that he could scarcely stand, and yet this wretched being, who had been up ever since three o'clock, had before been sent by his master to Wanstead, which with his walk to Marsh-street made about five miles."

"In May, 1817, a boy employed in sweeping a chimney in Sheffield got wedged fast in one of the flues, and remained in that situation near two hours before he could be extricated, which was at length accomplished by pulling down part of the chimney."

On one occasion a child remained above two hours in some danger in a chimney, rather than

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venture down and encounter his master's anger. The man was held to bail, which he could not procure.

As in the cases I have described (at Messrs. Calvert's, and in Lothbury), the verdict was usually "Accidental Death," or something equivalent.

It was otherwise, however, where wilful cruelty was proven.

The following case was a subject of frequent comment at the time:—

"On Friday, 31st May, 1816, William Moles and Sarah his wife, were tried at the Old Bailey for the wilful murder of John Hewley, alias Haseley, a boy about six years of age, in the month of April last, by cruelly beating him. Under the direction of the learned judge, they were acquitted of the crime of murder, but the husband was detained to take his trial as for a misdemeanor, of which he was convicted upon the fullest evidence, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The facts, as proved in this case, are too shocking in detail to relate: the substance of them is, that he was forced up the chimney on the shoulder of a bigger boy, and afterwards violently pulled down again by the leg and dashed upon a marble hearth; his leg was thus broken, and death ensued in a few hours, and on his body and knees were found scars arising from wounds of a much older date."

This long-continued system of cruelties, of violations of public and private duties, bore and ripened its natural fruits. The climbing boys grew up to be unhealthy, vicious, ignorant, and idle men, for during their apprenticeships their labour was over early in the day, and they often passed away their leisure in gambling in the streets with one another and other children of their stamp, as they frequently had halfpence given to them. They played also at "chuck and toss" with the journeymen, and of course were stripped of every farthing. Thus they became indolent and fond of excitement. When a lad ceased to be an apprentice, although he might be but 16, he was too big to climb, and even if he got employment as a journeyman, his remuneration was wretched, only 2*s.* a week, with his board and lodging. There were, however, far fewer complaints of being insufficiently fed than might have been expected, but the sleeping places were execrable: "They sleep in different places," it was stated, "sometimes in sheds, and sometimes in places which we call barracks (large rooms), or in the cellar (where the soot was kept); some never sleep upon anything that can be called a bed; some do."

Mr. T. Allen, a master sweep for 22 years, gave the Committee the following account of *the men's earnings and* (what may be called) *the General Perquisites of the trade* under the exploded system:—

"If a man be 25 years of age, he has no more than 2*s.* a week; he is not clothed, only fed and lodged in the same manner as the boys. The 2*s.* a week is not sufficient to find him clothes and other necessaries, certainly not; it is hardly enough to find him with shoe-leather, for they walk over a deal of ground in going about the streets. The journeyman is able to live upon those wages, for he gets halfpence given him: supposing he is 16 or 20 years of age, he gets the boys' pence from them and keeps it; and if he happens to get a job for which he receives a 1*s.*, he gets 6*d.* of that, and his master the other 6*d.* The boys' pence are what the boys get after they have been doing their master's work; they get a 1*d.* or so, and the journeyman takes it from them, and 'licks' them if they do not give it up." [These "jobs," after the master's work had been done, were chance jobs, as when a journeyman on his round was called on by a stranger, and unexpectedly, to sweep a chimney. Sometimes, by arrangement of the journeyman and the lad, the proceeds never reached the master's pocket. Sometimes, but rarely, such jobs were the journeyman's rightful perquisite.] "Men," proceeds Mr. Allen, "who are 22 and 23 years of age will play with the young boys and win their money. That is, they get half the money from them by force, and the rest by fraud. They are driven to this course from the low wages which the masters give them, because they have no other means to get anything for themselves, not even the few necessaries which they may want; for even what they want to wash with they must get themselves. As to what becomes of the money the boys get on May-day, when they are in want of clothes, the master will buy them, as check shirts or handkerchiefs. These masters get a share of the money which the boys collect on May-day. The boys have about 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.*; the journeyman has also his share; then the master takes the remainder, which is to buy the boys' clothes and other necessaries, as they say. I cannot exactly tell what the average amount is that a boy will get on the May-day; the most that my boy ever got was 5*s.* But I think that the boys get more than that; I should think they get as much as 9*s.* or 10*s.* apiece. The Christmas-boxes are generally, I believe, divided among themselves (among the boys); but I cannot say rightly. It is spent in buying silk handkerchiefs, or Sunday shoes, I believe; but I am not perfectly sure."

Of the condition and lot of the operatives who were too big to go up chimneys, Mr. J. Fisher, a master-sweeper, gave the following account:— "*They get into a roving way, and go about from one master to another, and they often come to no good end at last.* They sometimes go into the country, and after staying there some time, they come back again; I took a boy of that sort very lately and kept him like my own, and let him go to school; he asked me one Sunday to let him go to school, and I was glad to let him go, and I gave him leave; he accordingly went, and I have seen nothing of him since; before he went he asked me if I would let him come home to see my child buried; I told him to ask his schoolmaster, but he did not come back again. I cannot tell what has become of him; he was to have served me for twelve months. I did not take him

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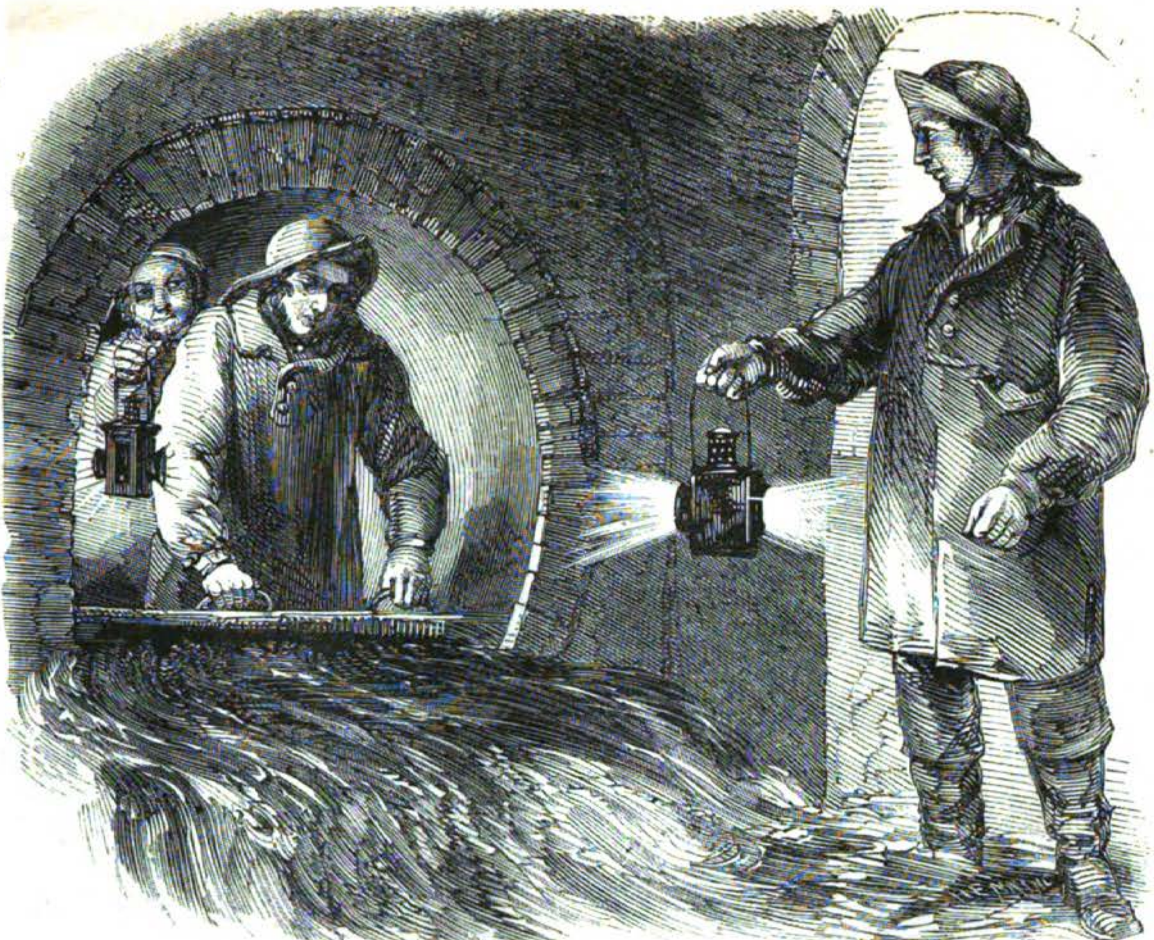

FLUSHING THE SEWERS.

(*Partly from a Daguerreotype by* BEARD, *and partly from a Sketch kindly lent by* MR. WHITING.)

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from the parish; he came to me. He said his parents were dead. *The effect of the roving habit of the large boys when they become too large to climb, is, that they get one with another and learn bad habits from one another; they never will stop long in any one place.* They frequently go into the country and get various places; perhaps they stop a month at each; some try to get masters themselves, and some will get into bad company, which very often happens. *Then they turn thieves, they get lazy, they won't work, and people do not like to employ them lest they should take anything out of their houses. The generality of them never settle in any steady business.* They generally turn loose characters, and people will not employ them lest they should take anything out of the house."

The criminal annals of the kingdom bear out the foregoing account. Some of these boys, indeed, when they attained man's estate, became, in a great measure, through their skill in climbing, expert and enterprising burglars, breaking into places where few men would have cared to venture. One of the most daring feats ever attempted and accomplished was the escape from Newgate by a sweeper about 15 years ago. He climbed by the aid of his knees and elbows a height of nearly 80 feet, though the walls, in the corner of the prison-yard, where this was done, were nearly of an even surface; the slightest slip could not have failed to have precipitated the sweeper to the bottom. He was then under sentence of death for highway robbery.

"His name was Whitehead, and he done a more wonderfuller thing nor that," remarked an informant, who had been his master. "We was sweeping the bilers in a sugar-house, and he went from the biler up the flue of the chimney, it was nearly as high as the Monument, that chimney; I should say it was 30 or 40 feet higher nor the sugar-house. He got out at the top, and slid down the bare brickwork on the outside, on to the roof of the house, got through an attic window in the roof, and managed to get off without any one knowing what became of him. That was the most wonderfullest thing I ever knowed in my life. I don't know how he escaped from being killed, but he was always an oudacious feller. It was nearly three months after afore we found him in the country. I don't know where they sent him to after he was brought back to Newgate, but I hear they made him a turnkey in a prison somewhere, and that he's doing very well now." The feat at the sugar-house could be only to escape from his apprenticeship.

In the course of the whole Parliamentary evidence the sweepers, reared under the old climbing system, are spoken of as a "short-lived" race, but no statistics could be given. Some died old men in middle age, in the workhouses. *Many were mere vagrants at the time of their death.*

I took the statement of a man who had been what he called a "climbing" in his childhood, but as he is now a master-sweeper, and has indeed gone through all grades of the business, I shall give it in my account of the present condition of the sweepers.

Climbing is still occasionally resorted to, especially when repairs are required, "but the climbing boys," I was told, "are now men." These are slight dwarfish men, whose services are often in considerable request, and cannot at all times be commanded, as there are only about twenty of them in London, so effectually has climbing been suppressed. These little men, I was told, did pretty well, not unfrequently getting 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* for a single job.

As regards the *labour question*, during the existence of the climbing boys, we find in the Report the following results:—

The *nominal* wages to the journeymen were 2*s.* a week, with board and lodging. The apprentices received no wages, their masters being only required to feed, lodge, and clothe them.

The *actual* wages were the same as the nominal, with the addition of 1*s.* as perquisites in money. There were other perquisites in liquor or broken meat.

In the Reports are no accounts of the duration of labour throughout the year, nor can I obtain from master-sweepers, who were in the business during the old mode, any sufficient data upon which to found any calculations. The employment, however, seems to have been generally *continuous*, running through the year; though in the course of the twelvemonth one master would have four and another six different journeymen, but only one at a time. The vagrant propensities of the class is a means of accounting for this.

The *nominal* wages of those journeymen who resided in their own apartments were generally 14*s.* a week, and their *actual* about 2*s.* 6*d.* extra in the form of perquisites. Others resided "on the premises," having the care of the boys, with board and lodgings and 5*s.* a week in money *nominally*, and 7*s.* 6*d.* *actually*, the perquisites being worth 2*s.* 6*d.*

Concerning the *general* or average wages of the whole trade, I can only present the following computation.

Mr. Tooke, in his evidence before the House of Commons, stated that the Committee, of which he was a member, had ascertained that one boy on an average swept about four chimneys daily, at prices varying from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, or a medium return of about 10*d.* per chimney, exclusive of the soot, then worth 8*d.* or 9*d.* a bushel. "It appears," he said, "from a datum I have here, that those chimney-sweepers who keep six boys (the greatest number allowed by law) gain, on an average, nearly 270*l.*; five boys, 225*l.*; four boys, 180*l.*; three boys, 135*l.*; two boys, 90*l.*; and one boy 45*l.* (yearly), exclusive of the soot, which is, I should suppose, upon an average, from half a bushel to a bushel every time the chimney is swept."

"Out of the profits you mention," he was then asked, "the master has to maintain the boys?"—"Yes," was the answer, "and when the expenses of house and cellar rent, and the wages of journeymen, and the maintenance of apprentices, are

taken into the account, the number of master chimney-sweepers is not only more than the trade will support, but exceeds, by above one-third, what the public exigency requires. The Committee also ascertained that the 200 master chimney-sweepers in the metropolis were supposed to have in their employment 150 journeymen and 500 boys."

The matter may be reduced to a tabular form, expressing the amount in money—for it is not asserted that the masters generally gained on the charge for their journeymen's board and lodging—as follows:—

EXPENDITURE OF MASTER CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS UNDER THE CLIMBING-BOY SYSTEM.

	Yearly.
20 journeymen at individual wages, 14s. each weekly	£780
30 ditto, say 12s. weekly . .	936
100 ditto, 10s. ditto	2,600
Board, Lodging, and Clothing of 500 boys, 4s. 6d. weekly	5,850
Rent, 20 large traders, 10s. . .	520
Do. 30 others, 7s.	546
Do. 150 do., 3s. 6d.	1,365
20 horses (keep), 10s.	520
General wear and tear	200
	£13,317

It appears that about 180 of the master chimney-sweepers were themselves working men, in the same way as their journeymen.

The following, then, may be taken as the—

YEARLY RECEIPTS OF THE MASTER SWEEPERS UNDER THE CLIMBING-BOY SYSTEM.

	Yearly.
Payment for sweeping 624,000 chimneys (4 daily, according to evidence before Parliament, by each of 500 boys), 10d. per chimney, or yearly	£26,000
Soot (according to same account), say 5d. per chimney	13,000
Total	£39,000
Yearly expenditure	13,317
Yearly profit . .	£25,683

This yielded, then, according to the information submitted to the House of Commons Select Committee, as the profits of the trade prior to 1817, an individual yearly gain to each master sweeper of 128*l.*; but, taking Mr. Tooke's average yearly profit for the six classes of tradesmen, 270*l.*, 225*l.*, 180*l.*, 135*l.*, 90*l.*, and 45*l.* respectively, the individual profit averages above 157*l.*

The capital, I am informed, would not average above two guineas per master sweeper, nothing being wanted beyond a few common sacks, made by the sweepers' wives, and a few brushes. Only about 20 had horses, but barrows were occasionally hired at a busy time.

In the foregoing estimates I have not included any sums for apprentice fees, as I believe there would be something like a balance in the matter, the masters sometimes paying parents such premiums for the use of their children as they received from the parishes for the *tuition* and maintenance of others.

Of the *morals, education, religion, marriage,* &c., of sweepers, under the two systems, I shall speak in another place.

It may be somewhat curious to conclude with a word of the extent of chimneys swept by a climbing boy. One respectable master-sweeper told me that for eleven years he had climbed five or six days weekly. During this period he thought he had swept fifteen chimneys as a week's average, each chimney being at least 40 feet in height; so traversing, in ascending and descending, 686,400 feet, or 130 miles of a world of soot. This, however, is little to what has been done by a climber of 30 years' standing, one of the little men of whom I have spoken. My informant entertained no doubt that this man had, for the first 22 years of his career, climbed half as much again as he himself had; or had traversed 2,059,200 feet of the interior of chimneys, or 390 miles. Since the new Act this man had of course climbed less, but had still been a good deal employed; so that, adding his progresses for the last 9 years to the 22 preceding, he must have swept about 456 miles of chimney interiors.

OF THE CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS OF THE PRESENT DAY.

THE chimney-sweepers of the present day are distinguished from those of old by the use of machines instead of climbing boys, for the purpose of removing the soot from the flues of houses.

The chimney-sweeping machines were first used in this country in the year 1803. They were the invention of Mr. Smart, a carpenter, residing at the foot of Westminster-bridge, Surrey. On the earlier trials of the machine (which was similar to that used at present, and which I shall shortly describe), it was pronounced successful in 99 cases out of 100, according to some accounts, but failing where sharp angles occurred in the flue, which arrested its progress.

"Means have been suggested," said Mr. Tooke, formerly mentioned, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, "for obviating that difficulty by fixed apparatus at the top of the flue with a jack-chain and pulley, by which a brush could be worked up and down, or it could be done as is customary abroad, as I have repeatedly seen it at Petersburgh, and heard of its being done universally on the Continent, by letting down a bullet with a brush attached to it from the top; but to obviate the inconvenience, which is considerable, from persons going upon the roof of a house, Mr. John White, junior, an eminent surveyor, has suggested the expediency of putting iron shutters or registers to each flue, in the roof or cockloft of each house; by opening which, and working the machine upwards and downwards, or letting down the bullet, which is the most compendious manner, the chimney will be most effectually cleansed; and, by its aperture at bottom being kept well closed, it would be done with

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the least possible dirt and inconvenience to the family."

The society for the supersedence of the labour of climbing boys promoted the adoption of the machines by all the means in their power, presenting the new instrument gratuitously to several master sweepers who were too poor to purchase it. Experiments were made and duly published as to the effectual manner in which the chimneys at Guildhall, the Mansion House, the then new Custom House, Dulwich College, and in other public edifices, had been cleansed by the machine. But these statements seem to have produced little effect. People thought, perhaps, that the mechanical means which might very well cleanse the chimneys of large public buildings—and it was said that the chimneys of the Custom House were built with a view to the use of the machine—might not be so serviceable for the same purposes in small private dwellings. Experiments continued to be made, often in the presence of architects, of the more respectable sweepers, and of ladies and gentlemen who took a philanthropic interest in the question, between the years 1803 and 1817, but with little influence upon the general public, for in 1817 Mr. Smart supposed that there were but 50 or 60 machines in general use in the metropolis, and those, it appeared from the evidence of several master sweepers, were used chiefly in gentlemen's houses, many of those gentlemen having to be authoritative with their servants, who, if not controlled, always preferred the services of the climbing boys. Most servants had perquisites from the master sweepers, in the largest and most profitable ways of business, and they seemed to fear the loss of those perquisites if any change took place.

The opposition in Parliament, and in the general indifference of the people, to the efforts of "the friends of the climbing boy" to supersede his painful labours by the use of machinery, was formidable enough, but that of the servants appears to have been more formidable still. Mr. Smart showed this in his explanations to the Committee. The whole result of his experience was that servants set their faces against the introduction of the machine, grumbling if there were not even the appearance of dirt on the furniture after its use. "The first winter I went out with this machine," said Mr. Smart, "I went to Mr. Burke's in Tokenhouse Yard, who was a friend of mine, with a man to sweep the chimneys, and after waiting above an hour in a cold morning, the housekeeper came down quite in a rage, that we should presume to ring the bell or knock at the door; and when we got admittance, she swore she wished the machine and the inventor at the devil; she did not know me. We swept all the chimneys, and when we had done I asked her what objection she had to it now; she said, a very serious one, that if there was a thing by which a servant could get any emolument, some d——d invention was sure to take it away from them, for that she received perquisites."

This avowal of Mr. Burke's housekeeper, as brusque as it was honest, is typical of the feelings of the whole class of servants.

The opposition in Parliament, as I have intimated, continued. One noble lord informed the House of Peers that he had been indisposed of late and had sought the aid of calomel, the curative influence of which had pervaded every portion of his frame; and that it as far surpassed the less searching powers of other medicines, as the brush of the climbing boy in cleansing every nook and corner of the chimney, surpassed all the power of the machinery, which left the soot unpurged from those nooks and corners.

The House of Commons, however, had expressed its conviction that as long as master chimney-sweepers were permitted to employ climbing boys, the natural result of that permission would be the continuance of those miseries which the Legislature had sought, but which it had failed, to put an end to; and they therefore recommended that the use of climbing boys should be prohibited altogether; and that the age at which the apprenticeship should commence should be extended from eight to fourteen, putting this trade upon the same footing as others which took apprentices at that age.

This resolution became law in 1829. The employment of climbing boys in any manner in the interior of chimneys was prohibited under penalties of fine and imprisonment; and it was enacted that the new measure should be carried into effect in three years, so giving the master sweepers that period of time to complete their arrangements. During the course of the experiments and inquiry, the sweepers, as a body, seem to have thrown no obstacles, or very few and slight obstacles, in the way of the "Committee to promote the Superseding of the Labour of Climbing Boys;" while the most respectable of the class, or the majority of the respectable, aided the efforts of the Committee.

This manifestation of public feeling probably modified the opposition of the sweepers, and unquestionably influenced the votes of members of Parliament. The change in the operations of the chimney-sweeping business took place in 1832, as quietly and unnoticedly as if it were no change at all.

The machine now in use differs little from that invented by Mr. Smart, the first introduced, but lighter materials are now used in its manufacture. It has not been found necessary, however, to complicate its use with the jack-chain and pulley, and bullet with a brush attached, and the iron shutters or registers in the roof or cockloft, of which Mr. Tooke spoke.

The machine is formed of a series of hollow rods, made of a supple cane, bending and not breaking in any sinuosity of the flues. This cane is made of the same material as gentlemen's walking-sticks. The first machines were made of wood, and were liable to be broken; and to enable the sweeps on such occasions to recover the broken part, a strong line ran from bottom to top through the centre of the sticks, which were bored for the purpose, and strung on this cord. The cane machine, however, speedily and effectually superseded these imperfect instruments; and there are now none of them to be met with. To

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the top tube of the machine is attached the "brush," called technically "the head," of elastic whalebone spikes, which "give" and bend, in accordance with the up or down motion communicated by the man working the machine, so sweeping what was described to me as "both ways," up and down.

Some of these rods, which fit into one another by means of brass screws, are 4 feet 6 inches long, and diminish in diameter to suit their adjustment. Some rods are but 3 feet 6 inches long, and 4 feet is the full average length; while the average price at the machine maker's is 2*s.* 6*d.* a rod, if bought separately. The head costs 10*s.*, on an average, if bought separately. It is seldom that a machine is required to number beyond 17 rods (extending 68 feet), and the better class of sweepers are generally provided with 17 rods. The cost of the entire machine, for every kind of chimney-work, when purchased new, as a whole, is, when of good quality, from 30*s.* to 5*l.*, according to the number of rods, duplicate rods, &c. Mr. Smart stated, in 1817, that the average price of one of his machines was then 2*l.* 3*s.*

The sweepers who labour chiefly in the poorer localities—and several told me how indifferent many people in those parts were as to their chimneys being swept at all—rarely use a machine to extend beyond 40 feet, or one composed of 10 or 11 rods; but some of the inferior class of sweepers buy of those in a superior way of trade worn machines, at from a third to a half of the prime cost. These machines they trim up themselves. One portion of the work, however, they cannot repair or renew—the broken or worn-out brass screws of the rods, which they call the "ferules." These, when new, are 1*s.* each. There were, when the machine-work was novel, I was informed, street-artizans who went about repairing these screws or ferules; but their work did not please the chimney-sweepers, and this street-trade did not last above a year or two.

The rods of the machine, when carefully attended to, last a long time. One man told me that he was still working some rods which he had worked since 1842 (nine years), with occasional renewal of the ferules. The head is either injured or worn down in about two years; if not well made at first, in a year. The diameter of this head or brush is, on the average, 18 inches. One of my informants had himself swept a chimney of 80 feet, and one of his fellow-workers had said that he once swept a chimney of 120 feet high; in both cases by means of the machine. My informant, however, thought such a feat as the 120-feet sweep was hardly possible, as only one man's strength can be applied to the machine; and he was of opinion that no man's muscular powers would be sufficient to work a machine at a height of 120 feet. The labour is sometimes very severe; "enough," one strongly-built man told me, "to make your arms, head, and heart ache."

The old-fashioned chimneys are generally 12 by 14 inches in their dimensions in the interior; and for the thorough sweeping of such chimneys—the opinion of all the sweepers I saw according on the subject—a head (it is rarely called brush in the trade) of 18 inches diameter is insufficient, yet they are seldom used larger. One intelligent master sweeper, speaking from his own knowledge, told me that in the neighbourhood where he worked numbers of houses had been built since the introduction of the machines, and the chimneys were only 9 inches square, as regards the interior; the smaller flues are sometimes but 7. These 9-inch chimneys, he told me, were frequent in "scamped" houses, houses got up at the lowest possible rate by speculating builders. This was done because the brickwork of the chimneys costs more than the other portions of the masonry, and so the smaller the dimensions of the chimneys the less the cost of the edifice. The machines are sometimes as much crippled in this circumscribed space as they are found of insufficient dimensions in the old-fashioned chimneys; and so the "scamped" chimney, unless by a master having many "heads," is not so cleanly swept as it might be. Chimneys not built in this manner are now usually 9 inches by 14.

In cleansing a chimney with the machine the sweep stands by, or rather in, the fire-place, having first attached a sort of curtain to the mantle to confine the soot to one spot, the operator standing inside this curtain. He first introduces the "head," attached to its proper rod, into the chimney, "driving" it forward, then screws on the next rod, and so on, until the head has been driven to the top of the chimney. The soot which has fallen upon the hearth, within the curtain, is collected into a sack or sacks, and is carried away on the men's backs, and occasionally in carts. The whalebone spikes of the head are made to extend in every direction, so that when it is moved no part of the chimney, if the surface be even, escapes contact with these spikes, if the work be carefully done, as indeed it generally is; for the cleaner the chimney is swept of course the greater amount of soot adds to the profit of the sweeper. One man told me that he thought he had seen in some old big chimneys, a long time unswept, more soot brought down by the machine than, under similar circumstances as to the time the chimney had remained uncleansed, would have been done by the climbing boy.

All the master sweepers I saw concurred in the opinion that the machine was *not* in all respects so effective a sweeper as the climbing boy, as it does not reach the recesses, nooks, crannies, or holes in the chimney, where the soot remains little disturbed by the present process. This want is felt the most in the cleansing of the old-fashioned chimneys, especially in the country.

Mr. Cook, in 1817, stated to the Committee that the cleansing of a chimney by a boy or by a machine occupied the same space of time; but I find the general opinion of the sweepers now to be that it is only the small and straight chimneys which can be swept with as great celerity by a machine as by a climber; in all others the lad was quicker by about 5 minutes in 30, or in that proportion.

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I heard sweepers represent that the passing of the Act of Parliament not only deprived them in many instances of the unexpired term of a boy's apprenticeship in his services as a climber, but "threw open the business to any one." The business, however, it seems, was always "open to any one." There was no art nor mystery in it, as regarded the functions of the master; any one could send a boy up a chimney, and collect and carry away the soot he brought down, quite as readily and far more easily than he can work a machine. Nevertheless, men under the old system could hardly (and some say they were forbidden to) embark in this trade unless they had been apprenticed to it; for they were at a loss how to possess themselves of climbing boys, and how to make a connection. When the machines were introduced, however, a good many persons who were able to "raise the price" of one started in the line on their own account. These men have been called by the old hands "leeks" or "green 'uns," to distinguish them from the regularly-trained men, who pride themselves not a little on the fact of their having served seven or eight years, "duly and truly," as they never fail to express it. This increase of fresh hands tended to lower the earnings of the class; and some masters, who were described to me as formerly very "comfortable," and some, comparatively speaking, rich, were considerably reduced by it. The number of "leeks" in 1832 I heard stated, with the exaggeration to which I have been accustomed when uninformed men, ignorant of the relative value of numbers, have expressed their opinions, as 1000!

The several classes in the chimney-sweeping trade may be arranged as follows:—

The *Master Chimney-Sweepers*, called sometimes "Governors" by the journeymen, are divisible into three kinds:—

The "large" or "high masters," who employ from 2 to 10 men and 2 boys, and keep sometimes 2 horses and a cart, not particularly for the conveyance of the soot, but to go into the country to a gentleman's house to fulfil orders.

The "small" or "low masters," who employ, on an average, two men, and sometimes but one man and a boy, without either horse or cart.

The "single-handed master-men," who employ neither men nor boys, but do all the work themselves.

Of these three classes of masters there are two subdivisions.

The "leeks" or "green-uns," that is to say, those who have not regularly served their time to the trade.

The "knullers" or "queriers," that is to say, those who solicit custom in an irregular manner, by knocking at the doors of houses and such like.

Of the competition of capitalists in this trade there are, I am told, no instances. "We have our own stations," one master sweeper said, "and if I contract to sweep a genelman's house, here in Pancras, for 25*s.* a year, or 10*s.*, or anythink, my nearest neighbour, as has men and machines fit, is in Marrybun; and it wouldn't pay to send his men a mile and a half, or on to two mile, and work at what I can—let alone less. No, sir, I 've known bisness nigh 20 year, and there 's nothink in the way of that underworking. The poor creeturs as keeps theirselves with a machine, and nothing to give them a lift beyond it, *they'd* undertake work at any figure, but nobody employs or can trust to them, but on chance." The contracts, I am told, for a year's chimney-sweeping in any mansion are on the same terms with one master as with another.

As regards the *Journeymen Chimney-Sweepers* there are also three kinds:—

The "foreman" or "first journeyman" sweeper, who accompanies the men to their work, superintends their labours, and receives the money, when paid immediately after sweeping.

The "journeyman" sweeper, whose duty it is to work the machine, and (where no under-journeyman, or boy, is kept) to carry the machine and take home the soot.

The "under-journeyman" or "boy," who has to carry the machine, take home the soot, and work the machine up the lower-class flues.

There are, besides these, some 20 climbing men, who ascend such flues as the machines cannot cleanse effectually, and, it must, I regret to say, be added, some 20 to 30 climbing boys, mostly under eleven years of age, who are still used for the same purpose "on the sly." Many of the masters, indeed, lament the change to machine-sweeping, saying that their children, who are now useless, would, in "the good old times," have been worth a pound a week to them. It is in the suburbs that these climbing children are mostly employed.

The *hours of labour* are from the earliest morning till about midday, and sometimes later.

There are *no Houses of Call*, trade societies, or regulations among these operatives, but there are low public-houses to which they resort, and where they can always be heard of.

When a chimney-sweeper is out of work he merely inquires of others in the same line of business, who, if they know of any one that wants a journeyman, direct their brother sweeper to call and see the master; but though the chimney-sweepers have no trade societies, some of the better class belong to sick, and others to burial, funds. The lower class of sweepers, however, seem to have no resource in sickness, or in their utmost need, but the parish. There are sweepers, I am told, in every workhouse in London.

There are three *modes of payment common* among the sweepers:—

1, in money;

2, partly in money and partly in kind; and

3, by perquisites.

The great majority of the masters pay the men they employ from 2*s.* to 3*s.*, and a few 4*s.* and 6*s.* per week, together with their board and lodging. It may seem that 3*s.* per week is a small sum, but it was remarked to me that there are few working men who, after supporting themselves, are able to save that sum weekly, while the sweepers have many perquisites of one sort or

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other, which sometimes bring them in 1s., 2s., 3s., 4s., and occasionally 5s. or 6s., a week additional —a sufficient sum to pay for clothes and washing. The journeymen, when lodged in the house of the master, are single men, and if constantly employed might, perhaps, do well, but they are often unemployed, especially in the summer, when there are not so many fires kept burning. As soon as one of them gets married, or what among them is synonymous, "takes up with a woman," which they commonly do when they are able to purchase some sort of a machine, they set up for themselves, and thus a great number of the men get to be masters on their own account, without being able to employ any extra hands. These are generally reckoned among the "knullers;" they do but little business at first, for the masters long established in a neighbourhood, who are known to the people, and have some standing, are almost always preferred to those who are strangers or mere beginners.

It was very common, but perhaps more common in country towns than in London, for the journeymen, as well as apprentices, in this and many other trades to live at the master's table. But the board and lodging supplied, in lieu of money-wages, to the journeymen sweepers, seems to be one of the few existing instances of such a practice in London. Among slop-working tailors and shoemakers, some unfortunate workmen are boarded and lodged by their employers, but these employers are merely middlemen, who gain their living by serving such masters as "do not like to drive their negroes themselves." But among the sweepers there are no middlemen.

It is not all the journeymen sweepers, however, who are remunerated after this manner, for many receive 12s., and some 14s., and not a few 18s. weekly, besides perquisites, but reside at their own homes.

Apprenticeship is now not at all common among the sweepers, as no training to the business is needed. Lord Shaftesbury, however, in July last, gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill to prevent persons who had not been duly apprenticed to the business establishing themselves as sweepers.

The Perquisites of the journeymen sweepers are for measuring, arranging, and putting the soot sold into the purchasers' sacks, or carts; for this is considered extra work. The payment of this perquisite seems to be on no fixed scale, some having 1s. for 50, and some for 100 bushels. When a chimney is on fire and a journeyman sweeper is employed to extinguish it, he receives from 1s. 6d. to 5s. according to the extent of time consumed and the risk of being injured. "Chance sweeping," or the sweeping of a chimney not belonging to a customer, when a journeyman has completed his regular round, ensures him 3d. in some employments, but in fewer than was once the case. The beer-money given by any customer to a journeyman is also his perquisite. Where a foreman is kept, the "brieze," or cinders collected from the grate, belong to him, and the ashes belong to the journeyman; but where there is no foreman, the brieze and ashes belong to the journeyman solely. These they sell to the poor at the rate of 6d. a bushel. I am told by experienced men that, all these matters considered, it may be stated that one-half of the journeymen in London have perquisites of 1s. 6d., the other half of 2s. 6d. a week.

The Nominal Wages to the journeymen, then, are from 12s. to 18s. weekly, without board and lodging, or from 2s. to 6s. in money, with board and lodging, represented as equal to 7s.

The Actual Wages are 2s. 6d. a week more in the form of perquisites, and perhaps 4d. daily in beer or gin.

The wages to the boys are mostly 1s. a week, but many masters pay 1s. 6d. to 2s., with board and lodging. These boys have no perquisites, except such bits of broken victuals as are given to them at houses where they go to sweep.

The wages of the foreman are generally 18s. per week, but some receive 14s. and some 20s. without board and lodging. In one case, where the foreman is kept by the master, only 2s. 6d. in money is given to him weekly. The perquisites of these men average from 4s. to 5s. a week.

The work in the chimney-sweeping trade is more regular than might at first be supposed. The sweepers whose circumstances enable them to employ journeymen send them on regular rounds, and do not engage "chance" hands. If business is brisk, the men and the master, when a working man himself, work later than ordinary, and sometimes another hand is put on and paid the customary amount, by the week, until the briskness ceases; but this is a rare occurrence. There are, however, strong lads, or journeymen out of work, who are *occasionally* employed in "*jobbing*," helping to carry the soot and such like.

The labour of the journeymen, as regards the payment by their masters, is *continuous*, but the men are often discharged for drunkenness, or for endeavouring to "form a connection of their own" among their employers' customers, and new hands are then put on. "Chimneys won't wait, you know, sir," was said to me, "and if I quit a hand this week, there's another in his place next. If I discharge a hand for three months in a slack time, I have two on when it's a busy time." Perhaps the average employment of the whole body of operatives may be taken at nine months' work in the year. When out of employment the chief resource of these men is in night-work; some turn street-sellers and bricklayers' labourers.

I am told that a considerable sum of money was left for the purpose of supplying every climbing-boy who called on the first of May at a certain place, with a shilling and some refreshment, but I have not been able to ascertain by whom it was left, or where it was distributed; none of the sweepers with whom I conversed knew anything about it. I also heard, that since the passing of the Act, the money has been invested in some securities or other, and is now accumulating, but to what purpose it is intended to be applied I have no means of learning.

Let us now endeavour to estimate the gross yearly income of the operative sweepers.

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There are, then, 399 men employed as journeymen, and of them 147 receive a money wage weekly from their masters, and reside with their parents or at their own places. The remaining 252 are boarded and lodged. This board and lodging are generally computed, as under the old system, to represent 8*s.*, being 1*s.* a day for board and 1*s.* a week for lodging. But, on the average, the board does not cost the masters 7*s.* a week, but, as I shall afterwards show, barely 6*s.*

The men and boys may be said to be all fully employed for nine months in the year; some, of course, are at work all the year through, but others get only six months' employment in the twelve months; so that taking nine months as the average, we have the following table of

WAGES PAID TO THE OPERATIVE SWEEPERS OF LONDON.

				Money wages for nine months. £	s.	d.	Value of board and lodging for nine months estimated at 7*s.* a week. £	s.	d.
	JOURNEYMEN. *Without board and lodging.*								
30	Journeymen employed by	3 masters, at	18*s.* per week	1053	0	0			
14	" "	5 "	16*s.* "	436	16	0			
6	" "	3 "	15*s.* "	175	10	0			
27	" "	8 "	14*s.* "	737	2	0			
63	" "	23 "	12*s.* "	1474	4	0			
7	" "	3 "	10*s.* "	136	10	0			
147		45		4013	2	0			
	With board and lodging.								
3	Journeymen employed by	1 master, at	8*s.* 0*d.* per week	46	16	0	40	19	0
17	" "	5 "	6*s.* 0*d.* "	198	18	0	232	1	0
1	" "	1 "	5*s.* 0*d.* "	9	15	0	13	13	0
41	" "	14 "	4*s.* 0*d.* "	319	16	0	559	13	0
3	" "	1 "	3*s.* 6*d.* "	20	9	6	40	19	0
80	" "	39 "	3*s.* 0*d.* "	468	0	0	1092	0	0
53	" "	26 "	2*s.* 6*d.* "	258	7	6	723	9	0
44	" "	31 "	2*s.* 0*d.* "	171	12	0	600	9	8
8	" "	4 "	1*s.* 6*d.* "	234	0	0	109	4	0
2	" "	1 "	1*s.* 0*d.* "	3	18	0	27	6	0
252		123		1731	12	0	3439	13	8
	FOREMEN. *Without board and lodging.*								
2	Foremen employed by	1 master, at	20*s.* per week	78	0	0			
6	" "	4 "	18*s.* "	210	12	0			
1	" "	1 "	16*s.* "	31	4	0			
2	" "	2 "	14*s.* "	54	12	0			
11		8		374	8	0			
	With board and lodging.								
1	" "	1 "	2*s.* 6*d.* "	4	17	6	13	13	0
	BOYS. *Without board and lodging.*								
2	Boys employed by	1 master, at	10*s.* per week	39	0	0	Board and lodging estimated at 6*s.* a week.		
	With board and lodging.								
1	" "	1 "	3*s.* 0*d.* "	5	17	0	11	14	0
1	" "	1 "	2*s.* 6*d.* "	4	17	6	11	14	0
9	" "	8 "	2*s.* 0*d.* "	35	2	0	105	6	0
14	" "	14 "	1*s.* 6*d.* "	40	19	0	163	16	0
30	" "	28 "	1*s.* 0*d.* "	58	10	0	351	0	0
1	" "	1 "	0*s.* 9*d.* "	1	9	3	11	14	0
4	" "	2 "	0*s.* 0*d.* "				46	16	0
62		54		146	14	9	702	0	0
	Total earnings			6309	14	3			
	Total for board, lodging, &c.			4155	6	8			
	Grand Total			10,465	0	11			

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Thus we find that the *constant* or *average casual* wages of the several classes of operative chimney-sweepers may be taken as follows:—

	s.	d.
Journeymen without board and lodging, and with perquisites averaging 2s. a week	12	6
Journeymen with board and lodging and 2s. a week perquisites	9	10½
Foreman, without board and lodging, at 2s. 6d. a week perquisites	15	7
Boys, with board and lodging	5	3

The *general* wages of the trade, including foreman, journeymen, and boys, and calculating the perquisites to average 2s. weekly, will be 10s. 6d. a week, the same as the cotton factory operatives.

But if 10,500*l.* be the income of the operatives, what do the employers receive who have to pay this sum?

The charge for sweeping one of the lofty chimneys in the public and official edifices, and in the great houses in the aristocratic streets and squares, is 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.

The chimneys of moderate-sized houses are swept at 1s. to 1s. 6d. each, and those of the poorer classes are charged generally 6d.; some, however, are swept at 3d. and 4d.; and when soot realized a higher price (some of the present master sweepers *have* sold it at 1s. a bushel), the chimneys of poor persons were swept by the poorer class of sweeps merely for the perquisite of the soot. This is sometimes done even now, but to a very small extent, by a sweeper, "on his own hook," and in want of a job, but generally with an injunction to the person whose chimney has been cleansed on such easy terms, not to mention it, as it "couldn't be made a practice on."

Estimating the number of houses belonging to the wealthy classes of society to be 54,000, and these to be swept eight times a year, and the charge for sweeping to be 2s. 6d. each time; and the number of houses belonging to the middle classes to be 90,000, and each to be swept four times a year, at 1s. 6d. each time; and the dwellings of the poor and labouring classes to be swept once a year at 6d. each time, and the number of such dwellings to be 165,000, we find that the total sum paid to the master chimney-sweepers of London is, in round numbers, 85,000*l.*

The sum obtained for 800,000 bushels of soot collected by the master-sweepers from the houses of London, at 5d. per bushel, is 16,500*l.*

Thus the total annual income of the master-sweepers of London is 100,000*l.*

Out of this 100,000*l.* per annum, the expenses of the masters would appear to be as follows:—

Yearly Expenditure of the Master-Sweepers.

Sum paid in wages to 473 journeymen	£10,500
Rent, &c., of 350 houses or lodgings, at 12*l.* yearly each	4,200
Wear and tear of 1000 machines, 1*l.* each yearly	1,000
Ditto 2000 sacks, at 1s. each yearly	100
Keep of 25 horses, 7s. weekly each	£455
Wear and tear of 25 carts and harness, 1*l.* each	25
Interest on capital at 10 per cent.	450
Total yearly expenditure of master-sweepers employing journeymen	£16,736

The rent here given may seem low at 12*l.* a year, but many of the chimney-sweepers live in parlours, with cellars below, in old out-of-the-way places, at a low rental, in Stepney, Shadwell, Wapping, Bethnal-green, Hoxton, Lock's-fields, Walworth, Newington, Islington, Somers-town, Paddington, &c. The better sort of master-sweepers at the West-end often live in a mews.

The gains, then, of the master sweepers are as under:—

Annual income for cleansing chimneys and soot	£100,000
Expenditure for wages, rent, wear, and tear, keep of horses, &c., say	20,000
Annual profit of master chimney-sweepers of London	£80,000

This amount of profit, divided among 350 masters, gives about 230*l.* per annum to each individual; it is only by a few, however, that such a sum is realized, as in the 100,000*l.* paid by the London public to the sweepers' trade, is included the sum received by the men who work single-handed, "on their own hook," as they say, employing no journeymen. Of these men's earnings, the accounts I heard from themselves and the other master sweepers were all accordant, that they barely made journeymen's wages. They have the very worst-paid portion of the trade, receiving neither for their sweeping nor their soot the prices obtained by the better masters; indeed they very frequently sell their soot to their more prosperous brethren. Their general statement is, that they make "eighteen pence a day, and all told." Their receipts then, and they have no perquisites as have the journeymen, are, in a slack time, about 1s. a day (and some days they do not get a job); but in the winter they are busier, as it is then that sweepers are employed by the poor; and at that period the "master-men" may make from 15s. to 20s. a week each; so that, I am assured, the average of their weekly takings may be estimated at 12s. 6d.

Now, deducting the expenditure from the receipts of 100,000*l.* (for sweeping and soot), the balance, as we have seen, is 80,000*l.*, an amount of profit which, if equally divided among the three classes of the trade, will give the following sums:—

	Yearly, each. £	s.	Yearly, total. £
Profits of 150 single-handed master-men	32	10	4,940
Do. 92 small masters	200	0	18,400
Do. 106 large masters	500	0	53,000
			£76,340

Nor is this estimate of the masters' profits, I

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am assured, extravagant. One of the smaller sweepers, but a prosperous man in his way, told me that he knew a master sweeper who was "as rich as Crœser, had bought houses, and could not write his own name."

We have now but to estimate the amount of capital invested in the chimney-sweepers' trade, and then to proceed to the characteristics of the men.

	£
1200 machines, 2*l*. 10*s*. each (present average value)	3000
3000 sacks, 2*s*. 6*d*. each	385
25 horses, 20*l*. each	500
25 sets of harness, 2*l*. each	50
25 carts, 12*l*. each	300
	£4235

It may be thought that the sweepers will require the services of more than 25 horses, but I am assured that such is not the case as regards the soot business, for the soot is carted away from the sweepers' premises by the farmer or other purchaser.

It would appear, then, that the facts of the chimney-sweepers' trade are briefly as under:—

The gross quantity of soot collected yearly throughout London is 800,000 bushels. The value of this, sold as manure, at 5*d*. per bushel, is 16,500*l*.

There are 800 to 900 people employed in the trade, 200 of whom are masters employing journeymen, 150 single-handed master-men, and 470 journeymen and under journeymen.

The annual income of the entire number of journeymen is 10,500*l*. without perquisites, or 13,000*l*. with, which gives an average weekly wage to the operatives of 10*s*. 6*d*.

The annual income of the masters and leeks is, for sweeping and soot, 100,000*l*.

The annual expenditure of the masters for rent, keep of horses, wear and tear, and wages, is 20,000*l*.

The gross annual profit of the 350 masters is 80,000*l*., which is at the rate of about 35*l*. per annum to each of the single-handed men, 200*l*. to each of the smaller masters employing journeymen, and 500*l*. to each of the larger masters.

The capital of the trade is about 5000*l*.

The price charged by the "high master sweepers" for cleaning the flues of a house rented at 150*l*. a year and upwards, is from 1*s*. to 3*s*. 6*d*. (the higher price being paid for sweeping those chimneys which have a hot plate affixed). A small master, on the other hand, will charge from 1*s*. to 3*s*. for the same kind of work, while a single-handed man seldom gets above "a 2*s*. job," and that not very often. The charge for sweeping the flues of a house rented at from 50*l*. to 150*l*. a year, is from 9*d*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. by a large master, and from 8*d*. to 2*s*. by a small master, while a single-handed man will take the job at from 6*d*. to 1*s*. 6*d*. The price charged per flue for a house rented at from 20*l*. a year up to 50*l*. a year, will average 6*d*. a flue, charged by large masters, 4*d*. by small masters, and from 2*d*. to 3*d*. by the single-handed sweepers in some cases; indeed, the poorest class will sweep a flue for the soot only. But the prices charged for sweeping chimneys differ in the different parts of the metropolis. I subjoin a list of the maximum and minimum charge for the several districts.

District	d.		s.	d.
Kensington and Hammersmith	4	to	3	0
Westminster	3	,,	2	0
Chelsea	4	,,	2	6
St. George's, Hanover-sq.	6	,,	3	6
St. Martin's and St. Ann's	4	,,	2	6
St. James's, Westminster	3	,,	2	6
Marylebone	4	,,	2	6
Paddington	3	,,	2	0
Hampstead	3	,,	1	6
St. Pancras	4	,,	3	0
Islington	3	,,	1	6
Hackney and Homerton	3	,,	2	0
St. Giles's and St. George's, Bloomsbury	3	,,	3	0
Strand	4	,,	2	6
Holborn	4	,,	2	6
Clerkenwell	3	,,	1	6
St. Luke's	3	,,	1	0
East London	3	,,	1	6
West London	4	,,	2	6
London City	6	to	2	6
Shoreditch	3	,,	1	0
Bethnal Green	3	,,	1	0
Whitechapel	4	,,	1	6
St. George's in the East and Limehouse	3	,,	1	0
Stepney	3	,,	1	6
Poplar	4	,,	2	0
St. George's, St. Olave's, and St. Saviour's, Southwark	3	,,	1	6
Bermondsey	3	,,	0	9
Walworth and Newington	4	,,	1	6
Wandsworth	4	,,	1	6
Lambeth	3	,,	1	0
Camberwell	4	,,	2	0
Clapham, Brixton, and Tooting	4	,,	2	6
Rotherhithe	3	,,	1	6
Greenwich	3	,,	1	6
Woolwich	3	,,	2	6
Lewisham	6	,,	3	0

N.B.—The single-handed and the knullers generally charge a penny less than the prices above given.

There are three different kinds of soot:—the best is produced purely from coal; the next in value is that which proceeds from the combustion of vegetable refuse along with the coal, as in cases where potato peelings, cabbage leaves, and the like, are burnt in the fires of the poorer classes; while the soot produced from wood fires is, I am told, scarcely worth carriage. Wood-soot, however, is generally mixed with that from coal, and sold as the superior kind.

Not only is there a difference in value in the various kinds of soot, but there is also a vast difference in the weight. A bushel of pure coal soot will not weigh above four pounds; that produced from the combustion of coal and vegetable refuse will weigh nearly thrice as much; while that from wood fires is, I am assured, nearly ten times heavier than from coal.

I have not heard that the introduction of free trade has had any influence on the value of soot, or in reducing the wages of the operatives. The same wages are paid to the operatives whether soot sells at a high or low price.

Of the General Characteristics of the Working Chimney-Sweepers.

There are many reasons why the chimney-sweepers have ever been a distinct and peculiar class. They have long been looked down upon as the lowest order of workers, and treated with contumely by those who were but little better than themselves. The peculiar nature of their work giving them not only a filthy appearance, but an offensive smell, of itself, in a manner, prohibited them from associating with other working men; and the natural effect of such proscrip-

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A TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MASTER CHIMNEY SWEEPERS RESIDING IN THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS OF THE METROPOLIS, THE NUMBER OF FOREMEN, OF JOURNEYMEN, AND UNDER JOURNEYMEN EMPLOYED IN EACH DISTRICT DURING THE YEAR, AS WELL AS THE WEEKLY WAGES OF EACH CLASS.

Districts.	No. of Master Sweepers in each District.	No. of Foremen employed.	No. of Journeymen employed in the brisk season.	No. of Journeymen employed in the slack season.	No. of Under Journeymen, or Boys, employed.	No. of Bushels of Soot collected Weekly.	Weekly Wages of each Foreman.	Weekly Wages of each Journeyman.	Weekly Wages of each Under Journeyman.
West Districts.									
Kensington and Hammersmith.	11	2	25	16	2	695	18*s.*	7 at 16*s.* 6 „ 15*s.* 10 „ 14*s.* 1 „ 12*s.*	10*s.*
Westminster	13	1	26	18	1	735	14*s.*	5 at 18*s.* 10 „ 12*s.* 3 „ 4*s.* } *b* 4 „ 3*s.* } *b* 4 „ 2*s.* } *b*	3*s.* *b*
Chelsea	22	...	13	11	2	670	...	1 „ 16*s.* 3 „ 12*s.* 4 „ 10*s.* 3 „ 3*s.* } *b* 1 „ 2*s.* 6*d* } *b* 1 „ 2*s.* } *b*	1 at 2*s.* *b* 1 *e*
St. George's, Hanover-sq.	10	5	27	25	...	890	4 at 18*s.* 1 „ 16*s.*	5 at 18*s.* 3 „ 16*s.* 2 „ 15*s.* 9 „ 14*s.* 7 „ 12*s.* 1 „ 6*s.* *b*	......
St. Martin's and St. Ann's	9	...	16	15	1	415	...	7 at 6*s.* } *b* 6 „ 4*s.* } *b* 2 „ 3*s.* } *b*	2*s.* *b*
St. James's, Westminster	7	1	9	6	...	355	14*s.*	5 at 12*s.* 1 „ 10*s.* 1 at 3*s.* 6*d.* *b*	......
North Districts.									
Marylebone	18	...	21	16	...	775	...	18*s.*	......
Paddington	10	1	17	10	3	495	18*s.*	1 at 14*s.* 1 „ 10*s.* 2 „ 4*s.* } *b* 8 „ 3*s.* 6*d* } *b* 1 „ 2*s.* 6*d* } *b* 2 „ 1*s.* } *b*	2 at 2*s.* } *b* 1 „ 1*s.* 6*d* } *b*
Hampstead	2	...	2	2	2	60	...	1 at 3*s.* } *b* 1 „ 2*s.* } *b*	1 at 1*s* 6*d* } *b* 1 „ 1*s.* } *b*
Islington	9	...	13	12	3	425	...	3 at 4*s.* } *b* 2 „ 3*s.* } *b*	1*s.* 6*d.* *b*
St. Pancras	18	...	33	21	6	920	...	2 at 14*s.* 6 „ 12*s.* 4 „ 10*s.* 6 „ 4*s.* } *b* 3 „ 3*s*6*d* } *b* 11 „ 3*s.* } *b* 3 „ 2*s*6*d* } *b* 1 „ 2*s.* } *b*	3 at 2*s.* } *b* 2 „ 1*s.* 6*d* } *b* 1 „ 1*s.* } *b*
Hackney and Homerton	13	...	3	3	4	290	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* 6*d.* *b*

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DISTRICTS.	No. of Master Sweepers in each District.	No. of Foremen employed.	No. of Journeymen employed in the brisk season.	No. of Journeymen employed in the slack season.	No. of Under Journeymen, or Boys, employed.	No. of Bushels of Soot collected Weekly.	Weekly Wages of each Foreman.	Weekly Wages of each Journeyman.	Weekly Wages of each Under Journeyman.
CENTRAL DISTRICTS.									
St. Giles's and St. George's, Bloomsbury.	12	...	9	7	5	435	...	8 at 12*s.* 1 „ 3*s.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Strand	5	...	11	8	2	350	...	4*s.* *b*	1 at 2*s.* 1 „ 1*s.* } *b*
Holborn	6	2	11	10	...	435	20*s.*	2 at 18*s.* 3 „ 8*s.* 4 „ 4*s.* 2 „ 3*s.* } *b*	......
Clerkenwell	6	...	9	9	1	310	...	8 at 3*s.* 1 „ 2*s* 6*d.* } *b*	1*s.* *b*
St. Luke's	6	...	4	3	2	175	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
East London	8	...	10	8	...	455	...	3*s.* *b*	......
West London	5	...	9	6	...	205	...	3 at 4*s.* 6 „ 3*s.* } *b*	......
London City	6	...	12	10	2	415	...	6 at 6*s.* 6 „ 4*s.* } *b*	2*s.* *b*
EAST DISTRICTS.									
Shoreditch	13	...	6	5	1	380	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Bethnal Green	6	...	2	2	...	150	...	1 at 5*s.* 1 „ 2*s.* *b*	......
Whitechapel	11	...	1	1	3	330	...	2*s.* *b*	3*s.* *e*
St. George's-in-the-East and Limehouse.	14	...	14	10	3	650	...	3 at 3*s.* 4 „ 2*s.* 6*d* 7 „ 2*s.* } *b*	1 at 1*s.* 6*d* 2 „ 1*s.* } *b*
Stepney	9	...	3	2	...	275	...	3*s.* *b*	......
Poplar	4	...	1	...	1	110	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* 6*d.* *b*
SOUTH DISTRICTS.									
Southwark	17	...	...	...	...	385	...	......	......
Bermondsey	8	...	4	4	1	220	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Walworth and Newington	9	...	6	4	4	330	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Wandsworth	6	...	6	5	1	240	...	3 at 3*s.* 3 „ 2*s.* 6*d* } *b*	1*s.* *b*
Lambeth	16	...	9	9	5	560	...	3 at 3*s.* 6 „ 2*s.* 6*d* } *b*	1 at 1*s.* 6*d* 4 „ 1*s.* } *b*
Camberwell	8	...	8	7	1	315	...	2*s.* 6*d.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Clapton, Brixton, and Tooting	11	...	13	7	1	410	...	2*s.* 6*d.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Rotherhithe	7	...	2	2	...	170	...	2*s.* *b*	......
Greenwich	6	...	4	4	1	195	...	1*s.* 6*d.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Woolwich	7	...	17	12	3	515	...	13 at 2*s.* 6*d.* 4 „ 1*s.* 6*d.*	2 at 1*s.* 1 „ 9*d.* } *b*
Lewisham	2	...	5	5	1	160	...	2*s.* *b*	1*s.* *b*
Ramoneur Company	...	...	18	18	...	450	...	18*s.*	......
TOTAL	350	12	399	313	62	15350			

NOTE.—*b* means board and lodging as well as money, or part money and part kind; *e* stands for everything found or paid all in kind.

These returns have been collected by personal visits to each district:—the name of each master throughout London, together with the number of Foremen, Journeymen, and Under Journeymen employed, and the Wages received by each, as well as the quantity of soot collected, have been likewise obtained; but the names of the masters are here omitted for want of space, and the results alone are given.

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tion has been to compel them to herd together apart from others, and to acquire habits and peculiarities of their own widely differing from the characteristics of the rest of the labouring classes.

Sweepers, however, have not from this cause generally been an hereditary race—that is, they have not become sweepers from father to son for many generations. Their numbers were, in the days of the climbing boys, in most intances increased by parish apprentices, the parishes usually adopting that mode as the cheapest and easiest of freeing themselves from a part of the burden of juvenile pauperism. The climbing boys, but more especially the unfortunate parish apprentices, were almost always cruelly used, starved, beaten, and over-worked by their masters, and treated as outcasts by all with whom they came in contact: there can be no wonder, then, that, driven in this manner from all other society, they gladly availed themselves of the companionship of their fellow-sufferers; quickly imbibed all their habits and peculiarities; and, perhaps, ended by becoming themselves the most tyrannical masters to those who might happen to be placed under their charge.

Notwithstanding the disrepute in which sweepers have ever been held, there are many classes of workers beneath them in intelligence. All the tribe of finders and collectors (with the exception of the dredgermen, who are an observant race, and the sewer-hunters, who, from the danger of their employment, are compelled to exercise their intellects) are far inferior to them in this respect; and they are clever fellows compared to many of the dustmen and scavagers. The great mass of the agricultural labourers are known to be almost as ignorant as the beasts they drive; but the sweepers, from whatever cause it may arise, are known, in many instances, to be shrewd, intelligent, and active.

But there is much room for improvement among the operative chimney-sweepers. Speaking of the men generally, I am assured that there is scarcely one out of ten who can either read or write. One man in Chelsea informed me that some ladies, in connection with the Rev. Mr. Cadman's church, made an attempt to instruct the sweepers of the neighbourhood in reading and writing; but the master sweepers grew jealous, and became afraid lest their men should get too knowing for them. When the time came, therefore, for the men to prepare for the school, the masters always managed to find out some job which prevented them from attending at the appointed time, and the consequence was that the benevolent designs of the ladies were frustrated.

The sweepers, as a class, in almost all their habits, bear a strong resemblance to the costermongers. The habit of going about in search of their employment has, of itself, implanted in many of them the wandering propensity peculiar to street people. Many of the better-class costermongers have risen into coal-shed men and greengrocers, and become settled in life; in like manner the better-class sweepers have risen to be masters, and, becoming settled in a locality, have gradually obtained the trade of the neighbourhood; then, as their circumstances improved, they have been able to get horses and carts, and become nightmen; and there are many of them at this moment men of wealth, comparatively speaking. The great body of them, however, retain in all their force their original characteristics; the masters themselves, although shrewd and sensible men, often betray their want of education, and are in no way particular as to their expressions, their language being made up, in a great measure, of the terms peculiar to the costermongers, especially the denominations of the various sorts of money. I met with some sweepers, however, whose language was that in ordinary use, and their manners not vulgar. I might specify one, who, although a workhouse orphan and apprentice, a harshly-treated climbing-boy, is now prospering as a sweeper and nightman, is a regular attendant at all meetings to promote the good of the poor, and a zealous ragged-school teacher, and teetotaller.

When such men are met with, perhaps the class cannot be looked upon as utterly cast away, although the need of reformation in the habits of the working sweepers is extreme, and especially in respect of drinking, gambling, and dirt. The journeymen (who have often a good deal of leisure) and the single-handed men are—in the great majority of cases at least—addicted to drinking, beer being their favourite beverage, either because it is the cheapest or that they fancy it the most suitable for washing away the sooty particles which find their way to their throats. These men gamble also, but with this proviso—they seldom play for money; but when they meet in their usual houses of resort—two famous ones are in Back C—— lane and S—— street, Whitechapel—they spend their time and what money they may have in tossing for beer, till they are either drunk or penniless. Such men present the appearance of having just come out of a chimney. There seems never to have been any attempt made by them to wash the soot off their faces. I am informed that there is scarcely one of them who has a second shirt or any change of clothes, and that they wear their garments night and day till they literally rot, and drop in fragments from their backs. Those who are not employed as journeymen by the masters are frequently whole days without food, especially in summer, when the work is slack; and it usually happens that those who are what is called "knocking about on their own account" seldom or never have a farthing in their pockets in the morning, and may, perhaps, have to travel till evening before they get a threepenny or sixpenny chimney to sweep. When night comes, and they meet their companions, the tossing and drinking again commences; they again get drunk; roll home to wherever it may be, to go through the same routine on the morrow; and this is the usual tenour of their lives, whether earning 5*s*. or 20*s*. a week.

The chimney-sweepers generally are fond of drink; indeed their calling, like that of dustmen, is one of those which naturally lead to it. The

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men declare they are ordered to drink gin and smoke as much as they can, in order to rid the stomach of the soot they may have swallowed during their work.

Washing among chimney-sweepers seems to be much more frequent than it was. In the evidence before Parliament it was stated that some of the climbing-boys were washed once in six months, some once a week, some once in two or three months. I do not find it anywhere stated that any of these children were never washed at all; but from the tenour of the evidence it may be reasonably concluded that such was the case.

A master sweeper, who was in the habit of bathing at the Marylebone baths once and sometimes twice a week, assured me that, although many now eat and drink and sleep sooty, washing is more common among his class than when he himself was a climbing-boy. He used then to be stripped, and compelled to step into a tub, and into water sometimes too hot and sometimes too cold, while his mistress, to use his own word, *scoured* him. Judging from what he had seen and heard, my informant was satisfied that, from 30 to 40 years ago, climbing-boys, with a very few exceptions, were but seldom washed; and then it was looked upon by them as a most disagreeable operation, often, indeed, as a species of punishment. Some of the climbing-boys used to be taken by their masters to bathe in the Serpentine many years ago; but one boy was unfortunately drowned, so that the children could hardly be coerced to go into the water afterwards.

The washing among the chimney-sweepers of the present day, when there are scarcely any climbing-boys, is so much an individual matter that it is not possible to speak with any great degree of certainty on the subject, but that it increases may be concluded from the fact that the number of sweeps who resort to the public baths increases.

The first public baths and washhouses opened in London were in the "north-west district," and situated in George-street, Euston-square, near the Hampstead-road. This establishment was founded by voluntary contribution in 1846, and is now self-supporting.

There are three more public baths: one in Goulston-street, Whitechapel (on the same principle as that first established); another in St. Martin's, near the National Gallery, which are parochial; and the last in Marylebone, near the Yorkshire Stingo tavern, New-road, also parochial. The charge for a cold bath, each being secluded from the others, is 1*d.*, with the use of a towel; a warm bath is 2*d.* in the third class. The following is the return of the number of bathers at the north-west district baths, the establishment most frequented:—

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Bathers	110,940	111,788	96,726	86,597
Washers, Dryers, Ironers, &c.	39,418	61,690	65,934	73,023
Individuals Washed for	137,672	246,760	263,736	292,092

I endeavoured to ascertain the proportion of sweepers, with other working men, who availed themselves of these baths; but there are unfortunately no data for instituting a comparison as to the relative cleanliness of the several trades. When the baths were first opened an endeavour was made to obtain such a return; but it was found to be distasteful to the bathers, and so was discontinued. We find, then, that in four years there have been 406,051 bathers. The following gives the proportion between the sexes, a portion of 1846 being included:—

Bathers—Males	417,424
" Females	47,114
Total bathers	464,538

The falling off in the number of bathers at this establishment is, I am told, attributable to the opening of new baths, the people, of course, resorting to the nearest.

I have given the return of washers, &c., as I endeavoured to ascertain the proportion of washing by the chimney-sweeper's wives; but there is no specification of the trades of the persons using this branch of the establishment any more than there is of those frequenting the baths, and for the same reason as prevented its being done among the bathers. One of the attendants at these washhouses told me that he had no doubt the sweepers' wives did wash there, for he had more than once seen a sweeper waiting to carry home the clothes his wife had cleansed. As no questions concerning their situation in life are asked of the poor women who resort to these very excellent institutions (for such they appear to be on a cursory glance) of course no data can be supplied. This is to be somewhat regretted; but a regard to the feelings, and in some respects to the small prejudices, of the industrious poor is to be commended rather than otherwise, and the managers of these baths certainly seem to have manifested such a regard.

I am informed, however, by the secretary of the north-west district institution, that in some weeks of the summer 80 chimney-sweepers bathed there; always having, he believed, warm baths, which are more effective in removing soot or dirt from the skin than cold. Summer, it must be remembered, is the sweep's "brisk" season. In a winter week as few as 25 or 20 have bathed, but the weekly average of sweeper-bathers, the year through, is about 50; and the number of sweeper-bathers, he thought, had increased since the opening of the baths about 10 per cent. yearly. As in 1850 the average number of bathers of all classes did not exceed 1646 per week, the proportion of sweepers, 50, is high. The number of female bathers is about one-ninth, so that the males would be about 1480; and the 50 sweepers a week constitute about a thirtieth part of the whole of the third-class bathers. The number of sweep-bathers was known because a sweep is known by his appearance.

I was told by the secretary that the sweepers, the majority bathing on Saturday nights, usually

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carried a bundle to the bath; this contained their "clean things." After bathing they assumed their "Sunday clothes;" and from the change in their appearance between ingress and egress, they were hardly recognisable as the same individuals.

In the other baths, where also there is no specification of the bathers, I am told, that of sweepers bathing the number (on computation) is 30 at Marylebone, 25 at Goulston-street, and 15 (at the least) at St. Martin's, as a weekly average. In all, 120 sweepers bathe weekly, or about a seventh of the entire working body. The increase at the three baths last mentioned, in sweepers bathing, is from 5 to 10 per cent.

Among the lower-class sweepers there are but few who wash themselves even once throughout the year. They eat, drink, and sleep in the same state of filth and dirt as when engaged in their daily avocation. Others, however, among the better class are more cleanly in their habits, and wash themselves every night.

Between *the appearance of the sweepers* in the streets at the present time and before the abolition of the system of climbing there is a marked difference. Charles Lamb said (in 1823):—

"I like to meet a sweep—understand me, not a grown sweeper—old chimney-sweepers are by no means attractive—but one of those tender novices blooming through their first nigritude, the maternal washings not quite effaced from the cheek—such as come forth with the dawn, or somewhat earlier, with their little professional notes sounding like the *peep peep* of a young sparrow; or liker to the matin lark should I pronounce them, in their aerial ascents not seldom anticipating the sunrise?"

Throughout his essay, Elia throws the halo of poetry over the child-sweepers, calling them "dim specks," "poor blots," "innocent blacknesses," "young Africans of our own growth;" the natural kindliness of the writer shines out through all. He counsels his reader to give the young innocent 2*d*., or, if the weather were starving, "let the demand on thy humanity rise to a tester" (6*d*.).

The appearance of the little children-sweepers, as they trotted along at the master's or the journeyman's heels, or waited at "rich men's doors" on a cold morning, was pitiable in the extreme. If it snowed, there was a strange contrast between the black sootiness of the sweeper's dress and the white flakes of snow which adhered to it. The boy-sweeper trotted listlessly along; a sack to contain the soot thrown over his shoulder, or disposed round his neck, like a cape or shawl. One master sweeper tells me that in his apprenticeship days he had to wait at the great mansions in and about Grosvenor-square, on some bitter wintry mornings, until he felt as if his feet, although he had both stockings and shoes—and many young climbers were barefoot—felt as if frozen to the pavement. When the door was opened, he told me, the matter was not really mended. The rooms were often large and cold, and being lighted only with a candle or two, no doubt looked very dreary, while there was not a fire in the whole house, and no one up but a yawning servant or two, often very cross at having been disturbed. The servants, however, in noblemen's houses, he also told me, were frequently kind to him, giving him bread and butter, and sometimes bread and jam; and as his master generally had a glass of raw spirit handed to him, the boy usually had a sip when his employer had "knocked off his glass." His employer, indeed, sometimes said, "O, *he's* better without it; it'll only larn him to drink, like it did me;" but the servant usually answered, "O, here, just a thimblefull for him."

The usual dress of the climbing-boy—as I have learned from those who had worn it themselves, and, when masters, had provided it for their boys—was made of a sort of strong flannel, which many years ago was called chimney-sweepers' cloth; but my informant was not certain whether this was a common name for it or not, he only remembered having heard it called so. He remembered, also, accompanying his master to do something to the flues in a church, then (1817) hung with black cloth, as a part of the national mourning for the Princess Charlotte of Wales, and he thought it seemed very like the chimney-sweepers' cloth, which was dark coloured when new. The child-sweep wore a pair of cloth trowsers, and over that a sort of tunic, or tight fitting shirt with sleeves; sometimes a little waistcoat and jacket. This, it must be borne in mind, was only the practice among the best masters (who always had to find their apprentices in clothes); and was the practice among them more and more in the later period of the climbing process, for householders began to inquire as to what sort of trim the boys employed on their premises appeared in. The poorer or the less well-disposed masters clad the urchins who climbed for them in any old rags which their wives could piece together, or in any low-priced garment "picked up" in such places as Rosemary-lane. The fit was no object at all. These ill-clad lads were, moreover, at one time the great majority. The clothes were usually made "at home" by the women, and in the same style, as regarded the seams, &c., as the sacks for soot; but sometimes the work was beyond the art of the sweeper's wife, and then the aid of some poor neighbour better skilled in the use of her scissors and needle, or of some poor tailor, was called in, on the well-known terms of "a shilling (or 1*s*. 6*d*.) a day, and the grub."

The cost of a climbing-boy's dress, I was informed, varied, when new, according to the material of which it was made, from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 6*s*. 6*d*. independently of the cost of making, which, in the hands of a tailor who "whipped the cat" (or went out to work at his customer's houses), would occupy a day, at easy labour, at a cost of 1*s*. 6*d*. (or less) in money, and the "whip-cat's" meals, perhaps another 1*s*. 6*d*., beer included. As to the cost of a sweeper's second-hand clothing it is useless to inquire; but I was informed by a now

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thriving master, that when he was about twelve years old his mistress bought him a "werry tidy jacket, as seemed made for a gen'leman's son," in Petticoat-lane, one Sunday morning, for 1*s.* 6*d.*; while other things, he said, were "in proportionate." Shoes and stockings are not included in the cost of the little sweeper's apparel; and they were, perhaps, always bought second-hand. A few of the best masters (or of those wishing to stand best in their customers' regards), who sent their boys to church or to Sunday schools, had then a non-working attire for them; either a sweeper's dress of jacket and trowsers, unsoiled by soot, or the ordinary dress of a poor lad.

The street appearance of the present race of sweepers, all adults, may every here and there bear out Charles Lamb's dictum, that grown sweepers are by no means attractive. Some of them are bread-shouldered and strongly-built men, who, as they traverse the streets, sometimes look as grim as they are dingy. The chimney-scavager carries the implement of his calling propped on his shoulder, in the way shown in the daguerreotype which I have given. His dress is usually a jacket, waistcoat, and trowsers of dark-coloured corduroy; or instead of a jacket a waistcoat with sleeves. Over this when at work the sweeper often wears a sort of blouse or short smock-frock of coarse strong calico or canvas, which protects the corduroy suit from the soot. In this description of the sweeper's garb I can but speak of those whose means enable them to attain the comfort of warm apparel in the winter; the poorer part of the trade often shiver shirtless under a blouse which half covers a pair of threadbare trowsers. The cost of the corduroy suit I have mentioned varies, I was told by a sweeper, who put it tersely enough, "from 20*s.* *slop*, to 40*s.* *slap*." The average runs, I believe, from 28*s.* to 30*s.*, as regards the better class of the sweepers.

The *diet of the journeymen sweepers and the apprentices*, and sometimes of their working employer, was described to me as generally after the following fashion. My informant, a journeyman, calculated what his food "stood his master," as he had once "kept hisself."

	Daily. *s.*	*d.*
Bread and butter and coffee for breakfast	0	2
A saveloy and potatoes, or cabbage; or a "fagot," with the same vegetables; or fried fish (but not often); or pudding, from a pudding-shop; or soup (a twopenny plate) from a cheap eating-house; average from 2*d.* to 3*d.*	0	2½
Tea, same as breakfast	0	2
	0	6½

On Sundays the fare was better. They then sometimes had a bit of "prime fat mutton" taken to the oven, with "taturs to bake along with it;" or a "fry of liver, if the old 'oman was in a good humour," and always a pint of beer apiece. Hence, as some give their men beer, the average amount of 5*s.* or 6*s.* weekly, which I have given as the cost of the "board" to the masters, is made up. The drunken single-handed master-men, I am told, live on beer and "a bite of anything they can get." I believe there are few complaints of inefficient food.

The food provided by the large or high master sweepers is generally of the same kind as the master and his family partake of; among this class the journeymen are tolerably well provided for.

In the lower-class sweepers, however, the food is not so plentiful nor so good in kind as that provided by the high master sweepers. The expense of keeping a man employed by a large master sometimes ranges as high as 8*s.* a week, but the average, I am told, is about 6*s.* per week; while those employed by the low-class sweepers average about 5*s.* a week. The cost of their lodging may be taken at from 1*s.* to 2*s.* a week extra.

The sweepers in general are, I am assured, fond of oleaginous food; fat broth, fagots, and what is often called "greasy" meat.

They are considered *a short-lived people*, and among the journeymen, the masters "on their own hook," &c., few old men are to be met with. In one of the reports of the Board of Health, out of 4312 deaths among males, of the age of 15 and upwards, the mortality among the sweepers, masters and men, was 9, or one in 109 of the whole trade. As the calculation was formed, however, from data supplied by the census of 1841, and on the Post Office Directory, it supplies no reliable information, as I shall show when I come to treat of the nightmen. Many of these men still suffer, I am told, from the chimney-sweeper's cancer, which is said to arise mainly from uncleanly habits. Some sweepers assure me that they have vomited balls of soot.

As to the abodes of the master sweepers, I can supply the following account of two. The soot, I should observe, is seldom kept long, rarely a month, on the premises of a sweeper, and is in the best "concerns" kept in cellars.

The localities in which many of the sweepers reside are the "lowest" places in the district. Many of the houses in which I found the lower class of sweepers were in a ruinous and filthy condition. The "high-class" sweepers, on the other hand, live in respectable localities, often having back premises sufficiently large to stow away their soot.

I had occasion to visit the house of one of the persons from whom I obtained much information. He is a master in a small way, a sensible man, and was one of the few who are teetotallers. His habitation, though small—being a low house only one story high—was substantially furnished with massive mahogany chairs, table, chests of drawers, &c., while on each side of the fire-place, which was distinctly visible from the street over a hall door, were two buffets, with glass doors, well filled with glass and china vessels. It was a wet night, and a fire burned brightly in the stove, by the light of which might be seen the master of the establishment sitting on one side, while his

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wife and daughter occupied the other; a neighbour sat before the fire with his back to the door, and altogether it struck me as a comfortable-looking evening party. They were resting and chatting quietly together after the labour of the day, and everything betokened the comfortable circumstances in which the man, by sobriety and industry, had been able to place himself. Yet this man had been a climbing-boy, and one of the unfortunates who had lost his parents when a child, and was apprenticed by the parish to this business. From him I learned that his was not a solitary instance of teetotalism (I have before spoken of another); that, in fact, there were some more, and one in particular, named Brown, who was a good speaker, and devoted himself during his leisure hours at night in advocating the principles which by experience he had found to effect such great good to himself; but he also informed me that the majority of the others were a drunken and dissipated crew, sunk to the lowest degree of misery, yet recklessly spending every farthing they could earn in the public-house.

Different in every respect was another house which I visited in the course of my inquiries, in the neighbourhood of H—-street, Bethnal-green. The house was rented by a sweeper, a master on his own account, and every room in the place was let to sweepers and their wives or women, which, with these men, often signify one and the same thing. The inside of the house looked as dark as a coal-pit; there was an insufferable smell of soot, always offensive to those unaccustomed to it; and every person and every thing which met the eye, even to the caps and gowns of the women, seemed as if they had just been steeped in Indian ink. In one room was a sweep and his woman quarrelling. As I opened the door I caught the words, "I'm d——d if I has it any longer. I'd see you b——y well d——d first, and you knows it." The savage was intoxicated, for his red eyes flashed through his sooty mask with drunken excitement, and his matted hair, which looked as if it had never known a comb, stood out from his head like the whalebone ribs of his own machine. "B——y Bet," as he called her, did not seem a whit more sober than her man; and the shrill treble of her voice was distinctly audible till I turned the corner of the street, whither I was accompanied by the master of the house, to whom I had been recommended by one of the fraternity as an intelligent man, and one who knew "a thing or two." "You see," he said, as we turned the corner, "there isn't no use a talkin' to them ere fellows—they're all tosticated now, and they doesn't care nothink for nobody; but they'll be quiet enough to-morrow, 'cept they yarns somethink, and if they do then they'll be just as bad to-morrow night. They're a awful lot, and nobody ill niver do anythink with them." This man was not by any means in such easy circumstances as the master first mentioned. He was merely a man working for himself, and unable to employ any one else in the business; as is customary with some of these people, he had taken the house he had shown me to let to lodgers of his own class, making something by so doing; though, if his own account be correct, I'm at a loss to imagine how he contrived even to get his rent. From him I obtained the following statement:—

"Yes, I was a climbing-boy, and sarved a rigler printiceship for seven years. I was out on my printiceship when I was fourteen. Father was a silk-weaver, and did all he knew to keep me from being a sweep, but I would be a sweep, and nothink else." [This is not so very uncommon a predilection, strange as it may seem.] "So father, when he saw it was no use, got me bound printice. Father's alive now, and near 90 years of age. I don't know why I wished to be a sweep, 'cept it was this—there was sweeps always lived about here, and I used to see the boys with lots of money a tossin' and gamblin', and wished to have money too. You see they got money where they swept the chimneys; they used to get 2*d.* or 3*d.* for theirselves in a day, and sometimes 6*d.* from the people of the house, and that's the way they always had plenty of money. I niver thought anythink of the climbing; it wasn't so bad at all as some people would make you believe. There are two or three ways of climbing. In wide flues you climb with your elbows and your legs spread out, your feet pressing against the sides of the flue; but in narrow flues, such as nine-inch ones, you must slant it; you must have your sides in the angles, it's wider there, and go up just that way." [Here he threw himself into position—placing one arm close to his side, with the palm of the hand turned outwards, as if pressing the side of the flue, and extending the other arm high above his head, the hand apparently pressing in the same manner.] "There," he continued, "that's slantin'. You just put yourself in that way, and see how small you make yourself. I niver got to say stuck myself, but a many of them did; yes, and were taken out dead. They were smothered for want of air, and the fright, and a stayin' so long in the flue; you see the waistband of their trowsers sometimes got turned down in the climbing, and in narrow flues, when not able to get it up, then they stuck. I had a boy once—we were called to sweep a chimney down at Poplar. When we went in he looked up the flues, 'Well, what is it like?' I said. 'Very narrow,' says he, 'don't think I can get up there;' so after some time we gets on top of the house, and takes off the chimney-pot, and has a look down—it was wider a' top, and I thought as how he could go down. 'You had better buff it, Jim,' says I. I suppose you know what that means; but Jim wouldn't do it, and kept his trowsers on. So down he goes, and gets on very well till he comes to the shoulder of the flue, and then he couldn't stir. He shouts down, 'I'm stuck.' I shouts up and tells him what to do. 'Can't move,' says he, 'I'm stuck hard and fast.' Well, the people of the house got fretted like, but I says to them, 'Now my boy's stuck, but for Heaven's sake don't make a word of noise; don't say a word, good or bad, and I'll

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see what I can do.' So I locks the door, and buffs it, and forces myself up till I could reach him with my hand, and as soon as he got his foot on my hand he begins to prize himself up, and gets loosened, and comes out at the top again. I was stuck myself, but I was stronger nor he, and I manages to get out again. Now I'll be bound to say if there was another master there as would kick up a row and a-worrited, that ere boy 'ud a niver come out o' that ere flue alive. There was a many o' them lost their lives in that way. Most all the printices used to come from the 'House' (workhouse.) There was nobody to care for them, and some masters used them very bad. I was out of my time at fourteen, and began to get too stout to go up the flues; so after knockin' about for a year or so, as I could do nothink else, I goes to sea on board a man-o'-war, and was away four year. Many of the boys, when they got too big and useless, used to go to sea in them days—they couldn't do nothink else. Yes, many of them went for sodgers; and I know some who went for Gipsies, and others who went for play-actors, and a many who got on to be swell-mobsmen, and thieves, and housebreakers, and the like o' that ere. There ain't nothink o' that sort a-goin' on now since the Ack of Parliament. When I got back from sea father asked me to larn his business; so I takes to the silk-weaving and larned it, and then married a weaveress, and worked with father for a long time. Father was very well off—well off and comfortable for a poor man—but trade was good then. But it got bad afterwards, and none on us was able to live at it; so I takes to the chimney-sweeping again. *A man might manage to live somehow at the sweeping, but the weaving was o' no use.* It was the furrin silks as beat us all up, that's the whole truth. Yet they tells us as how they was a-doin' the country good; but they may tell that to the marines—the sailors won't believe it—not a word on it. I've stuck to the sweeping ever since, and sometimes done very fair at it; but since the Ack there's so many leeks come to it that I don't know how they live—they must be eatin' one another up.

"Well, since you ask then, I can tell you that our people don't care much about law; they don't understand anythink about politics much; they don't mind things o' that ere kind. They only minds to get drunk when they can. Some on them fellows as you seed in there niver cleans theirselves from one year's end to the other. They'll kick up a row soon enough, with Chartists or anybody else. I thinks them Chartists are a weak-minded set; they was too much a frightened at nothink,—a hundred o' them would run away from one blue-coat, and that wasn't like men. I was often at Chartist meetings, and if they'd only do all they said there was a plenty to stick to them, for there's a somethink wants to be done very bad, for everythink is a-gettin' worser and worser every day. I used to do a good trade, but now I don't yarn a shilling a day all through the year (?). I may walk at this time three or four miles and not get a chimney to sweep, and then get only a sixpence or threepence, and sometimes nothink. It's a starvin', that's what it is; there's so much 'querying' a-goin' on. Querying? that's what we calls under-working*. If they'd all fix a riglar price we might do very well still. I'm 50 years of age, or thereabouts. I don't know much about the story of Mrs. Montague; it was afore my time. I heard of it though. I heard my mother talk about it; she used to read it out of books; she was a great reader—none on 'em could stand afore her for that. I was often at the dinner—the masters' dinner—that was for the boys; but that's all done away long ago, since the Ack of Parliament. I can't tell how many there was at it, but there's such a lot it's impossible to tell. How could any one tell all the sweeps as is in London? I'm sure I can't, and I'm sure nobody else can."

Some years back the sweepers' houses were often indicated by an elaborate sign, highly coloured. A sweeper, accompanied by a "chummy" (once a common name for the climbing-boy, being a corruption of chimney), was depicted on his way to a red brick house, from the chimneys of which bright yellow flames were streaming. Below was the detail of the things undertaken by the sweep, such as the extinction of fires in chimneys, the cleaning of smoke-jacks, &c., &c. A few of these signs, greatly faded, may be seen still. A sweeper, who is settled in what is accounted a "genteel neighbourhood," has now another way of making his calling known. He leaves a card whenever he hears of a new comer, a tape being attached, so that it can be hung up in the kitchen, and thus the servants are always in possession of his address. The following is a customary style:—

"Chimneys swept by the improved machine, much patronized by the Humane Society.

"W. H., Chimney Sweeper and Nightman, 1, —— Mews, in returning thanks to the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood for the patronage he has hitherto received, begs to inform them that he sweeps all kinds of chimneys and flues in the best manner.

"W. H., attending to the business himself, cleans smoke-jacks, cures smoky coppers, and extinguishes chimneys when on fire, with the greatest care and safety; and, by giving the strictest personal attendance to business, performs what he undertakes with cleanliness and punctuality, whereby he hopes to ensure a continuance of their favours and recommendations.

"Clean cloths for upper apartments. Soot-doors to any size fixed. Observe the address, 1, —— Mews, near ——."

At the top of this card is an engraving of the machine; at the foot a rude sketch of a nightman's cart, with men at work. All the cards I saw reiterated the address, so that no mistake might lead the customer to a rival tradesman.

As to their politics, the sweepers are somewhat

* Querying means literally inquiring or asking for work at the different houses. The "queriers" among the sweeps are a kind of pedlar operatives.

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similar to the dustmen and costermongers. A fixed hatred to all constituted authority, which they appear to regard as the police and the "beaks," seems to be the sum total of their principles. Indeed, it almost assumes the character of a fixed law, that persons and classes of persons who are themselves disorderly, and to a certain extent lawless, always manifest the most supreme contempt for the conservators of law and order in every degree. The police are therefore hated heartily, magistrates are feared and abominated, and Queen, Lords, and Commons, and every one in authority, if known anything about, are considered as natural enemies. A costermonger who happened to be present while I was making inquiries on this subject, broke in with this remark, "The costers is the chaps—the government can't do nothink with them—they allus licks the government." The sweepers have a sovereign contempt for all Acts of Parliament, because the only Act that had any reference to themselves "threw open," as they call it, their business to all who were needy enough and who had the capability of availing themselves of it. Like the "dusties" they are, I am informed, in their proper element in times of riot and confusion; but, unlike them, they are, to a man, Chartists, understanding it too, and approving of it, not because it would be calculated to establish a new order of things, but in the hope that, in the transition from one system to the other, there might be plenty of noise and riot, and in the vague idea that in some indefinable manner good must necessarily accrue to themselves from any change that might take place. This I believe to be in perfect keeping with the sentiments of similar classes of people in every country in the world.

The journeymen lay by no money when in work, as a fund to keep them when incapacitated by sickness, accident, or old age. There are, however, a few exceptions to the general improvidence of the class; some few belong to sick and benefit societies, others are members of burial clubs. Where, however, this is not the case, and a sweeper becomes unable, through illness, to continue his work, the mode usually adopted is to make a raffle for the benefit of the sufferer; the same means are resorted to at the death of a member of the trade. When a chimney-sweeper becomes infirm through age, he has mostly, if not invariably, no refuge but the workhouse.

The chimney-sweepers generally are regardless of the marriage ceremony, and when they do live with a woman it is in a state of concubinage. These women are always among the lowest of the street-girls—such as lucifer-match and orange girls, some of the very poorest of the coster girls, and girls brought up among the sweepers. They are treated badly by them, and often enough left without any remorse. The women are equally as careless in these matters as the men, and exchange one paramour for another with the same levity, so that there is a promiscuous intercourse continually going on among them. I am informed that, among the worst class of sweepers living with women, not one in 50 is married. To these couples very few children are born; but I am not able to state the proportion as compared with other classes.

There are some curious customs among the London sweepers which deserve notice. Their May-day festival is among the best known. The most intelligent of the masters tell me that they have taken this "from the milkmen's garland" (of which an engraving has been given). Formerly, say they, on the first of May the milkmen of London went through the streets, performing a sort of dance, for which they received gratuities from their customers. The music to which they danced was simply brass plates mounted on poles, from the circumference of which plates depended numerous bells of different tones, according to size; these poles were adorned with leaves and flowers, indicative of the season, and may have been a relic of one of the ancient pageants or mummeries.

The sweepers, however, by adapting themselves more to the rude taste of the people, appear to have completely supplanted the milkmen, who are now never seen in pageantry. In Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes of the People of England," I find the following with reference to the milk-people:—

"It is at this time," that is in May, says the author of one of the papers in the *Spectator*, "we see brisk young wenches in the country parishes dancing round the Maypole. It is likewise on the first day of this month that we see the ruddy milkmaid exerting herself in a most sprightly manner under a pyramid of silver tankards, and, like the Virgin Tarpeia, oppressed by the costly ornaments which her benefactors lay upon her. These decorations of silver cups, tankards, and salvers, were borrowed for the purpose, and hung round the milk-pails, with the addition of flowers and ribands, which the maidens carried upon their heads when they went to the houses of their customers, and danced in order to obtain a small gratuity from each of them. In a set of prints, called 'Tempest's Cries of London,' there is one called the 'Merry Milkmaid,' whose proper name was Kate Smith. She is dancing with the milk-pail, decorated as above mentioned, upon her head. Of late years the plate, with the other decorations, were placed in a pyramidical form, and carried by two chairmen upon a wooden horse. The maidens walked before it, and performed the dance without any incumbrance. I really cannot discover what analogy the silver tankards and salvers can have to the business of the milkmaids. I have seen them act with much more propriety upon this occasion, when, in place of these superfluous ornaments, they substituted a cow. The animal had her horns gilt, and was nearly covered with ribands of various colours formed into bows and roses, and interspersed with green oaken leaves and bunches of flowers."

With reference to the May-day festival of the sweepers the same author says:—"The chimney-sweepers of London have also singled out the first of May for their festival, at which time they parade the streets in companies, disguised in various manners. Their dresses are usually deco-

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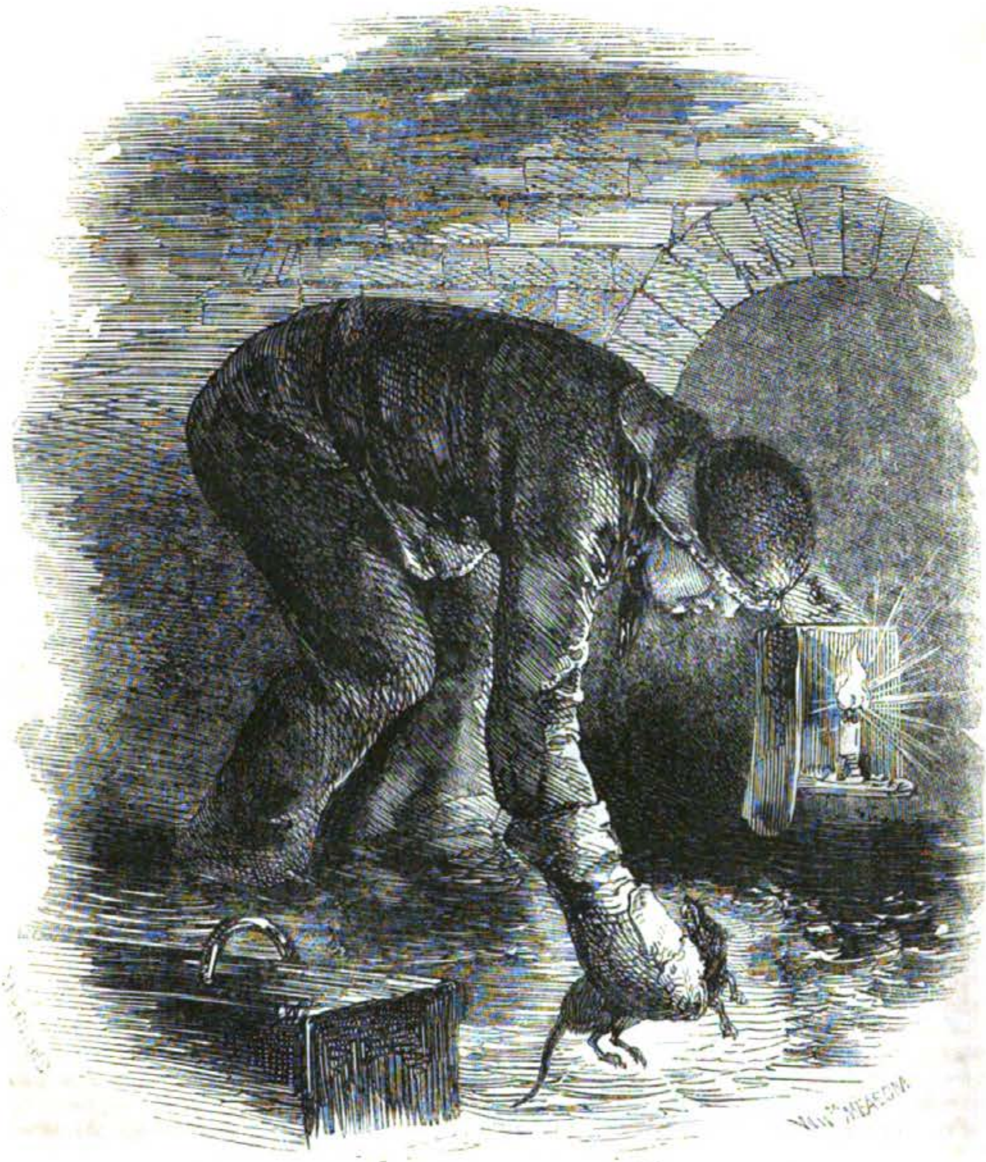

THE RAT-CATCHERS OF THE SEWERS.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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rated with gilt paper and other mock fineries; they have their shovels and brushes in their hands, which they rattle one upon the other; and to this rough music they jump about in imitation of dancing. Some of the larger companies have a fiddler with them, and a Jack in the Green, as well as a Lord and Lady of the May, who follow the minstrel with great stateliness, and dance as occasion requires. The Jack in the Green is a piece of pageantry consisting of a hollow frame of wood or wicker-work, made in the form of a sugar-loaf, but open at the bottom, and sufficiently large and high to receive a man. The frame is covered with green leaves and bunches of flowers, interwoven with each other, so that the man within may be completely concealed, who dances with his companions; and the populace are mightily pleased with the oddity of the moving pyramid."

Since the date of the above, the sweepers have greatly improved on their pageant, substituting for the fiddle the more noisy and appropriate music of the street-showman's drum and pipes, and adding to their party several diminutive imps, no doubt as representatives of the climbing-boys, clothed in caps, jackets, and trowsers, thickly covered with party-coloured shreds. These still make a show of rattling their shovels and brushes, but the clatter is unheard alongside the thunders of the drum. In this manner they go through the various streets for three days, obtaining money at various places, and on the third night hold a feast at one of their favourite public-houses, where all the sooty tribes resort, and, in company with their wives or girls, keep up their festivity till the next morning. I find that this festival is beginning to disappear in many parts of London, but it still holds its ground, and is as highly enjoyed as ever, in all the eastern localities of the metropolis.

It is but seldom that any of the large masters go out on May-day; this custom is generally confined to the little masters and their men. The time usually spent on these occasions is four days, during which as much as from 2*l.* to 4*l.* a day is collected; the sums obtained on the three first days are divided according to the several kinds of work performed. But the proceeds of the fourth day are devoted to a supper. The average gains of the several performers on these occasions are as follows:—

My lady, who acts as Columbine, and receives	2*s.* per day.
My lord, who is often the master himself, but usually one of the journeymen	3*s.* „
Clown	3*s.* „
Drummer	4*s.* „
Jack in the green, who is often an individual acquaintance, and does not belong to the trade .	3*s.* „
And the boys, who have no term term applied to them, receive from	1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* „

The share accruing to the boys is often spent in purchasing some article of clothing for them, but the money got by the other individuals is mostly spent in drink.

The sweepers, however, not only go out on May-day, but likewise on the 5th of November. On the last Guy-Fawkes day, I am informed, some of them received not only pence from the public, but silver and gold. "It was quite a harvest," they say. One of this class, who got up a gigantic Guy Fawkes and figure of the Pope on the 5th of November, 1850, cleared, I am informed, 10*l.* over and above all expenses.

For many years, also, the sweepers were in the habit of partaking of a public dinner on the 1st of May, provided for every climbing-boy who thought proper to attend, at the expense of the Hon. Mrs. Montagu. The romantic origin of this custom, from all I could learn on the subject, is this:—The lady referred to, at the time a widow, lost her son, then a boy of tender years. Inquiries were set on foot, and all London heard of the mysterious disappearance of the child, but no clue could be found to trace him out. It was supposed that he was kidnapped, and the search at length was given up in despair. A long time afterwards a sweeper was employed to cleanse the chimneys of Mrs. Montagu's house, by Portman-square, and for this purpose, as was usual at the time, sent a climbing-boy up the chimney, who from that moment was lost to him. The child did not return the way he went up, but it is supposed that in his descent he got into a wrong flue, and found himself, on getting out of the chimney, in one of the bedrooms. Wearied with his labour, it is said that he mechanically crept between the sheets, all black and sooty as he was. In this state he was found fast asleep by the housekeeper. The delicacy of his features and the soft tones of his voice interested the woman. She acquainted the family with the strange circumstance, and, when introduced to them with a clean face, his voice and appearance reminded them of their lost child. It may have been that the hardships he endured at so early an age had impaired his memory, for he could give no account of himself; but it was evident, from his manners and from the ease which he exhibited, that he was no stranger to such places, and at length, it is said, the Hon. Mrs. Montagu recognised in him her long-lost son. The identity, it was understood, was proved beyond doubt. He was restored to his rank in society, and in order the better to commemorate this singular restoration, and the fact of his having been a climbing-boy, his mother annually provided an entertainment on the 1st of May, at White Conduit House, for all the climbing-boys of London who thought proper to partake of it. This annual feast was kept up during the lifetime of the lady, and, as might be expected, was numerously attended, for since there were no question asked and no document required to prove any of the guests to be climbing-boys, very many of the precocious urchins of the metropolis used to blacken their faces for this special occasion. This annual feast continued, as I have said, as long as the lady lived. Her son continued it

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only for three or four years afterwards, and then, I am told, left the country, and paid no further attention to the matter.

Of the story of the young Montagu, Charles Lamb has given the following account:—

"In one of the state-beds at Arundel Castle, a few years since—under a ducal canopy (that seat of the Howards is an object of curiosity to visitors, chiefly for its beds, in which the late duke was especially a connoisseur)—encircled with curtains of delicatest crimson, with starry coronets interwoven—folded between a pair of sheets whiter and softer than the lap where Venus lulled Ascanius—was discovered by chance, after all methods of search had failed, at noon-day, fast asleep, a lost chimney-sweeper. The little creature having somehow confounded his passage among the intricacies of those lordly chimneys, by some unknown aperture had alighted upon this magnificent chamber, and, tired with his tedious explorations, was unable to resist the delicious invitement to repose, which he there saw exhibited; so, creeping between the sheets very quietly, he laid his black head on the pillow and slept like a young Howard." . . . . "A high instinct," adds Lamb, "was at work in the case, or I am greatly mistaken. Is it probable that a poor child of that description, with whatever weariness he might be visited, would have ventured under such a penalty as he would be taught to expect, to uncover the sheets of a duke's bed, and deliberately to lay himself down between them, when the rug or the carpet presented an obvious couch still far above his pretensions?—is this probable, I would ask, if the great power of nature, which I contend for, had not been manifested within him, prompting to the adventure? Doubtless, this young nobleman (for such my mind misgives me he must be) was allured by some memory not amounting to full consciousness of his condition in infancy, when he was used to be lapt by his mother or his nurse in just such sheets as he there found, into which he was now but creeping back as into his proper incubation (*incunabula*) and resting place. By no other theory than by his sentiment of a pre-existent state (as I may call it) can I explain a deed so venturous."

There is a strong strain of romance throughout the stories of the lost and found young Montagu. I conversed with some sweepers on the subject. The majority had not so much as heard of the occurrence, but two who had heard of it—both climbing-boys in their childhood—had heard that the little fellow was found in his mother's house. In a small work, the "Chimney-Sweepers' Friend," got up in aid of the Society for the Supersedence of Climbing Boys, by some benevolent Quaker ladies and others (the Quakers having been among the warmest supporters of the suppression of climbers), and "arranged" (the word "edited" not being used) by J. Montgomery, the case of the little Montagu is not mentioned, excepting in two or three vague poetical allusions.

The account given by Lamb (although pronounced apocryphal by some) appears to be the more probable version; and to the minds of many is shown to be conclusively authentic, as I understand that, when Arundel Castle is shown to visitors, the bed in which the child was found is pointed out; nor is it likely that in such a place the story of the ducal bed and the little climbing-boy would be *invented*.

The following account was given by the wife of a respectable man (now a middle-aged woman) and she had often heard it from her mother, who passed a long life in the neighbourhood of Mrs. Montagu's residence:—

"Lady M. had a son of tender years, who was supposed to have been stolen for the sake of his clothes. Some time after, there was an occasion when the sweeps were necessary at Montagu House. A servant noticed one of the boys, being at first attracted by his superior manner, and her curiosity being excited fancied a resemblance in him to the lost child. She questioned his master respecting him, who represented that he had found him crying and without a home, and thereupon took him in, and brought him up to his trade. The boy was questioned apart from his master, as to the treatment he received; his answers were favourable; and the consequence was, a compensation was given to the man, and the boy was retained. All doubt was removed as to his identity."

The annual feast at "White Condick," so agreeable to the black fraternity, was afterwards continued in another form, and was the origin of a well-known society among the master sweepers, which continued in existence till the abolition of the climbing-boys by Act of Parliament. The masters and the better class of men paid a certain sum yearly, for the purpose of binding the children of the contributors to other trades. In order to increase the funds of this institution, as the dinner to the boys at White Conduit House was an established thing, the masters continued it, and the boys of every master who belonged to the society went in a sort of state to the usual place of entertainment every 1st of May, where they were regaled as formerly. Many persons were in the habit of flocking on this day to White Conduit House to witness the festivities of the sweepers on this occasion, and usually contributed something towards the society. As soon, however, as the Act passed, this also was discontinued, and it is now one of the legends connected with the class.

Sweeping of the Chimneys of Steam-Vessels.

The sweeping of the flues in the boilers of steam-boats, in the Port of London, and also of land boilers in manufactories, is altogether a distinct process, as the machine cannot be used until such time as the parties who are engaged in this business travel a long way through the flues, and reach the lower part of the chimney or funnel where it communicates with the boilers and receives the smoke in its passage to the upper air. The boilers in the large sea-going steamers are of curious construction; in some large steamers there are four separate boilers with three furnaces

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in each, the flues of each boiler uniting in one beneath the funnel; immediately beyond the end of the furnace, which is marked by a little wall constructed of firebrick to prevent the coals and fire from running off the firebars, there is a large open space very high and wide, and which space after a month's steaming is generally filled up with soot, somewhat resembling a snow drift collected in a hollow, were it not for its colour and the fact that it is sometimes in a state of ignition; it is, at times, so deep, that a man sinks to his middle in it the moment he steps across the firebridge. Above his head, and immediately over the end of the furnace, he may perceive an opening in what otherwise would appear to be a solid mass of iron; up to this opening, which resembles a doorway, the sweeper must clamber the best way he can, and when he succeeds in this he finds himself in a narrow passage completely dark, but with so strong a current of air rushing through it from the furnaces beneath towards the funnel overhead that it is with difficulty the wick lamp which he carries in his hand can be kept burning. This passage, between the iron walls on either side, is lofty enough for a tall man to stand upright in, but does not seem at first of any great extent; as he goes on, however, to what appears the end, he finds out his mistake, by coming to a sharp turn which conducts him back again towards the open space in the centre of the boiler, but which is now hid from him by the hollow iron walls which on every side surround him, and within which the waters boil and seethe as the living flames issuing from the furnaces rush and roar through these winding passages; another sharp turn leads back to the front of the boilers, and so on for seven or eight turns, backwards and forwards, like the windings in a maze, till at the last turn a light suddenly breaks upon him, and, looking up, he perceives the hollow tube of the funnel, black and ragged with the adhering soot.

Here, then, the labour of the sweeper commences: he is armed with a brush and shovel, and laying down his lamp in a space from which he has previously shovelled away the soot, which in many parts of the passage is knee deep, he brushes down the soot from the sides and roof of the passage, which being done he shovels it before him into the next winding; this process he repeats till he reaches, by degrees, the opening where he ascended. Whenever the accumulation of soot is so great that it is likely to block up the passage in the progress of his work, he wades through and shovels as much as he thinks necessary out of the opening into the large space behind the furnaces, then resumes his work, brushing and shovelling by turns, till the flues are cleared; when this is accomplished, he descends, and the fire bars being previously removed, he shovels the soot, now all collected together, over the firebridge and into the ashpit of the furnace; other persons stand ready in the stoke-hole armed with long iron rakes, with which they drag out the soot from the ashpits; and others shovel it into sacks, which they make fast to tackle secured to the upper deck, by which they "bowse" it up out of the engine-room, and either discharge it overboard or put it into boats preparatory to being taken ashore. In this manner an immense quantity of soot is removed from the boilers of a large foreign-going steamer when she gets into port, after a month or six weeks' steaming, having burned in that time perhaps 700 or 800 tons of coal: this work is always performed by the stokers and coal-trimmers in the foreign ports, who seldom, if ever, get anything extra for it, although it is no uncommon thing for some of them to be ill for a week after it.

In the port of London, however, the sweeper comes into requisition, who, besides going through the process already described, brings his machine with him, and is thus enabled to cleanse the funnel, and to increase the quantity of soot. Some of the master sweepers, who have the cleansing of the steam-boats in the river, and the sweeping of boiler flues are obliged to employ a good many men, and make a great deal of money by their business. The use of anthracite coals, however, and some modern improvements, by which air at a certain temperature is admitted to certain parts of the furnace, have in many instances greatly lessened, if they have not altogether prevented, the accumulation of soot, by the prevention of smoke; and it seems quite possible, from the statements made by many eminent scientific and practical men who were examined before a select committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Mackinnon, in 1843, that by having properly-constructed stoves, and a sufficient quantity of pure air properly admitted, not only less fuel might be burned, and produce a greater amount of heat, but soot would cease to accumulate, so that the necessity for sweepers would be no longer felt, and there would be no fear of fires from the ignition of soot in the flues of chimneys; blacks and smoke, moreover, would take their departure together; and with them the celebrated London fog might also, in a great measure, disappear.

The funnels of steamers are generally swept at from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per funnel. The Chelsea steamers are swept by Mr. Allbrook, of Chelsea; the Continental, by Mr. Hawsey, of Rosemary-lane; and the Irish and Scotch steamers, by Mr. Tuff, who resides in the East London district.

Of the "Ramoneur" Company.

The Patent Ramoneur Company demands, perhaps, a special notice. It was formed between four and five years ago, and has now four stations: one in Little Harcourt-street, Bryanstone-square; another in New-road, Sloane-street; a third in Charles-place, Euston-square; and the fourth in William-street, Portland-town.

"This Company has been formed," the prospectus stated, "for the purpose of cleansing chimneys with the Patent Ramoneur Machine, and introducing various other improvements in the business of chimney sweeping. Chimneys are daily swept with this machine where others have failed."

The Company charge the usual prices, and all

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the men employed have been brought up as sweepers. The patent machine is thus described:—

"The Patent Ramoneur Machine consists of four brushes, forming a square head, which, by means of elastic springs, contracts or expands, according to the space it moves in; the rods attached to this head or brush are supplied at intervals with a universal spring-joint, capable of turning even a right angle, and the whole is surmounted with a double revolving ball, having also a universal spring-joint, which leads the brush with certainty into every corner, cleansing its route most perfectly."

The recommendation held out to the public is, that the patented chimney-machine sweeps cleaner than that in general use, and for the reasons assigned; and that, being constructed with more and better springs, it is capable of "turning even a right angle," which the common machine often leaves unswept. This was and is commonly said of the difference between the cleansing of the chimney by a climbing-boy and that effected by the present mechanical appliances in general use —the boy was "better round a corner."

The patent machines now worked in London are fifteen in number, and fifteen men are thus employed. Each man receives as a weekly wage, always in money, 14*s.*, besides a suit of clothes yearly. The suit consists of a jacket, waistcoat, and trousers, of dark-coloured corduroy; also a "frock" or blouse, to wear when at work, and a cap; the whole being worth from 35*s.* to 40*s.* This payment is about equivalent to that received weekly by the journeymen in the regular or honourable trade; for although higher in nominal amount as a weekly remuneration, the Ramoneur operatives are not allowed any perquisites whatever. The resident or manager at each station is also a working chimney-sweeper for the Company, and at the same rate as the others, his advantage being that he lives rent-free. At one station which I visited, the resident had two comfortable-looking up-stairs'-rooms (the stations being all in small streets), where he and his wife lived; while the "cellar," which was indeed but the ground floor, although somewhat lower than the doorstep, was devoted to business purposes, the soot being stored there. It was boarded off into separate compartments, one being at the time quite full of soot. All seemed as clean and orderly as possible. The rent of those two rooms, unfurnished, would not be less than 4*s.* or 5*s.* a week, so that the resident's payment may be put at about 50*l.* a year. The patent-machine operatives sweep, on an average, the same number of chimneys each, as a master chimney-sweeper's men in a good way of business in the ordinary trade.

Of the Brisk and Slack Seasons, and the Casual Trade among the Chimney-Sweepers.

As among the rubbish-carters in the unskilled, and the tailors and shoemakers of the skilled trades, the sweepers' trade also has its slackness and its briskness, and from the same cause—the difference in the *seasons*. The seasons affecting the sweepers' trade are, however, the *natural* seasons of the year, the recurring summer and winter, while the seasons influencing the employment of West-end tailors are the *arbitrary* seasons of fashion.

The chimney-sweepers' *brisk* season is in the winter, and especially at what may be in the respective households the periods of the resumption and discontinuance of sitting-room fires.

The sweepers' seasons of briskness and slackness, indeed, may be said then to be ruled by the thermometer, for the temperature causes the increase or diminution of the number of fires, and consequently of the production of soot. The thermometrical period for fires appears to be from October to the following April, both inclusive (seven months), for during that season the temperature is below 50°. I have seen it stated, and I believe it is merely a statement of a fact, that at one time, and even now in some houses, it was customary enough for what were called "great families" to have a fixed day (generally Michaelmas-day, Sept. 29) on which to commence fires in the sitting-rooms, and another stated day (often May-day, May 1) on which to discontinue them, no matter what might be the mean temperature, whether too warm for the enjoyment of a fire, or too cold comfortably to dispense with it. Some wealthy persons now, I am told—such as call themselves "economists," while their servants and dependants apply the epithet "mean"—defer fires until the temperature descends to 42°, or from November to March, both inclusive, a season of only five months.

As this question of the range of the thermometer evidently influences the seasons, and therefore, the casual labour of the sweepers, I will give the following interesting account of the changing temperature of the metropolis, month by month, the information being derived from the observations of 25 years (1805 to 1830), by Mr. Luke Howard. The average temperature appears to be:—

	Degrees.		Degrees.
January	35·1	July	63·1
February	38·9	August	57·1
March	42·0	September	50·1
April	47·5	October	42·4
May	54·9	November	41·9
June	59·6	December	38·3

London, I may further state, is 2½ degrees warmer than the country, especially in winter, owing to the shelter of buildings and the multiplicity of the fires in the houses and factories. In the summer the metropolis is about 1¼ degree hotter than the country, owing to want of free air in London, and to a cause little thought about —the reverberations from narrow streets. In spring and autumn, however, the temperature of both town and country is nearly equal.

In London, moreover, the nights are 11·3 degrees colder than the days; in the country they

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are 15·4 degrees colder. The extreme ranges of the temperature in the day, in the capital, are from 20° to 90°. The thermometer *has* fallen below zero in the night time, but not frequently.

In London the hottest months are 28 degrees warmer than the coldest; the temperature of July, which is the hottest month, being 63·1; and that of January, the coldest month, 35·1 degrees.

The month in which there are the greatest number of extremes of heat and cold is January. In February and December there are (generally speaking) only two such extreme variations, and five in July; through the other months, however, the extremes are more diffused, and there are only two spring and two autumn months (April and June—September and November), which are not exposed to great differences of temperature.

The mean temperature assumes a rate of increase in the different months, which may be represented by a curve nearly equal and parallel with one representing the progress of the sun in declination.

Hoar-frosts occur when the thermometer is about 39°, and the dense yellow fogs, so peculiar to London, are the most frequent in the months of November, December, and January, whilst the temperature ranges below 40°.

The busy season in the chimney-sweepers' trade commences at the beginning of November, and continues up to the month of May; during the remainder of the year the trade is "slack." When the slack season has set in nearly 100 men are thrown out of employment. These, as well as many of the single-handed masters, resort to other kinds of employment. Some turn costermongers, others tinkers, knife-grinders, &c., and others migrate to the country and get a job at hay-making, or any other kind of unskilled labour. Even during the brisk season there are upwards of 50 men out of employment; some of these occasionally contrive to get a machine of their own, and go about "knulling,"—getting a job where they can.

Many of the master sweepers employ in the summer months only two journeymen, whereas they require three in the winter months; but this, I am informed, is not the general average, and that it will be more correct to compute it for the whole trade, in the proportion of two and a half to two. We may, then, calculate that one-fourth of the entire trade is displaced during the slack season.

This, then, may be taken as the extent of casual labour, with all the sufferings it entails upon improvident, and even upon careful working-men.

A youth casually employed as a sweeper gave the following account:—"I jobs for the sweeps sometimes, sir, as I 'd job for anybody else, and if you have any herrands to go, and will send me, I 'll be unkimmon thankful. I haven't no father and don't remember one, and mother might do well but for the ruin (gin). I calls it 'ruin' out of spite. No, I don't care for it myself. I like beer ten to a farthing to it. "She 's a ironer, sir, a stunning good one, but I don't like to talk about her, for she might yarn a hatful of browns—3*s.* 6*d.* a day; and when she has pulled up for a month or more it 's stunning is the difference. I 'd rather not be asked more about that. Her great fault against me is as I won't settle. I was one time put to a woman's shoemaker as worked for a ware'us. He was a relation, and I was to go prentice if it suited. But I couldn't stand his confining ways, and I 'm sartain sure that he only wanted me for some tin mother said she 'd spring if all was square. He was bad off, and we lived bad, but he always pretended he was going to be stunning busy. So I hooked it. I 'd other places—a pot-boy's was one, but no go. None suited.

"Well, I can keep myself now by jobbing, leastways I can partly, for I have a crib in a corner of mother's room, and my rent 's nothing, and when she 's all right *I'm* all right, and she gets better as I grows bigger, I think. Well, I don't know what I 'd like to be; something like a lamp-lighter, I think. Well, I look out for sweep jobs among others, and get them sometimes. I don't know how often. Sometimes three mornings a week for one week; then none for a month. Can any one live by jobbing that way for the sweeps? No, sir, nor get a quarter of a living; but it 's a help. I know some very tidy sweeps now. I 'm sure I don't know what they are in the way of trade. O, yes, now you ask that, I think they 're masters. I've had 6*d.* and half-a-pint of beer for a morning's work, jobbing like. I carry soot for them, and I 'm lent a sort of jacket, or a wrap about me, to keep it off my clothes—though a Jew wouldn't sometimes look at 'em—and there 's worser people nor sweeps. Sometimes I 'll get only 2*d.* or 3*d.* a day for helping that way, a carrying soot. I don't know nothing about weights or bushels, but I know I've found it —— heavy.

"The way, you see, sir, is this here: I meets a sweep as knows me by sight, and he says, 'Come along, Tom 's not at work, and I want you. I have to go it harder, so you carry the soot to our place to save my time, and join me again at No. 39.' That 's just the ticket of it. Well, no; I wouldn't mind being a sweep for myself with my own machine; but I 'd rather be a lamp-lighter. How many help sweeps as I do? I can't at all say. No, I don't know whether it 's 10, or 20, or 100, or 1000. I 'm no scholard, sir, that 's one thing. But it 's very seldom such as me 's wanted by them. I can't tell what I get for jobbing for sweeps in a year. I can't guess at it, but it 's not so much, I think, as from other kinds of jobbing. Yes, sir, I haven't no doubt that the t'others as jobs for sweeps is in the same way as me. I think I may do as much as any of 'em that way, quite as much."

OF THE "LEEKS" AMONG THE CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS.

THE *Leeks* are men who have not been brought up to the trade of chimney sweeping, but have adopted it as a speculation, and are so called from their entering *green*, or inexperienced, into the

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business. There are I find as many as 200 leeks altogether among the master chimney-sweepers of the metropolis. Of the "high masters" the greater portion are leeks—no less than 92 out of 106. I was informed that one of this class was formerly a solicitor, others had been ladies' shoemakers, and others master builders and bricklayers. Among the lower-class sweepers who have taken to this trade, there are dustmen, scavagers, bricklayers' labourers, soldiers, costermongers, tinkers, and various other unskilled labourers.

The leeks are regarded with considerable dislike by the class of masters who have been regularly brought up to the business, and served their apprenticeships as climbing-boys. These look upon the leeks as men who intrude upon, or interfere with, their natural and, as they account it, legal rights—declaring that only such as have been brought up to the business should be allowed to establish themselves in it as masters. The chimney-sweepers, as far as I can learn, have never possessed any guild, or any especial trade regulations, and this opinion of their rights being invaded by the leeks arises most probably from their knowledge that during the climbing-boy system every lad so employed, unless the son of his employer, was obliged to be apprenticed.

This jealousy towards the leeks does not at all affect the operative sweepers, as some of these leeks are good masters, and among them, perhaps, is to be found the majority of the capitalists of the chimney-sweeping trade, paying the best wages, and finding their journeymen proper food and lodging. Into whatever district I travelled I heard the operative chimney-sweepers speak highly in favour of some of the leeks.

Many of the small masters, however, said "it were a shame" for persons who had never known the horrors of climbing to come into the trade and take the bread out of the mouths of those who had undergone the drudgery of the climbing system; and there appears to be some little justice in their remarks.

Since the introduction of machines into the chimney-sweeping trade the masters have increased considerably. In 1816 there were 200 masters, and now there are 350. Before the machines were introduced, the high master sweepers or "great gentlemen," as they were called, numbered only about 20; their present number is 106. The lower-class and master-men sweepers, on the other hand, were, under the climbing system, from 150 to 180 in number; but at present there are as many as 240 odd. The majority of these fresh hands are "leeks," not having been bred to the business.

Of the Inferior Chimney-Sweepers—the "Knullers" and "Queriers."

The majority of occupations in all civilized communities are divisible into two distinct classes, the employers and the employed. The employers are necessarily capitalists to a greater or less extent, providing generally the materials and implements necessary for the work, as well as the subsistence of the workmen, in the form of wages and appropriating the proceeds of the labour, while the employed are those who, for the sake of the present subsistence supplied to them, undertake to do the requisite work for the employer. In some few trades these two functions are found to be united in the same individuals. The class known as peasant proprietors among the cultivators of the soil are at once the labourers and the owners of the land and stock. The cottiers, on the other hand, though renting the land of the proprietor, are, so to speak, peasant farmers, tilling the land for themselves rather than doing so at wages for some capitalist tenant. In handicrafts and manufactures the same combination of functions is found to prevail. In the clothing districts the domestic workers are generally their own masters, and so again in many other branches of production. These trading operatives are known by different names in different trades. In the shoe trade, for instance, they are called "chamber-masters," in the "cabinet trade" they are termed "garret-masters," and in "the cooper's trade" the name for them is "small trading-masters." Some style them "master-men," and others, "single-handed masters." In all occupations, however, the master-men are found to be especially injurious to the interests of the entire body of both capitalists and operatives, for, owing to the limited extent of their resources, they are obliged to find a market for their work, no matter at what the sacrifice, and hence by their excessive competitions they serve to lower the prices of the trade to a most unprecedented extent. I have as yet met with no occupation in which the existence of a class of master-men has worked well for the interest of the trade, and I have found many which they have reduced to a state of abject wretchedness. It is a peculiar circumstance in connection with the master-men that they abound only in those callings which require a small amount of capital, and which, consequently, render it easy for the operative immediately on the least disagreement between him and his employer to pass from the condition of an operative into that of a trading workmen. When among the fancy cabinet-makers I had a statement from a gentleman, in Aldersgate-street, who supplied the materials to these men, that a fancy cabinet-maker, the manufacturer of writing-desks, tea-caddies, ladies' work-boxes, &c., could begin, and did begin, business on less than 3*s.* 6*d.* A youth had just then bought materials of him for 2*s.* 6*d.* to "begin on a small desk," stepping at once out of the trammels of apprenticeship into the character of a master-man. Now this facility to commence business on a man's own account is far greater in the chimney-sweepers' trade than even in the desk-makers,' for the one needs no previous training, while the other does.

Thus when other trades, skilled or unskilled, are depressed, when casual labour is with a mass of workpeople more general than constant labour, they naturally inquire if they "cannot do better at something else," and often resort to such trades as the chimney-sweepers'. It is open to

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all, skilled and unskilled alike. Distress, a desire of change, a vagabond spirit, a hope to "better themselves," all tend to swell the ranks of the single-handed master chimney-sweepers; even though these men, from the casualties of the trade in the way of "seasons," &c., are often exposed to great privations.

There are in all 147 single-handed masters, who are thus distributed throughout the metropolis:—

Southwark (17), Chelsea (11), Marylebone, Shoreditch, and Whitechapel (each 9), Hackney, Stepney, and Lambeth (each 8), St. George's-in-the-East (7), Rotherhithe (6), St. Giles' and East London (each 5), Bethnal-green, Bermondsey, Camberwell, and Clapham (each 4), St. Pancras, Islington, Walworth, and Greenwich (each 3), St. James's (Westminster), Holborn, Clerkenwell, St. Luke's, Poplar, Westminster, West London, City, Wandsworth, and Woolwich (each 1); in all, 147.

Thus we perceive, that the single-handed masters abound in the suburbs and poorer districts; and it is generally in those parts where the lower rate of wages is paid that these men are found to prevail. Their existence appears to be at once the cause and the consequence of the depreciation of the labour.

Of the single-handed masters there is a sub-class known by the name of "knullers" or "queriers."

The *knullers* were formerly, it is probable, known as knellers. The Saxon word *Cnyllan* is to knell (to knull properly), or sound a bell, and the name "knuller" accordingly implies the sounder of a bell, which has been done, there can be no doubt, by the London chimney-sweepers as well as the dustmen, to announce their presence, and as still done in some country parts. One informant has known this to be the practice at the town of Hungerford in Berkshire. The bell was in size between that of the muffin-man and the dustman.

The knuller is also styled a "*querier*," a name derived from his making *inquiries* at the doors of the houses as to whether his services are required or are likely to be soon required, calling even where they know that a regular resident chimney-sweeper is employed. The men go along calling "sweep," more especially in the suburbs, and if asked "Are you Mr. So-and-So's man?" answer in the affirmative, and may then be called in to sweep the chimneys, or instructed to come in the morning. Thus they receive the full charge of an established master, who, for the sake of his character and the continuance of his custom, must do his work properly; while if such work be done by the knuller, it will be hurriedly and therefore badly done, as all work is, in a general way, when done under false pretences.

Some of the sharpest of these men, I am told, have been reared up as sweepers; but it appears, although it is a matter difficult to ascertain with precision, the majority have been brought up to some generally unskilled calling, as scavagers, costermongers, tinkers, bricklayers' labourers, soldiers, &c. The knullers or queriers are almost all to be found among the lower class chimney-sweepers. There are, from the best information to be obtained, from 150 to 200 of them. Not only do they scheme for employment in the way I have described, but some of them call at the houses of both rich and poor, boldly stating that they had been *sent* by Mr. —— to sweep the flues. I was informed by several of the master sweepers, that many of the fires which happen in the metropolis are owing to persons employing these "knullers," "for," say the high masters, "they scamp the work, and leave a quantity of soot lodged in the chimney, which, in the event of a large fire being kept in the range or grate, ignites." This opinion as to the fires in the chimneys being caused by the scamped work of the knullers must be taken with some allowance. Tradesmen, whose established business is thus, as they account it, usurped, are naturally angry with the usurpers.

There is another evil, so say the regular masters, resulting from the employment of the knullers—the losses accruing to persons employing them, as "they take anything they can lay their hands upon."

This, also, is a charge easy to make, but not easy to refute, or even to sift. One master chimney-sweeper told me that when chimneys are swept in rich men's houses there is almost always some servant in attendance to watch the sweepers. If the rich, I am told, be watchful under these circumstances, the poor are more vigilant.

The distribution of the knullers or queriers is as follows:—Southwark (17), Chelsea and St. Giles' (11 each), Shoreditch and Whitechapel (10 each), Lambeth (9), Marylebone, Stepney and Walworth (8 each), St. George's in the East and Woolwich (7 each), Islington and Hackney (6 each), East London, Rotherhithe, and Greenwich (5 each), Paddington, St. Pancras, East London, Retherhithe and Greenwich (5 each), Paddington, St. Pancras, Bethnal Green, Bermondsey, and Clapham (4 each), Westminster, St. Martin's, Holborn, St. Luke's, West London, Poplar, and Camberwell (3 each); St. James's (Westminster), Clerkenwell, City of London, and Wandsworth (2 each), Kensington (1); in all, 183.

Like the single-handed men the knullers abound in the suburbs. I endeavoured to find a knuller who had been a skilled labourer, and was referred to one who, I was told, had been a working plumber, and a "good hand at spouts." I found him a doggedly ignorant man; he saw no good, he said, in books or newspapers, and "wouldn't say nothing to me, as I'd told him it would be printed. He wasn't a going to make a holy-show [so I understood him] of *his*-self."

Another knuller (to whom I was referred by a master who occasionally employed him as a journeyman) gave me the following account. He was "doing just middling" when I saw him, he said, but his look was that of a man who had known privations, and the soot actually seemed to bring out his wrinkles more fully, although he told me he was only between 40 and 50 years old; he believed he was not 46.

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"I was hard brought up, sir," he said; "ay, them as 'll read your book—I mean them readers as is well to do—cannot fancy how hard. Mother was a widow; father was nobody knew where; and, poor woman, she was sometimes distracted that a daughter she had before her marriage, went all wrong. She was a washerwoman, and slaved herself to death. She died in the house [workhouse] in Birmingham. I can read and write a little. I was sent to a charity school, and when I was big enough I was put 'prentice to a gunsmith at Birmingham. I 'm master of the business generally, but my perticler part is a gun lock-filer. No, sir, I can't say as ever I liked it; nothing but file file all day. I used to wish I was like the free bits o' boys that used to beg steel filings of me for their fifth of November fireworks. I never could bear confinement. It 's made me look older than I ought, I know, but what can a poor man do? No, I never cared much about drinking. I worked in an iron-foundry when I was out of my time. I had a relation that was foreman there. Perhaps it might be that, among all the dust and heat and smoke and stuff, that made me a sweep at last, for I was then almost or quite as black as a sweep.

"Then I come up to London; ay, that must be more nor 20 years back. O, I came up to better myself, but I couldn't get work either at the gun-makers—and I fancy the London masters don't like Birmingham hands—nor at the iron-foundries, and the iron-foundries is nothing in London to what they is in Staffordshire and Warwickshire; nothing at all, they may say what they like. Well, sir, I soon got very bad off. My togs was hardly to call togs. One night—and it was a coldish night, too—I slept in the park, and was all stiff and shivery next morning. As I was wandering about near the park, I walked up a street near the Abbey—King-street, I think it is—and there was a picture outside a public-house, and a writing of men wanted for the East India Company's Service. I went there again in the evening, and there was soldiers smoking and drinking up and down, and I 'listed at once. I was to have my full bounty when I got to the depôt—Southampton I think they called it. Somehow I began to rue what I 'd done. Well, I hardly can tell you why. O, no; I don't say I was badly used; not at all. But I had heard of snakes and things in the parts I was going to, and I gently hooked it. I was a navvy on different rails after that, but I never was strong enough for that there work, and at last I couldn't get any more work to do. I came back to London; well, sir, I can't say, as you ask, why I came to London 'stead of Birmingham. I seemed to go natural like. I could get nothing to do, and Lord! what I suffered! I once fell down in the Cut from hunger, and I was lifted into Watchorn's, and he said to his men, 'Give the poor fellow a little drop of brandy, and after that a biscuit; the best things he can have.' He saved my life, sir. The people at the bar—they see'd it was no humbug—gathered 7½*d.* for me. A penny a-piece from some of Maudslay's men, and a halfpenny from a gent that hadn't no other change, and a poor woman as I was going away slipt a couple of trotters into my hand.

"I slept at a lodging-house, then, in Baldwin's-gardens when I had money, and one day in Gray's inn-lane I picked up an old gent that fell in the middle of the street, and might have been run over. After he 'd felt in all his pockets, and found he was all right, he gave me 5*s.* I knew a sweep, for I sometimes slept in the same house, in King-street, Drury-lane; and he was sick, and was going to the big house. And he told me all about his machines, that 's six or seven years back, and said if I 'd pay 2*s.* 6*d.* down, and 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, if I couldn't pay more, I might have his machine for 20*s.* I took it at 17*s.* 6*d.*, and paid him every farthing. That just kept him out of the house, but he died soon after.

"Yes, I 've been a sweep ever since. I 've had to shift as well as I could I don't know that I I 'm what you call a Nuller, or a Querier. Well, if I 'm asked if I 'm anybody's man, I don't like to say 'no,' and I don't like to say 'yes;' so I says nothing if I can help it. Yes, I call at houses to ask if anything 's wanted. I 've got a job that way sometimes. If they took me for anybody's man, I can't help that. I lodge with another sweep which is better off nor I am, and pay him 2*s.* 9*d.* a week for a little stair-head place with a bed in it. I think I clear 7*s.* a week, one week with another, but that 's the outside. I never go to church or chapel. I 've never got into the way of it. Besides, I wouldn't be let in, I s'pose, in my togs. I 've only myself. I can't say I much like what I 'm doing, but what can a poor man do?"

Of the Fires of London.

Connected with the subject of chimney sweeping is one which attracts far less of the attention of the legislature and the public than its importance would seem to demand: I mean the fires in the metropolis, with their long train of calamities, such as the loss of life and of property. These calamities, too, especially as regards the loss of property, are almost all endured by the poor, the destruction of whose furniture is often the destruction of their whole property, as insurances are rarely effected by them; while the wealthier classes, in the case of fires, are not exposed to the evils of houselessness, and may be actually gainers by the conflagration, through the sum for which the property was insured.

"The daily occurrence of fires in the metropolis," say the Board of Health, "their extent, the number of persons who perish by them, the enormous loss of property they occasion, the prevalence of incendiarism, the apparent apathy with which such calamities are regarded, and the rapidity with which they are forgotten, will hereafter be referred to as evidence of a very low social condition and defective administrative organization. These fires, it was shown nearly a century ago, when the subject of insurance was debated in Parliament, were frequently caused from

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not having chimneys swept in proper time." I am informed that a chimney may be on fire for many days, unknown to the inmates of the house, and finally break out in the body of the building by its getting into contact with some beam or wood-work. The recent burning of Limehouse Church was occasioned by the soot collected in the flue taking fire, and becoming red hot, when it ignited the wood-work in the roof. The flue, or pipe, was of iron.

From a return made by Mr. Braidwood of the houses and properties destroyed in the metropolis in the three years ending in 1849 inclusive, it appears that the total number was 1111 : of contents destroyed (which, being generally insured separately, should be kept distinct) there were 1013. The subjoined table gives the particulars as to the proportion insured and uninsured :—

——	Insured.	Uninsured.	Total.
Houses . . .	914	197	1111
Contents . .	609	404	1013
	1523	601	2124

"The proportion per cent. of the uninsured to the insured, would be—

——		Insured.	Uninsured.	Total.
		Per Cent.	Per Cent.	
Houses . .	1111	82·3	17·7	100
Contents .	1013	60·1	39·9	100
	2124	71·7	28·3	100

The following table gives the total number of fires in the metropolis during a series of years :

ABSTRACT OF CAUSES OF FIRE IN THE METROPOLIS, from 1833 to 1849, inclusive.

Compiled by W. Baddeley.

	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Total.	Average
Accidents of various kinds, for the most part unavoidable	83	40	14	13	17	36	25	26	26	44	19	11	17	29	20	19	13	452	27
Apparel ignited on the person ..	..	..	..	7	7	5	3	12	5	9	5	4	3	3	3	1	2	69	4
Candles, various accidents with ..	56	146	110	157	125	132	128	169	184	189	166	205	165	229	237	237	241	2876	169
Carelessness, palpable instances of	28	..	19	18	7	17	14	24	25	19	27	15	14	15	20	23	24	309	18
Children playing with fire or candles	..	..	5	6	18	5	12	21	18	16	20	23	19	25	16	19	15	238	14
Drunkenness	..	2	3	..	2	4	6	5	5	11	6	9	7	9	5	3	7	84	5
Fire-heat, application of, to various hazardous manufacturing processes........	31	24	39	34	22	40	26	29	16	36	14	21	22	25	16	22	23	440	26
Fire-sparks	..	..	..	7	10	12	9	17	13	23	17	27	24	32	65	63	40	359	21
Fire-works	..	..	3	..	5	3	5	1	4	7	5	3	10	9	6	1	8	70	4
Fires kindled on hearths and other improper places .	7	..	9	5	5	15	8	7	8	9	9	8	12	7	3	4	4	120	7
Flues, foul, defective, &c.........	71	65	69	72	53	58	58	89	83	90	105	84	78	86	78	56	78	1273	75
Fumigation, Incautious	..	3	7	5	2	1	5	3	2	2	1	1	3	4	4	4	2	49	3
Furnaces, kilns, &c., defective or over-heated	..	11	2	9	12	15	20	15	12	23	19	17	29	28	14	16	21	263	16
Gas	20	25	39	38	31	42	72	48	48	52	40	33	54	53	63	65	57	780	46
Gunpowder	3	3	..	1	3	1	2	..	..	3	1	..	1	..	2	..	2	22	1⅓
Hearths, defective, &c.........	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	5	2	..	4	3	4	3	24	1½
Hot cinders put away............	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	7	10	8	9	5	11	56	3
Lamps	..	..	..	2	3	9	4	3	5	2	2	6	11	7	2	3	17	76	5
Lime, slaking of .	..	3	4	3	..	4	2	2	5	4	2	3	9	7	5	5	3	61	4
Linen, drying, airing, &c.	..	..	22	31	48	32	26	25	27	41	33	45	30	39	34	36	40	509	30
Lucifer-matches..	..	..	..	..	8	9	17	18	16	17	14	19	12	14	9	23	12	188	11
Ovens............	6	..	..	6	3	11	4	13	13	13	10	10	8	8	8	2	2	117	7
Reading, working, or smoking in bed	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	5	2	3	..	..	3	1	1	1	22	1⅓
Shavings, loose, ignited..........	..	6	9	13	8	17	8	27	35	22	31	18	25	35	37	27	21	339	20
Spontaneous combustion	7	2	5	4	4	5	13	11	22	20	23	34	19	18	15	7	19	228	13
Stoves, defective, over-heated, &c.	18	20	11	28	36	31	24	48	54	32	58	44	51	43	37	48	43	626	37
Tobacco smoking	..	6	4	1	3	4	11	9	22	17	14	21	19	29	18	37	24	239	14
Suspicious	..	..	..	..	7	8	6	11	7	9	16	7	9	7	17	11	10	125	7
Wilful	3	9	6	8	5	6	7	9	13	19	21	11	14	19	17	25	19	211	12
Unknown........	125	114	91	96	57	45	67	39	23	32	60	74	32	39	72	38	76	1080	63

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Here, then, we perceive that there are, upon an average of 17 years, no less than 770 "fires" per annum, that is to say, 29 houses in every 10,000 are discovered to be on fire every year; and about one-fourth of these are uninsured. In the year 1833 the total number of fires was only 458, or 20 in every 10,000 inhabited houses, whilst, in 1849, the number had gradually progressed to 838, or 28 in every 10,000 houses.

We have here, however, to deal more particularly with the causes of these fires, of which the following table gives the result of many years' valuable experience :—

TABULAR EPITOME OF METROPOLITAN FIRES, FROM 1833 to 1849.

BY W. BADDELEY, 29, ALFRED STREET, ISLINGTON.

	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Total.	Average
Slightly damaged	292	338	315	397	357	383	402	451	438	521	489	502	431	576	536	509	582	6,574	470
Seriously damaged	135	116	125	134	122	152	165	204	234	224	231	237	244	238	273	269	228	2,955	211
Totally destroyed	31	28	31	33	22	33	17	26	24	24	29	23	32	20	27	27	28	365	26
Total No. of Fires	458	482	471	564	501	568	584	681	696	769	749	762	707	834	836	805	838	9,894	770
False Alarms	59	63	66	66	89	80	70	84	67	61	79	70	81	119	88	120	76	1,150	82
Alarms from Chimneys on Fire	75	106	106	126	127	107	101	98	92	82	83	94	87	69	66	86	89	1,307	94
Total No. of Calls	592	651	643	756	717	755	755	863	855	912	911	926	875	1022	990	1011	1003	12,351	882
Insuran. on Building and Contents	..	..	..	169	173	161	169	237	343	321	276	313	313	302	263	310	368	3,718	266
Insurances on Building only ..	..	..	..	73	47	59	58	92	149	116	124	130	107	137	125	120	163	1,508	106
Insurances on Contents only..	..	..	..	104	76	128	115	104	52	112	107	94	73	125	157	134	72	1,453	104
Uninsured	..	..	..	218	205	220	242	248	152	220	242	217	214	270	291	241	235	3,215	230

Thus we perceive that, out of an average of 665 fires per annum, the information being derived from 17 years' experience, the following were the number of fires produced by different causes :—

	Average No. of Fires per Annum.
Candles, various accidents with .	169
Flues, foul, defective, &c. . . .	75
Unknown	63
Gas	46
Stoves over-heated	37
Linen, drying, airing, &c. . . .	30
Accidents of various kinds, for the most part unavoidable	27
Fire heat, application of, to various hazardous manufacturing processes . .	26
Fire sparks	21
Shavings, loose, ignited	20
Carelessness, palpable instances of .	18
Furnaces, kilns, &c., defective or overheated	16
Children playing with fire or candles .	14
Tobacco smoking	14
Spontaneous combustion	13
Wilful	12
Lucifer-matches	11
Ovens	7
Fires, kindled on hearths and other improper places	7
Suspicious	7
Lamps	5
Drunkenness	5
Lime, slaking of	4
Apparel, ignited on the person . .	4
Fireworks	4
Hot cinders put away	3
Incautious fumigation	3
Reading, working, or smoking in bed .	1·33
Hearths defective	1·25
	665

Here, then, we find that while the greatest proportion of fires are caused by accidents with candles, about one-ninth of the fires above mentioned arise from foul flues, or 75 out of 665, a circumstance which teaches us the usefulness of the class of labourers of whom we have been lately treating.

It would seem that a much larger proportion of the fires are wilfully produced than appear in the above table.

The Board of Health, in speaking of incendiarism in connection with insurance, report :—

"Inquiries connected with measures for the improvement of the population have developed the operation of insurances, in engendering crimes and calamities; negatively, by weakening natural responsibilities and motives to care and forethought; positively, by temptations held out to the commission of crime in the facility with which insurance money is usually obtainable.

"The *steady increase* in the number of fires in the metropolis, whilst our advance in the arts gives means for their diminution, is ascribable mainly to the operation of these two causes, and to the division and weakening of administrative authority. From information on which we can rely, we feel assured that the crime of incendiarism for the sake of insurance money exists to a far greater extent than the public are aware of."

Mr. Braidwood has expressed his opinion that only one-half of the property in the metropolis is insured, not as to numbers of property, but as to value; but the proportion of insured and uninsured houses could not be ascertained.

Mr. Baddeley, the inspector to the Society for the Protection of Life from Fire, who had given attention to the subject for the last 30 years, gave the Board the following account of the increase of fires :—

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—	Fires per Annum of Houses and Properties.	Of which were Totally Uninsured.	Proportion per Cent. of Insured Houses and Properties Burnt.
In the first seven years there were on an average .	623	215	65·15
In the second seven years . .	790	244	69·3

During this period there has been a great increase in the number of dwellings, but this has been chiefly in suburban places, where fires rarely occur.

"The frequency of fires," it is further stated, "led Mr. Payne, the coroner of the City of London, to revive the exercise of the coroner's function of inquiring into the causes of fires; most usefully. Out of 58 inquests held by him (in the City of London and the borough of Southwark, which comprise only one-eighteenth of the houses of the metropolis) since 1845, it appears that, 8 were proved to be wilful; 27 apparently accidental; and 23 from causes unknown, including suspicious causes. The proportion of ascertained wilful fires was, therefore, 23 per cent.; which gives strong confirmation to the indications presented by the statistical returns as to the excess of insured property burnt above uninsured."

The at once mean and reckless criminality of arson, by which a man exposes his neighbours to the risk of a dreadful death, which he himself takes measures to avoid, has long, and on many occasions, gone unpunished in London. The insurance companies, when a demand is made upon them for a loss through fire, institute an inquiry, carried on quietly by their own people. The claimant is informed, if sufficient reasons for such a step appear, that from suspicious circumstances, which had come to the knowledge of the company, the demand would not be complied with, and that the company would resist any action for the recovery of the money. The criminal becomes alarmed, he is afraid of committing himself, and so the matter drops, and the insurance companies, not being required to pay the indemnification, are satisfied to save their money, and let the incendiarism remain unnoticed or unpunished. Mr. Payne, the coroner, has on some occasions strongly commented on this practice as one which showed the want of a public prosecutor.

A few words as regards the means of extinction and help at fires.

Upwards of two years ago the Commissioners of Police instructed their officers to note the time which elapsed between the earliest alarm of fire and the arrival of the first engine. Seventeen fires were noted, and the average duration of time before the fire-brigade or any parochial or local fire-engine, reached the spot, was 36 minutes. Two or three of these fires were in the suburbs; so that in this crowded city, so densely packed with houses and people, fifteen fires raged unchecked for more than half-an-hour.

There are in the metropolis, not including the more distant suburbs, 150 public fire stations, with engines provided under the management of the parochial authorities. The fire-brigade has but seventeen stations on land, and two on the river, which are, indeed, floating engines, one being usually moored near Southwark-bridge, the other having no stated place, being changed in its locality, as may be considered best. In the course of three years, the term of the official inquiry, the engines of the fire-brigade reached on the average the place where a fire was raging *thirty-five* times as the earliest means of assistance, when the parochial engines did the same only in the proportion of *two* to the thirty-five.

Mr. Braidwood, the director of the fire-brigade, stated, when questioned on the subject with a view to a report to be laid before Parliament, that "the average time of an engine turning out with horses was from three to seven minutes." The engines are driven at the rate of ten miles an hour along the streets, which, in the old coaching days, was considered the "best royal mail pace." Indeed, there have been frequent complaints of the rapidity with which the fire-engines are driven, and if the drivers were not skilful and alert, it would really amount to recklessness.

"Information of the breaking out of a fire," it is stated in the report, "will be conveyed to the station of the brigade at the rate of about five miles an hour: thus in the case of the occurrence of a fire within a mile of the station, the intelligence may be conveyed to the station in about twelve minutes; the horses will be put to, and the engine got out into the street in about five minutes on the average; it traverses the mile in about six minutes; and the water has to be got into the engine, which will occupy about five minutes, making, under the most favourable circumstances for such a distance, 28 minutes, or for a half-mile distance, an average of not less than 20 minutes."

The average distance of the occurring fires from a brigade station were, however, during a period of three years, terminating in 1850, upwards of a mile. One was five miles, several four miles, more were two miles, and a mile and a half, while the most destructive fires were at an average distance of a mile and three quarters. Thus it was impossible for a fire-brigade to give assistance as soon as assistance was needed, and, under other circumstances, might have been rendered. And all this damage may and does very often result from what seems so trifling a neglect as the non-sweeping of a chimney.

Mr. W. Baddeley, an engineer, and a high authority on this subject, has stated that he had attended fires for 30 years in London, and that, of 838 fires which took place in 1849, two-thirds might have been easily extinguished had there been an immediate application of water. In some places, he said, delay originated from the turncocks being at wide intervals, and some of the

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companies objecting to let any but their own servants have the command of the main-cocks.

The Board of Health have recommended the formation of a series of street-water plugs within short distances of each other, the water to be constantly on at high pressure night and day, and the whole to be under the charge of a trained body of men such as compose the present fire-brigade, provided at appointed stations with every necessary appliance in the way of hose, pipes, ladders, &c. "The hose should be within the reach," it is urged in the report, "fixed, and applied on an average of not more than five minutes from the time of the alarm being given; that is to say, in less than one-fourth of the time within which fire-engines are brought to bear under existing arrangements, and with a still greater proportionate diminution of risks and serious accidents."

Nor is this mode of extinguishing fires a mere experiment. It is successfully practised in some of the American cities, Philadelphia among the number, and in some of our own manufacturing towns. Mr. Emmott, the engineer and manager of the Oldham Water-works, has described the practice in that town on the occurrence of fires:—

"In five cases out of six, the hose is pushed into a water-plug, and the water thrown upon a building on fire, for the average pressure of water in this town is 146 feet; by this means our fires are generally extinguished even before the heavy engine arrives at the spot. The hose is much preferred to the engine, on account of the speed with which it is applied, and the readiness with which it is used, for one man can manage a hose, and throw as much water on the building on fire as an engine worked by many men. On this account we very rarely indeed use the engines, as they possess no advantage whatever over the hose."

When the city of Hamburgh was rebuilt two or three years back, after its destruction by fire, it was rebuilt chiefly under the direction of Mr. W. Lindley, the engineer, and, as far as Mr. Lindley could accomplish, on sanitary principles, such as the abolition of cesspools. The arrangements for the surface cleansing of the streets by means of the hose and jet and the water-plugs, are made available for the extinction of fires, and with the following results, as communicated by Mr. Lindley:—

"Have there been fires in buildings in Hamburgh in the portion of the town rebuilt?—Yes, repeatedly. They have all, however, been put out at once. If they had had to wait the usual time for engines and water, say 20 minutes or half an hour, these might all have led to extensive conflagrations.

"What has been the effect on insurance?—The effect of the rapid extinction of fires has brought to light to the citizens of Hamburgh, the fact that the greater proportion of their fires are the work of incendiaries, for the sake of the insurance money. A person is absent; smoke is seen to exude; the alarm of fire is given, and the door is forced open, the jet applied, and the fire extinguished immediately. Case after case has occurred, where, upon the fire being extinguished, the arrangements for the spread of the fire are found and made manifest. Several of this class of incendiaries for the insurance money are now in prison. The saving of money alone, by the prevention of fires, would be worth the whole expense of the like arrangement in London, where it is well known that similar practices prevail extensively."

The following statement was given by Mr. Quick, an engineer, on this subject:—

"After the destruction of the terminus of the South Western Railway by fire, I recommended them to have a 9-inch main, with 3-inch outlets leading to six stand-pipes, with joining screws for hose-pipes to be attached, and that they should carry a 3-inch pipe of the same description up into each floor, so that a hose might be attached in any room where the fire commenced.

"In how many minutes may the hose be attached?—There is only the time of attaching the hose, which need be nothing like a minute. I have indeed recommended that a short length of hose with a short nozzle or branch should be kept attached to the cock, so that the cock has only to be turned, which is done in an instant.

"It appears that fire-engines require 26 men to work each engine of two 7-inch barrels, to produce a jet of about 50 feet high. The arrangement carried out, at your recommendation, with six jets, is equivalent to keeping six such engines, and the power of 156 men, in readiness to act at all times, night and day, at about a minute's notice, for the extinction of fires?—It will give a power more than equal to that number of men; for the jets given off from a 20-inch main will be much more regular and powerful, and will deliver more water than could be delivered by any engine. The jets at that place would be 70 feet high."

The system of roof-cisterns, which was at one time popular as a means of extinction, has been found, it appears, on account of their leakage and diffusion of damp, to be but sorry contrivances, and have very generally been discontinued. Mr. Holme, a builder in Liverpool, gives the following, even under the circumstances, amusing account of a fire where such a cistern was provided:—

"The owner of a cotton kiln, which had been repeatedly burnt, took it into his head to erect a large tank in the roof. His idea was, that when a fire occurred, they should have water at hand; and when the fire ascended, it would burn the wooden tank, and the whole of the contents being discharged on the fire like a cataract, it would at once extinguish it. Well, the kiln again took fire; the smoke was so suffocating, that nobody could get at the internal pipe, and the whole building was again destroyed. But what became of the tank? It could not burn, because it was filled with water; consequently, it boiled most admirably. No hole was singed in its side or bottom; it looked very picturesque, but it was utterly useless."

The necessity of almost immediate help is

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shown in the following statement by Mr. Braidwood, when consulted on the subject of fire-escapes, which under the present system are not considered sufficiently effective:—

"Taking London to be six miles long and three miles broad, to have anything like an efficient system of fire-escapes, it would be necessary to have one with a man to attend it within a quarter of a mile of each house, as assistance, to be *of any use, must generally be rendered within five minutes after the alarm is given.* To do this the stations must be within a quarter of a mile of each other (as the escapes must be taken round the angles of the streets): 253 stations would thus be required and as many men.

"At present scaling ladders are kept at all the engine stations, and canvas sheets also at some of them; several lives have been saved by them; but the distance of the stations from each other renders them applicable only in a limited number of instances."

The engines of the fire-brigade throw up about 90 gallons a minute. Their number is about 100. The cost of a fire-engine is from 60*l.* to 100*l.*, and the hose, buckets, and general apparatus, cost nearly the same amount.

Of the Sewermen and Nightmen of London.

We now come to the consideration of the last of the several classes of labourers engaged in the removal of the species of refuse from the metropolis. I have before said that the public refuse of a town consists of two kinds:—

I. The street-refuse.
II. The house-refuse.

Of each of these kinds there are two species:—

A. The dry.
B. The wet.

The dry street-refuse consists, as we have seen, of the refuse earth, bricks, mortar, oyster-shells, potsherds, and pansherds.

And the dry house-refuse of the soot and ashes of our fires.

The wet street-refuse consists, on the other hand, of the mud, slop, and surface water of our public thoroughfares.

And the wet house-refuse, of what is familiarly known as the "slops" of our residences, and the liquid refuse of our factories and slaughter-houses.

We have already collected the facts in connection with the three first of these subjects. We have ascertained the total amount of each of these species of refuse which have to be annually removed from the capital. We have set forth the aggregate number of labourers who are engaged in the removal of it, as well as the gross sum that is paid for so doing, showing the individual earnings of each of the workmen, and arriving, as near as possible, at the profits of their employers, as well as the condition of the employed. This has been done, it is believed, for the first time in this country; and if the subject has led us into longer discussions than usual, the importance of the matter, considered in a sanitary point of view, is such that a moment's reflection will convince us of the value of the inquiry—especially in connection with a work which aspires to embrace the whole of the offices performed by the labourers of the capital of the British Empire.

It now but remains for us to complete this novel and vast inquiry by settling the condition and earnings of the men engaged in the removal of the last species of public refuse. I shall consider, first, the aggregate quantity of wet house-refuse that has to be annually removed; secondly, the means adopted for the removal of it; thirdly, the cost of so doing; and lastly, the number of men engaged in this kind of work, as well as the wages paid to them, and the physical, intellectual, and moral condition in which they exist, or, more properly speaking, are allowed to remain.

Of the Wet House-Refuse of London.

All house-refuse of a liquid or semi-liquid character is *wet* refuse. It may be called semi-liquid when it has become mingled with any solid substance, though not so fully as to have lost its property of fluidity, its natural power to flow along a suitable inclination.

Wet house-refuse consists of the "slops" of a household. It consists, indeed, of *all* waste water, whether from the supply of the water companies, or from the rain fall collected on the roofs or yards of the houses; of the "suds" of the washerwomen, and the water used in every department of scouring, cleansing, or cooking. It consists, moreover, of the refuse proceeds from the several factories, dye-houses, &c.; of the blood and other refuse (not devoted to Prussian blue manufacture or sugar refining) from the butchers' slaughter-houses and the knackers' (horse slaughterers') yards; as well as the refuse fluid from all chemical processes, quantities of chemically impregnated water, for example, being pumped, as soon as exhausted, from the tan-pits of Bermondsey into the drains and sewers. From the great hat-manufactories (chiefly also in Bermondsey and other parts of the Borough) there is a constant flow of water mixed with dyes and other substances, to add to the wet refuse of London.

It is evident, then, that *all* the water consumed or wasted in the metropolis must form a portion of the total sum of the wet refuse.

There is, however, the exception of what is used for the watering of gardens, which is absorbed at once by the soil and its vegetable products; we must also exclude such portion of water as is applied to the laying of the road and street dust on dry summer days, and which forms a part of the street mud or "mac" of the scavager's cart, rather than of the sewerage; and we must further deduct the water derived from the street plugs for the supply of the fire-engines, which is consumed or absorbed in the extinction of the flames; as well as the water required for the victualling of ships on the eve of a voyage,

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when such supply is not derived immediately from the Thames.

The quantity of water required for the diet, or beverage, or general use of the population; the quantity consumed by the maltsters, distillers, brewers, ginger-beer and soda-water makers, and manufacturing chemists; for the making of tea, coffee, or cocoa; and for drinking at meals (which is often derived from pumps, and not from the supplies of the water companies);—the water which is thus consumed, in a prepared or in a simple state, passes into the wet refuse of the metropolis in another form.

Now, according to reports submitted to Parliament when an improved system of water-supply was under consideration, the daily supply of water to the metropolis is as follows:—

	Gallons.
From the Water Companies .	44,383,329
„ „ Artesian Wells . .	8,000,000
„ „ land spring pumps .	3,000,000
	55,383,329

The yearly rain-fall throughout the area of the metropolis is 172,053,477 tons, or 33,589,972,120 gallons, 2 feet deep of rain falling on every square inch of London in the course of the year. The yearly total of the water pumped or falling into the metropolis is as follows:—

	Gallons.
Yearly mechanical supply .	19,215,000,000
„ natural ditto . .	38,539,972,122
	57,754,972,122

The reader will find the details of this subject at p. 203 of the present volume. I recapitulate the results here to save the trouble of reference, and briefly to present the question under one head.

Of course the rain which ultimately forms a portion of the gross wet refuse of London, can be only such as falls on that part of the metropolitan area which is occupied by buildings or streets. What falls upon fields, gardens, and all open ground, is absorbed by the soil. But a large proportion of the rain falling upon the streets, is either absorbed by the dry dust, or retained in the form of mud; hence that only which falls on the house-tops and yards can be said to contribute largely to the gross quantity of wet refuse poured into the sewers. The streets of London appear to occupy one-tenth of the entire metropolitan area, and the houses (estimating 300,000 as occupying upon an average 100 square yards each*) another tithe of the surface. The remaining 92 square miles out of the 115 now included in the Registrar-General's limits (which extend, it should be remembered, to Wandsworth, Lewisham, Bow, and Hampstead), may be said to be made up of suburban gardens, fields, parks, &c., where the rain-water would soak into the earth. We have, then, only two-tenths of the gross rain-fall, or 7,700,000,000 gallons, that could possibly appear in the sewers, and calculating one-third of this to be absorbed by the mud and dust of the streets, we come to the conclusion that the total quantity of rain-water entering the sewers is, in round numbers, 5,000,000,000 gallons per annum.

Reckoning, therefore, 5,000,000,000 gallons to be derived from the annual rain-fall, it appears that the yearly supply of water, from all sources, to be accounted for among the wet house-refuse is, in round numbers, 24,000,000,000 gallons.

The refuse water from the factories need not be calculated separately, as its supply is included in the water mechanically supplied, and the loss from evaporation in boiling, &c., would be perfectly insignificant if deducted from the vast annual supply, but 350,000,000 gallons have been allowed for this and other losses.

There is still another source of the supply of wet house-refuse unconnected either with the rain-fall or the mechanical supply of water—I mean such proportion of the blood or other refuse from the butchers' and knackers' premises as is washed into the sewers.

Official returns show that the yearly quantity of animals sold in Smithfield is—

Horned cattle	224,000
Sheep	1,550,000
Calves	27,300
Pigs	40,000
	1,841,300

The blood flowing from a slaughtered bullock, whether killed according to the Christian or the Jewish fashion, amounts, on an average, to 20 quarts; from a sheep, to 6 or 7 quarts; from a pig, 5 quarts; and the same quantity from a calf. The blood from a horse slaughtered in a knackers' yard is about the same as that from a bullock. This blood used to bring far higher prices to the butcher than can be now realized.

In the evidence taken by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1849, concerning Smithfield-market, Mr. Wyld, of the Fox and Knot-yard, Smithfield, stated that he slaughtered about 180 cattle weekly. "We have a sort of well made in the slaughterhouse," he said, "which receives the blood. I receive about 1*l.* a week for it; it goes twice a day to Mr. Ton's, at Bow Common. We used to receive a good deal more for it." Even the market for blood at Mr. Ton's, is, I am informed, now done away with. He was a manufacturer of artificial manure, a preparation of night-soil, blood, &c., baked in what may be called "cakes," and exported chiefly to our sugar-growing colonies, for manure. His manure yard has been suppressed.

I am assured, on the authority of experienced butchers, that at the present time fully three-fourths of the blood from the animals slaughtered in London becomes a component part of the wet refuse I treat of, being washed into the sewers.

* In East and West London there are rather more than 32 houses to the acre, which gives an average of 151 square yards to each dwelling, so that, allowing the streets here to occupy one-third of the area, we have 100 square yards for the space covered by each house. In Lewisham, Hampstead, and Wandsworth, there is not one house to the acre. The average number of houses per acre throughout London is 4.

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The more wholesale slaughterers, now that blood is of little value (9 gallons in Whitechapel-market, the blood of two beasts—less by a gallon—can be bought for 3*d.*), send this animal refuse down the drains of their premises in far greater quantities than was formerly their custom.

Now, reckoning only three-fourths of the blood from the cattle slaughtered in the metropolis, to find its way into the sewers, we have, according to the numbers above given, the following yearly supply :—

	Gallons.
From horned cattle	840,000
„ sheep	1,743,000
„ pigs	37,500
„ calves	25,590
	2,646,090

This is merely the blood from the animals sold in Smithfield-market, the lambs not being included in the return; while a great many pigs and calves are slaughtered by the London tradesmen, without their having been shown in Smithfield.

The ordure from a slaughtered bullock is, on an average, from ½ to ¾ cwt. Many beasts yield one cwt.; and cows "killed full of grass," as much as two cwt. Of this excrementitious matter, I am informed, about a fourth part is washed into the sewers. In sheep, calves, and pigs, however, there is very little ordure when slaughtered, only 3 or 4 lbs. in each as an average.

Of the number of horses killed there is no official or published account. One man familiar with the subject calculated it at 100 weekly. *All* the blood from the knackers' yards is, I am told, washed into the sewers; consequently its yearly amount will be 26,000 gallons.

But even this is not the whole of the wet house-refuse of London.

There are, in addition, the excreta of the inhabitants of the houses. These are said to average ¼ lb. daily per head, including men, women, and children.

It is estimated by Bousingault, and confirmed by Liebig, that each individual produces ¼ lb. of solid excrement and 1¼ lb. of liquid excrement per day, making 1½ lb. each, or 150 lbs. per 100 individuals, of semi-liquid refuse from the water-closet. "But," says the Surveyor of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, "there is other refuse resulting from culinary operations, to be conveyed through the drains, and the whole may be about 250 lbs. for 100 persons."

The more fluid part of this refuse, however, is included in the quantity of water before given, so that there remains only the more solid excrementitious matter to add to the previous total. This, then, is ¼ lb. daily and individually; or from the metropolitan population of nearly 2,500,000 a daily supply of 600,000 lbs., rather more than 267 tons; and a yearly aggregate for the whole metropolis of 219,000,000 lbs., or very nearly about 100,000 tons.

From the foregoing account, then, the following is shown to be

The Gross Quantity of the Wet House-Refuse of the Metropolis.

	Gallons.		Lbs.
"Slops" and unabsorbed rain-water....	24,000,000,000	=	240,000,000,000
Blood of beasts....	2,646,000	=	26,460,000
„ horses....	26,000	=	260,000
Excreta			219,000,000
Dung of slaughtered cattle			17,400,000
Total	24,002,657,000	=	240,263,120,000

Hence we may conclude that the more fluid portion of the wet house-refuse of London amounts to 24,000,000,000 gallons per annum; and that altogether it weighs, in round numbers, about 240,000,000,000 lbs., or 100,000,000 tons.

As these refuse products are not so much matters of trade or sale as other commodities, of course less attention has been given to them, in the commercial attributes of weight and admeasurement. I will endeavour, however, to present an uniform table of the whole great mass of metropolitan wet house-refuse in cubic inches.

The imperial standard gallon is of the capacity of 277·274 cubic inches; and estimating the solid excrement spoken of as the ordinary weight of earth, or of the soil of the land, at 18 cubic feet the ton, we have the following result, calculating in round numbers :—

Wet House-Refuse of the Metropolis.

Liquid ..	24,000,000,000 gal.	=	6,600,000,000,000 cub. in.
Solid....	100,000 tons	=	3,110,400,000 „

Thus, by this process of admeasurement, we find the

WET HOUSE-REFUSE OF LONDON........ } = 6,603,110,400,000 cubic in., or 3,820,000,000 cubic feet.

Figures best show the extent of this refuse, "inexpressible" to common appreciation "by numbers that have name."

OF THE MEANS OF REMOVING THE WET HOUSE-REFUSE.

WHETHER this mass of filth be, zymotically, the cause of cholera, or whether it be (as cannot be be questioned) a means of agricultural fertility, and therefore of national wealth, it *must* be removed. I need not dilate, in explaining a necessity which is obvious to every man with uncorrupted physical senses, and with the common moral sense of decency.

"Dr. Paley," it is said, in a recent Report to the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, "gave to Burckhardt and other travellers a set of instructions as to points of observation of the manners and conditions of the populations amongst whom they travelled. One of the leading instructions was to observe how they disposed of their excreta, for what they did with that showed him what men were; he also inquired what structure they had to answer the purpose of a privy, and what were their habits in respect to it. This information Dr Paley desired, not for popular use, but for himself, for he was accustomed to say, that the facts connected with that topic gave him more

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information as to the real condition and civilisation of a population than most persons would be aware of. It would inform him of their real habits of cleanliness, of real decency, self-respect, and connected moral habits of high social importance. It would inform him of the real state of police, and of local administration, and much of the general government.

"The human ordure which defiles the churches, the bases of public edifices and works of art in Rome and Naples, and the Italian cities, gives more sure indications of the real moral and social position of the Italian population than any impressions derived from the edifices and works of art themselves.

"The subject, in relation to which the Jewish lawgiver gave most particular directions, is one on which the serious attention and labour of public administrators may be claimed."

The next question, is—*How* is the wet house-refuse to be removed?

There are two ways:—

1. One is, to transport it to a river, or some powerfully current stream by a series of ducts.
2. The other is, to dig a hole in the neighbourhood of the house, there collect the wet refuse of the household, and when the hole or pit becomes full, remove the contents to some other part.

In London the most obvious means of getting rid of a nuisance is to convey it into the Thames. Nor has this been done in London only. In Paris the Seine is the receptacle of the sewage, but, comparatively, to a much smaller extent than in London. The fæcal deposits accumulated in the houses of the French capital are drained into "fixed" and "moveable" cesspools. The contents of both these descriptions of cesspools (of which I shall give an account when I treat of the cesspool system) are removed periodically, under the direction of the government, to large receptacles, called *voiries*, at Montfaucon, and the Forest of Bondy, where such refuse is made into portable manure. The evils of this system are not a few; but the river is spared the greater pollution of the Thames. Neither is the Seine swayed by the tide as is the Thames, for in London the very sewers are affected by the tidal influence, and are not to be entered until some time before or after high-water. I need not do more, for my present inquiry, than allude to the Liffy, the Clyde, the Humber, and others of the rivers of the United Kingdom, being used for purposes of sewerage, as channels to carry off that of which the law prohibits the retention.

Of the folly, not to say wickedness, of this principle, there can be no doubt. The vegetation which gives, demands food. The grass will wither without its fitting nutriment of manure, as the sheep would perish without the pasturage of the grass. Nature, in temperate and moist climates, is, so to speak, her own manurer, her own restorer. The sheep, which are as wild and active as goats, manure the Cumberland fells in which they feed. In the more cultivated sheep-walks (or, indeed, in the general pasturage) of the northern and some of the midland counties, women, with a wooden implement, may be continually seen in the later autumn, or earlier and milder winter, distributing the "stercoraceous treasure," as Cowper calls it, which the animals, to use the North Yorkshire word, have "dropped," as well as any extraneous manure which may have been spread for the purpose. As population and the demand for bread increase, the need of extraneous manures also increases; and Nature in her beneficence has provided that the greater the consumption of food, the greater shall be the promoters of its reproduction by what is loathsome to man, but demanded by vegetation. Liebig, as I shall afterwards show more fully, contends that many an arid and desolate region in the East, brown and burnt with barrenness, became a desolation because men understood not the restoration which all nature demands for the land. He declares that the now desolate regions of the East had been made desolate, because "the inhabitants did not understand the art of restoring exhausted soil." It would be hopeless now to form, or attempt to form, the "hanging gardens," or to display the rich florescence "round about Babylon," to be seen when Alexander the Great died in that city. The Tigris and Euphrates, before and after their junction, Liebig maintains, have carried, and, to a circumscribed degree, still carry, into the sea "a sufficient amount of manure for the reproduction of food for millions of human beings." It is said that, "could that matter only be arrested in its progress, and converted into bread and wine, fruit and beef, mutton and wool, linen and cotton, then cities might flourish once more in the desert, where men are now digging for the relics of primitive civilization, and discovering the symbols of luxury and ease beneath the barren sand and the sunburnt clay."

This is one great evil; but in our metropolis there is a greater, a far greater, beyond all in degree, even if the same abuse exist elsewhere. What society with one consent pronounces filth—the evacuations of the human body—is not only washed into the Thames, and the land so deprived of a vast amount of nutriment, but the tide washes these evacuations back again, with other abominations. The water we use is derived almost entirely from the Thames, and therefore the water in which we boil our vegetables and our meat, the water for our coffee and tea, the water brewed for our consumption, comes to us, and is imbibed by us, impregnated over and over again with our own animal offal. We import guano, and drink a solution of our own fæces: a manure which might be made far more valuable than the foreign guano.

Such are a few of the evils of making a common sewer of the neighbouring river.

The other mode of removal is, to convey the wet house-refuse, by drains, to a hole near the house where it is produced, and empty it periodically when full.

The house-drainage throughout London has two characteristics. By one system all excrementitious and slop refuse generally is carried usually along

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brick drains from the water-closets, privies, sinks, lavatories, &c., of the houses into the cesspools, where it accumulates until its removal (by manual labour) becomes necessary, which is not, as an average, more than once in two years. By the other, and the newer system, all the house-refuse is drained into the public sewer, the cesspool system being thereby abolished. All the houses built or rebuilt since 1848 are constructed on the last-mentioned principle of drainage.

The first of these modes is cesspoolage.

The second is sewerage.

I shall first deal with the sewerage of the metropolis.

OF THE QUANTITY OF METROPOLITAN SEWAGE.

HAVING estimated the gross quantity of wet house-refuse produced throughout London in the course of the year, and explained the two modes of removing it from the immediate vicinity of the house, I will now proceed to set forth the *quantity* of wet house-refuse matter which it has been *ascertained* is removed with the contents of London sewers.

An experiment was made on the average discharge of sewage from the outlets of Church-lane and Smith-street, Chelsea, Ranelagh, King's Scholar's-pond, Grosvenor-wharf, Horseferry-road, Wood-street, King-street, Northumberland-street, Durham-yard, Norfolk-street, and Essex-street (the four last-mentioned places running from the Strand). The experiments were made "under ordinary and extraordinary circumstances," in the months of May, June, and July, 1844, but the system is still the same, so that the result in the investigation as to the sewage of the year 1844 may be taken as a near criterion of the present, as regards the localities specified and the general quantity.

The surface drained into the outlets before enumerated covers, in its total area, about 7000 acres, of which nearly 3500 may be classed as urban. The observations, moreover, were made generally during fine weather.

I cannot do better by way of showing the reader the minuteness with which these observations were made, than by quoting the two following results, being those of the fullest and smallest discharges of twelve issues into the river. I must premise that these experiments were made on seven occasions, from May 4 to July 12 inclusive, and made at different times, but generally about eight hours after high water. In the Northumberland-street sewer, from which was the largest issue, the width of the sewer at the outlet was five feet. In the King-street sewer (the smallest discharge, as given in the second table) the width of the sewer was four feet. The width, however, does not affect the question, as there was a greater issue from the Norfolk-street sewer of two feet, than from the King-street sewer of four feet in width.

NORTHUMBERLAND STREET.

Date.	Velocity per second.	Quantity discharged per second.
	Feet.	Cubic Feet.
May 4 .	4·600	10·511000
" 9 .	4·000	6·800000
June 5 .	4·000	6·800000
" 10 .	4·600	10·350000
" 11 .	4·920	12·300000
" 16 .	3·600	5·940000
July 12 .	2·760	3·394800
		56·095800
Being Mean Discharge per second		8·013685
Ditto per 24 hours . .		692382·

KING STREET.

Date.	Velocity per second.	Quantity discharged per second.
May 4 .	·147	·021756
" 9 .	·333	·079920
June 5 .	·170	·020400
" 10 .	·311	·064688
" 11 .	·300	·048000
" 16 .	·101	·004040
July 12 .	·103	·008240
		·247044
Mean Discharge per second .		·035292
Ditto per 24 hours		3049·

Here we find that the mean discharge per second was, from the Northumberland-street sewer, 692,382· cubic feet per 24 hours, and from the King-street sewer, 3049 cubic feet per 24 hours.

The discharge from the principal outlets in the Westminster district "being the mean of seven observations taken during the summer," was 1,798,094 cubic feet in 24 hours; the number of acres drained was 7006. *The mean discharge per acre, in the course of 24 hours, was found to be about 256 cubic feet, comprising the urban and suburban parts.*

The sewage, from the discharge of which this calculation was derived—and the dryness of the weather must not be lost sight of—may be fairly assumed as derived (in a dry season) almost entirely from artificial sources or house drainage, as there was no rain-fall, or but little. "*Supposing, therefore,*" the Report states, "*the entire surface to be urban, we have 540 cubic feet as the mean daily discharge per acre.* If, however, the average be taken of the first eight outlets, viz., from Essex-street to Grosvenor-wharf inclusive, which drain a surface wholly urban, the result is 1260 cubic feet per acre in the 24 hours. This excess may be attributed to the number of manufactories, and the densely-populated nature of the locality drained; but, as indicative of the general amount of sewage due to ordinary urban districts, the former ought perhaps to be considered the fairer average."

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It is then assumed—I may say officially—that the average discharge of the urban and suburban sewage from the several districts included within an area of 58 square miles, is equal to 256 cubic feet per acre.

	Sq. Miles.
The extent of the jurisdiction included within this area is, on the north side of the Thames	43
And on the Surrey and Kent side .	15

	Cubic Feet.
The ordinary *daily* amount of sewage discharged into the river on the north side is, therefore . .	7,045,120
And on the south side. . .	2,457,600
Making a total of . . .	9,502,720

Or a quantity equivalent to a surface of more than 36 acres in extent, and 6 feet in depth.

This mass of sewage, it must be borne in mind, is but the *daily* product of the sewage of the more populous part of the districts included within the jurisdiction of the two commissions of sewers.

The foregoing observations, calculations, and deductions have supplied the basis of many scientific and commercial speculations, but it must be remembered that they were taken between seven and eight years ago. The observations were made, moreover, during fine summer weather, generally, while the greatest discharge is during rainy weather. There has been, also, an increase of sewers in the metropolis, because an increase of streets and inhabited houses. The approximate proportion of the increase of sewers (and there is no precise account of it) is pretty nearly that of the streets, lineally. Another mattter has too, of late years, added to the amount of sewage—the abolition of cesspoolage in a considerable degreee, owing to the late Building and Sanitary Acts, so that fœcal and culinary matters, which were drained into the cesspool (to be removed by the nightmen), are now drained into the sewer. Altogether, I am assured, on good authority, the daily discharge of the sewers extending over 58 square miles of the metropolis may be now put at 10,000,000 cubic feet, instead of rather more than nine and a half millions. And this gives, as

	Cubic Feet.
The annual amount of discharge from the sewers	3,650,000,000
The total amount of wet house-refuse, according to the calculation before given, is	3,820,000,000
Hence there remains .	170,000,000

	Sq. Miles.
Now it will be seen that the total area from which this amount of sewage is said to be drained is	58
But the area of London, according to the Registrar-General's limits, is . .	115

So that the 3,650,000,000 cubic feet of sewage annually removed from 58 square miles of the metropolis refer to only one-half of the entire area of the *true* metropolis; but it refers, at the same time, to that part of London which is the most crowded with houses, and since, in the suburbs, the buildings average about 2 to the acre, and, in the densest parts of London, about 30, it is but fair to assume that the refuse would be, at least, in the same proportion, and this is very nearly the fact; for if we suppose the 58 miles of the suburban districts to yield twenty times less sewage than the 58 miles of the urban districts, we shall have 182,500,000 cubic feet to add to the 3,650,000,000 cubic feet before given, or 3,832,500,000 for the sewage of the entire metropolis.

It does not appear that the sewage has ever been weighed so as to give any definite result, but calculating from the weight of water (a gallon, or 10 lbs. of water, comprising 277·274 cubic inches, and 1 ton of liquid comprising 36 cubic feet) the total, from the returns of the investigation in 1844, would be

	Tons.
Quantity of sewage *daily* emptied into the Thames	278,000
Ditto Annually . . .	101,390,000

In September, 1849, Mr. Banfield, at one time a Commissioner of Sewers, put the yearly quantity of sewage discharged into the Thames at 45,000,000 tons; but this is widely at variance with the returns as to quantity.

Of Ancient Sewers.

The traverser of the London streets rarely thinks, perhaps, of the far extended subterranean architecture below his feet; yet such is indeed the case, for the sewers of London, with all their imperfections, irregularities, and even absurdities, are still a great work; certainly not equal, in all respects, to what once must have existed in Rome, but second, perhaps, only to the giant works of sewerage in the eternal city.

The origin of these Roman sewers seems to be wrapped in as great a mystery as the foundation of the city itself. The statement of the Roman historians is that these sewers were the works of the elder Tarquin, the fifth (apocryphal) king of Rome. Tarquin's dominions, from the same accounts, did not in any direction extend above sixteen miles, and his subjects could be but banditti, foragers, and shepherds. One conjecture is, that Rome stands on the site of a more ancient city, and that to its earlier possessors may be attributed the work of the sewers. To attribute them to the rudeness and small population of Tarquin's day, it is contended, is as feasible as it would be to attribute the ruins of ancient Jerusalem, or any others in Asia Minor, to the Turks, or the ruins of Palmyra to the Arabs, because these people enjoy the privilege of possession.

The main sewer of Rome, the Cloaca Maxima, is said to have been lofty and wide enough for a waggon load of hay to pass clear along it. Another, and more probable account, however, states that it was proposed to *enlarge* the great sewer to these dimensions, but it does not appear to have been so enlarged. Indeed, when Augustus "made

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THE SEWER-HUNTER.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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Rome marble," it was one of his great works also, under the direction of Agrippa, to reconstruct, improve, and enlarge the sewers. It was a project in the days of Rome's greatness to turn seven navigable rivers into vast subterraneous passages, larger sewers, along which barges might pass, carrying on the traffic of Imperial Rome. In one year the cost of cleansing, renewing, and repairing the sewers is stated to have been 1000 talents of gold, or upwards of 192,000*l*. Of the *average* yearly cost we have no information. Some accounts represent these sewers as having been rebuilt after the irruption of the Gauls. In Livy's time they were pronounced not to be accommodated to the plan of Rome. Some portions of these ancient structures are still extant, but they seem to have attracted small notice even from professed antiquarians; their subterranean character, however, renders such notice little possible. In two places they are still kept in repair, and for their original purpose, to carry off the filth of the city, but only to a small extent.

Our legislative enactments on the subject of sewers are ancient and numerous. The oldest is that of 9 Henry III., and the principal is that of 23 Henry VIII., commonly called the "Statute of Sewers." These and many subsequent statutes, however, relate only to watercourses, and are silent as regards my present topic—the Refuse of London.

It is remarkable how little is said in the London historians of the *sewers*. In the two folio volumes of the most searching and indefatigable of all the antiquarians who have described the old metropolis, John Stow, the tailor, there is no account of what we now consider sewers, inclosed and subterranean channels for the conveyance of the refuse filth of the metropolis to its destination—the Thames. Had covered sewers been known, or at any rate been at all common, in Stow's day, and he died full of years in 1604, and had one of them presented but a crumbling stone with some heraldic, or apparently heraldic, device at its outlet, Stow's industry would certainly have ferreted out some details. Such, however, is not the case.

This absence of information I hold to be owing to the fact that no such sewers then existed. Our present system of sewerage, like our present system of street-lighting, is a modern work; but it is not, like our gas-lamps, an *original* English work. We have but followed, as regards our arched and subterraneous sewerage, in the wake of Rome.

As I have said, the early *laws* of sewers relate to watercourses, navigable communications, dams, ditches, and such like; there is no doubt, however, that in the heart of the great towns the filth of the houses was, by rude contrivances in the way of drainage, or natural fall, emptied into such places. Even in the accounts of the sewers of ancient Rome, historians have stated that it is not easy, and sometimes not possible, to distinguish between the *sewers* and the *aqueducts*, and Dr. Lemon, in his English Etymology, speaks of sewers as a species of aqueducts. So, in some of our earlier Acts of Parliament, it is hardly possible to distinguish whether the provisions to be applied to the management of a sewer relate to a ditch to which house-filth was carried—to a channel of water for general purposes—or to an open channel being a receptacle of filth and a navigable stream at the same time.

That the ditches were not sewers for the conveyance of the filth from the houses to any very great, or rather any very general extent, may very well be concluded, because (as I have shown in my account of the early scavagers) the excrementitious matter was deposited during the night in the street, and removed by the proper functionaries in the morning, or as soon as suited their convenience. Though this was the case generally, it is evident that the filth, or a portion of it, from the houses which were built on the banks of the Fleet River (as it was then called, as well as the Fleet Ditch), and on the banks of the other "brooks," drained into the current stream. The Corporation accounts contain very frequent mention of the cleansing, purifying, and "thorough" cleansing of the Fleet Ditch, the Old Bourne (Holborn Brook), the Wall Brook, &c.

Of all these streams the most remarkable was Fleet Ditch, which was perhaps the first main sewer of London. I give from Stow the following curious account of its origin. It is now open, but only for a short distance, offending the air of Clerkenwell. At one period it was to afford a defence to the City! as the Tower-moat was a defence to the Tower, and fortress.

"The Ditch, which partly now remaineth and compassed the Wall of the City, was begun to be made by the *Londoners*, in the year 1211, and finished 1213, the 15th of K. *John*. This Ditch being then made of 200 foot broad, caused no small hindrance to the Canons of the Holy *Trinity*, whose Church stood near *Ealdgate*, for that the said Ditch passed through their Ground from the *Tower* unto *Bishopsgate*.

"The first Occasion of making a Ditch about the City seems to have been this: *William*, Bishop of *Ely*, Chancellor of *England*, in the Reign of King *Richard* I., made a great Ditch round about the *Tower*, for the better Defence of it against *John* the King's Brother, the King being then out of the Realm. Then did the City also begin a Ditch to encompass and strengthen their Walls [which happened between the Years 1190 and 1193.] So the Book *Dunthorn*. Yet the Register of *Bermondsey* writes that the Ditch was begun, Oct. 15, 1213, which was in the Reign of King *John* that succeeded to *Richard*.

"This Ditch being originally made for the Defence of the City, was also a long time together carefully cleansed and maintained, as Need required; but now of late neglected, and forced either to a very narrow, and the same a filthy Channel.

"In the Year of *Christ*, 1354, 28 *Ed.* 3, the Ditch of this City flowing over the Bank into the *Tower-ditch*, the King commanded the said Ditch of the City to be cleansed, and so ordered, that the overflowing thereof should not force any Filth into the *Tower-ditch*.

"*Anno*, 1379, John Philpot, Maior of *London*,

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caused this Ditch to be cleansed, and every Houshold to pay 5*d.*, which was a Day's Work toward the Charges thereof.

"*Ralph Joseline*, Maior, 1477, caused the whole Ditch to be cast and cleansed. . . . . . In 1519, the 10th of Henry 8, for cleansing and scouring the common Ditch, between *Aldgate*, and the Postern next the *Tower-ditch;* the chief Ditcher had by the day 7*d.*, the Second Ditcher, 6*d*, the other Ditchers, 5*d.* And every Vagabond (for as they were then termed) 1*d.* the Day, Meat and Drink, at the Charges of the City. Sum 95*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

"Fleet Ditch was again cleansed in the Year 1549," Stow continues, "*Henry Ancoates* being Maior, at the Charges of the Companies. And again 1569, the 11th of Queen *Elizabeth;* for cleansing the same Ditch between *Ealdgate* and the *Postern*, and making a new Sewer and Wharf of Timber, from the Head of the *Postern* into the *Tower-ditch*, 814*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* (was disbursed). Before the which Time the said Ditch lay open, without either Wall or Pall, having therein great Store of very good Fish, of divers Sorts, as many men yet living, who have taken and tasted them, can well witness. But now no such matter, the Charge of Cleansing is spared, and great Profit made by letting out the Banks, with the Spoil of the whole Ditch."

The above information appeared, but I am unable to specify the year (for Stow's works went through several editions, though it is to be feared he died very poor) between 1582 and 1590. So did the following:—

"At this Day there be no Ditches or Boggs in the City except the said *Fleet-ditch*, but instead thereof large common *Dreins* and *Sewers*, made to carry away the water from the *Postern-Gate*, between the two *Tower-hills* to *Fleet-bridge* without *Ludgate*."

Great, indeed, is the change in the character of the capital of England, from the times when the Fleet Ditch was a defence to the city (which was then the entire capital); and from the later era, when "great store of very good fish of divers sorts," rewarded the skill or the patience of the anglers or netters; but this, it is evident, was in the parts near the river (the Tower postern, &c.), and at that time, or about that time, there was salmon-fishing in the Thames, at least as far up as Hungerford Wharf.

The Fleet Ditch seems always to have had a *sewery* character. It was described, in 1728, as

"The king of dykes! than whom no sluice of mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood—"

the *silver* flood being, in Queen Anne's and the First George's days, the London Thames. This silver has been much alloyed since that time.

Until within these 40 or 50 years, open sewer-ditches, into which drains were emptied, and ordure and refuse thrown, were frequent, especially in the remoter parts of Lambeth and Newington, and some exist to this day; one especially, open for a considerable distance, flowing along the back of the houses in the Westminster-road, on the right-hand side towards the bridge, into which the neighbouring houses are drained. The "Black Ditch," a filthy sewer, until lately was open near the Broadwall, and other vicinities of the Blackfriars-road. The open ditch-sewers of Norwood and Wandsworth have often been spoken of in Sanitary Reports. Indeed, some of our present sewers, in addition to Fleet River and Wall Brook, are merely ditches rudely arched over.

The first covered and continuous street sewer was erected in London—I think, without doubt—when Wren rebuilt the capital, after the great fire of 1666. Perhaps there is no direct evidence of the fact, for, although the statutes and Privy Council and municipal enactments, consequent on the rebuilding of the capital, required, more or less peremptorily, "fair sewers, and drains, and water-courses," it is not defined in these enactments what was meant by a "sewer;" nor were they carried out.

I may mention, as a further proof that open ditches, often enough stagnant ditches also, were the first London sewers, that, after 1666, a plan, originally projected, it appears, by Sir Leonard Halliday, Maior, 60 years previously, and strenuously supported at that time by Nic Leate, "a worthy and grave citizen," was revived and reconsidered. This project, for which Sir Leonard and Nic Leate "laboured much," was "for a river to be brought on the north of the city into it, for the cleansing the sewers and ditches, and for the better keeping London wholesome, sweet, and clean." An admirable *intention;* and it is not impossible nor improbable that in less than two centuries hence, we, of the present sanitary era, may be accounted, for our sanitary measures, as senseless as we now account good Sir Leonard Halliday and the worthy and grave Nic Leate. These gentlemen cared not to brook filth in their houses, nor to be annoyed by it in the nightly pollution of the streets, but they advocated its injection into running water, and into water often running slowly and difficultly, and continually under the eyes and noses of the citizens. *We*, I apprehend, go a little further. We drink, and use for the preparation of our meals, the befouled water, which they did not; for, more than seven-eighths of our water-supply from the companies is drawn from the Thames, the main sewer of the greatest city in the world, ancient or modern, into which millions of tons of every description of refuse are swept yearly.

Of the Kinds and Characteristics of Sewers.

The sewers of London may be arranged into two distinct groups—according to the side of the Thames on which they are situate.

Now the essential difference between these two classes of sewers lies in the elevation of the several localities whence the sewers carry the refuse to the Thames.

The chief differences in the circumstances of the people north and south of the river are shown

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in the annexed table from the Registrar-General's returns :—

	London.	North side of the River.	South side of the River.
Elevation of the ground, in feet, above Trinity high-water mark .	39	51	5
Density, or number of persons to an acre, 1849 . . .	30	52	14
Deaths from Cholera to 10,000 persons living, in 60 weeks, ending Nov. 24, 1849 . .	66	44	127
Deaths from all causes annually to 10,000 persons (5000 males, 5000 females) living, during the 7 years, 1838-44 . . .	252	251	257

Here, it will be seen, that while the houses on the north side of the river stand, on an average, 51 feet above the high-water mark of the Thames, those on the south side are only 5 feet above it. The effect of this is shown most particularly in the deaths from cholera in 1849, which were nearly three times as many on the south as on the north side of the Thames. It is said, officially, that "of the 15 square miles of the Urban district on the south side of the river Thames, *three* miles are from six to seven feet below high-water mark, so that the locality may be said to be drained only for four hours out of the twelve, and during these four hours very imperfectly . . . . . When the tide rises above the orifices of the sewers, the whole drainage of the district is stopped until the tide recedes again, rendering the whole system of sewers in Kent and Surrey only an *articulation of cesspools*."

That this is but the fact, the following table of the elevation in feet above the Trinity high-water mark, as regards the several districts on the Surrey side of the Thames, may be cited as evidence.

	Elevation.		Elevation.
Lewisham .	28	St. Olave .	2
Wandsworth	22	Bermondsey	0
Greenwich .	8	Rotherhithe	0
Camberwell	4	St. George's (Southwark) .	0
Lambeth .	3	Newington (below high water)	2
St. Saviour (Southwark) .	2		

From these returns, made by Capt. Dawson, R.E., the difficulty, to use no stronger word, attending the sewerage of the Surrey district is shown at once. There is no flow to be had, or—the word more generally used, no *run* for the sewage. In parts of the north of England it used to be a general, and still is a partial, saying among country-people who are figuratively describing what they account impossible. "Ay, when? *When* water runs up bank." This is a homely expression of the difficulties attending the Surrey sewerage.

There is, as regards these Surrey, more than the Kent, sewers, another evil which promotes the "articulation of cesspools." Some of these sewers have "dead-ends," like places which in the streets (a parallel case enough) are known as "no thoroughfare," and in these sewers it is seldom, in any state of the tide, that flushing can be resorted to; consequently these cesspool-like sewers remain uncleansed, or have to be cleansed by manual labour, the matter being drawn up into the street or road.

The refuse conduits of the metropolis are of two kinds :—

1. Sewers.
2. Drains.

These two classes of refuse-charts are often confounded, even in some official papers, the sewer being there designated the "main drain." All sewerage is undoubtedly drainage, but there is a manifest distinction between a sewer and a drain.

The First-Class Sewers, which are generally termed "main sewers," and run along the centres of the first-class streets (first-class alike from the extent or populousness of such streets), may be looked upon as underground rivers of refuse, to which the drains are tributary rivulets. No sewer exists unconnected with the drains from the streets and houses; but many house-drains are constructed apart from the sewers, communicating only with the cesspools. Even where houses are built in close contiguity to a public sewer, and built after the new mode without cesspools, there is always a drain to the sewer; no house so situated can get rid of its refuse except by means of a drain; unless, indeed, the house be not drained at all, and its filth be flung down a gully-hole, or got rid of in some other way.

These drains, all with a like determination, differ only in their forms. They are barrel-shaped, made of rounded bricks, or earthenware pipeage, and of an interior between a round and an oval, with a diameter of from 2 to 6 inches, although only a few private houses, comparatively, are so drained. The barrel drain of larger dimensions, is used in the newer public buildings and larger public mansions, when it represents a sort of house or interior sewer as well as a house main drain, for smaller drains find their issue into the barrel-drain. There is the barrel-drain in the new Houses of Parliament, and in large places which cover the site of, and are required for the purposes of several houses or offices. The tubular drain is simply piping, of which I have spoken fully in my account of the present compulsory mode of house drainage. The third drain, one more used to carry refuse to the cesspool than the sewer, but still carrying such refuse to the sewers, is the old-fashioned brick drain, generally 9 inches square.

I shall first deal with the sewerage, and then with the house and street drainage.

The sewer is a twofold receptacle of refuse; into it are conveyed the wet refuse not only of many of the houses, but of all the streets.

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The slop or surface water of the streets is conveyed to the sewer by means of smaller sewers or street-drains running from the "kennel" or channel to the larger sewers.

In the streets, at such uncertain distances as the traffic and circumstances of the locality may require, are gully-holes. These are openings into the sewer, and were formerly called, as they were, simply gratings, a sort of iron trap-doors of grated bars, clumsily made, and placed almost at random. On each side of the street was, even into the present century, a very formidable channel, or kennel, as it was formerly written, into which, in heavy rains, the badly-scavaged street dirt was swept, often demanding a good leap from one who wished to cross in a hurry. These "kennels" emptied themselves into the gratings, which were not unfrequently choked up, and the kennel was then an utter nuisance. At the present time the channel is simply a series of stone work at the edge of the footpaths, blocks of granite being sloped to meet more or less at right angles, and the flow from the inclination from the centre of the street to the channel is carried along without impedimen or nuisance into the gully-hole.

The gully-hole opens into a drain, running, with a rapid slope, into the sewer, and so the wet refuse of the streets find its vent.

In many courts, alleys, lanes, &c., inhabited by the poor, where there is imperfect or no drainage to the houses, all the slops from the houses are thrown down the gully-holes, and frequently enough blood and offal are poured from butchers' premises, which might choke the house drain. There have, indeed, been instances of worthless street dirt (slop) collected into a scavager's vehicle being shot down a gully-hole.

The sewers, as distinct from the drains, are to be divided principally into three classes, all devoted to the same purpose—the conveyance of the underground filth of the capital to the Thames—and all connected by a series of drains, afterwards to be described, with the dwelling-houses.

The *first-class sewers* are found in the main streets, and flow at their outlets into the river.

The *second-class sewers* run along the second-class streets, discharging their contents into a first-class sewer; and

The *third-class sewers* are for the reception of the sewage from the smaller streets, and always communicate, for the voidance of their contents, with a sewer of the second or first description.

As regards the destination of the sewers, there is no difference between the Middlesex and Surrey portions of the metropolis. The sewage is *all* floated into the river.

The first-class sewers of the modern build rarely exceed 50 inches by 30 in internal dimensions; the second class, 40 inches by 24; the third, 30 inches by 18.

Smaller class or branch sewers, from No. 4 to No. 8 inclusive, also form part of the great subterranean filth-channels of the metropolis. It is only, however, the three first-mentioned classes which can be described as in any way principal *sewers;* the others are in the capacity of branch sewers, the ramifications being in many places very extensive, while pipes are often used. The dimensions of these smaller sewers, when pipes are not used, are—No. 4, 20 inches by 12; No. 5, 17½ inches by 10½; No. 6, 15 inches by 9; No. 7, 12 inches by 7½; and No. 8, 9 inches by 6.

These branch sewers may, from their circumscribed dimensions, be looked upon as mere channels of connection with the larger descriptions; but they present, as I have intimated, an important part of the general system. This may be shown by the fact, that in the estimates for building sewers for the improvement of the drainage of the city of Westminster (a plan, however, not carried out), the estimated, or indeed surveyed, run of the first class was to be 8118 feet; of the second class, 4524 feet; of the third, but 2086 feet; while of the No. 5 and No. 6 description, it was, respectively, 18,709 and 53,284 feet. The branch sewers may, perhaps, be represented in many instances as public drains connecting the sewer of the street with the issue from the houses, but I give the appellation I find in the reports.

The dimensions I have cited are not to be taken as an average size of the existing sewers of the metropolis on either side of the Thames, for no average size and no uniformity of shape can be adduced, as there has been no uniformity observed. The sewers are of all sizes and shapes, and of all depths from the surface of the streets. I was informed by an engineering authority that he had often seen it asserted that the naval authorities of the kingdom could not build a war-steamer, and it might very well be said that the sanitary authorities of the metropolis could not build a sewer, as none of the present sewers could be cited as in all respects properly fulfilling all the functions required. But it must be remembered that the present engineers have to contend with great difficulties, the whole matter being so complicated by the blunderings and mismanagement of the past.

The dimensions I have cited (because they appear officially) exceed the medium size of the *newer* sewerage, the average height of the first class being in such sewers about 3 feet 9 inches.

Of the width of the sewers, as of the height, no precise average can be drawn. Perhaps that of the New Palace main, or first-class sewer, 3 feet 6 inches, may be nearest the average, while the smaller classes diminish in their width in the proportions I have shown. The sewers of the older constructions nearly all widen and deepen as they near the outlet, and this at no definite distance from the river, but from a quarter of a mile or somewhat less to a mile and more. Some such sewers are then 14 feet in width; some 20 feet, and no doubt of proportionate height, but I do not find that the height has been ascertained. For flushing purposes there are recesses of greater or less width, according to the capacity of the sewer, where sluice-gates, &c., can be fixed, and water accumulated.

Under the head of "Subterranean Survey of

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the Sewers," will be found some account of the different dimensions of the sewers.

The form of the interior of the sewers (as shown in the illustrations I have given) is irregularly elliptical. They are arched at the summits, and more or less hollowed or curved, internally, at the bottom. The bottom of the sewer is called the "invert," from a general resemblance in the construction to an "inverted" arch. The *best* form of invert is a matter which has attracted great engineering attention. It is, indeed, the important part of the sewer, as the part along which there is the flow of sewage; and the superior or inferior formation of the invert, of course, facilitates or retards the transmission of the contents.

A few years back, the building of egg-shaped, or "oviform" sewers, was strongly advocated. It was urged that the flow of the sewage and the sewer-water was accelerated by the invert (especially) being oviform, as the matter was more condensed when such was the shape adopted, while the more the matter was diffused, as in some of the inverts of the more usual form of sewers, the less rapid was its flow, and consequently the greater its deposit.

What extent of egg-shaped sewers are now, so to speak, at work, I could not ascertain. One informant thought it might be somewhere about 50 miles.

The following interesting account of the velocities of streams, with a relativeness to sewers, is extracted from the evidence of Mr. Phillips :—

"The area of surface that a sewer will drain, and the quantity of water that it will discharge in a given time, will be greater or less in proportion as the channel is inclined from a horizontal to a vertical position. The ordinary or common run of water in each sewer, due from house drainage alone, and irrespective of rain, should have sufficient velocity to prevent the usual matter discharged into the sewer from depositing. For this purpose, it is necessary that there should be in each sewer a contant velocity of current equal to 2½ feet per second, or 1¾ mile per hour." Mr. Phillips then states that the inclinations of all rivulets, &c., diminish as they progress to their outfalls. "If the force of the waters of the river Rhone," he has said, "were not absorbed by the operation of some constant retardation in its course, the stream would have shot into the Bay of Marseilles with the tremendous velocity of 164 miles every hour. Even if the Thames met with no system of impediments in its course, the stream would have rushed into the sea with a velocity of 80 feet per second, or 54½ miles in an hour. . . . . The inclinations of the sewers of a natural district should be made to diminish from their heads to their outfalls in a corresponding ratio of progression, so that as the body of water is increased at each confluence, one and the same velocity and force of current may be kept up throughout the whole of them."

Mr. Phillips advocates a tubular system of sewerage and drainage.

The main sewer, which has lately called forth the most public attention and professional controversy, is that connected with the new Houses of Parliament, or as they are called in divers reports and correspondence, the "New Palace at Westminster."

The workmanship in the building of the sewers is of every quality. The material of which some of the older sewers are constructed is a porous sort of brick, which is often found crumbling and broken, and saturated with damp and rottenness, from the exhalations and contact of their contents. The sewers erected, however, within the last twenty, and more especially within the last ten years, are sometimes of granite, but generally of the best brick, with an interior coating of enduring cement, and generally with concrete on their exterior, to protect them from the dampness and decaying qualities of the superincumbent or lateral soil.

The depth of the sewers—I mean from the top of the sewer to the surface of the street—seems to vary as everything else varies about them. Some are found forty feet below the street, some *two* feet, some almost level! These, however, are exceptions; and the average depth of the sewers on the Middlesex side is from twelve to fourteen feet; on the Surrey side, from six to eight feet. The reason is that the north shores of the metropolis are above the tide level, the south shores are below it.

An authority on the subject has said, "The Surrey sewers are bad, owing principally to the land being below tide level. They were the most expensively constructed, because, *perhaps*, in that Commission the surveyors were paid by percentage on the cost of works. When it was proposed, in the Westminster Commission, to effect a reduction of four-fifths in the cost, it was like a proposition to return the officers' salaries to that extent, if they had been paid in that way."

The reader may have observed that the official intelligence I have given all, or nearly all, refers to the "Westminster and part of Middlesex" Commission, and to that of the "Surrey and Kent." This is easily accounted for. In the metropolitan districts, up to 1847, the only Commission which published its papers was the Westminster, of which Mr. L. C. Hertslet had the charge as clerk; when the Commissions were consolidated in 1847, he printed the Westminster and Surrey only, the others being of minor importance.

I may observe that one of the engineers, in showing the difficulty or impossibility of giving any description of a *system* of sewerage, as to points of agreement or difference, represents the whole mass as but a "detached parcel of sewers."

The course of the sewers is in no direct or uniform line, with the exception of one characteristic—all their bearings are towards the river as regards the main sewers (first-class), and all the bearings of the second-class sewers are towards the main sewers in the main streets. The smaller classes of sewers fill up the great area of London sewerage with a perfect network of intersection and connection, and even this network is increased

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manyfold by its connection with the house-drains.

There is no map of the general sewerage of the metropolis, merely "sections" and "plans" of improvements making or suggested, in the reports of the surveyors, &c., to the Commissioners; but did a map of subterranean London exist, with its lines of every class of sewerage and of the drainage which feeds the sewers; with its course, moreover, of gas-pipes and water-pipes, with their connection with the houses, the streets, the courts, &c., it would be the most curious and skeleton-like map in the world.

Of the Subterranean Character of the Sewers.

In my inquiries among that curious body of men, the "Sewer Hunters," I found them make light of any danger, their principal fear being from the attacks of rats in case they became isolated from the gang with whom they searched in common, while they represented the odour as a mere nothing in the way of unpleasantness. But these men pursued only known and (by them) beaten tracks at low water, avoiding any deviation, and so becoming but partially acquainted with the character and direction of the sewers. And had it been otherwise, they are not a class competent to describe what they saw, however keen-eyed after silver spoons.

The following account is derived chiefly from official sources. I may premise that where the deposit is found the greatest, the sewer is in the worst state. This deposit, I find it repeatedly stated, is of a most miscellaneous character. Some of the sewers, indeed, are represented as the dust-bins and dung-hills of the immediate neighbourhood. The deposit has been found to comprise all the ingredients from the breweries, the gas-works, and the several chemical and mineral manufactories; dead dogs, cats, kittens, and rats; offal from slaughter-houses, sometimes even including the entrails of the animals; street-pavement dirt of every variety; vegetable refuse; stable-dung; the refuse of pig-styes; night-soil; ashes; tin kettles and pans (pansherds); broken stoneware, as jars, pitchers, flower-pots, &c.; bricks; pieces of wood; rotten mortar and rubbish of different kinds; and even rags. Our criminal annals of the previous century show that often enough the bodies of murdered men were thrown into the Fleet and other ditches, then the open sewers of the metropolis, and if found washed into the Thames, they were so stained and disfigured by the foulness of the contents of these ditches, that recognition was often impossible, so that there could be but one verdict returned—"Found drowned." Clothes stripped from a murdered person have been, it was authenticated on several occasions in Old Bailey evidence, thrown into the open sewer ditches, when torn and defaced, so that they might not supply evidence of identity. So close is the connection between physical filthiness in public matters and moral wickedness.

The following particulars show the characteristics of the underground London of the sewers. The subterranean surveys were made after the commissions were consolidated.

"An old sewer, running between Great Smith-street and St. Ann-street (Westminster), is a curiosity among sewers, although it is probably only one instance out of many similar constructions that will be discovered in the course of the subterranean survey. The bottom is formed of planks laid upon transverse timbers, 6 inches by 6 inches, about 3 feet apart. The size of the sewer varies in width from 2 to 6 feet, and from 4 to 5 feet in height. The inclination of the bottom is very irregular: there are jumps up at two or three places, and it contains a deposit of filth averaging 9 inches in depth, the sickening smell from which escapes into the houses and yards that drain into it. In many places the side walls have given way for lengths of 10 and 15 feet. Across this sewer timbers have been laid, upon which the external wall of a workshop has been built; the timbers are in a decaying state, and should they give way, the wall will fall into the sewer."

From the further accounts of this survey, I find that a sewer from the Westminster Workhouse, which was of all shapes and sizes, was in so wretched a condition that the leveller could scarcely work for the thick scum that covered the glasses of the spirit-level in a few minutes after being wiped. "At the outfall into the Dean-street sewer, it is 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 8 inches for a short length. From the end of this, a wide sewer branches in each direction at right angles, 5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 5 inches. Proceeding to the eastward about 30 feet, a chamber is reached about 30 feet in length, from the roof of which hangings of putrid matter *like stalactites* descend *three feet in length*. At the end of this chamber, the sewer passes under the public privies, the ceilings of which can be seen from it. Beyond this it is not possible to go."

"In the Lucas-street sewer, where a portion of new work begins and the old terminates, a space of about 10 feet has been covered with boards, which, having broken, a dangerous chasm has been caused immediately under the road."

"The West-street sewer had one foot of deposit. It was flushed while the levelling party was at work there, and the stream was so rapid that it nearly washed them away, instrument and all."

There are further accounts of "deposit," or of "stagnant filth," in other sewers, varying from 6 to 14 inches, but that is insignificant compared to what follows.

The foregoing, then, is the pith of the first authentic account which has appeared in print of the actually surveyed condition of the subterranean ways, over which the super-terranean tides of traffic are daily flowing.

The account I have just given relates to the (former) Westminster and part of Middlesex district on the north bank of the Thames, as ascertained under the Metropolitan Commission. I now give some extracts concerning a similar

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survey on the south bank, in different and distant directions in the district, once the "Surrey and Kent." The Westminster, &c., survey took place in 1848; the Kent and Surrey in 1849. In the one case, 72 miles of sewers were surveyed; in the other, 69½ miles.

"The surveyors (in the Surrey and Kent sewers) find great difficulty in levelling the sewers of this district (I give the words of the Report); for, in the first place, the deposit is *usually* about two feet in depth, and in some cases it amounts to nearly *five feet* of putrid matter. The smell is usually of the most horrible description, the air being so foul that explosion and choke damp are very frequent. On the 12th January we were very nearly losing a whole party by choke damp, the last man being dragged out on his back (through two feet of black fœtid deposits) in a state of insensibility. . . . . Two men of one party had also a narrow escape from drowning in the Alscot-road sewer, Rotherhithe.

"The sewers on the Surrey side are very irregular; even where they are inverted they frequently have a number of steps and inclinations the reverse way, causing the deposit to accumulate in *elongated cesspools*.

"It must be considered very fortunate that the subterranean parties did not first commence on the Surrey side, for if such had been the case, we should most undoubtedly have broken down. When compared with Westminster, the sewers are smaller and more full of deposit; and, bad as the smell is in the sewers in Westminster, it is infinitely worse on the Surrey side."

Several details are then given, but they are only particulars of the general facts I have stated.

The following, however, are distinct facts concerning this branch of the subject.

In my inquiries among the working scavagers I often heard of their emptying street slop into sewers, and the following extract shows that I was not misinformed:—

"The detritus from the macadamized roads frequently forms a kind of grouting in the sewers so hard that it cannot be removed without hand labour.

"One of the sewers in Whitehall and another in Spring-gardens have from three to four feet of this sort of deposit; and another in Eaton-square was found filled up within a few inches of the 'soffit,' but it is supposed that the scavengers (scavagers) emptied the road-sweepings down the gully-grate in this instance;" and in other instances, too, there is no doubt—especially at Charing Cross, and the Regent Circus, Piccadilly.

Concerning the sewerage of the most aristocratic parts of the city of Westminster, and of the fashionable squares, &c., to the north of Oxford-street, I glean the following particulars (reported in 1849). They show, at any rate, that the patrician quarters have not been unduly favoured; that there has been no partiality in the construction of the sewerage. In the Belgrave and Eaton-square districts there are many faulty places in the sewers which abound with noxious matter, in many instances stopping up the house drains and "smelling horribly." It is much the same in the Grosvenor, Hanover, and Berkeley-square localities (the houses in the squares themselves included). Also in the neighbourhood of Covent-garden, Clare-market, Soho and Fitzroy-squares; while north of Oxford-street, in and about Cavendish, Bryanstone, Manchester, and Portman-squares, there is so much rottenness and decay that there is no security for the sewers standing from day to day, and to flush them for the removal of their "most loathsome deposit" might be "to bring some of them down altogether."

One of the accounts of a subterranean survey concludes with the following rather curious statement:—"Throughout the new Paddington district the neighbourhood of Hyde Park Gardens, and the costly squares and streets adjacent, the sewers abound with the foulest deposit, from which the most disgusting effluvium arises; indeed, amidst the whole of the Westminster District of Sewers the *only* little spot which can be mentioned as being in at all a satisfactory state is the Seven Dials."

I may point out also that these very curious and authenticated accounts by no means bear out the zymotic doctrine of the Board of Health as to the cause of cholera; for where the zymotic influences from the sewers were the worst, in the patrician squares of what has been called Belgravia and Tyburnia, the cholera was the least destructive. This, however, is no reason whatever why the stench should not be stifled.

Of the House-Drainage of the Metropolis as connected with the Sewers.

Every house built or rebuilt since the passing of the Metropolitan Sewers Act in 1848, must be drained, with an exception, which I shall specify, into a sewer. The law, indeed, divested of its technicalities is this: the owner of a newly-erected house must drain it to a sewer, without the intervention of a cesspool, if there be a sewer within 100 feet of the site of the house; and, if necessary, in places but partially built over, such owner must continue the sewer along the premises, and make the necessary drain into it; all being done under the approval of the proper officer under the Commissioners. If there be, however, an established sewer, along the side, front, or back of any house, a covered drain must be made into that at the cost of the owner of the premises to be drained. "Where a sewer," says the 46th section of the Act, "shall already be made, and a drain only shall be required, the party is to pay a contribution towards the original expense of the sewer, if it shall have been made within thirty-five years before the 4th of September, 1848, the contribution to be paid to the builder of the sewer." . . . . . . "In cases where there shall be no sewer into which a drain could be made, the party must make a covered drain to lead into a cesspool or other place (not under a house) as the Commissioners may direct. If the parties infringe this rule, the Commissioners may

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do the work and throw the cost on them in the nature of an improvement rate, or as charges for default, and levy the amount by distress."

I mention these circumstances more particularly to show the extent, and the far-continued ramification, of the subterranean metropolis. I am assured by one of the largest builders in the western district of the capital that the new regulations (as to the dispensing with cesspools) are readily complied with, as it is a recommendation which a house agent, or any one letting new premises, is never slow to advance ("and when it 's the truth," he said, "they do it with a better grace"), that there will be in the course of occupancy no annoyance and no expense incurred in the clearing away of cesspoolage.

I shall at present describe only the house-drainage, which is connected with the public sewerage. The old mode of draining a house separately into the cesspool of the premises will, of course, be described under the head of cesspoolage, and that old system is still very prevalent.

At the times of passing both general and local Acts concerning buildings, town improvements and extensions, the erection of new streets and the removal of old, much has been said and written concerning better systems of ventilating, warming, and draining dwelling-houses; but until after the first outbreak of cholera in England, in 1832, little public attention was given to the great drainage of all the sewers. However, on the passing of the Building and Sanitary Acts generally, the authorities made many experiments, not so much to improve the system of sewerage as of house-drainage, so as to make the dwelling-houses more wholesome and sweet.

To effect this, the great object was the abolition of the cesspool system, under which filth must accumulate, and where, from scamped buildings or other causes, evaporation took place, the effects of the system were found to be vile and offensive, and have been pronounced miasmatic. Having just alluded to these matters, I proceed to describe the modernly-adopted connection of house-drainage and street-sewerage.

Experiments, as I have said, were set on foot under the auspices of public bodies, and the opinions of eminent engineers, architects, and surveyors were also taken. Their opinions seem really to be concentrated in the advocacy of *one* remedy—improved house-drainage; and they appear to have agreed that the system which is at present adopted is, under the circumstances, the best that can be adopted.

I was told also by an eminent practical builder, perfectly unconnected with any official or public body, and, indeed, often at issue with surveyors, &c., that the new system was unquestionably a great improvement in every respect, and that some years before its adoption as at present he had abetted such a system, and had carried it into effect when he could properly do so.

I will first show the mode and then the cost of the new system.

I find it designated "back," "front," "tubular," and "pipe" house-drainage, and all with the object of carrying off all fæces, soil water, cesspool matter, &c., before it has had time to accumulate. It is not by brick or other drains of masonry that the system is carried out or is recommended to be carried out, but by means of tubular earthenware pipes; and for any efficient carrying out of the projected improvement a system of *constant*, and not as at present *intermittent*, supply of water from the several companies would be best. These pipes communicate with the nearest sewer. The pipes in the tubular drainage are of red earthenware or stoneware (pot).

The use of earthenware, clay, or pot pipes for the conveyance of liquids is very ancient. Mr. Stirrat, a bleacher in Paisley, in a statement to the Board of Health, mentioned that clay pipes were used in ancient times. King Hezekiah (2nd Book of Kings, chap. 20, and 2nd Book of Chronicles, chap. 32) brought in water from Jerusalem. "His pool and conduit," said Mr. Stirrat, "are still to be seen. The conduit is three feet square inside, built of freestone, strongly cemented; the stone, fifteen inches thick, evidently intended to sustain a considerable pressure; and I have seen pipes of clay, taken by a friend from a house in the ruins of the ancient city, of one inch bore, and about seven inches in diameter, proving evidently, to my mind, that ancient Jerusalem was supplied with water on the principle of gravitation. The pools or reservoirs are also at this day in tolerably good order, one of them still filled with water; the other broken down in the centre, no doubt by some besieging enemy, to cut off the supply to the city."

The new system to supply the place of the cesspools is a *combined*, while the old is principally a *separate*, system of house-drainage; but the new system is equally available for such separate drainage.

As regards the success of this system the reports say experiments have been tried in so large a number of houses, under such varied and, in many cases, disadvantageous circumstances, that no doubts whatsoever can remain in the minds of competent and disinterested persons as to the efficient self-cleansing action of well-adjusted tubular drains and sewers, even without any additional supplies of water.

Mr. Lovick said:—

"A great number of small 4-inch tubular drains have been laid down in the several districts, some for considerable periods. They have been found to keep themselves clear by the ordinary soil and drainage waters of the houses. I have no doubt that pipes of this kind will keep themselves clear by the ordinary discharge of house-drainage; assuming, of course, a supply of water, pipes of good form, and materials properly laid, and with fair usage."

"One of the earliest illustrations of the tubular system," it is stated in a Report of the Board of Health, "was given in the improved drainage of a block of houses in the cloisters of Westminster,

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which had been the seat of a severe epidemic fever. The cesspools and the old drains were filled up, and an entire system of tubular drainage and sewerage substituted for the service of that block of houses.

"The Dean of Westminster, in a letter on the state of this drainage, says, 'I beg to report to the Commissioners that the success of the entire new pipe-drainage laid down in St. Peter's College during the last twelve months has been complete. I consider this experiment on drainage and sewage of about fifteen houses to afford a triumphant proof of the efficacy of draining by pipes, and of the facility of *dispensing entirely with cesspools and brick sewers.*' Up to this time they have acted, and continue to act, perfectly.

"Mr. Morris, a surveyor attached to the Metropolitan Sewers Commission, gives the following account of the action of trial works of improved house-drainage :—

"'I have introduced the new 4-inch tubular house-drains into some houses for the trustees of the parish of Poplar, with water-closets, and have received no just cause of complaint. In every instance where I have applied it, I found the system answer extremely well, if a sufficient quantity of water has been used.

"'The answer of the householders as to the effect of the new drainage has invariably been that they and their families have been better in health; that they were formerly annoyed with smells and effluvia, from which they are now quite free.

"'Since the new drainage has been laid down there has been only occasion to go on the ground to examine it once for the whole year, and that was from the inefficiency of the water service. It was found that rags had been thrown down and had got into the pipe; and further, that very little water had been used, so that the stoppage was the fault of the tenant, not of the system.'"

Mr. Gotto, the engineer, having stated that in a plan for the improvement of Goulston-street, Whitechapel, not only was the removal of all cesspools contemplated, but also the substitution of water-closet apparatus, gave the following estimate of *the cost*, provided the pipes were made and the work done by contract under the Commissioners of Sewers :—

Water-closet Apparatus, &c.

	£	s.	d.
Emptying, &c., cesspool	0	12	0
Digging, &c., for 8-feet pipe drain, at 4d.	0	2	8
Making good to walls and floor of water-closet over drain, at 3d.	0	2	0
8 feet run of 4-inch pipe, at 3d.	0	2	0
Laying ditto, at 2d.	0	1	4
Extra for junction	0	0	4
Fixing ditto	0	0	2
Water-closet apparatus, with stool cock	0	10	0
Fixing ditto	0	2	0
Contingencies (10 per cent.)	0	3	6
	1	16	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1	16	0
The yard sink and drain would cost	0	11	2
Kitchen sink and drain	0	15	7½
So that the cost of *back* draining one house, including water-closet, would be	3	2	9½

The *front* tubular drainage of a similar house (with fifteen yards of carriage-way to be paved) would cost 6*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.*; or the drainage would cost, according to the old system, 11*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*

"The engineering witnesses who have given their special attention to the subject," state the Board of Health, in commenting on the information I have just cited, "affirm that upon the improved system of combined works the expense of the apparatus in substitution of cesspools would *not greatly exceed one-half the expense* of cleaning the cesspools."

The engineers have calculated — stating the difficulty of coming to a nice calculation — that the present system of cesspools entailed an average expenditure, for cleansing and repairs, of 4*d.* a week on each householder; and that by the new system it would be but 1¾*d.* The Board of Health's calculations, however, are, I regret to say, always dubious.

The subjoined scale of the difference in cost was prepared at the instance of the Board.

Mr. Grant took four blocks of houses for examination, and the results are given as a guide to what would be the general expenditure if the change took place :—

"In one block of 44 houses—

The length of drains by back drainage was 1544 feet.

Cost (exclusive of pans, traps, and water in both cases) of back drainage, 83*l.* 12*s.*, or 1*l.* 18*s.* per house.

Cost of separate tubular drainage, 467*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, or 10*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per house.

Cost of separate brick drains, 910*l.* 19*s.*, or 20*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* per house.

"In another block of 23 houses—

The length of back drains was 783 feet.

Of separate drains, 1437 feet.

The cost of back tubular drains, 45*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, or 1*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* per house.

Of separate tubular drains, 131*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, or 5*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per house.

Of separate brick drains, 305*l.* 7*s.*, or 13*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* per house.

"In another block of 46 houses—

The length of back drainage, 1143 feet.

Ditto by separate ditto, 1892 feet.

The cost of back tubular drainage, 66*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*, or 1*l.* 8*s.* 9¾*d.* per house.

Ditto of separate ditto ditto, 178*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*, or 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per house.

Ditto of separate brick ditto, 390*l.* 4*s.*, or 8*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* per house.

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"In a fourth block of 46 houses—
The length of back drains, 985 feet.
Ditto of separate ditto, 2913 feet.
Cost of back tubular drainage, 66*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*, or 1*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* per house.
Ditto of separate ditto ditto, 262*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.*, or 5*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* per house.
Ditto of separate brick ditto, 614*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*, or 13*l.* 7*s.* 3¾*d.* per house."

I have mentioned the diversity of opinion as to the best form, and even material, for a sewer; and there is the same diversity as to the material, &c., for house and gully or street-drainage, more especially in the *pipes* of the larger volume. The pipe-drainage of any description is far less in favour than it was. One reason is that it does not promote *subsoil drainage;* another is the difficulty of repairs if the joints or fittings of pipes require mending; and then the combination of the noxious gases is most offensive in its exhalations, and difficult to overcome.

I was informed by a nightman, used to the cleansing of drains and to night-work generally, that when there was any escape from one of the tubular pipes the stench was more intense than any he had ever before experienced from any drains on the old system.

Of the London Street-Drains.

We have as yet dealt only with the means of removing the liquid refuse from the houses of the metropolis. This, as was pointed out at the commencement of the present subject, consists principally of the 19,000,000,000 gallons of water that are annually supplied to the London residences by mechanical means. But there still remain the 5,000,000,000 gallons of surface or rain-water to be carried off from the 1760 miles of streets, and the roofs and yards of the 300,000 houses which now form the British metropolis. If this immense volume of liquid were not immediately removed from our thoroughfares as fast as it fell, many of our streets would not only be transformed into canals at certain periods of the year, but perhaps at all times (except during drought) they would be, if not impassable, at least unpleasant and unhealthy, from the puddles or small pools of stagnant water that would be continually rotting them. Were such the case, the roads and streets that we now pride ourselves so highly upon would have their foundations soddened. "If the surface of a road be not kept clean so as to admit of its becoming dry between showers of rain," said Lord Congleton, the great road authority, "it will be rapidly worn away." Indeed the immediate removal of rain-water, so as to prevent its percolating through the surface of the road, and thereby impairing the foundation, appears to be one of the main essentials of road-making.

The means of removing this surface water, especially from the streets of a city where the rain falls at least every other day throughout the year, and reaches an aggregate depth of 24 feet in the course of the twelvemonth, is a matter of considerable moment. In Paris, and indeed almost all of the French towns, a channel is formed in the middle of each thoroughfare, and down this the water from the streets and houses is continually coursing, to the imminent peril of all pedestrians, for the wheels of every vehicle distribute, as it goes, a muddy shower on either side of the way.

We, however, have not only removed the channels from the middle to the sides of our streets, but instituted a distinct system of drainage for the conveyance of the wet refuse of our houses to the sewers—so that there are no longer (excepting in a very small portion of the suburbs) open sewers, meandering through our highways; the consequence is, the surface-water being carried off from our thoroughfares almost as fast as it falls, our streets are generally dry and clean. That there are exceptions to this rule, which are a glaring disgrace to us, it must be candidly admitted; but we must at the same time allow, when we think of the vast extent of the roadways of the metropolis (1760 miles!— nearly one-half the radius of the earth itself), the deluge of water that anuually descends upon every inch of the ground which we call London (38,000,000,000 gallons!—a quantity which is almost sufficient for the formation of an American lake), and the vast amount of traffic, over the greater part of the capital—the 13,000 vehicles that daily cross London Bridge, the 11,000 conveyances that traverse Cheapside in the course of twelve hours, the 7700 that go through Temple Bar, and the 6900 that ascend and descend Holborn Hill between nine in the morning and nine at night, the 1500 omnibuses and the 3000 cabriolets that are continually hurrying from one part of the town to another, and the 10,000 private carriage, job, and cart horses that incessantly *perviate* the metropolis—when we reflect, I say, on this vast amount of traffic—this deluge of rain—and the wilderness of streets, it cannot but be allowed that the cleansing and draining of the London thoroughfares is most admirably conducted.

The mode of street drainage is by means of what is called a gully-hole and a gully-drain.

*The Gully-hole** is the opening from the surface of the street (and is seen generally on each side of the way), into which all the fluid refuse of the public thoroughfares runs on its course to the sewer.

The Gully-drain is a drain generally of earthenware piping, curving from the side of the street to an opening in the top or side of the sewer, and is the means of communication between the sewer and the gully-hole.

The gully-hole is indicated by an iron grate being fitted into the surface of the side of a footpath, where the road slopes gradually from its centre to the edge of the footpath, and down this grate the water runs into the channel contrived

* *Gully* here is a corruption of the word *Gullet*, or throat; the Norman is *gueile* (Lat. *gula*), and the French, *goulet;* from this the word *gully* appears to be directly derived. A *gully*-drain is literally a *gullet*-drain, that is, a drain serving the purposes of a gullet or channel for liquids, and a gully-hole the mouth, orifice, or opening to the *gullet* or gully-drain.

for it in the construction of the streets. These gully-grates, the observant pedestrian—if there be a man in this hive of London who, without professional attraction to the matter, regards for a few minutes the peculiarities of the street (apart from the houses) which he is traversing—an observant pedestrian, I say, would be struck at the constantly-recurring grates in a given space in some streets, and their paucity in others. In Drury-lane there is no gully-grate, as you walk down from Holborn to where Drury-lane becomes Wych-street; whilst in some streets, not a tenth of the length of Drury-lane, there may be three, four, five, or six grates. The reason is this:—There is no sewer running down Drury-lane; a contiguous sewer, however, runs down Great Wyld-street, draining, where there are drains, the hundred courts and nooks of the poor, between Drury-lane and Lincoln's-inn-fields, as well as the more open places leading down towards the proximity of Temple Bar. This Great Wyld-street sewer, moreover, in its course to Fleet Bridge, is made available for the drainage (very grievously deficient, according to some of the reports of the Board of Health) of Clare-market. Grates would of course be required in such a place as Drury-lane, only the street is thought to be sufficiently on the descent to convey the surface-water to the grate in Wych-street.

The parts in which the gully-grates will be found the most numerous are where the main streets are most intersected by other main streets, or by smaller off-streets, and indeed wherever the streets, of whatever size, continually intersect each other, as they do off nearly all the great street-thoroughfares in the City. Although the sewers may not be according to the plan of the streets, the gully-grates must nevertheless be found at the street intersections, whether the nearest point to the sewer or not, or else the water would not be quickly carried off, and would form a nuisance.

I am informed, on good authority, both as regards the City and Metropolitan Commissions, that the average distance of the gully-grates is thirty yards one from another, including both sides of the way. Their number does not depend upon population, but simply on the local characteristics of the highways; for of course the rain falls into all the streets in proportion to their size, whether populous or half-empty localities. As, however, the more distant roads have not such an approximation of grates, and the law which requires their formation is by no means—and perhaps, without unnecessary interference, cannot be—very definite, I am informed that it may fairly be represented, that, of the 1760 miles of London public ways, more than two-thirds, "or" remarked one informant, "say 1200 miles, are grated on *each* side of the street or road, at distances of sixty yards." This would give 59 gully-holes in every one of the 1200 miles of street said to be so supplied. Hence the total number throughout the metropolis will be 70,800.

The gully-drain, which is the street-drain, always presents now a sloping curve, describing, more or less, part of a circle. This drain starts, so to speak, from the side of the street, while its course to the sewer, in order to economize space, is made by any most appropriate curve, to include the reception of as great a quantity of wet street-refuse as possible; for if the gully-drains were formed in a direct, or even a not-very-indirect line, from the street sides to the sewers, they would not only be more costly, more numerous, but would, in fact, as I was told, "choke the under-ground" of London, for now the subterranean capital is so complicated with gas, water, and drain-pipes, that such a system as will allow room for each is indispensable. The new system is, moreover, more economical. In the City the gully-drains are nearly all of nine-inch diameter in tubular pipeage. In the metropolitan jurisdiction they are the same, but not to the same extent, some being only six inches.

Fifty, or even thirty years ago, the old street channels for gully drainage were costly constructions, for they were made so as to suit sewers which were cleansed by the street being taken "up," and the offensive deposit, thick and even indurated as it often was in those days, drawn to the surface. Some few were three and even four feet square; some two feet six inches wide, and three or four feet high; all of brick. I am assured that of the extent or cost of these old contrivances no accounts have been preserved, but that they were more than twice as costly as the present method.

In all the reports I have seen, metropolitan or city—the statements of the flushermen being to the same purport—there are complaints as to the uses to which the gully-holes are put in many parts, every kind of refuse admissible through the bars of the grate being stealthily emptied down them. The paviours, if they have an opportunity, sweep their surplus grout into the gullies, and so do the scavagers with their refuse occasionally, though this is generally done in the less-frequented parts, to get rid of the "slop," which is valueless.

In a report, published in 1851, Mr. Haywood points out the prevalence of the practice of using the gully-gratings as dustbins! A sewer under Billingsgate accumulated in a few months many cart-loads, composed almost wholly of fish-shells; and 114 cart-loads of fish-shells, cinders, and rubbish were removed from the sewers in the vicinity of Middlesex-street (Petticoat-lane); these had accumulated in about twelve months. "Reconstructing the gullies," he says, "so as to intercept improper substances (which has been recently done at Billingsgate), might prevent this material reaching the sewers, but it would still have to be removed from the gullies, and would thus still cause perpetual expense. Indeed, I feel convinced that nothing but making public example by convicting and punishing some offenders, under clause 69 of 'The City of London Sewers' Act,' will stop the practice, so universal in the poorer localities, of using the gullies as dustbins."

The Gully-holes are now trapped—with very few exceptions, one report states, while another report intimates that gully-trapping has no exception at all. The trap is resorted to so that the effluvium from

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a gully-drain may not infect the air of the public ways; but among engineers and medical sanitary inquirers, there is much difference of opinion as to whether the system of trapping is desirable or not. The general opinion seems to be, however, that all gullies should be trapped.

Of the City gully-traps, Mr. Haywood, in a report for the year 1851, says, as regards the period of their introduction:—

"About seventeen years ago your then surveyor (Mr. Kelsey) applied the first traps to sewer gullies, and from that date to the present the trapping of gullies has been adopted as a principle, and the city of London is still, I believe, the only metropolitan area in which the gullies are all trapped. The traps first constructed have since been (as all first inventions or adaptations ever have or will be) improved upon, and are rapidly being displaced by those of more improved construction.

"Now, of the incompatible conditions required of gully-traps, of the difficulty of obtaining such mechanical appliances so effective and perfect as can *theoretically* be devised, but yet of the extreme desirability of obtaining them as perfect as modern science could produce, your honourable court has, at least, for as long as I have had the honour of holding office under you, been fully alive to; no prejudice has opposed impediment to the introduction of novelties; your court has been always open to inventors, and, at the present time, there are sixteen different traps or modes of trapping gullies under trial within your jurisdiction.

"Nor has the provision of the means of excluding effluvium from the atmosphere been your only care; but the cleanliness of the sewers, and the prevention of accumulation of decomposing refuse, both by regulated cleansings, and by constructing the sewage upon the most improved principles, have also been your aim and that of your officers; and I do not hesitate to assert, that the offensiveness of the escape from the gullies has been of late years much diminished by the care bestowed upon the condition of the sewers.

"374 gullies have been retrapped in the City upon improved principles during the last year."

The gully-traps are on the principle of self-acting valves, but it is stated in several reports, that these valves often remain permanently open, partly from the street refuse (especially if mixed with the débris from new or removed buildings) not being sufficiently liquified to pass through them, and partly from the hinges getting rusted, and so becoming fixed.

Of the Length of the London Sewers and Drains.

There is no official account precisely defining the length of the London sewerage; but the information acquired on the subject leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of the following facts.

About 900 miles of sewers of the metropolis may be said to have been surveyed; and it is known that from 100 to 150 miles more constitute a portion of the metropolitan sewerage; this, too, independently of that of the City, which is 50 miles. Altogether I am assured that the sewers of the urban part of London, included within the 58 square miles before mentioned, measure 1100 miles.

The classes of sewers comprised in this long extent are pretty equally apportioned, each a third, or 366 miles, of the first, second, and third classes respectively. Of this extent about 200 miles are still, in the year 1852, *open* sewers!—to say nothing of the great open sewer, the Thames. The open sewers are found principally in the Surrey districts, in Brixton, Lewisham, Tooting, and places at the like distance from the more central parts of the Commissioners' jurisdiction. These open sewers, however, are disappearing, and it is intended that in time no such places shall exist; as it is, some miles of them are inclosed yearly. The open sewers in what may be considered more of the heart of the metropolis are a portion of the Fleet-ditch in Clerkenwell, and places in Lambeth and Bermondsey, or about 20 miles in the interior to 180 miles in the exterior portion of the capital. These are national disgraces.

The 1100 miles above-mentioned, however, include only the sewers, comprising neither the house nor gully-drains. According to the present laws, all newly-built houses must be drained into the sewers; and in 1850 there were 5000 applications from the western districts alone to the Commissioners, for the promotion of the drainage of that number of old and new houses into the sewers, the old houses having been previously drained into cesspools.

I am assured, on good authority, that fully one-half of the houses in the metropolis are at the present time drained into the sewers. In one street, about a century old, containing in the portion surveyed for an official purpose, on the two sides of the way, 76 houses, the number was found to be equally divided—half the drainage being into sewers and half into cesspools. The number of houses in the metropolis proper, of 115 square miles area, is 307,722. The majority, as far as is officially known, are now drained into the public sewers, or into private or branch sewers communicating with the larger public receptacles, so that—allowing 200,000 houses to be included in the 58 square miles of the urban sewerage, and admitting that some wretched dwelling-places are not drained at all—it is reasonable to assume that at least 100,000 houses within this area are drained into the sewers.

The average length of the house-drains is, I learn from the best sources, 50 feet per house. The builder of a new house is now required by law to drain it, at the proprietor's cost, 100 feet, if necessary, to a sewer. In some instances, in detached houses, where the owners object to the cesspool system, a house drain has been carried 230 feet to a sewer, and sometimes even farther; but in narrow or moderately wide streets, from 18 to 26 feet across, and in alleys and narrow places (in case there is sewerage) the house drains may be but from 12 to 20 feet. Both these

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lengths of drainage are exceptions, and there is no question that the average length may be put at 50 feet. In some squares, for example, the sewer runs along the centre, so that the house-drains here are in excess of the 50 feet average.

The length of the house-drainage of the more central part of London, assuming 100,000 houses to be drained into the sewers, and each of such drains to be on the average 50 feet long, is, then, 5,000,000 feet, or about 2840 miles.

But there are still the street or gully-drains for the surface-water to be estimated. In the Holborn and Finsbury division alone, the length of the "main covered sewers" is said to be 83 miles; the length of "smaller sewers" to carry off the surface-water from the streets 16 miles; the length of drains leading from houses to the main sewers, 264.

Now, if there be 16 miles of gully-drains to 83 miles of main covered sewers, and the same proportion hold good throughout the 58 square miles over which the sewers extend, it follows that there would be about 200 miles of gully-drains to the gross 1100 miles of sewers.

But this is only an approximate result. The length and character of the gully-drains I find to vary very considerably. If the streets where the gully-grates are found have no sewer in a line with the thoroughfare, still the water must be drained off and conveyed to the nearest sewer, of any class, large or small, and consequently at much greater length than if there were a sewer running down the street. Neither is the number of the gully-holes any sure criterion of the measurement of the gully-drains, for where the intersections are, and consequently the gully-holes frequent, a number, sometimes amounting to ten, are made to empty their contents into the same gully-drain. Neither do the returns of yearly expenditure, presented to Parliament by the Metropolitan Court of Sewers, supply information. But even if the exact length, and the exact price paid for the formation of that length, were given, it would supply but *the year's* outlay as regards the additions or repairs that had been made to the gully-drains, and certainly not furnish us with the original cost of the whole.

One experienced informant told me—but let me premise that I heard from all the gentlemen whom I consulted, a statement that they could only compute by analogy with other facts bearing upon the subject—was confident, that taking only 1200 miles of public way as gully-drained, that extent might be considered as the length of the gully-drains themselves. Even calculating such drains to run from each side of the public way, which is generally the case, I am told that, considering the economy of underground space which is now necessary, the length of 1200 miles is as fair an estimate for gully-drainage (apart from other drainage) as for the length of the streets so gullied.

Hence we have, for the gross extent of the whole sewers and drains of the metropolis, the following result,—

	Miles.
Main covered sewers	1100
House-drains	2840
Gully-drains for surface-water of streets	1200
Total length of the sewers and drains of the metropolis . .	5140

The island of Great Britain, I may observe, is, at its extreme points, 550 miles from north to south, and 290 from east to west. It would, therefore, appear that the main sewers of the capital are just double the length of the whole island, from the English Channel to John-o'-Groats, and nearly three times longer than the greatest width of the country. But this is the extent of the sewerage alone. The drainage of London is about equal in length to the diameter of the earth itself!

Of the Cost of Constructing the Sewers and Drains of the Metropolis.

The money actually expended in constructing the 1100 miles of sewers and 4000 miles of drains, even if we were only to date from Jan. 1, 1800, is not and never can be known. They have been built at intervals, as the metropolis, so to speak, *grew*. They were built also in many sizes and forms, and at many variations of price, according to the depth from the surface, the good or bad management, or the greater or lesser extent of jobbery or "patronage" in the several independent commissions. Accounts were either not presented in "the good old times," or not preserved.

Had the 1100 miles of sewers to be constructed anew, they would be, according to the present prices paid by the Commissioners—not including digging or such extraneous labour, but the cost of the sewer only—as follows:—

366 miles of sewers of the first class, or 1,932,480 feet, at 15*s.* per foot	£1,449,360
366 miles, or 1,932,480 feet of the second class, at 11*s.* per foot .	1,062,864
Same length of third class, at 9*s.* per foot	869,616
Total cost of the sewers of the metropolis	£3,381,840

As this is a lower charge than was paid for the construction of more than three-fourths of the sewers, we may fairly assume that their cost amounted to from three millions and a half to four millions of pounds sterling.

The majority of the house-drains running into the sewers are brick, and seldom less than 9 inches square; sometimes, in the old brick drains, they are some inches larger, and in the very old drains, and in some 100 years old, wooden planks were often used instead of a brick or stone construction, for the sake of reducing cost, and replaced when rotted. The wood, in many cases, soon decayed, and since 1847 no wooden sewers have been allowed to be formed, nor any old ones to be repaired with new wood; the work must be of stone or brick, if not pipeage. About two-thirds

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of the drains running from the houses to the sewers are brick; the remaining third tubular, or earthenware pipes. The cost, if now to be formed, would be somewhat as follows:—

1893½ miles of brick drains, 5*s.* per foot, as average of sizes . .	£2,499,200
945¾ feet of tubular drains, average of sizes 2*s.* 6*d.* . . .	624,800
Total cost of the house-drains of London	£3,124,000

The cost of the street or gully drains have still to be estimated.

The present cost of the 9-inch gully-pipe drains is about 3*s.* 6*d.* a foot; of the 6-inch, 2*s.* 6*d.* Of the proportionate lengths of these two classes of street-drains I have not been able to gain any account, for, I believe, it has never been ascertained in any way approaching to a total return. Taking 1200 miles, however, as quite within the full length of the gully-drains, and calculating at the low average of 3*s.* the foot for the whole, the total cost of the street-drains of the metropolis would be 950,400*l.*, or, I am assured, one might say a million sterling, and this, even if all were done at the present low prices; the original cost would, of course, have been much greater.

Hence, according to the above calculations, we have the following

Gross Estimate of the Cost of the Sewers and Drains of the Metropolis.

	£
1100 miles of main covered sewers	3,500,000
2840 miles of house-drains . .	3,000,000
1200 miles of gully or street drains	1,000,000
5140 miles of sewers and drainage =	7,500,000

Of the Uses of Sewers as a Means of Subsoil Drainage.

There is one other purpose toward which a sewer is available—a purpose, too, which I do not remember to have seen specified in the Metropolitan Reports.

"The first, and perhaps most important purpose of sewers, as respects health," says the Report of Messrs. Walker, Cubitt, and Brunel (1848), "is, *as under-drains to the surrounding earth.* They answer this purpose so effectually and quietly, and have done it so long, that their importance in this respect is overlooked. In the Sanitary Commissioners' Reports we do not find it once noticed, and the recommendation of the substitution of stone or earthenware pipes for the larger brick sewers, seems to show, that any provision for the *under-drainage* was thought unnecessary, although such a provision is in our opinion most important.

"Under the artificial ground, the collection of ages, which in the City of London, as in most ancient towns, forms the upper surface, is a considerable thickness of clean gravel, and under the gravel is the London clay. The present houses are founded chiefly on the artificial or 'made ground,' while the sewers are made through the gravel; and it is known practically, that however charged with water the gravel of a district may be, the springs for a considerable distance round are drawn down by making a sewer, and the wells that had water within a few feet of the surface have again to be sunk below the bottom of the sewer to reach the water. Every interstice between the stones of the gravel acts as an under-drain to conduct the water to the sewer, through the sides of which it finds its way, even if mortar be used in the construction.

"Hence the salubrity of a gravel foundation, if the water be drawn out of it by sewers or other means, as is the case with the City and with Westminster. A proof of this principle was afforded by the result of a reference to physicians and engineers in 1838, to inquire into the state of drainage and smells in and near Buckingham Palace, as to which there had been complaints, though none so heavy as Mr. Phillips now makes, when he says, 'that the drainage of Buckingham Palace is extremely defective, and that its precincts are reeking with filth and pestilential odours from the absence of proper sewerage!'"

The Report then shows the pains that were taken to ensure dryness in the Palace. Pits were dug in the garden 14 feet below the surface, and 3½ feet below high-water mark in the river, and they were found dry to the bottom. The kitchens and yard of the palace are, however, only 18 inches above Trinity high-water mark in the Thames, and therefore 18 inches below a very high tide. The physician, Sir James Clarke, and the engineers, Messrs. Simpson and Walker, in a separate Report, spoke in terms of commendation of the drainage of the Palace in 1838, as promotive of dryness. Since that time a connecting chain has been made from the Palace drains into the canal in St. James's-park, to prevent the wet from rising as formerly during heavy rains. "The Palace," it is stated in the Report of the three engineers, "should not be classed with the low part of Pimlico, where the drainage is, we believe, very defective, and to which, for anything we know to the contrary, the character given by Mr. Phillips may be applicable."

Unfortunately, however, for this array of opinions of high authority, and despite the advantages of a gravel bed for the substratum of the palatial sewerage, the drainage and sewerage about Buckingham Palace is more frequently than that of any other public place under repair, and is always requiring attention. It was only a few days ago, before the court left Windsor Castle for London, that men were employed night and day, on the drains and cesspoolage channels, to make, as one of them described it to me—and such working-men's descriptions are often forcible—"the place *decent.* I was hardly ever," he added, "in such a set of stinks as I've been in the sewers and underground parts of the palace."

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OF THE CITY SEWERAGE.

As yet I have spoken only of the sewers of London* "without the City;" but the sewers within the City, though connected, for the general public drainage and sewerage of the capital, with the works under the control of the Metropolitan Commissioners, are in a distinct and strictly defined jurisdiction, superintended by City Commissioners, and managed by City officers, and consequently demand a special notice.

The account of the City sewers, however, may be given with a comparative brevity, for the modes of their construction, as well as their general management, do not differ from what I have described as pertaining to the extra-civic metropolis. There are, nevertheless, a few distinctions which it is proper to point out.

The City sewers are the oldest in the capital, for the very plain reason that the City itself, in its site, if not now in its public and private buildings, is the oldest part of London, as regards the abode of a congregated body of people.

The ages (so to speak) of these sewers, vary, for the most part, according to the dates of the City's rebuilding after the Great Fire, and according to the dates of the many alterations, improvements, removal or rebuilding of new streets, markets, &c., which have been effected since that period. Before the Great Fire of 1666, all drainage seems, with a few exceptions, to have been fortuitous, unconnected, and superficial.

The *first* public sewer built after this important epoch in the history of London was in Ludgate-street and hill. This was the laudable work of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and was constructed at the instance, it is said, and after the plans, of Sir Christopher Wren. There is, perhaps, no official or documentary proof of this, for the proclamations from the King in council, the Acts of Parliament, and the resolutions of the Corporation of the City of London at that important period, are so vague and so contradictory, and were so frequently altered or abrogated, and so frequently disregarded, that it is more impossible than difficult to get at the truth. Of the fact which I have just mentioned, however, there need be no doubt; nor that the *second* public City sewer was in Fleet-street, commenced in 1668, the second year after the fire.

There are, nevertheless, older sewers than this, but the dates of their construction are not known; we have proof merely that they existed in old London, or as it was described by an anonymous writer (quoted, if I remember rightly, in Maitland's "History of London"), London "*ante ignem*"—London before the fire. These sewers, or rather portions of sewers, are severally near Newgate, St. Bartholomew's Hospital sewer, and that of the Irongate by the Tower.

The sewer, however, which may be pointed out as the most remarkable is that of Little Moorgate, London-wall. It is formed of red tiles; and from such being its materials, and from the circumstance of some Roman coins having been found near it, it is supposed by some to be of Roman construction, and of course coeval with that people's possession of the country. This sewer has a flat bottom, upright sides, and a circular arch at its top; it is about 5 feet by 3 feet. The other older sewers present much about the same form; and an Act in the reign of Charles II. directs that sewers shall be so built, but that the bottom shall have a circular curve.

I am informed by a City gentleman—one taking an interest in such matters—that this sewer has troubled the repose of a few civic antiquaries,

* Of the derivation of the word *Sewer* there have been many conjectures, but no approximation to the truth. One of the earliest instances I have met with of any detailed mention of sewers, is in an address delivered by a "Coroner," whose name does not appear, to "a jury of sewers." This address was delivered somewhere between the years 1660 and 1670. The coroner having first spoken of the importance of "Navigation and Drayning" (draining), then came to the question of sewers.

"Sewars," he said, "are to be accounted your grand Issuers of Water, from whence I conceive they carry their name (*Sewars quasi Issuers*). I shall take his opinion who delivers them to be Currents of Water, kept in on both sides with banks, and, in some sense, they may be called a certain kind of a little or small river. But as for the derivation of the word Sewar, from two of our English words, *Sea* and *Were*, or, as others will have it, *Sea* and *Ward*, give me leave, now I have mentioned it, to—leave it to your judgments.

"However, this word *Sewar* is very famous amongst us, both for giving the title of the Commission of Sewars itself, and for being the ordinary name of most of your common water-courses, for Drayning, and therefore, I presume, there are none of you of these juries but both know—

"1. What Sewars signify, and also, in particular,

"2. What they are; and of a thing so generally known, and of such general use."

The Rev. Dr. Lemon, who gave the world a work on "English Etymology," from the Greek and Latin, and from the Saxon and Norman, was regarded as a high authority during the latter part of the last century, when his quarto first appeared. The following is his account, under the head "Sewers"—

"Skinn. rejects Minsh's. deriv. of 'olim scriptum fuisse *seward* à sea-ward, quod versus mare factæ sunt: longè verisimilius à Fr. Gall. *eauier;* sentina; *incile,* supple. aquarum:'—then why did not the Dr. trace this Fr. Gall. *eauier?* if he had, he would have found it distorted ab 'Υδωρ, *aqua; sewers* being a species of *aqueduct:*—Lye, in his Add., gives another deriv., viz. 'ab Iceland. *sua, colare;* ut existimo; ad quod referre vellem *sewer; cloaca;* per *sordes* urbis ejiciuntur:'—the very word *sordes* gives me a hint that *sewer* may be derived à 'Σαιρω, *vel* Σαροω, *verro:* nempe quia *sordes,* quæ *everruntur* è domo, in unum locum *accumulantur;* R. Σωρος, *cumulus:* Voss.'—*a collection of sweepings, slop, dirt, &c.*"

But these are the follies of learning. Had our lexicographers known that the vulgar were, as Dr. Latham says, "the conservators of the Saxon language" with us, they would have sought information from the word "shore," which the uneducated, and, consequently, unperverted, invariably use in the place of the more polite "sewer"—the common *sewer* is always termed by them "the common *shore.*" Now the word *shore,* in Saxon, is written *score* and *scor* (for $c = h$), and means not only a bank, the land immediately next to the sea, but a *score,* a tally—for they are both substantives, made from the verb *sceran* (p. *scear, scær,* pp. *scoren, gescoren*), to *shear,* cut off, *share,* divide; and hence they meant, in the one case, the division of the land from the sea; and in the other, a division cut in a piece of wood, with a view to counting. The substantive *scar* has the same origin; as well as the verb to *score,* to cut, to gash. The Scandinavian cognates for the Saxon *scor* may be cited as proofs of what is here asserted. They are, Icel., *skor,* a notch; Swed., *skdra,* a notch; and Dan., *skaar* and *skure,* a notch, an incision. It would seem, therefore, that the word *shore,* in the sense of *sewer* (Dan., *skure;* Anglice, *shure,* for $k = h$), originally meant merely a *score* or incision made in the ground, a *ditch* sunk with the view of carrying off the refuse-water, a watercourse, and consequently a drain. A sewer is now a covered ditch, or channel for refuse water.

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some thinking that it was a Roman sewer, while others scouted such a notion, arguing that the Romans were not in the habit of doing their work by halves; and that if they had sewered London, great and enduring remains would have been discovered, for their main sewer would have been a solid construction, and directed to the Thames, as was and is the Cloaca Maxima, in the Eternal City, to the Tiber. Others have said that the sewer in question was merely built of Roman materials, perhaps first discovered about the time, having originally formed a reservoir, tank, or even a bath, and were keenly appropriated by some economical or scheming builder or City official.

"That the Britons," says Tacitus in his "Life of Agricola," "who led a roaming life, and were easily incited to war, might contract a love for peace, by being accustomed to a pleasanter mode of life, Agricola assisted them to build houses, temples, and market-places. By praising the diligent and upbraiding the idle, he excited such emulation among the Britons, that, after they had erected all those necessary buildings in their towns, they built others for pleasure and ornament, as porticoes, galleries, *baths*, and banqueting-houses."

The sewers of the city of London are, then, a comparatively modern work. Indeed, three-fourths of them may be called modern. The earlier sewers were—as I have described under the general head—ditches, which in time were arched over, but only gradually and partially, as suited the convenience or the profit of the owners of property alongside those open channels, some of which thus presented the appearance of a series of small uncouth-looking bridges. When these bridges had to be connected so as to form the summit of a continuous sewer, they presented every variety of arch, both at their outer and under sides; those too near the surface had to be lowered. Some of these sewers, however, were in the first instances connected, despite difference of size and irregularity of form. The result may be judged from the account I have given of the strange construction of some of the Westminster sewers, under the head of "subterranean survey."

How modern the City sewers are may best be estimated from the following table of what may be called the dates of their construction. The periods are given decennially as to the progress of the formation of *new* sewers:—

	Feet.		Feet.
1707 to 1717	2,805	1777 to 1787	8,693
1717 „ 1727	2,110	1787 „ 1797	3,118
1727 „ 1737	2,763	1797 „ 1807	5,116
1737 „ 1747	1,238	1807 „ 1817	5,097
1747 „ 1757	3,736	1817 „ 1827	7,847
1757 „ 1767	3,736		
1767 „ 1777	7,597		52,810

1827 to 1837	39,072 feet.
1837 to 1847	88,363 „
	127,435

Thus the length made in the 20 years previous to 1847 was more than double all that was made during the preceding 120 years; while in the ten years from 1837 to 1847, the addition to the lineal extent of sewerage was very nearly equal to all that had been made in 130 years previously.

This addition of 127,435 feet, or rather more than 24 miles, seems but a small matter when "London" is thought of; but the reader must be reminded that only a small portion (comparatively) of the metropolis is here spoken of, and the entire length of the City sewerage, at the close of 1847, was but 44 miles; so that the additions I have specified as having been made since 1837, were more than one-half of the whole. The *re*-constructions are not included in the metage I have given, for, as the new sewers generally occupied the same site as the old, they did not add to the length of the whole.

The total length of the City sewerage was, on the 31st December, 1851, no less than 49 miles; while the entire public way was at the same recent period, 51 miles (containing about 1000 separate and distinct streets, lanes, courts, alleys, &c., &c.); and I am assured that in another year or so, not a furlong of the whole City will be unsewered.

"The more ancient sewers usually have upright walls, a flat or slightly-curved invert, and a semicircular or gothic arch. The form of such as have been built apparently more than 20 years ago, is that of two semicircles, of which the upper has a greater radius, connected by sloping side walls; those of recent construction are egg-shaped. The main lines are not unfrequently elliptic; in the case of the Fleet, and other ancient affluents of the Thames, the forms and dimensions vary considerably. Instances occur of sewers built entirely of stone; but the material is almost invariably brick, most commonly 9 inches in substance; the larger sewers 14, and sometimes 18 inches.

The falls or inclinations in the course of the City sewerage vary greatly, as much as from 1 in 240 to 1 in 24, or, in the first case, from a fall of 22 feet, in the latter, of course, to ten times such fall, or 220 feet per mile. There are, moreover, a few cases in which the inclination is as small as 1 in 960; others where it is as high as 1 in 14. This irregularity is to be accounted for, partly by the want of system in the old times, and partly from the natural levels of the ground. The want of system and the indifference shown to providing a proper fall, even where it was not difficult, was more excusable a few years back than it would be at the present time, for when some of these sewers were built, the drainage of the house-refuse into them was not contemplated.

The number of houses drained into the City sewers is, as precisely as such a matter can be ascertained, 11,209; the number drained into the cesspools is 5030. This shows a preponderance of drainage into the sewers of 6179. The length of the house-drains in the City, at an average of 50 feet to each house, may be estimated at upwards of 106 miles. These City drains are included in the general computation of the metropolis.

The gully-drains in the City are more frequent than in other parts of the metropolis, owing to the

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continual intersection of streets, &c., and perhaps from a closer care of the sewerage and all matters connected with it. The general average of the gully-drains I have shown to be 59 for every mile of street. I am assured that in the City the street-drains may be safely estimated at 65 to the mile. Estimating the streets gullied within the City, then, at an average of 50 miles, or about a mile more than the sewers, the number of gully-drains is 3250, and the length of them about 50 miles; but these, like the house-drains, have been already included in the metropolitan enumeration.

The actual sum expended yearly upon the construction, and repairs, and improvements of the City sewers cannot be cited as a distinct item, because the Court makes the return of the aggregate annual expenditure, as regards pavement, cleansing, and the matters specified as the general expenditure under the Court of Commissioners of the City Sewers. The cost, however, of the construction of sewers comprised within the civic boundaries is included in the general metropolitan estimate before given.

Of the Outlets, Ramifications, etc., of the Sewers.

In this enumeration I speak only of the *public* outlets into the river, controlled and regulated by public officers.

The orifices or mouths of the sewers where they discharge themselves into the Thames, beginning from their eastern, and following them seriatim to their western extremity, are as follows:—

Limehouse Hole.	Bridge-street, Westminster.
Irongate Wharf.	Pimlico.
Ratcliffe Cross.	Cubitt's (also in Pimlico).
Fox-lane, Shadwell.	Chelsea Bridge.
London Dock.	Fulham Bridge.
St. Katharine's Dock.	Hammersmith Bridge.
The eleven City outlets, which I shall specify hereafter.	Sandford Bridge (into a sort of creek of the Thames), or near the four bridges.
Essex-street, Strand.	Twickenham.
Norfolk-street, Strand.	Hampton.
Durham Hill (or Adelphi).	In all, 32.
Northumberland-street.	
Scotland-yard.	

It might only weary the reader to enumerate the outlets on the Surrey side of the Thames, which are 28 in number, so that the public sewer outlets of the whole metropolis are 60 in all.

The public sewer outlets from the City of London into the Thames are, as I have said, eleven in number, or rather they are usually represented as eleven, though in reality there are twelve such orifices—the "Upper" and "Eastern" Custom-House Sewers (which are distinct) being computed as one. These outlets, generally speaking the most ancient in the whole metropolis, are—

London Bridge.	Tower Dock.
Ancient Walbrook.	Pool Quay.
Paul's Wharf.	Custom House.
The Fleet-street Sewer at Blackfriars Bridge.	New Walbrook.
(I mention these four first, because they are the largest outlets).	Dowgate Dock.
	Hamburg Wharf.
	Puddle Dock.

Until recently, there was also Whitefriars Docks, but this is now attached to the Fleet Sewer outlet.

The Fleet Sewer is the oldest in London. No portion of the ditch or river composing it is now uncovered within the jurisdiction of the City; but until a little more than eleven years ago a portion of it, north of Holborn, was uncovered, and had been uncovered for years. Indeed, as I have before intimated, barges and small craft were employed on the Fleet River, and the City determined to "encourage its navigation." Even the "polite" Earl of Chesterfield, a century ago (for his lordship was born in 1694, and died in 1773), when asked by a Frenchman in Paris, if there was in London a river to compare to the Seine? replied that there certainly was, and it was called Fleet Ditch! This is now the sewer; but it was not a covered sewer until 1765, when the Corporation ordered it to be built over.

The next oldest sewer outlet is that at London Bridge, and London antiquaries are not agreed as to whether it or the Fleet is the oldest.

The Fleet Sewer at Blackfriars Bridge is 18 feet high; between Tudor-street and Fleet Bridge (about the foot of Ludgate-hill), 14 feet 3 inches high; at Holborn Bridge, 13 feet; and in its continuation in the long-unfinished Victoria-street, 12 feet 3 inches. In all these localities it is 12 feet wide.

The New London Bridge Sewer, built or rebuilt, wholly or partly, in 1830, is 10 feet by 8 at its outlet; decreasing to the south end of King William-street, where it is 9 feet by 7; while it is 8 feet by 7 in Moorgate-street.

Paul's Wharf sewer is 7 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 6 inches near the outlet.

With the one exception of the Fleet River, none of the City sewer outlets are covered, the Fleet outlet being covered even at low water. The issue from the others runs in open channels upon the shore.

Mr. Haywood (February 12, 1850), in a report of the City Sewer Transactions and Works, observes,—"During the year (1849) the outlet sewers at Billingsgate and Whitefriars, two of the outlets of main sewers which discharged at the line of the River Wall, have been diverted (times of storm excepted); there remain, therefore, but eleven main outlets within the jurisdiction of this commission, which discharge their waters at the line of the River Wall.

"As a temporary measure, it is expedient to convey the sewage of the whole of the outlets within the City by covered culverts, below low-water mark; this subject has been under the consideration both of this Commission and the Navigation Committee."

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Whether the covered culvert is better than the open run, is a matter disputed among engineers (as are very many other matters connected with sewerage), and one into which I need not enter.

Mr. Haywood says further :—"The Fleet sewer already discharges its average flow, by a culvert, below low-water mark ; with one exception only, I believe, none of the numerous outlets, which, for a length of many miles, discharge at intervals into the Thames at the line of the River Wall, both within and without your jurisdiction, discharge by culverts in a similar manner."

These eleven outlets are far from being the whole number which give their contents into "the silver bosom of the Thames," along the bank-line of the City jurisdiction. There are (including the 11) 182 outlets; but these are not under the control (unless in cases of alteration, nuisance, &c.) of the Court of Sewers. They are the outlets from the drainage of the wharfs, public buildings, or manufactories (such as gas-works, &c.) on the banks of the river; and the right to form such outlets having been obtained from the Navigation Committee, who, under the Lord Mayor, are conservators of the Thames, the care of them is regarded as a private matter, and therefore does not require further notice in this work. The officers of the City Court of Sewers observe these outlets in their rounds of inspection, but interfere only on application from any party concerned, unless a nuisance be in existence.

To convey a more definite notion of the extent and ramified sweep of the sewers, I will now describe (for the first time in print) some of the chief *Sewer Ramifications*, and then show the proportionate or average number of public ways, of inhabited houses, and of the population to each great main sewer, distinguishing, in this instance, those as *great main sewers* which have an outlet into the Thames.

The reader should peruse the following accounts with the assistance of a map of the environs, for, thus aided, he will be better able to form a definite notion of the curiously-mixed and blended extent of the sewerage already spoken of.

First, then, as to the ramifications of the great and ancient Fleet outlet. From its mouth, so to speak, near Blackfriars Bridge, its course is not parallel with any public way, but, running somewhat obliquely, it crosses below Tudor-street into Bridge-street, Blackfriars, then occupies the centre of Farringdon-street, and that street's prolongation or intended prolongation into the New Victoria-street (the houses in this locality having been pulled down long ago, and the spot being now popularly known as "the ruins"), and continues until the City portion of the Fleet Sewer meets the Metropolitan jurisdiction between Saffron and Mutton hills, the junction, so to call it, being "under the houses"* (a common phrase among flushermen). A little farther on it connects itself with an open part of the Fleet Ditch, running at the back of Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell. In its City course, the sewer receives the issue from 150 public ways (including streets, alleys, courts, lanes, &c.), which are emptied into it from the second, third, or smaller class sewers, from Ludgate-hill and its proximate streets, the St. Paul's locality, Fleet-street and its adjacent communications in public ways, with a series of sewers running down from parts of Smithfield, &c. The *greatest* accession of sewage, however, which the Fleet receives from *one* issue, is a few yards beyond where the City has merged into the Metropolitan jurisdiction; this accession is from a first-class sewer, known as "the Whitecross-street sewer," because running from that street, and carrying into the Fleet the contributions of 60 crowded streets.

After the junction of the covered City sewer with the uncovered ditch in Clerkenwell, the Fleet-river sewer (again covered) skirts round Cold Bath Fields Prison (the Middlesex House of Correction), runs through Clerkenwell-green into the Bagnigge Wells-road, so on to Battle-bridge and King's-cross; then along the Old Saint Pancras-road, and thence to the King's-road (a name now almost extinct), where the St. Pancras Workhouse stands close by the turnpike-gate. Along Upper College-street (Camden-town) is then the direction of this great sewer, and running *under* the canal at the higher part of Camden-town, near the bridge by the terminus of the Great North Western Railway, it branches into the highways and thoroughfares of Kentish-town, of Highgate, and of Hampstead, respectively, and then, at what one informant described as "the outside" of those places, receives the open ditches, which form the further sewerage, under the control of the Commissioners, who cause them to be cleansed regularly.

In order to show more consecutively the direction, from place to place, in straight, devious, or angular course, of this the most remarkable sewer of the world, considering the extent of the drainage into it, I have refrained from giving beyond the Whitecross-street connection with the Fleet, an account of the number of streets sewered into this old civic stream. I now proceed to supply the deficiency.

From a large outlet at Clerkenwell-green (a very thickly-built neighbourhood) flows the connected sewage of 100 streets. At Maiden-lane, beyond King's-cross, a district which is now being built upon for the purposes of the Great Northern Railway, the sewage of 10 streets is poured into it. In the course of this sewer along Camden-town, it receives the issue of some 20 branches, or 40 streets, &c. About 15 other issues are received before the open ditches of Kentish-town, Highgate, and Hampstead are encountered.

It is not, however, merely the sewage collected in the precincts of the City proper, which is "outletted" (as I heard a flusherman call it) into the Thames. Other districts are drained into the large City outlets nearing the river. "Many of

* This outlet is known to the flushermen, &c., as "below the backs of houses," from its devious course *under the houses* without pursuing any direct line parallel with the open part of the streets.

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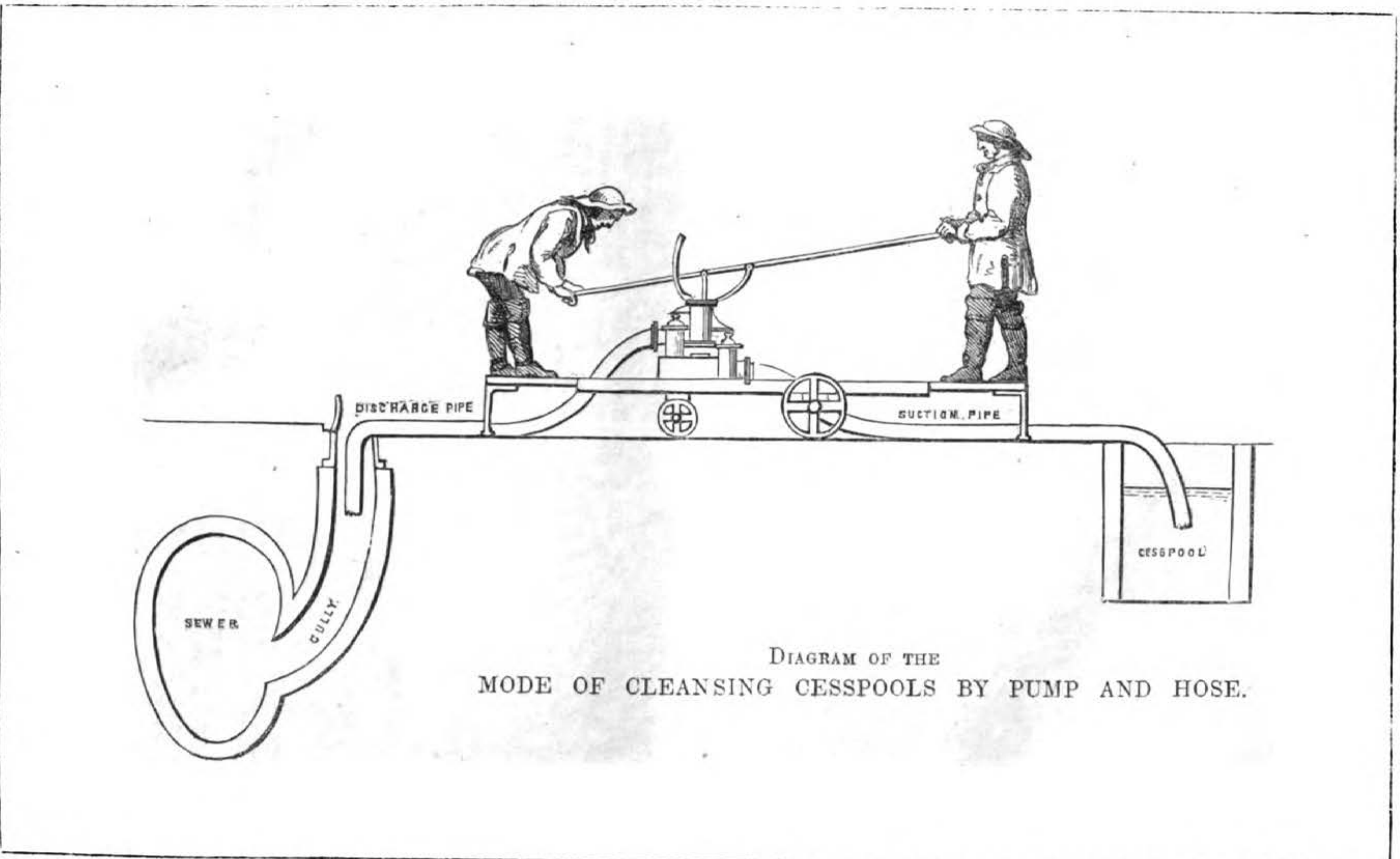

DIAGRAM OF THE
MODE OF CLEANSING CESSPOOLS BY PUMP AND HOSE.

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your works," says Mr. Haywood, the City surveyer, in a report addressed to the City Commissioners, Oct. 23, 1849," have been beneficially felt by districts some miles distant from the City. Twenty-nine outlets have been provided by you for the sewage of the County of Middlesex; the high land of and about Hampstead, drains through the Fleet sewer; Holloway and a portion of Islington can now be drained by the London Bridge sewer; Norton Folgate and the densely-populated districts adjacent are also relieved by it."

On the other hand, the Irongate sewer (one of the most important), which has its outlet in the Tower Hamlets, drains a portion of the City.

The reader must bear in mind, also, that were he to traverse the Fleet sewer in the direction described—for all the men I conversed with on the subject, if asked to show the course of sewerage with which they were familiar, began *from* the outlet into the Thames—the reader, I say, must remember that he would be advancing all the way *against* the stream, in a direction in which he would find the sewage flowing onward to its mouth, while his course would be towards its sources.

On the left-hand side (for the account before given refers only to the right-hand side) proceeding in the same direction, after passing the underground precincts of the City proper, there is another addition near Saffron-hill, of the sewage of 30 streets; then at Gray's-inn-road is added the sewage of 100 streets; New-road (at King's-cross), 20 more streets; from the whole of Somers-town, a populous locality, the sewerage concentrating all the busy and crowded places round about "the Brill," &c., the sewage of 120 streets is received; and at Pratt-street, Camden-town, 12 other streets.

Thus into this sewage-current, directed to one final outlet, are drained the refuse of 517 streets, including, of course, a variety of minor thoroughfares, courts, alleys, &c., &c., as in the neighbourhoods of Gray's-inn-road, in Clerkenwell, Somers-town, &c. Some of these tributaries to the efflux of the sewage are "barrel-drains," but perform the function of sewers along small courts, where there is "no thoroughfare" either *upon* or *below* the surface.

The London Bridge sewer runs up Kihg William-street to Moorgate-street, along Finsbury-square into the City-road, diverging near the Wharf-road, which it crosses *under* the canal near the Wenlock basin, and thence along the Lower-road, Islington, by Cock-lane, through Highbury-vale; after this, at the extremity of Holloway, the open ditches, as in the former instance, carry on the conveyance of sewage from the outer suburbs.

The King's Scholars' Pond Sewer—which seems to have given the Commissioners more trouble than any other, in its connection with Buckingham Palace, St. James's Park, and the new Houses of Parliament—runs from Chelsea-bridge past Cubitt's workshops, and along the King's-road to Eaton-square, the whole of which is drained into it; then "turning round," as one man described it, it approaches Buckingham Palace, which, with its grounds, as well as a portion of St. James's and the Green parks, is drained into this sewer; then branching away for the reception of the sewage from the houses and gardens of Chelsea, it drains Sloane-street, and, crossing the Knightsbridge-road, runs through or across Hyde-park to the Swan at Bayswater, whence its course is by the Westbourne District and under the canal, along Paddington, until it attains the open country, or rather the grounds, in that quarter, which have been very extensively and are now still being built over, and where new sewers are constructed simultaneously with new streets.

Thus in the "reach," as I heard it happily enough designated, of each of these great sewers, the reader will see from a map the extent of the subterranean metropolis traversed, alike along crowded streets ringing with the sounds of traffic, among palatial and aristocratic domains, and along the parks which adorn London, as well as winding their ramifying course among the courts, alleys, and teeming streets, the resorts of misery, poverty, and vice.

Estimating, then, the number of sewers from the number of their river outlets, and regarding all the rest as the branches, or tributaries, to each of these superior streams, we have, adopting the area before specified as being drained by the metropolitan sewers, viz., 58 square miles, the following results:—

Each of the 60 sewers having an outlet into the Thames drains 618 statute acres.

And assuming the number of houses included within these 58 square miles to be 200,000, and the population to amount to 1,500,000, or two-thirds of the houses and people included in the Registrar-General's Metropolis, we may say that each of the 60 sewers would carry into the Thames the refuse from 25,000 individuals and 3333 inhabited houses. This, however, is partly prevented by the cesspoolage system, which supplies receptacles for a proportion of the refuse that, were London to be rebuilt according to the provisions of the present Building and Sanitary Acts, would *all* be carried, without any interception, into the river Thames by the media of the sewers.

In my account of cesspoolage I shall endeavour to show the extent of fæcal refuse, &c., contained in places not communicating with the sewers, and to be removed by the labour of men and horses, as well as the amount of fæcal refuse carried into the sewerage.

Of the Qualities, etc., of the Sewage.

The question of the value, the uses, and the best means of collecting for use, the great mass of the sewage of the metropolis, seems to have become complicated by the statements which have been of late years put forth by rival projectors and rival companies. In our smaller country towns, the neighbourhood of many being remarkable for fertility and for a green beauty of meadow-land and pasturage, the refuse of the towns, whether sewage or cesspoolage (if not washed into a

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current, stream, or river), is purchased by the farmers, and carted by them to spread upon the land.

By *sewage*, I mean the contents of the *sewerage*, or of the series of sewers; which neither at present nor, I believe, at any former period, has been applied to any useful or profitable purpose by the metropolitan authorities. The readiest mode to get rid of it, without any care about ultimate consequences, has always been resorted to, and that mode has been to convey it into the Thames, and leave the rest to the current of the stream. But the Thames has its ebbs as well as its flow, and the consequence is the sewage is *never* got rid of.

The most eminent of our engineers have agreed that it is a very important consideration how this sewage should be not only innocuously but profitably disposed of; and if not profitably, in an immediate money return, to those who may be considered its owners (the municipal authorities of the kingdom), at least profitably in a national point of view, by its use in the restoration or enrichment of the fertility of the soil, and the consequent increase of the food of man and beast.

Sir George Staunton has pronounced some of the tea-growing parts of China to be as blooming as an English nobleman's flower-garden. Every jot of manure, human ordure, and all else, is minutely collected, even by the poorest.

I have already given a popular account of the composition of the metropolitan sewage, &c. (under the head of Wet Refuse), and I now give its scientific analysis.

In some districts the sewage is more or less liquid —in what proportion has not been ascertained— and I give, in the first place, an analysis of the sewage of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, Westminster, the result having been laid before a Committee of the House of Commons. As the contents of the great majority of sewers *must* be the same, because resulting from the same natural or universally domestic causes (as in the refuse of cookery, washing, surface-water, &c.), the analysis of the sewage of the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer may be accepted as one of sewer-matter generally.

Evidence was given before the committee as to the proportion of "land-drainage *water*" to what was really *manure*, in the matter derived from the sewer in question. A produce of 140 grains of manure was derived from a gallon of sewer-water. Messrs. Brande and Cooper, the analyzers, also state that one gallon (10 lbs. ?) of the liquid portion of the sewage, evaporated to dryness, gave 85·3 grains of solid matter, 74·8 grains of which was again soluble, and contained—

Ammonia	3·29
Sulphuric acid	0·62
Phosphate of lime	0·29
Lime	6·25
Chlorine	10·00

"and potass and soda, with a large quantity of soluble and vegetable matter, and 10·54 insoluble."

This insoluble portion consisted of

Phosphate of lime	2·32
Carbonate of lime	1·94
Silica	6·28
	10·54

The deposit from another gallon weighed 55 grains, of which 21·22 were combustible, being composed of animal matter "rich in nitrogen," some vegetable matter, and a quantity of fat. Of this matter 33·75 grains consisted of

Phosphate of lime	6·81
Oxide of iron	2·01
Carbonate of lime	1·75
Sulphate of lime	1·53
Earthy matter and sand	21·65
	33·75

Other Reports and other evidence show that what is described as "earthy matter and sand" is the mac, mud, and the mortar or concrete used in pavement, washed from the surface of the streets into the sewers by heavy rains; otherwise for the most part the proper load of the scavager's cart.

Further analyses might be adduced, but with merely such variation in the result as is inevitable from the state of the weather when the sewage is drawn forth for examination; whether the day on which this is done happens to be dry or wet *.

It has been ascertained, but the exact proportion is not, and perhaps cannot be, given, that the extent of covered to uncovered surface in the district drained by the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer was as 3 to 1, while that of the Ranelagh Sewer, not far distant, was as 1 to 3, at the time of the inquiry (1848).

"It could not be expected, therefore," says the Report, "that the Ranelagh Sewer (which, moreover, is open to the admission of the tide at its mouth), in the quantity or quality of the manure produced, could bear any proportion to the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer."

Mr. Smith, of Deanston, stated in evidence, that the average quantity of rain falling into King's Scholars' Pond Sewer was 139,934,586 cubic feet in a year, and he assumes 6,000,000 tons as the amount of average minimum quantity of drainage (yearly), yielding 4 cwt. of solid matter in each 100 tons = 1 in 500.

* The following is the analysis of a gallon of sewage, also dried to evaporation, by Professor Miller:—

Ammonia	3·26
Phosphoric acid	0·44
Potash	1·02
Silica	0·54
Lime	7·54
Magnesia	1·87
Common salt	13·66
Sulphuric acid	7·04
Carbonic acid	4·41
Combustible matter, containing 0·34 nitrogen	5·80
Traces of oxide of iron.	
Making in solution	45·58
Matters in suspension, consisting of combustible matters, sand, lime, and oxide of iron	44·50

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Dr. Granville said, on the same inquiry, that he should be sorry to receive on his land 500 tons of diluted sewer water (such as that from the uncovered Ranelagh Sewer) for 1 ton of really fertilizing sewage, such as that to be derived from the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer.

I could easily multiply these analyses, and give further parliamentary or official statements, but, as the results are the same, I will merely give some extracts from the evidence of Dr. Arthur Hassall, as to the microscopic constituents of sewage-water :—

"I have examined," he said, "the sewer-water of several of the principal sewers of London. I found in it, amongst many other things, much decomposing vegetable matter, portions of the husks and the hairs of the down of wheat, the cells of the potato, cabbage, and other vegetables, while I detected but few forms of animal life, those encountered for the most part being a kind of worm or anælid, and a certain species of animalcule of the genus monas."

"How do you account," the Doctor was asked, "for the comparative absence of animal life in the water of most sewers?" "It is, doubtless, to be attributed," he replied, "in a great measure, to the large quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen contained in sewer-water, and which is continually being evolved by the decomposing substances included in it."

"Have you any evidence to show that sewer-water does contain sulphuretted hydrogen in such large quantity as to be prejudicial and even fatal to animal life?" "With a view of determining this question, I made the following experiments :— A given quantity of Thames water, known to contain living infusoria, was added to an equal quantity of sewer-water; examined a few minutes afterwards, the animalculæ were found to be either dead or deprived of locomotive power and in a dying state. A small fish, placed in a wine glass of sewer-water, immediately gave signs of distress, and, after struggling violently, floated on its side, and would have perished in a few seconds, had it not been removed and placed in fresh water. A bird placed in a glass bell-jar, into which the gas evolved by the sewer-water was allowed to pass, after struggling a good deal, and showing other symptoms of the action of the gas, suddenly fell on its side, and, although immediately removed into fresh air, was found to be dead. These experiments were made, in the first instance, with the sewer water of the Friar-street sewer (near the Blackfriars-road); they were afterwards repeated with the water of six other sewers on the Middlesex side, and with the same result, as respects the animalculæ and fish, but not the bird; this, although evidently much affected by the noxious emanations of the sewer-water, yet survived the experiment."

"Would you infer from these experiments that sewer-water, as contained in the Thames near to London, is prejudicial to health?" "I would, most decidedly; and regard the Thames in the neighbourhood of the metropolis as nothing less than diluted sewer-water."

"You have just stated that you found sewer-water to contain much vegetable matter, and but few forms of animal life; the vegetable matter you recognised, I presume, by the character of the cells composing the several vegetable tissues?" "Yes, as also by the action of iodine on the starch of the vegetable matter."

"In what way do you suppose these various vegetable cells, the husks of wheat, &c., reach the sewers?" "They doubtless proceed from the fœcal matter contained in sewage, and not in general from the ordinary refuse of the kitchen, which usually finds its way into the dust-bin."

"Sewer-water, then, although containing but few forms of animal life, yet contains, in large quantities, the food upon which most animalculæ feed?" "Yes; and it is this circumstance which explains the vast abundance of infusorial life in the water of the Thames within a few miles of London."

The same gentleman (a fellow of the Linnæan Society, and the author of "A History of the British Fresh-water Algæ," or water-weeds considered popularly), in answer to the following inquiries in connection with this subject, also said :—

"What species of infusoria represent the *highest* degree of impurity in water?" "The several species of the genera *Oxytricha* and *Paramecium*."

"What species is most abundant in the Thames from Kew Bridge to Woolwich?" "The *Paramecium Chrysalis* of Ehrenberg; this occurs in all seasons of the year, and in all conditions of the river, in vast and incalculable numbers; so much so, that a quart bottle of Thames water, obtained in any condition of the tide, is sure to be found, on examination with the microscope, to contain these creatures in great quantity."

"Do you find that the infusorium of which you have spoken varies in number in the different parts of the river between Kew Bridge and Woolwich?" "I find that it is most abundant in the neighbourhood of the bridges." [Where the outlet of the sewers is common.]

"Then the order of impurity of Thames water, in your view, would be the order in which it approaches the centre of London?" "Yes."

"You find then, in Thames water, about the bridges, things decidedly connected with the *sewer water*, as vegetable and animal matter in a state of decomposition?" "I do; about the bridges, and in the neighbourhood of London, there is very little living vegetable matter on which animalculæ could live; the only source of supply which they have is *the organic matter contained in sewer-water*, and which is to be regarded as the food of these creatures. Where infusoria abound, under circumstances *not* connected with sewage, vegetable matter in a living condition is certain to be met with."

Respecting the *uses of the sewage*, I may add the following brief observations. Without wishing in any way to prejudice the question (indeed the reader will bear in mind that I have all along spoken reprovingly of the waste of sewage), I am

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bound to say that the opinions I heard during my inquiry from gentlemen scientifically and, in some instances, practically familiar with the subject, concurred in the conclusion that the *sewage* of the metropolis cannot, with all the applications of scientific skill and apparatus, be made either sufficiently portable or efficacious for the purposes of manure to assure a proper pecuniary return. In this matter, perhaps, speculators have not traced a sufficient distinction between the liquid manure of the sewers and the "*poudrette*," or dry manure, manufactured from the more solid excrementitious matter of the cesspools, not only in Paris, but, until lately, even in London, where the business was chiefly in the hands of Frenchmen. The staple of the French "*poudrette*" is *not* "*sewage*," that is, the outpourings of the sewers—for this is carried into the Seine, and washed away with little inconvenience, as the tide hardly affects that river in Paris; but it is altogether "*cesspoolage*," that is, the deposit of the cesspools, collected in fixed and moveable utensils, regulated by the "universal" police of Paris, and conveyed by Government labourers to the Voirées, which are huge reservoirs of night-soil at Montfauçon, about five miles, and in the Forest of Bondy, about ten miles, from the centre of Paris. The London-made manure also was all of cesspoolage; the contents of the nightman's cart being "shot" in the manufacturer's yard; and when so manufactured was, I believe, without exception, sent to the sugar-growing colonies, the farmers in the provinces pronouncing it "too hot" for the ground. The same complaint, I may observe, has been made of the French manufactured cesspool manure. I heard, on the other hand, opinions from scientific and practical gentlemen, that the sewer-water of London was so diluted, it was not profitably serviceable for the irrigation of land. All, however, agreed that the sewage of the metropolis ought not to be wasted, as it was certain that perseverance in experiment (and perhaps a large outlay) were certain to make sewage of value.

The following results, which the Board of Health have just issued in a Report, containing "Minutes of Information attested on the Application of Sewer-water and Town Manures to Agricultural Production," supply the latest information on this subject. The Report says first, that "to be told that the average yield of a county is 30 bushels of wheat per acre, or that the average weight of the turnip crop is 15 tons per acre, means very little, and there is little to be learned from such intelligence; but if it is shown that a certain farm under the usual mode of culture yielded certain weights per acre, and that the same land, by improved applications of the same manure, by the use of machinery, and by *employing double the number of hands, at increased wages*, is made to yield *fourfold* the weight of crop and of *better quality* than was previously obtained, a lesson is set before us worth learning."

It then proceeds to cite the following statements, on the authority of the Hon. Dudley Fortescue, as to the efficiency of sewage-water as a liquid manure applied to land.

"The first farm we visited was that of Craigentinney, situated about one mile and a half south-east of Edinburgh, of which 260 Scotch acres" (a Scotch acre is one-fourth more than any English acre) "receive a considerable proportion of such sewerage as, under an imperfect system of house-drainage, is at present derived from half the city. The meadows of which it chiefly consists have been put under irrigation at various times, the most recent addition being nearly 50 acres laid out in the course of last year and the year previous, which, lying above the level of the rest, are irrigated by means of a steam-engine. The meadows first laid out are watered by contour channels following the inequalities of the ground, after the fashion commonly adopted in Devonshire; but in the more recent parts the ground is disposed in 'panes' of half an acre, served by their respective feeders, a plan which, though somewhat more expensive at the outset, is found preferable in practice. The whole 260 acres take about 44 days to irrigate; the men charged with the duty of shifting the water from one pane to another give to each plot about two hours' irrigation at a time; and the engine serves its 50 acres in ten days, working day and night, and employing one man at the engine and another to shift the water. The produce of the meadows is sold by auction on the ground, 'rouped,' as it is termed, to the cow-feeders of Edinburgh, the purchaser cutting and carrying off all he can during the course of the letting, which extends from about the middle of April to October, when the meadows are shut up, but the irrigation is continued through the winter. The lettings average somewhat over 20*l.* the acre; the highest last year having brought 31*l.*, and the lowest 9*l.*; these last were of very limited extent, on land recently denuded in laying out the ground, and consequently much below its natural level of productiveness. There are four cuttings in the year, and the collective weight of grass cut in parts was stated at the extraordinary amount of 80 tons the imperial acre. The only cost of maintaining these meadows, except those to which the water is pumped by the engine, consists in the employment of two hands to turn on and off the water, and in the expense of clearing out the channels, which was contracted for last year at 29*l.*, and the value of the refuse obtained was considered fully equal to that sum, being applied in manuring parts of the land for a crop of turnips, which with only this dressing in addition to irrigation with the sewage-water presented the most luxuriant appearance. The crop, from present indications, was estimated at from 30 to 40 tons the acre, and was expected to realize 15*s.* the ton sold on the land. From calculations made on the spot we estimated the produce of the meadows during the eight months of cutting at the keep of ten cows per acre, exclusive of the distillery refuse they consume in addition, at a cost of 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per head per week. The sea-meadows present a particularly striking example of the

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effects of the irrigation; these, comprising between 20 and 30 acres skirting the shores between Leith and Musselburgh, were laid down in 1826 at a cost of about 700*l.*; the land consisted formerly of a bare sandy tract, yielding almost absolutely nothing; it is now covered with luxuriant vegetation extending close down to high-water mark, and lets at an average of 20*l.* per acre at least. From the above statement it will be seen how enormously profitable has been the application in this case of town refuse in the liquid form; and I have no hesitation in stating that, great as its advantages have been, they might be extended four or five fold by greater dilution of the fluid. Four or five times the extent of land might, I believe, be brought into equally productive cultivation under an improved system of drainage in the city, and a more abundant use of water. Besides these Craigentinney meadows, there are others on this and on the west side of Edinburgh, which we did not visit, similarly laid out, and I believe realizing still larger profits, from their closer proximity to the town, and their lying within the toll-gates."*

Such, then, are said to be the results of a practical application of sewer-water. The preliminary remark of the Board of Health, however, applies somewhat to the statement above given; for we are not told what the *same land* produced before the liquid manure was applied; nor are we informed as to the peculiar condition and quantity of the land near Craigentinney, and how it differs from the land near London.

The other returns are of liquid manures, of which sewer-water formed no part, and, therefore, require no special notice of them. The following observations are, however, worthy of attention:—

"The cases above detailed furnish some measure of the possible results attainable in cultivation, especially corroborated as they are by others which did not on this occasion come under our personal observation, but one of which I may mention, having recently examined into it, that of Mr. Dickinson, at Willesden, who estimates his yield of Italian rye-grass at from 80 to 100 tons an acre, and gets 8 or 10 cuttings, according to the season; and as there is no peculiar advantage of soil or climate (the former ranging from almost pure sands to cold and tenacious clays, and the latter being inferior to that of a large proportion of England) to prevent the same system being almost universally adopted, they give some idea of the degree to which the productiveness of land may be raised by a judicious appliance of the means within our reach. When it is considered that such results may, in the vicinity of towns and villages, be most effectually brought about by the instant removal of all those matters which, when allowed to remain in them, are among the most fruitful sources of social degradation, disease, and death, one cannot but earnestly desire the furtherance of such measures as will ensure this double result of purifying the town and enriching the country; and as the facts I have stated came at the same time under the notice of the gentleman I mentioned above, under whose able superintendence the arrangements for the water-supply and drainage of several towns are now in course of execution, I trust it will not be long before this most advantageous mode of disposing of the refuse of towns may be brought into practical operation in various parts of the country.

"I have, &c.,

"D. F. Fortescue.

"General Board of Health."

Of the New Plan of Sewerage.

This branch of the subject hardly forms part of my present inquiry, but, having pointed out the defects of the sewers, it seems but reasonable and right to say a few words on the measures determined upon for their improvement. It is only necessary for me, however, to indicate the principal characteristics of the new, or rather intended, mode of sewerage, as the work may be said to have been but commenced, or hardly commenced in earnest, the Report of Mr. Frank Forster (the engineer) bearing the date of Jan. 30, 1851.

In the carrying out of the engineer's plan—which from its magnitude, and, in all human probability, from its cost, when completed, would be *national* in other countries, but is here only *metropolitan*—in the carrying out of this scheme, I say, two remarkable changes will be found. The one is the employment of the power of steam in sewerage; the other is the diversion of the sewage from the current of the Thames. The ultimate uses of this sewage, agriculturally or otherwise, form no part of the present consideration.

I should, however, first enumerate the general principles on which the best authorities have agreed that the London sewers should be constructed so as to ensure a proper disposal of the sewage, for these principles are said to be at the basis of Mr. Forster's plan.

I condense under the following heads the substance of a mass of Reports, Committee Meetings, Suggestions, Plans, &c.:—

1. The channels, or pipeage, or other means of conveying away house-refuse, should be so made that the removal will be *immediate*, more especially of any refuse or filth capable of suspension in water, since its immediate carrying off, it is said, would leave no time for the generation of miasma.

2. Means should be provided for such disposal of sewage as would prevent its tainting any stream, well, or pool, or, by its stagnation or obstruction, in any way poisoning the atmosphere. And, as a natural and legitimate result, it should be *so collected that it could be applied to the cultivation of the land* at the most economical rate.

* The following note appears in Mr. Fortescue's statement:—"In some trial works near the metropolis sewer water was applied to land, on the condition that the value of half the extra crop should be taken as payment. The dressings were only single dressings. The officer making the valuation reported, that there was at the least one sack of wheat and one load of straw per acre extra from its application on one breadth of land; in another, full one quarter of wheat more, and one load of straw extra per acre. The reports of the effects of sewer-water in increasing the yield of oats as well as of wheat were equally good. It is stated by Captain Vetch that in South America irrigation is used with great advantage for wheat."

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3. In the providing works of deposit or storage in low districts, or "of discharge where the natural outlets are free," such works should be provided as would not subject any place, or any man's property, to the risk of inundation, or any other evil consequence; while in the construction of the drainage of the substratum, the works should be at such a depth below the foundation of all buildings that tenements should not be exposed to that continued damage from exhalation and dampness which leads to the dry rot in timber, and to an immature decay of materials and a general unhealthiness.

There are other points insisted upon in many Reports to which I need but allude, such as

(a.) The channels containing sewage should be of enduring and impermeable material, so as to prevent all soakage.

(b.) There should be throughout the channels of the subterranean metropolis a fall or inclination which would suffice to prevent the accumulation of any sewage deposit, with its deleterious influence and ultimate costliness.

(c.) Similar provisions should be used were it but to prevent the creation of the noxious gases which now permeate many houses (especially in the quarters inhabited by the poor) and escape into many streets, courts, and alleys, for until improvements are effected the pent-up sewage and the saturated brickwork of the sewers and older drains must generate such gases.

(d.) No tidal stream should ever receive a flow of sewage, because then the cause of evil is never absent, for the filth comes back with the tide; and as the Thames water constitutes the grand fount of metropolitan consumption, the water companies, with very trifling exceptions, give us back much of our own excrement, mixed with every conceivable, and sometimes noxious, nastiness, with which we may brew, cook, and wash—and drink, if we can. Filtering remedies but a portion of the evil.

Now it would appear that not one of these requirements, the necessity of which is unquestioned and unquestionable, is fully carried out by the present system of sewerage, and hence the need of some new plan in which the defects may be remedied, and the proper principles carried out.

The instructions given by the Court were to the following effect:—

A. The Thames should be kept free from sewage whatever the state of the tide.

B. There should be intercepting drains to carry off the sewage (so keeping the Thames unsoiled by it) wherever practicable.

C. The sewage should be raised by artificial means into a main channel for removal.

D. The intercepting sewers should be so constructed as to secure the largest amount of effective drainage without artificial appliances.

In preparing his plan, Mr. Forster had the advice and assistance of Mr. Haywood, of the City Court of Sewers.

The metropolis is divided into two portions—"the northern portion of the metropolis," or rather that portion of the metropolis which is on the north or Middlesex bank of the Thames; and the southern portion, or that which is on the south or Surrey side of the river.

The northern portion is in the new plan considered to "divide itself into two separate areas," and to these two areas different modes of sewerage are to be applied:

"1. The interception of the drainage of that district, which, from its elevation above the level of the outlet, is capable of having its sewage and rainfall carried off by gravitation.

"2. The interception of the drainage of that district, which, from its low lying position, will require its sewage, and in most localities its rainfall, to be lifted by steam-power to a proper level for discharge."

The first district runs from Holsden-green (beyond the better-known Kensall-green) in the west, to the Tower Hamlets in the east. Its form is irregular, but not very much so, merely narrowing from Westbourn-green to its western extremity, the country then becoming rural or woodland. Its highest reaches to the north are to Highgate and Stamford-hill. The nearest approach to the south is to a portion of the Strand, between Charing-cross and Drury-lane. Care has evidently been taken to skirt this district, so to speak, by the canals and the railroads. This division of the northern portion is described as "the district for natural drainage."

The area of this division is about 25¼ square miles.

The second division meets the first at the highway separating Kensington-gardens from Bayswater; and runs on, bordering the river, all the way to the West India Dock. Its shape is irregular, but, abating the roundness, presents somewhat of that sort of figure seen in the instrument known as a dumb-bell, the narrowest or hand-part being that between Charing-cross and Drury-lane, skirting the river as its southern bound. At its eastern end this second district widens abruptly, taking in Victoria-park, Stratford, and Bromley.

The area of this division of the northern portion is 16¼ square miles.

There are, moreover, two small tracts, comprising the southern part of the Isle of Dogs, and a narrow slip on the west side of the river Lea, which are intended to allow the rainfall to run into the Thames and the Lea respectively.

The area of the two is 1¾ square mile.

The area to be drained by natural outfall comprises, then, 25¼ square miles as regards rainfall, and the same extent as regards sewage; while the area to the drainage of which steam power is to be applied comprises 14¼ square miles of rainfall, and 16¼ square miles of sewage; the two united areas of rainfall and sewage respectively being 39¼ and 41¼ square miles.

The length of the great "high-level sewerage" will be, as regards the main sewer, 19 miles and 106 yards; that of the "low-level sewerage," 14 miles and 1501 yards.

I will now describe the course of each of these constructions.

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On the eastern bank of the Lea the sewage of both districts is to be concentrated. The high-level sewer will commence and *cross* the Lea near the "Four Mills." It is then to proceed "in a westerly direction under the East and West India Dock Railway and the Blackwall Extension Railway, beneath the Regent's-canal, to the east end of the Bethnal-green-road, at the crossing of the Cambridge-heath-road, at which point it will be joined by the proposed northern division of the Hackney-brook, which drains an extensive district up to the watershed line north of London, including Hackney, Stoke Newington and Holloway, and part of Highgate and Hampstead; from thence the main sewer proceeds along the Bethnal-green-road, Church-street, Old-street, Wilderness-row (where a short branch from Coppice-row will join) to Brook-street-hill; from thence to Little Saffron-hill, where a distance of about 100 yards is proposed to be carried by an aqueduct over the Fleet-valley; thence along Liquorpond-street, at the end of which it will receive a branch from, Piccadilly, on the south side, and a diversion of the Fleet-river, on the north side; thence along Theobald's-road, Bloomsbury- square, Hart-street, New Oxford-street, to Rathbone-place (where it will receive a diversion of the Regent-street sewer from Park-crescent), along Oxford-street, and extending thence across Regent-circus to South Molton-lane (where it will intercept the King's Scholars' Pond sewer), continuing still along Oxford-street to Bayswater-place, Grand Junction-road, Uxbridge-road, where it is joined by the Ranelagh sewer, the sewage of which it is capable of receiving, and at this point it terminates."

It is difficult to convey to a reader, especially to a reader who may not be familiar with the localities of London generally, any adequate notion of the largeness, speaking merely of extent, of this undertaking. Even a map conveys no sufficient idea of it.

Perhaps I may best be able to suggest to a reader's mind a knowledge of this largeness, when I state that in the district I have just described, which is but *one* portion (although the greatest) of the sewerage of but *one* side of the Thames, more than half a million of persons, and nearly 100,000 houses are, so to speak, to be sewered.

The low-level tract sewerage, also, concentrates on the Lea, "near to Four Mill's distillery, taking the north-western bank of the Limehouse Cut, at which point it receives the branch intended to intercept the sewage of the Isle of Dogs; thence continuing along the bank of Limehouse Cut, through a portion of the Commercial-road, Brook-street, and beneath the Sun Tavern Fields, into High-street, or Upper Shadwell; thence along Ratcliffe-highway and Upper East Smithfield, across Tower-hill, through Little and Great Tower-streets, Eastcheap, Cannon-street, Little and Great St. Thomas Apostle, Trinity-lane, Old Fish-street, and Little Knight Rider-street; thence beneath houses in Wardrobe-terrace, and on the eastern side of St. Andrew's-hill, along Earl-street to Blackfriars-road. From Blackfriars Bridge it is proposed to construct the sewer along the river shore to the junction of the Victoria-street sewer at Percy-wharf; which sewer between Percy-wharf and Shaftesbury-terrace, Pimlico, becomes thus an integral portion of the intercepting line; at Bridge-street, Westminster, a branch from the Victoria-street sewer is intended to proceed along Abingdon and Millbank-streets, as far as and for the purpose of taking up the King's Scholars' Pond and other sewers at their outlets into the Thames. From Shaftesbury-terrace the Victoria-street sewer is proposed to be extended through Eaton-square and along the King's-road, Chelsea, to Park-walk, intercepting all the sewers along its line, and terminating at a point where the drainage of Kensington may be brought into it without pumping."

The lines of sewerage thus described are, then, all to the *west* of the Lea, and all, whether from the shore of the Thames, or the northern reaches in Highgate and Hampstead, converging to a pumping station or sewage-concentration, on the *east* bank of the Lea, in West Ham. By this new plan, then, the high-level sewer is to *cross* the Lea, but that arrangement is impossible as respects the second district described, which is *below* the level of the Lea, so that its course is to be *beneath* that river, a little below where it is crossed by the high-level line. To dispose of the sewage, therefore, conveyed from the low-level tract, there will be a sewer of a "depth of *forty-seven* feet *below*" the invert of the high-level sewer. This sewer, then, at the depth of 47 feet, will run to the point of concentration containing the low-level sewage.

At this point of the works, in order that the sewage may be collected, so as to be disposed of ultimately in one mass, it has to be *lifted* from the low to the high-level sewer. The invert of the high-level sewer will at the lifting or pumping station be 20 feet *above* the ordnance datum, while that of the low-level sewer will be 27 feet *below* the same standard. Thus a great body of metropolitan sewage, comprising among other districts the refuse of the whole City of London, must be lifted no less than 47 feet, in order to be got rid of along with what has been carried to the same focus by its natural flow.

The lifting is to be effected by means of steam, and the pumping power required has been computed at 1100-horse power. To supply this great mechanical and scientific force, there are to be provided two engines, each of 550-horse power, with a third engine of equal capacity, to be available in case of accident, or while either of the other engines might require repairs of some duration.

The northern sewage of London (or that of the Middlesex bank of the Thames, covered by that division of the capital) having been thus brought to a sort of central reservoir, or meeting point, will be conveyed in two parallel lines of sewerage to the bank of the river Roding, being the eastern extremity of Gallion's Reach (which is below Woolwich Reach), in the Thames. The Roding flows into the Thames at Barking Creek mouth. The length of this line will be four miles.

"At this point," it is stated in the Report,

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"the level of the inverts of the parallel sewers will be eight feet below high-water mark, and here it is intended to collect the sewage into a reservoir during the flood-tide, and discharge the same with the ebb-tide immediately after high-water; and, as it is estimated that the reservoir will be completely emptied during the first three hours of the ebb, it may be safely anticipated that no portion of the sewage will be returned, with the flood-tide, to within the bounds of the metropolis."

The whole of the sewage and rainfall, then, will be thus diverted to *one* destination, instead of being issued into the river through a multiplicity of outlets in every part of the northern shore where the population is dense, and will be carried into the Thames at Barking Creek, unless, as I have intimated, a market be found for the sewage; when it may be disposed of as is most advantageous. The only exceptions to this carrying off will be upon the occurrence of long-continued and heavy rains or violent storms, when the surplus water will be carried off by some of the present outlets into the river; but even on such occasions, the *first scour* or cleansings of the sewerage will be conveyed to the main outlet at the river Roding.

The inclination which has been assigned to the whole of the lines of sewers I have described, is, with some unimportant exceptions, 4 feet per mile, or 1 in 1320. These new sewers are, or rather will be, calculated to carry off a fall of rain, equal to ¼ inch in 24 hours, in addition to the average daily flow of sewage.

Mr. Forster concludes his Report:—"I am only able to submit approximately that I estimate the cost of the whole of the lines of sewers, the pumping engines, and station, the reservoir, tidal gates, and other apparatus, at one million and eighty thousand pounds (1,080,000*l*.). This estimate does not include the sums required for the purchase of land and houses, which may be needed for the site of the pumping engine-house, or compensation for certain portions of the lines of sewers."

As regards the improvements in the sewerage on the south side of the Thames (the great fever district of the metropolis, and consequently the most important of all, and where the drainage is of the worst kind), I can be very brief, as nothing has been positively determined.

A somewhat similar system will be adopted on the south side of the Thames, where it is proposed to form one main intercepting sewer; but, owing to the physical configuration of this part of the town, none of the water will flow away entirely by gravitation. There will be a pumping station on the banks of the Ravensbourne, to raise the water about 25 feet; and a second pumping station to raise the water from the continued sewer in the reservoir, in Woolwich Marsh, which is to receive it during the intervals of the tides. The waters are to be discharged into the river at the last-named point. The main sewer on the south side will be of nearly equally colossal proportions; for its total length is proposed to be about 13 miles 3 furlongs, including the main trunk drain of about 2 miles long, and the respective branches. The area to be relieved is about proportionate to the length of the drain; but the steam power employed will be proportionally greater upon the southern than upon the northern side.

There are divers opinions, of course, as to the practicability and ultimate good working of this plan; speculations into which it is not necessary for me to enter. Mr. Forster has, moreover, resigned his office, adding another to the many changes among the engineers, surveyors, and other employés under the Metropolitan Commission; a fact little creditable to the management of the Commissioners, who, with one exception, may be looked upon as irresponsible.

Of the Management of the Sewers and the Late Commissions.

The Corporation of the City of London may be regarded as the first Commission of Sewers in the exercise of authority over such places as regards the removal of the filth of towns. In time, but at what time there is no account, the business was consigned to the management of a committee, as are now the markets of the City (Markets Committee), and even what may be called the management of the Thames (Navigation Committee). It is not at all necessary that the members of these committees should understand anything about the matters upon which they have to determine. A staff of officers, clerks, secretaries, solicitors, and surveyors, save the members the trouble of thought or inquiry; they have merely to vote and determine. It was stated in evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of the Thames steamers, that at that period the Chairman of the *Navigation* Committee was a bread and biscuit baker, but "a very-firm-minded man." In time, but again I can find no note of the precise date, the *Committee* became a *Court* of Sewers, and so it remains to the present time. Commissions of sewers have been issued by the Crown since the 25th year of the reign of Henry VIII., except during the era of the Commonwealth, when there seems to have been no attention paid to the matter.

As the metropolis increased rapidly in size since the close of the last century, the public sewers of course increased in proportion, and so did Commissions of Sewers in the newly-built districts. Up to 1847 these Commissions or Court of Sewers were *eight* in number, the metropolis being divided into that number of districts.

The districts were as follows:—

1. The City.
2. The Tower Hamlets.
3. St. Katherine.
4. Poplar and Blackwall.
5. Holborn and Finsbury.
6. Westminster and part of Middlesex.
7. Surrey and Kent.
8. Greenwich.

Each of these eight Commissions had its own Act of Parliament; its own distinct, often irregular

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and generally uncontrolled plan of management; each had its own officers; and each had its own patronage. Each district court—with almost unlimited powers of taxation—pursued its own plans of sewerage, little regardful of the plans of its neighbour Commission. This wretched system—the great recommendation of which, to its promoters and supporters, seems to have been patronage—has given us a sewerage unconnected and varying to the present day in almost every district; varying in the dimensions, form, and inclination of the structures.

The eight commission districts, I may observe, had each their sub-districts, though the general control was in the hands of the particular Court or Board of Commissioners for the entire locality. These subdivisions were chiefly for the facilities of rate-collecting, and were usually "western," "eastern," and "central."

The consequence of this immethodical system has been that, until the surveys and works now in progress are completed, the precise character, and even the precise length, of the sewers must be unknown, though a sufficient approximation may be deduced in the interim.

To show the conflicting character of the sewerage, I may here observe that in some of the old sewers have been found walls and arches crumbling to pieces. Some old sewers were found to be not only of ample proportions, but to contain subterranean chambers, not to say halls, filled with filth, into which no man could venture. While in a sewer in the newly-built district of St. John's-wood, Mr. Morton, the Clerk of Works, could only advance stooping half double, could not turn round when he had completed his examination, but had most painfully—for a long time feeling the effects—to back out along the sewer, stooping, or doubled up, as he entered it. Why the sewer was constructed in this manner is not stated, but the work appears, inferentially, to have been *scamped*, which, had there been a proper supervision, could hardly have been done with a modern public sewer, down a thoroughfare of some length (the Woronzow-road).

But the conflicting and disjointed system of sewerage was not the sole evil of the various Commissions. The mismanagement and jobbery, not to say peculation, of the public moneys, appear to have been enormous. For instance, in the "Accountant's Report" (February, 1848), prepared by Mr. W. H. Grey, 48, Lincoln's-inn-fields, I find the following statements relative to the *Book-keeping* of the several Commissions:—

"The *Westminster* plan is full of unnecessary repetition. It is deficient in those real general accounts which concentrate the information most needed by the Commissioners, and it contains fictions which are very inconsistent with any sound system of book-keeping.

"The ledger of the Westminster Commission does not give a true account of the actual receipt and expenditure of each district.

"The *Holborn and Finsbury* books are still more defective than those of the Westminster Commission. . . . . . There are the same kind of *fictions*. . . . . . But the extraordinary defect in these books consists in the utter want of system throughout them, by keeping one-sided accounts only, in the ledger, with respect to the different sewers in each district, showing only the amount *expended* on each.

"The *Tower Hamlets* books have been kept on a regular system, though by no means one conveying much general information."

"With respect to the *Surrey and Kent* accounts," says Mr. Grey, "the books produced are the most incomplete and unsatisfactory that ever came under my observation. The ledger is always thought to be a *sine quâ non* in book-keeping; but here it has been dispensed with altogether, for that which is so marked is no ledger at all."

Under these circumstances, the Report continues, "It cannot be wondered at that debts should have been incurred, or that they should have swollen to the amount of 54,000*l.*, carrying a yearly interest of 2360*l.*, besides annuities granted to the amount of 1125*l.* a year.

"The *Poplar and Greenwich* accounts (I quote the official Report), confined as they are to mere cash books, offer no subjects for remark. . . . . . .

"No books of account have been produced with respect to the *St. Katherine's* Commission."

On the 16th December, 1847, the new Commissioners ordered all the books to be sent to the office in Greek-street; but it was not until the 21st February, 1848, that all the minute-books were produced. There were no indexes for many years even to the proceedings of the Courts; and the account-books of one of the local Courts, if they might be so called, were in such a state that the book called "ledger" had for several years been cast up in pencil only.

This refers to what may be characterised, with more or less propriety, as *mismanagement* or *neglect;* though in such mismanagement it is hardly possible to escape *one* inference. I now come to what are direct imputations of *Jobbery*, and where *that* is flourishing or easy, no system can be other than vicious.

In a paper "printed for use of Commissioners" (Sept. 7, 1848), entitled "Draft Report on the Surrey Accounts," emanating from a "General Purposes' Committee," I find the following, concerning the parliamentary expenses of obtaining an Act which it was "found necessary to repeal." The cost was, altogether, upwards of 1800*l.*, which of course had to be defrayed out of the taxes.

"This Act," says the Report, "authorized an almost unlimited borrowing of money; and *immediately upon its passing*, in July, 1847, notices were issued for works estimated to amount to 100,000*l.*; and others, we understand, were projected for early execution to the amount of 300,000*l.* . . . . . Considering the general character of the works executed, and from them judging of those projected, it may confidently be averred that the *whole sum* of 300,000*l.*, the progressive expenditure of which was stayed by the 'supersedeas' of the old Commission, would have been *expended in waste.*" [The *Italics* are not those of the Reports.]

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The Report continues, "It is to be observed that each of the district surveyors would have participated in the sum of 15,000*l.* percentage on the expenditure for the extension of the Surrey works. Thus the surveyors, with their percentages on the works executed, and the clerk, by the fees on contracts, &c., had *a direct interest in a large expenditure.*"

Instances of the same dishonest kind might be multiplied to almost any extent.

After the above evidences of the incompetency and dishonesty of the several district Commissions —and the Reports from which they are copied contain many more examples of a similar and even worse description—it is not to be wondered at that in the year 1847 the district courts were, with the exception of the City, superseded by the authority of the Crown, and formed into one body, the present Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, of the constitution and powers of which I shall now proceed to speak.

Of the Powers and Authority of the present Commissions of Sewers.

In 1847 the eight separate Commissions of Sewers were abolished, and the whole condensed, by the Government, into *one* Commission, with the exception of the City, which seems to supply an exception in most public matters.

The Act does not fix the number of the Commissioners. To the Metropolitan Commissioners, five City Commissioners are added (the Lord Mayor for the year being one *ex officio*); these have a right to act as members of the Metropolitan Board, but their powers in this capacity are loosely defined by the Act, and they rarely attend, or perhaps never attend, unless the business in some way or other affects their distinct jurisdiction.

The Commissioners (of whom twelve form a quorum) are unpaid, with the exception of the chairman, Mr. E. Lawes, a barrister, who has 1000*l.* a year. They are appointed for the term of two years, revocable at pleasure.

The authority of the City Commission, as distinct from the Metropolitan, for there are two separate Acts, seems to be more strongly defined than that of the others, but the principle is the same throughout. The Metropolitan Act bears date September 4, 1848; and the City Act, September 5, 1848.

The Metropolitan Commissioners have the control over "the sewers, drains, watercourses, weirs, dams, banks, defences, gratings, pipes, conduits, culverts, sinks, vaults, cesspools, rivers, reservoirs, engines, sluices, penstocks, and other works and apparatus for the collection and discharge of rain-water, surplus land or spring-water, waste water, or filth, or fluid, or semi-fluid refuse of all descriptions, and for the protection of land from floods or inundation within the limits of the Commission." Ample as these powers seem to be, the Commissioners' authority does not extend over the Thames, which is in the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of London; and it appears childish to give men control over "rivers," and to empower them to take measures "for the protection of land from floods or inundation," while over the great metropolitan stream itself, from Yantlet Creek, below Gravesend, to Oxford, they have no power whatever.

The Commissioners (City as well as Metropolitan) are empowered to enforce proper house-drainage wherever needed; to regulate the building of new houses, in respect of water-closets, cesspools, &c.; to order any street, staircase, or passage not effectually cleansed to be effectually cleansed; to remedy all nuisances having insanitary tendencies; to erect *public* water-closets and urinals, free from any charge to the public; to order houses and rooms to be whitewashed; to erect places for depositing the bodies of poor persons deceased until interment; and to regulate the cleanliness, ventilation, and even accommodation of low lodging-houses.

The jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers extends over "all such places or parts in the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, and Kent, or any of them *not more than twelve miles distant in a straight line from St. Paul's Cathedral, in the City of London,* but not being within the City of London or the liberties thereof."

This, it must be confessed, is an exceedingly broad definition of the extent of the jurisdiction of the *Metropolitan* Commission, giving the Commissioners an extraordinary amount of *latitude.*

In our days there are many Londons. There is the London (or the metropolitan apportionment of the capital) as defined by the Registrar-General. This, as we have seen, has an area of 115 square miles, and therefore may be said to comprise as nearly as possible all those places which are rather more than *five miles* distant from the Post Office.

There is the *Metropolis* as defined by the Post-Office functionaries, or the limits assigned to what is termed the "*London* District Post." This London District Post seems, however, to have three different metropolises:—First, there is the Central Metropolis, throughout which there is an hourly delivery of letters after mid-day, and which deliveries are said to be confined to "*London.*" Then there is the six-delivery *Metropolis*, or that throughout which the letters are despatched and received six times per day; this is said to extend to such of the "environs" as are included within a circle of *three miles* from the General Post Office. Then there is the *six-mile Metropolis* with special privileges. And lastly, the *twelve-mile Metropolis*, which, being the extreme range of the *London* District Post, may be said to constitute the metropolis of the General Post Office.

There is, again, the metropolis of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Police, before the region of rural police and country and parish constables is attained; a jurisdiction which covers 96 square miles, as I have shown at pp. 163-166 of the present volume, and reaches—generally speaking—to such places as are included within a circle of *five miles and a half* from the General Post Office.

There is, moreover, the metropolis, as defined by the Hackney-Carriage Act, which comprises all such places as are within *five miles* of the General Post Office.

And further, there is the Metropolis of the London City Mission, which extends to *eight miles* from the Post Office, and the Metropolis, again, of the London Ragged Schools, which reaches to about *three miles* from the Post Office.

This, however, is not all, for there are divers districts for the registration and exercise of votes, parliamentary, or municipal; there are ecclesiastical and educational districts; there is a thorough complication of parochial, extra-parochial, and chartered districts; there is a world of subdivisions and of sub-subdivisions, so ramified here and so closely blended there, and often with such preposterous and arbitrary distinctions, that to describe them would occupy more than a whole Number.

My present business, however, is the extent of the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers, or rather to ascertain the boundaries of that *metropolis* over which the Metropolitan Commissioners are allowed to have sway.

The many discrepancies and differences I have explained make it difficult to *define* any district for the London sewerage; and in the Reports, &c., which are presented to Parliament, or prepared by public bodies, little or no care seems to be taken to observe any distinctiveness in this respect.

For instance: The jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, which is said to extend to all such places as are not more than 12 miles distant in a straight line from St. Paul's Cathedral, in the City of London, comprises an area of 452 square miles; the metropolis, that of the Registrar-General, presenting a radius of 6 miles (with a fractional addition), contains 115 square miles; yet in official documents 58 square miles, or a circle of about 4½ miles radius, are given as the extent of the *metropolis* sewered by the Metropolitan Commission. By what calculations this 58 miles are arrived at, whether it has been the *arbitrium* of the authorities to consider the sewers, &c., as occupying *the half* of the area of the Registrar-General's metropolis, or what other reason has induced the computation, I am unable to say.

The boundaries of the several metropolises may be indicated as follows:—

The *Three-Mile Circle* includes Camberwell; skirts Peckham; seems to divide Deptford (irregularly); touches the West India Dock; includes portions of Limehouse, Stepney, Bromley, Stratford-le-Bow, and about the half of Victoria-park, Hackney. It likewise comprises a part of Lower Clapton, Dalston, and a portion of Stoke Newington; and closely touching upon or containing small portions of Lower Holloway, and Kentish-town, sweeps through the Regent's and Hyde parks, includes a moiety of Chelsea, and crossing the river at the Red-house, Battersea, completes the circle. This is the six-delivery district of the General Post Office.

In this three-mile district are chiefly condensed the population, commerce, and wealth of the greatest and richest city in the world.

The *Six-Mile Circle* runs from Streatham (on the south); just excludes Sydenham; contains within its exterior line Lewisham, Greenwich, and a part of Woolwich; also, wholly or partially, East Ham, Laytonstone, Walthamstow, Tottenham, Hornsey, Highgate, Hampstead, Kensall-green, Hammersmith, Fulham, Wandsworth, and Upper Tooting. The portion without the three-mile circle, and within the six, is the *suburban* portion or the immediate environs of the metropolis, and still presents rural and woodland beauties in different localities. This may be termed the metropolis of the Registrar-General and Commissioners of Metropolitan Police.

The *Twelve-Mile Circle*, or the extent of the jurisdiction of the *Metropolitan* Commissioners of Sewers, as well as the "*London* District Post," includes Croydon, Wickham, Paul's Cray, Foot's Cray, North Cray, and Bexley; crosses the river at the Erith-reach; proceeds across the Rainham-marshes; comprises Dagenham; skirts Romford; includes Henhault-forest and the greater portion of Epping-forest; touches Waltham-abbey and Cheshunt; comprehends Enfield and Chipping-Barnet; runs through Elstre and Stanmore; comprehends Harrow-on-the-Hill, Norwood, and Hounslow; embraces Twickenham and Teddington; seems to divide somewhat equally the domains of Bushey-park and of Hampton-court Palace; then, crossing the river about midway between Thames Ditton and Kingston, the boundary line passes between Cheam and Ewell, and completes the circuit.

Over this large district, then, the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers is said to extend, and one of the outlets of the *London* sewers has already been spoken of as being situate at Hampton. The district yielding the amount of sewage which is assumed as being the gross wet house-refuse of the metropolis is, as we have seen, taken at 58 square miles, and is comprised within a circle of about 4½ miles radius; this reaches only to Brixton, Dulwich, Greenwich, East India Docks, Layton, Highgate, Hampstead, Bayswater, Kensington, Brompton, and Battersea. The actual jurisdiction of the Commissioners is, then, nearly eight times larger than the portion to which the estimated amount of the sewage of the metropolis refers.

The metropolitan district is still distinguished by the old divisions of the Tower Hamlets, Poplar and Blackwall, Holborn and Finsbury, Westminster, &c.; but many of these divisions are now incorporated into one district; of which there would appear to be but four at present; or five, inclusive of the City.

These are as follows:—

1. Fulham and Hammersmith, Counter's Creek and Ranelagh districts.

2. Westminster (Eastern and Western), Regent-street, and Holborn.

3. Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, Poplar, and Blackwall.

4. Districts south of the Thames, Eastern and Western.

5. City.

The practical part or working of the Commis-

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sion of Sewers is much less complicated at present than it was in the times of the independent districts and independent commissions.

The orders for all work to be done emanate from the court in Greek-street, but the several surveyors, &c. (whose salaries, numbers, &c., are given below), can and do order on their responsibility any repair of a temporary character which is evidently pressing, and report it at the next court day. The Court meets weekly and monthly, and what may be styled the heavier portion of the business, as regards expenditure on great works, is more usually transacted at the monthly meetings, when the attendance is generally fuller; but the Court can, and sometimes does, meet much more frequently, and sometimes has adjourned from day to day.

Any private individual or any public body may make a communication or suggestion to the Court of Sewers, which, if it be in accordance with their functions, is taken into consideration at the next accruing court day, or as soon after as convenient. The Court in these cases either comes to a decision of adoption or rejection of any proposition, or refers it to one of their engineers or surveyors for a report, or to a committee of the Commissioners, appointed by the Court; if the proposition be professional, as to defects, or alleged and recommended improvements in the local sewers, &c., it is referred to a professional gentleman for his opinion; if it be more general, as to the extension of sewerage to some new undertaking or meditated undertaking in the way of building new markets, streets, or any places, large and public; or in applications for the use and appropriation by enterprising men of sewage manure, it is referred to a committee.

On receiving such reports the Court makes an order according to its discretion. If the work to be done be extensive, it is entrusted to the chief engineer, and perhaps to a principal surveyor acting in accordance with him; if the work be more local, it is consigned to a surveyor. One or other of these officers provides, or causes to be prepared, a plan and a description of the work to be done, and instructs the clerk of the works to procure estimates of the cost at which a contractor will undertake to execute this work, or, as it is often called by the labouring class, to "complete the *job*" (a word at one time singularly applicable). The estimates are sent by the competing builders, architects, general speculators, or by any one wishing to contract, to the court house (without the intervention of any person, officially or otherwise) and they are submitted to the Board by their clerk. The lowest contract, as the sum total of the work, is most generally adopted, and when a contract has been accepted, the matter seems settled and done with, as regards the management of the Commissioners; for the contractor at once becomes responsible for the fulfilment of his contract, and may and does employ whom he pleases *and at what rates he pleases*, without fear of any control or interference from the Court. The work, however, is superintended by the surveyors, to ensure its execution according to the provisions of the agreement. The contractor is paid by direct order of the Court.

The surveyors and clerks of works are mostly limited as to their labours to the several districts; but the superior officers are employed in all parts, and so, if necessary, are the subordinate officers when the work requires an extra staff.

According to the Returns, the following functionaries appear to be connected with the undermentioned districts:—

Fulham, Hammersmith, Counter's Creek, and Ranelagh.
1 Surveyor.
3 Clerks of the Works.
1 Inspector of Flushing.

Eastern and Western Divisions of Westminster and Regent-street.
1 Surveyor, who has also the Holborn division to attend to.
2 Clerks of the Works.
6 Flap and Sluice keepers.

Holborn.
2 Clerks of the Works.
1 Inspector of Flushing.

Finsbury.
1 Clerk of the Works.
1 Inspector of Flushing.

Tower Hamlets, and Poplar and Blackwall.
1 Surveyor, who has also the Finsbury division included in his district.
2 Clerks of the Works.
2 Inspectors of Flushing.

South of the Thames.
Western Districts.
1 Surveyor.
2 Clerks of the Works.
2 Inspectors of Flushing.

Eastern Districts.
1 Surveyor.
2 Clerks of the Works.
2 Inspectors of Flushing.

What may be called the working staff of the Metropolitan Commissioners consists of the following functionaries, receiving the following salaries:—

	£	s.
Chairman, with a yearly salary of	1,000	0
Secretary, with a yearly salary of (besides an allowance of £100, in lieu of apartments)	800	0
Clerk of minutes	350	0
Two clerks of do., (each with a salary of £150)	300	0
One do., with a salary of	120	0
One do. do.	105	0
One do. do.	95	0
One do. do.	90	0
Accountant do.	350	0
Accountant's clerk do.	150	0
Do do.	80	0
Clerk of surveyors' and contractors' accounts	200	0
Do. do.	125	0
Do. do.	110	0
Clerk of rates	250	0
Another do.	180	0
Do. do.	110	0
Do. do.	90	0
Engineer	1,000	0
For travelling expenses	200	0
Surveyor for Fulham and Hammersmith, Counter's Creek, and Ranelagh districts	350	0
Clerk of works (Hammersmith)	150	0
Do. (Counter's Creek)	150	0
Do. (Ranelagh)	150	0
Inspector of flushing	80	0
Surveyor of eastern and western divisions of Westminster, and of Regent-st. and Holborn divisions	300	0
Two clerks of works (eastern and western and Regent-street), with a salary of £300 each	600	0
Two do. (Holborn), with a salary of £100 each	200	0
Inspector of flushing	80	0
Surveyor of Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, and Poplar and Blackwall	300	0
Clerk of works (Finsbury)	150	0
Inspector of flushing	40	0
Two clerks of works (Tower Hamlets, and Poplar and Blackwall), with a salary of £150 each	300	0
Two inspectors of flushings with a salary of £80 each	160	0
One marsh bailiff	65	0

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	£	s.
Surveyor of the western districts south of the Thames	300	0
Do., eastern do.	250	0
Clerk of works (eastern portion)	164	0
Two inspectors of flushing, £80 each............	160	0
One wallreeve ..	22	6
Clerk of works (western portion)	164	0
Do. do.	150	0
Two inspectors of flushing, with a salary of £80 each............	160	0
Two engineer's clerks, with a salary of £150 each............	300	0
One do.	150	0
One do.	100	0
One do.	80	0
One by-law clerk	150	0
Twenty-two flap and sluice keepers	892	12
Surveyor (of the surveying and drawing staff) ..	280	0
Drawing clerk ..	150	0
Two do., with a salary of £130 each	260	0
Five do., with a salary of £105 each	525	0
One do...........	50	0
Six surveyors, with a salary of £100 each	600	0
Six chainmen, 18s. a week each	280	0
Office-keeper and crier (general service)	120	0
Bailiff, &c.	100	0
Strong-room keeper	80	0
One messenger ..	70	0
Two do., £40 each	80	0
Three errand-boys, £32 each..	96	0
Housekeeper	150	0
Yearly total	£13,874	0

This is called a "reduced" staff, and the reduction of salaries is certainly very considerable.

If we consider the yearly emoluments of tradesmen in businesses requiring no great extent of education or general intelligence, the salaries of the surveyors, clerk of the works, &c., must appear very far from extravagant; and when we consider their responsibility and what may be called their removability, some of the salaries may be pronounced mean; for I think it must be generally admitted by all, except the narrow-minded, who look merely at the immediate outlay as the be-all and the end-all of every expenditure, that if the surveyors, clerks of works, inspectors of flushing, &c., be the best men who could be procured (as they ought to be), or at any rate be thorough masters of their craft, they are rather underpaid than overpaid.

The above statement may be analysed in the following manner:—

	£	s.	£
Chairman			1,000
Secretary and 7 clerks .	1860	0	
Accountant and 5 clerks .	1015	0	
Clerk of rates and 3 clerks	630	0	
			3,505
Engineer and 5 clerks .	1830	0	
7 surveyors, of surveying and drawing staff, with 6 chainmen and 9 drawing clerks	2125	0	
5 district surveyors .	1500	0	
12 clerks of works .	2278	0	
9 inspectors of flushing	720	0	
22 flap and sluice keepers	892	12	
Bailiff, marsh-bailliff, and wallreeve	187	8	
			9,533
Office keeper, strong-room keeper, and housekeeper .	350	0	
3 messengers and 3 errand-boys	246	0	
			596
			£14,634

The cost of rent, taxes, stationery, and office incidentals, is now 4440*l.*, which makes the total yearly outlay amount to upwards of 19,000*l.* The annual cost of the staff in the secretary's department is said to have been reduced from 3962*l.* 4*s.* to 3605*l.*; in the engineers' department from 16,437*l.* 3*s.* to 8973*l.* 16*s.* In the general service there has been an increase from 606*l.* 16*s.* to 696*l.*

A deputation who waited lately upon Lord John Russell is said to have declared the expenses of the Commissioners' office to be at the rate of from 25 to 30 per cent. on the amount of rate collected. The sum collected in the year 1850 averaged 89,341*l.* The cost of management in that year was 23,465*l.*; this, it will be seen, is 26 per cent of the gross income.

The annual statement of the receipts and expenditure under the Commission for the year 1851 has just been published, but not *officially*; from this it appears that in February, 1851—

	£	s.	d.
The balance of cash in hand was	5,750	9	11
The total receipts during the year have amounted to . .	129,000	0	9
Making together . . .	134,750	10	8

The expenditure, as returned under the general head, is—

	£	s.	d.
For work . . . . . (This item includes the cost of supervision and compensation for damages.)	£95,539	19	3
The cost of surveys has been	6,332	19	9
Management . . .	16,430	9	2
Loans	10,442	10	2
Contingencies . . .	2,749	1	1
Total payments . . .	131,494	19	5
Balance in hand . .	£3,355	11	8

As an instance of the mismanagement of the sewers work of the metropolis, it is but right that the subjoined document should be published.

I need not offer any comment on the following "Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 28th July, 1851," except that I was told early in January, on good authority, that the matter was now worse than it was when reported as follows:—

"*Privy Gardens, Whitehall Yard, Scotland Yard, &c., Public Sewer.*

"With reference to the two orders of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, &c., I have the honour to state that, since the 15th of November (when I last sent in a memorandum), I have frequently visited the several Crown buildings affected by the building of the main public sewer

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for draining Westminster; viz., the Earl of Malmsbury's, the Exchequer Bill Office, the United Service Museum, Lord Liverpool's, Mr. Vertue's, Mr. Alderman Thompson's, and Messrs. Dalgleish's.

"All these buildings have been more or less damaged by the construction of the sewer; the Exchequer Bill Office, the United Service Museum, and Mr. Vertue's, in a manner that, in my opinion, can *never be effectually repaired.*

"At Lord Malmsbury's, the party wall next to the Exchequer Bill Office has *moved*, as shown by some cracks in the staircase; but for this house it may not be necessary to require more to be done than stopping and painting.

"At the Exchequer Bill Office, the old Gothic groins have been cracked in several places, and several settlements have taken place in the walls over and near to where the sewer passes under the building. The shores are still standing against this building, but it would now be better to remove them; the cracks in the groins and walls *can never be repaired* to render the building so substantial as it was before. The cracks in the basement still from month to month show a very slight movement; those in the staircase and roof also appear to increase. As respects this building, I would submit to the Commissioners of Woods that it *would not be advisable to permit the surveyors of the Commissioners of Sewers to enter and make only a surface repair of plaster and paint*; but I would suggest that a careful survey be made by surveyors appointed respectively by the Board of Woods and the Commissioners of Sewers, and that a thorough repair of the building be made (so far as it is susceptible of repair), under the Board of Woods; the Commissioners of Sewers paying such proportion of the cost thereof as may fairly be deemed to have been occasioned by their proceedings.

"At the United Service Museum, the settlements on the side next the sewer appear to me very serious.

"The house occupied by Lord Liverpool, as also Mr. Vertue's house, of which his Lordship is Crown lessee, were both affected, the former to some extent, but not seriously; of the latter, the west front sunk, and pulled over the whole house with it; but as respects these two houses the interference of the Board is, I believe, unnecessary, Mr. Hardwicke (one of the Sewer Commissioners) having, as architect for Lord Liverpool, caused both to be repaired.

"A like repair has also been made in the kitchen offices of Mr. Alderman Thompson's house, where alone any cracks appeared.

"At Messrs. Dalgleish and Taylor's, very serious injury has been done to both their buildings and their trade. The Commissioners of Sewers have a steam-engine still at work on those premises, and have not yet concluded their operations there. Some of the sheds which entirely fell down they have rebuilt; and others, which appear in a very defective if not dangerous state, it is understood they propose to repair or rebuild; but as eventually Messrs. Dalgleish and Taylor will have a very heavy claim against them for interference with business, and as the extent of damage to the buildings which has been done, or may hereafter arise, cannot at present be fully ascertained, it would probably be advisable to postpone this part of the subject, giving notice, however, to the Commissionors of Sewers that it must hereafter come under consideration.

(Signed) "JAMES PENNETHORNE.

"10th May, 1851."

"*Sewer, Whitehall Yard, &c.*

"Under the order of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, &c., of yesterday's date, endorsed on a letter from Mr. Tonna, I have inspected the United Service Institution in Whitehall Yard, and find most of the cracks have moved.

"The movement, though slight, and not showing immediate danger, is more than I had anticipated would occur within so short a period when I reported on the 10th instant. It tends to confirm the opinion therein given, and shows the necessity for immediate precaution, and for a thorough repair.

(Signed) "JAMES PENNETHORNE.

"16th May, 1851.

"SEYMOUR,
"CHARLES GORE, } Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works, and Buildings.

"Office of Woods, &c.

"5th August, 1851."

OF THE SEWERS RATE.

HAVING shown the expenditure of the Commission of Sewers, we now come to consider its income.

The funds available for the sewerage and drainage of the several towns throughout the kingdom, are raised by means of a particular property tax, termed the Sewers Rate. This forms part of what are designated the *Local* Taxes of England and Wales.

Local taxes are of two classes:—

I. Rates raised upon property in *defined* districts, as parishes, jurisdictions, counties, &c.

II. Tolls, dues, and fees charged for particular services on particular occasions, as turnpike tolls, harbour dues, &c., &c.

The rates or sums raised upon the property lying within a certain circumscribed locality, admit of being subdivided into two orders—

1. The rates of *independent* districts, or those which, being required for a particular district (as the parish or some equivalent territorial limit), are not only levied within the bounds of that district, but expended for the purposes of it alone; as is the case with the poor rate.

2. The rates of *aggregate* districts, or those which, though required to be expended for the purposes of a given district (such as the county), are raised in detail in the several inferior districts (such as the various parishes) which compose the larger one, and which contribute the sums thus levied to one common fund; such is the case with the county rate.

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But the rates of independent districts may be further distinguished into two orders, viz.—

i. Those which are levied on the same classes of persons, the same kinds of property, and the same principles of valuation as the poor rate; such are the highway rate, the lighting and watching, and the militia rate among the independent rates; and the police, borough, and county rates among the aggregate rates.

ii. Those which are *not* levied on the same basis as the poor rate. The church and sewers rates are familiar instances of this peculiarity.

The sewers rate, then, is a local tax required for an *independent* rather than an *aggregate* district, and is *not* levied upon the basis of the poor law.

The assessment of the poor rate, for instance, includes tithes of every kind, that of the sewers rate extends to such tithes only as are in the hands of laymen. Again, the sewers rate embraces some incorporeal hereditaments to which the poor rate does not extend; but stock in trade, which of late years has been specially exempted from the poor rate, was never subject to the sewers rate.

A sewers rate, however, was known as early as the sixth year of Henry VI. (1427), though "commissions" were not instituted till the time of Henry VIII. The Act which now regulates the collection of the funds required for the cleansing, building, repairs, and improvements of the sewers, is 4 and 5 Vict. (1841). This statute gives the "Courts" or "Commissions" of Sewers, power "to tax in the gross" in each parish, &c., all lands, &c., within the jurisdiction of such courts, for the requirements of the public sewerage. This impost is not periodically levied, nor at any stated or even regularly recurring term, but "as occasion requires:" perhaps once in two or three years. It is (with some exceptions, which require no notice) what is commonly called "a landlord's tax" in the metropolis, that is, the sewers-rate collector must be paid by the occupier of the premises, who, on the production of the collector's receipt, can deduct the amount from his rent. If this arrangement were meant to convey a notion to the public that the sewers tax was a tax on property—on the capitalist who owns, and not on the tenant who merely occupies—it is a shallow device, for every one must know that the more sewers rate a tenant pays *for* his landlord, the more rent he must pay *to* him.

The sewers rate is levied according to the rateable value put upon property by the surveyors and assessors appointed by the Commissioners, who may make the rate "by such ways and means, and in such manner and form, as to them may seem most convenient." It seems a question yet to be determined whether or not there is a right of appeal against the sewers rate, but the general opinion is that there is *no appeal*. The rate can be mortgaged by the Commissioners if an advance of money is considered desirable. The maximum of 1*s.* in the pound on the net annual value of the property was fixed by the Act. The Commissioners have also the power to levy a "special rate" on any district not connected with the general system of sewerage, but which it has been resolved should be so connected; also an "improvement rate." at a maximum of 10 per cent. on the rack rent, "in respect of works they may judge to be of private benefit," a provision which has called forth some comments.

The metropolitan sewers rate is now collected in nine districts.

There are at present 42 Commissions or Courts of Sewers throughout England and Wales.

The only return which has yet been prepared of the annual amount assessed and collected under the authority of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, is one presented to the House of Commons in 1843. It includes the sum assessed in four of the eight districts within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Commissioners from 1831 to 1840 inclusive.

Districts.	Total in the 10 years.	Annual Average.
	£	£
Westminster . .	235,397	23,539$\frac{7}{10}$
Holborn and Finsbury	123,317	12,331$\frac{7}{10}$
Tower Hamlets . .	82,468	8,246$\frac{8}{10}$
From East Moulsey, in Surrey, to Ravensbourne, in Kent .	175,137	17,513$\frac{7}{10}$
	616,319	61,631$\frac{9}{10}$

The following amounts were returned to Parliament as that expended in two other of the metropolitan districts in the year 1833:—

In the City	£17,718$\frac{2}{10}$
Poplar district	2,746$\frac{9}{10}$
	£20,465$\frac{1}{10}$
Annual average of the four above-mentioned districts . . .	61,631$\frac{9}{10}$
Yearly total	£82,097

The two districts excluded from the above total are the minor ones of St. Katherine and Greenwich, so that altogether the gross sum levied within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Commissioners must have been between 85,000*l.* and 90,000*l.*

The annual amount of the local rates in England and Wales is, according to a work on the subject ("The Local Taxes of the United Kingdom"), published "under the direction of the Poor Law Commissioners" in 1846, 8,801,838*l.* * In this large sum only the average annual outlay on the six districts of the sewers of the metropolis is included (82,097*l.*), and it is stated that not even an approximate average could be arrived at as regards the expenditure on sewers in the country districts. Such absence of statistical knowledge,—and it is a want continually observable—is little creditable to the legislative, executive, and administrative powers of the State.

I shall now proceed to show, from the best data at my command, the present outlay on the metropolitan sewers.

* The following statement may, according to the work above alluded to, be presented as an approximate

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According to the present law, the Commissioners are required to submit to Parliament yearly returns of the money collected on account of, and expended in, the sewerage of the metropolis.

I need only state, that in the latest and, indeed, the sole returns upon the subject, the rates in 1845-6-7, under the former separate commissions, were 1*d.* and 2*d.* in the pound on land, and from 3*d.* (Ranelagh and Westminster) to 1*s.* 10*d.* (Greenwich) on houses.

The rates made under the combined and consolidated Commissions, from 30th Nov., 1847, to 8th Oct., 1849, were all 6*d.*, excepting the Western division of Westminster sewers, which were 3*d.*, and a part of the Surrey and Kent district, 8*d.*

The rates under the present Metropolitan Commission, from 8th October, 1849, to 31st July, 1851, are all 6*d.*, with a similar exception in Surrey and Kent. The following are the only further returns bearing immediately on the subject:—

RETURN OF THE PERCENTAGE ON THE TOTAL RATEABLE ANNUAL VALUE OF THE PROPERTY ASSESSED, to which the Rates collected under the separate COMMISSIONS, between January, 1845, and November, 1847, amounted; SIMILAR RETURN as to the combined and consolidated COMMISSIONS, from November, 1847, to October, 1849; and as to the present COMMISSION, from October, 1849, to July 31, 1851.

——	Total Rateable Annual Value of the Districts on November 30, 1847, and October 8, 1849, and July 31, 1851, respectively.	Average Amount collected for One Year.	Amount of the Percentage of the Rates collected on the Rateable Annual Value.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Under the old separate Commissions of Sewers, between January, 1845, and November 30, 1847	6,683,896 0 0	81,738 11 0	1 4 5 or $2\frac{3}{4}d$. ·72 in the pound per annum.
Under the combined and consolidated Commissions, from November 30, 1847, to October 8, 1849 (including first Metropolitan Commission)	7,128,111 0 0	67,707 16 3	0 18 $11\frac{3}{4}$ or $2\frac{1}{4}d$. ·11 in the pound per annum.
Under the present Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, from October 8, 1849, to July 21, 1851	8,135,090* 0 0 8,820,325† 0 0	89,341 16 0	1 1 11 or $2\frac{1}{2}d$. ·52 in the pound per annum. 1 0 3 or $2\frac{1}{4}d$. ·72 in the pound per annum.

* Rental of the districts now rated.
† Rental of the districts within the active jurisdiction in which expenses have been incurred, and which are about to be rated.

AUGUST, 1851.

THOMAS COGGIN,
Clerk of Rates and Collections.

return of the present annual amount of the local rates in England and Wales.

I. RATES.

A. RATES OF INDEPENDENT DISTRICTS.

1. *On the basis of the poor rate.*

The poor rate, including the purposes of—	
The workhouse building rate / The survey and valuation rate / Relief of the poor	£4,976,093
Other objects	567,567
Contributions to county and borough rates (see below).	
Jail fees rate / Constables rate	unknown
Highway rates	1,312,812
Lighting and watching rate	unknown
Militia rate	not needed
2. *Not on the basis of the poor rate.*	
Church rates	506,819
Sewers rate—	
General sewers tax—	
In the metropolis	82,097
In the rest of the country	unknown
Drainage and inclosure rates / Inclosure rate / Regulated pasture rate	unknown
B. RATES OF AGGREGATE DISTRICTS.	
County rates / Hundred rate / Borough rates — Contributed from the poor rate.	1,336,457
Total rates of England and Wales	£8,801,834

The amount of the taxation in the shape of tolls, dues, and fees is as follows:—

II. TOLLS, DUES, AND FEES.

Turnpike tolls		£1,348,085
Borough tolls and dues	£172,911	
City of London	205,100	
		378,011
Light dues		257,776
Port dues		554,645
Church dues and fees / Marriage fees / Registration fees		unknown
Justiciary fees—		
Clerks of the Peace	£11,057	
Justices' clerks	57,668	
		68,725
Total tolls, dues, and fees of England and Wales		£2,607,241

The subjoined, then adds the same work, founded on the preceding details, may be regarded as exhibiting an approximate estimate of the present amount of the local taxes in England and Wales, *being, however, obviously below the actual total.*

Rates	£8,801,838	
Tolls, dues, and fees	2,607,241	
		£11,409,079

"The annual amount of the local taxation of England and Wales may at the present time be stated, in round numbers, at not less than £12,000,000;" or we may say that the local taxation of the country is one-fourth of the amount of the general taxation.

RETURN OF THE COST OF MANAGEMENT PER ANNUM ON THE TOTAL RATEABLE ANNUAL VALUE OF THE DISTRICTS.

YEARS.	Total Rateable Annual Value of the Districts.			Cost of Management per Annum.			Rate per Cent. per Annum of Cost of Management on the Rateable Annual Value of the Districts.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1845	6,320,331	0	0	18,591	4	3	0	5	10½
1846	6,423,909	0	0	18,097	5	1	0	5	7½
1847	6,683,896	0	0	24,371	16	9	0	7	3½
1848	6,783,111	0	0	20,008	7	10	0	5	10¾
1849	8,077,591	0	0	20,005	7	6	0	4	11½
1850	8,791,967	0	0	23,465	18	7	0	5	4

G. S. HATTON,
Accountant.

August 7, 1851.

Of the Cleansing of the Sewers—Ventilation.

There are two modes of purifying the sewers; the one consists in removing the foul air, the other in removing the solid deposits. I shall deal first with that mode of purification which consists in the mechanical removal or chemical decomposition of the noxious gases engendered within the sewers.

This is what is termed the Ventilation of the Sewers, and forms a very important branch of the inquiry into the character and working of the underground refuse-channels, for it relates to the risk of explosions and the consequent risk of destruction to men's lives; while, if the sewer be ill-ventilated, the surrounding atmosphere is often prejudicially affected by the escape of impure air from the subterranean channels.

A survey as to the ventilation, &c., of the sewers was made by Mr. Hawkins, Assistant-Surveyor, and Mr. Jenkins, Clerk of the Works. Four examinations took place of sewers; of those in Bloomsbury; those from Tottenham-court-road to Norfolk-street, Strand; from the Guard-room in Buckingham Palace to the Horseferry-road, Millbank; and in Grosvenor-square and the streets adjacent. There were difficulties attending the experiment. From Castle-street to Museum-street there was a drop of 4 feet in the levels, so that the examiners had to advance on their hands and knees, and it was difficult to make observations. In some places in Westminster also the water and silt were knee deep, and the lamps (three were used) splashed all over. In Bloomsbury the sewers gave no token of the presence of any gas, but in the other places its presence was very perceptible, especially in a sewer on the west side of Grosvenor-square, a very low one, in which the gas was ignited within the wire shade of one of the lamps, but without producing any effect beyond that of immediately extinguishing the light. There was also during the route, in the neighbourhood of Sir Henry Meux's brewery and of an adjoining distillery in Vine-street, a considerable quantity of steam in the sewer, but it had no material effect upon the light.

The examiners came to the conclusion that where there was any liability to an explosion from the presence of carburetted hydrogen, or other causes, the Improved Davy Lamp afforded an almost certain protection.

The attention of the Commissioners seems to have been chiefly given of late, as regards ventilation and indeed general improvement, to the sewers on the Surrey side of the metropolis. Among these a new sewer along Friar-street, running from the Blackfriars to the Southwark-bridge-road, is one of the most noticeable.

Friar-street is one of the smaller off thoroughfares, the character of which is, perhaps, little suspected by those who pass along the open Blackfriars-road. As you turn out of that road to the left hand, advancing from the bridge, almost opposite the Magdalen Hospital, is Friar-street. On its left hand, as you proceed along it, are gas-works, and the factories, or work places, of tradesmen in the soap-boiling, tallow-melting, cat and other gut manufacturing, bone-boiling, and other noisome callings. On the right hand are a series of short and often neatly-built streets, but the majority of them have the look of unmistakable squalor or poverty, though *not* of the poverty of the industrious. Across Flint-street, Green-street, and other ways, few of them horse thoroughfares, hang, on a fair day, lines of washed clothes to dry. Yellow-looking chemises and petticoats are affixed alongside men's trowsers and waistcoats; coarse-featured and brazen-looking women, with necks and faces reddened, as if with brick-dust, from exposure to the weather, stand at their doors and beckon to the passers by. Perhaps in no part of the metropolis is there a more marked manifestation of moral obsceneness on the one hand, and physical obsceneness on the other. With the low prostitution of this locality is mixed the low and the bold crime of the metropolis. Some of the off-shoots from Friar-street communicate with places of as nefarious a character. Hackett, whom his newspaper admirers seem to wish to elevate into the fame of a second Jack Sheppard, resided in this quarter. The gang who were last winter repulsed in their burglarious attack on Mr. Holford's villa in the Regent's-park favoured the same locality, and were arrested in their old haunts. Public-houses may

be seen here and there—houses, perhaps, not greatly discouraged by the police—which are at once the rendezvous and the trap of offenders, for to and from such resorts they can be readily traced. And all over this place of moral degradation extends the stench of offensive manufactures and ill-ventilated sewers. Certainly there is now an improvement, but it is still bad enough.

A Report of the 21st September, 1848, shows that a new sewer, 1500 feet in length, had been "put in along Friar-street, with a fall of 15 inches from the level of the sewer in Blackfriars-road to Suffolk-street. The sewer," states the Report, "with which it communicates at its upper end in the Blackfriars-road contains nearly 2 feet in depth of soil; it in consequence has silted up to that level with semi-fluid black filth, principally from the factories, of the most poisonous and sickening description, forming an *elongated cesspool* 1500 feet in length, the filth at its lower end being upwards of 3 feet in depth. Since the building of this sewer, the foul matter so discharged into it has been in a state of decomposition, constantly giving off pestilential and poisonous gases, which have spread into and filled the adjoining sewers; thence they are being drawn into the houses by the house-drains, and into the streets by the street-drains, to such a fearful extent as to infect the whole atmosphere of the neighbourhood, and so to cause the very offensive odour so generally complained of there. Sulphuretted hydrogen is present in these sewers in large quantities, as metals, silver and copper, are attacked and blackened by it; and the smell from it is so sickening as to be almost unbearable."

On the question of how best to deal with sewers such as the Friar-street, Messrs. John Roe and John Phillips (surveyors) and Mr. Henry Austin (consulting engineer) have agreed in the following opinion:—

"The most simple and convenient method would be by placing large strong fires in shafts directly over the crown of the sewers. The expense of each furnace, with the inclosure around it, will be about 20*l*. The fires would be fed almost constantly, by which little smoke would be generated. The heat to be produced from these fires would rarefy the air so much as to create rapidly ascending currents in the shafts, and strong draughts through the sewers, the foul air in which would then be drawn to the fires and there consumed; and as it was being destroyed fresh air would be drawn in at all the existing inlets of house and street drains, pushing forward and supplying the place of the foul air."

Concerning the explosions of, or deaths in, the sewers from the impure gases, there is, I believe, no statistical account. The most remarkable catastrophe of this kind was the death of five persons in a sewer in Pimlico, in October, 1849; of these, three were regular sewer-men, and the others were a policeman and Mr. Wells, a surgeon, who went into the sewer in the hopes of giving assistance. Mr. Phillips, the then chief surveyor of the Commission of Sewers, stated that the cause of these deaths in the sewers was entirely an exceptional case, and the gas which had caused the accident inquired into was not a sewer gas. "There is often," he said, "a great escape of gas from the mains, which found its way into the sewers. The gas, however, which has done the mischief in the present instance would not explode."

Dr. Ure's opinion was, that the deceased men died from asphixia, caused by inhaling sulphuretted hydrogen and carbonic acid gas in mixture with prussic vapour, and that these noxious emanations were derived from the refuse lime of gas-works thrown in with other rubbish to make up the road above the sewer. Other scientific gentlemen attributed the five deaths to the action of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, or, according to Dr. Lyon Playfair, to be chemically correct, hydro-sulphate of ammonia. The coroner (Mr. Bedford), in summing up, said that Mr. Phillips wished it to be supposed that gas lime was the cause of the foul gas; and Dr. Ure said that gas lime had to do with the calamity. But Dr. Miller, Mr. Richard Phillips, Mr. Campbell, and Dr. Playfair, more especially the latter, were perfectly sure that lime had nothing to do with it. The verdict was the following:—"We find that Daniel Pert, Thomas Gee, and John Attwood died from the inhalation of noxious gas generated in a neglected and unventilated sewer in Kenilworth-street. And we find that Henry Wells and John Walsh met their deaths from the same cause, in their laudable endeavours to save the lives of the first three sufferers. The jury unanimously consider the commissioners and officers of the Metropolitan Sewers are much to blame for having neglected to avail themselves of the unusual advantages offered, from the local situation of the Grosvenor-canal, for the purpose of flushing the sewers in this district."

Of "Flushing" and "Plonging," and other Modes of Washing the Sewers.

The next step in our inquiry—and that which at present concerns us more than any other—is the mode of removing the solid deposits from the sewers, as well as the condition of the workmen connected with that particular branch of labour. The sewers are the means by which a larger proportion of the wet refuse of the metropolis is removed from our houses, and we have now to consider the means by which the more solid part of this refuse is removed from the sewers themselves. The latter operation is quite as essential to health and cleanliness as the former; for to allow the filth to collect in the channels which are intended to remove it, and there to remain decomposing and vitiating the atmosphere of the metropolis, is manifestly as bad as not to remove it at all; and since the more solid portions of the sewage *will* collect and form hard deposits at the bottom of each duct, it becomes necessary that some means should be devised for the periodical purgation of the sewers themselves.

There have been two modes of effecting this object. The one has been the *carting* away of the more solid refuse, and the other the *washing* of it away, or, as it is termed, *flushing* in the case

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THE BOY CROSSING-SWEEPERS.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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of the *covered* sewers, and *plonging* in the case of the *open* ones. Under both systems, whether the refuse be carted or flushed away, the hard deposit has to be first loosened by manual labourers—the difference consisting principally in the means of after-removal.

The first of these systems—viz., the cartage method—was that which prevailed in the metropolis till the year 1847. I shall therefore give a brief description of this mode of cleansing the sewers before proceeding to treat of the now more general mode of "flushing."

Under the old system, the clearing away of the deposit was a "nightman's" work, differing little, except in being more toilsome, offensive to the public, and difficult. A hole was made from the street down into the sewer where the deposit was thickest, and the deposit was raised by means of a tub, filled below, drawn up to the street, and emptied into a cart, or spread in mounds in the road to be shovelled into some vehicle. A nightman told me that this mode of work was sometimes a great injury to his trade, because "when it was begun on a night many of the householders sleeping in the neighbourhood used to say to themselves, or to their missusses, as they turned in their beds, 'It's them ere cussed cesspools again! I wish they was done away with.' An' all the time, sir, the cesspools was as hinnocent and as sweet as a hangel."

This clumsy and filthy process is now but occasionally resorted to. A man who had superintended a labour of this kind in a narrow, but busy thoroughfare in Southwark, told me that these sewer labourers were the worst abused men in London. No one had a good word for them.

But there have been other modes of removing the indurated sewage, besides that of cartage; and which, though not exactly flushing, certainly consisted in allowing the deposit to be washed away. Some of these contrivances were curious enough.

I learn from a Report printed in 1849, that the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer, in the city of Westminster, running near the Abbey, contained a continuous bed of deposit, of soil, sand, and filth, from 10 to 30 inches in depth, and this for a mile and a half next the river—the first mile yielding more than 6000 loads of matter. This sewer was to be cleansed.

"We first used a machine," says Mr. J. Lysander Hale, "in the form of a plough and harrow combined; a horse dragged it through the deposit in the sewer; one man attended the horse, and another guided the plough. The work done by this machine, in cutting a channel through the soil and causing the water to move through it quickly, was effectual to remove the deposit; but as the sewer is a tidal sewer, and its sole entrance for a horse being its outlet, the machine could only be used for a small part of any day. Sometimes with a strong breeze up the river, the tide would not recede sufficiently to permit the horse to get in at all (and it did not appear advisable to incur the expense of 50*l.* to build a sideway entrance for the animal), so that under these circumstances we were obliged to discontinue the use of the horse and plough; which, under other circumstances, would have been very effective." From this time, I understand, the sewers of London have remained unploughed by means of horse labour.

But the plough was not altogether abandoned, and as horse-power was not found very easily applicable, water-power was resorted to. The plough and harrow were attached to a barge, which was introduced into the sewer. The sluice gates were kept shut until the ebb of the tide made the difference of level between the contents of the sewer and the surface of the Thames equal to some eight feet. "The gates were then suddenly opened, and the rapid and deep current of water following, was then sufficient to bring the barge and plough down the sewer with a force equal to five or six horse-power."

This last-mentioned method was also soon abandoned. We now come to the more approved plan of "flushing."

"The term '*flushing* sewers' implies," says Mr. Haywood, in his Report, "cleansing by the application of *bodies* of water in the sewers; this is periodically effected, varying in intervals according to the necessities of the sewerage or other circumstances."

The flushing system has a two-fold object, viz., to remove old deposits and prevent the accumulation of new. When the deposit is not allowed to accumulate and harden, "flushing consists," says Mr. Haywood, "simply in heading back and letting off *flush at once*" (hence the origin of the term) "that which has been delivered into the sewers in a certain number of hours by the various houses draining into them, diluted with large quantities of water specially employed for the purpose."

Though the operation of "flushing" is one of modern introduction, as regards the metropolis—one, indeed, which may be said to have originated in the modern demand for improved sanitary regulations—it has been practised in some country parts since the days of Henry VIII.

Flushing was practised also by those able engineers, the ancient Romans. One of the grand architectural remains of that people, the best showing their system of flushing, is in the Amphitheatre at Nismes, in France. The site of the ruined amphitheatre presents a large elliptical area, 114,251 superficial feet comprising its extent. Around the arena ran a large sewer 3 feet 6 inches in width, and 4 feet 9 inches in height. With this sewer, elliptical in shape, 348 pipes communicated, carrying into it the rain-fall and the refuse caused by the resort of 23,000 persons, for the seats alone contained that number. "The system of flushing, practised here," says Mr. Cresy, "with such advantage, deserves to be noticed, there being means of driving through this elliptical sewer a volume of water at pleasure, with such force that no solid matter could by any possibility remain within any of the drains or sewers. An aqueduct, 2 feet 8 inches in width, and 6 feet in height, brought this water from the reservoirs of Nismes, not only to fill but to purge

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the whole of these sewers; after traversing the arena, it deviated a little to the south-west, where it was carried out at the sixth arcade, east of the southern entrance. Man-holes and steps to descend into this capacious vaulted aqueduct were introduced in several places; and there can be no doubt that by directing for some hours such a stream of water through it, the greatest cleanliness was preserved throughout all the sewers of the building."

The flushing of sewers appears to have been introduced into the metropolis by Mr. John Roe in the year 1847, but did not come into general use till some years later. There used to be a partial flushing of the London sewers twelve years ago. The mode of flushing as at present practised is as follows:—

In the first instance the inspector examines and reports the condition of the sewer, and receives and issues his orders accordingly. When the sewer is ordered to be flushed—and there is no periodical or regular observance of time in the operation—the men enter the sewers and rake up the deposit, loosening it everywhere, so as to render the whole easy to be swept along by the power of the volume of water. The sewers generally are, in their widest part, provided with grooves, or, as the men style them, "framings." Into these framings are fitted, or permanently attached, what I heard described as "penstocks," but which are spoken of in some of the reports as "traps," "gates," or "sluice gates." They are made both of wood and iron. By a series of bolts and adjustments, the penstocks can be fixed ready for use when the tide is highest in the sewer, and the volume of water the greatest. They then, of course, are in the nature of dams, the water having accumulated in consequence of the stoppage. The deposit having been loosened, the bolts are withdrawn, when the gates suddenly fly back, and the accumulated water and stirred-up sewage sweeps along impetuously, while the men retreat into some side recesses adapted for the purpose. The same is done with each penstock until the matter is swept through the outlet. The men always follow the course of this sewage-current when the sewer is of sufficient capacity to enable them to do so, throwing or pushing forward any more solid matter with their shovels.

"To flush we generally go and draw a slide up and let a flush of water down," said one man to me, "and then we have iron rakers to loosen the stuff. We have got another way that we do it as well; one man stands here, when the flush of water 's coming down, with a large board; then he lets the water rise to the top of this board, and then there's two or three of us on ahead, with shovels, loosening the stuff—then he ups with this board and lets a good heavy flush of water come down. Precious hard work it is, I can assure you. I've had many a wet shirt. We stand up to our fork in the water, right to the top of our jack-boots, and sometimes over them." "Ah, I should think you often get over the top of yours, for you come home with your stockings wet enough, goodness knows," exclaimed his wife, who was present. "When there 's a good flush of water coming down," he resumed, "we 're obligated to put our heads fast up against the crown of the sewer, and bear upon our shovels, so that we may not be carried away, and taken bang into the Thames. You see there's nothing for us to lay hold on. Why, there was one chap went and lifted a slide right up, when he ought to have had it up only 9 or 10 inches at the furthest, and he nearly swamped three of us. If we should be taken off our legs there's a heavy fall—about 3 feet—just before you comes to the mouth of the sewer, and if we was to get there, the water is so rapid nothing could save us. When we goes to work we nails our lanterns up to the crown of the sewer. When the slide is lifted up the rush is very great, and takes all before it. It roars away like a wild beast. We 're always obliged to work according to tide, both above and below ground. When we have got no water in the sewer we shovels the dirt up into a bank on both sides, so that when the flush of water comes down the loosened dirt is all carried away by it. After flushing, the bottom of the sewer is as clean as this floor, but in a couple of months the soil is a foot to 15 inches deep, and middling hard."

"Flushing-gates," an engineer has reported, "are chiefly of use in sewers badly constructed and without falls, but containing plenty of water; and they are of very little use where the gate has to be shut 24 hours and longer, before a head of water has accumulated; but where intermittent flushing is practised, strong smells are often caused *solely* by the stagnation of the water or sewage while accumulating behind the gate."

The most general mode of flushing at present adopted is not to keep in the water, &c., which has flowed into the sewer from the streets and houses, as well as the tide of the river, but to convey the flushing water from the plugs of the water companies into the kennels, and so into the sewers. I find in one of the Reports acknowledgments of the liberal supplies granted for flushing by the several companies. The water of the Surrey Canal has been placed, for the same object, at the disposal of the Sewer Commissioners.

It is impossible to "flush" at all where a sewer has a "dead-end;" that is, where there is a "block," as in the case of the Kenilworth-street sewer, Pimlico, in which five persons lost their lives in 1848.

There is no difference in the system of flushing in the Metropolitan and City jurisdictions, except that for the greater facilities of the process, the City provides water-tanks in Newgate-market, where the heads of three sewers meet, and where the accumulation of animal garbage, and the fierceness and numbers of the rats attracted thereby, were at one time frightful; at Leadenhall-market, and elsewhere, such tanks were also provided to the number of ten, the largest being the Newgate-market tank, which is a brick cistern of 8000 gallons capacity. Of these tanks, however, only four are now kept filled, for this collection of water is found unnecessary, the regular

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system of flushing answering the purpose without them; and I understand that in a little time there will be no tanks at all. The tank is filled, when required, by a water company, and the penstocks being opened, the water rushes into the sewers with great force. There is also another point peculiar to the City—in it all the sewers are flushed regularly twice a week; in the metropolitan sewers, only when the inspector pronounces flushing to be required. The City plan appears the best to prevent the accumulation of deposit.

There still remains to be described the system of "*plonging*," or mode of cleansing the open sewers, as contradistinguished from "*flushing*," or the cleansing of the covered sewers.

"When we go plonging," one man said, "we has long poles with a piece of wood at the end of them, and we stirs up the mud at the bottom of the ditches while the tide's a going down. We has got slides at the end of the ditches, and we pulls these up and lets out the water, mud, and all, into the Thames." "Yes, for the people to drink," said a companion drily. "We're in the water a great deal," continued the man. "We can't walk along the sides of all of 'em."

The difference of cost between the old method of removal and the new, that is to say, between carting and flushing, is very extraordinary.

This cartage work was done chiefly by contract and according to a Report of the surveyors to the Commissioners (Aug. 31, 1848), the usual cost for such work (almost always done during the night) was 7*s.* the cubic yard; that is, 7*s.* for the removal of a cubic yard of sewage by manual labour and horse and cart. In February, 1849 (the date of another Report on the subject), the cost of removing a cubic yard by the operation of flushing, was but 8*d.* This gives the following result, but in what particular time, instance, or locality, is not mentioned:—

79,483 cubic yards of deposit removed by the contract flushing system, at 8*d.* per cubic yard	£2,649
Same quantity by the old system of casting and cartage, 7*s.* per cubic yard .	27,819
Difference . . .	£25,170

"It appears, therefore," says Mr. Lovick, "that by the adoption of the contract flushing system, a saving has been effected within the comparatively short period of its operation over the filthy and clumsy system formerly practised, of 25,170*l.*, showing the cost of this system to be ten and a half times greater than the cost of flushing by contract."

An official Report states: "When the accumulations of years had to be removed from the sewers, the rate of cost per lineal mile has varied from about 40*l.* to 58*l.*, or from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per lineal yard. The works in these cases (excepting those in the City) have not exceeded nine lineal miles."

"On an average of weeks," says Mr. Lovick, in his Report on flushing operations, a few months after the introduction of the contract system, in Sept., 1848, "under present arrangements, about 62 miles of sewers are passed through each week, and deposit prevented from accumulating in them by periodic (weekly) flushing. The average cost per lineal mile per week is about 2*l.* 10*s.*

"The nature of the agreements with the contractors or gangers are now for the prevention of accumulations of deposit in a district. For this purpose the large districts are subdivided, each subdivision being let to one man. In the Westminster district there are four, in the Holborn and Finsbury two, in the Surrey and Kent, seven subdivisions.

"The Tower Hamlets and Poplar districts are each let to one man.

"In the Tower Hamlets it will be perceived that a reduction of 8*l.* has been effected for the performance of precisely the same work as that heretofore performed; the rates of charge standing thus:—

"Under the day-work system 23*l.* per week.
" contract " 15*l.* "

"In those portions specially contracted for, the work has been let by the lineal measure of the sewer, in preference to the amount of deposit removed.

"In the Surrey and Kent districts the open ditches have been cleansed thrice as often as formerly.

"A large proportion of the deposit removed is from the open ditches; in these the accumulations are rapid and continuous, caused chiefly by their being the receptacles for the ashes and refuse of the houses, the refuse of manufactories, and the sweepings of the roads.

"In the covered sewers one of the chief sources of accumulation is the detritus and mud from the streets, swept into the sewers.

"The accumulations from these sources will not, I think, be over-estimated at two-thirds of the whole amount of deposit removed.

"The contracts in operation, February, 1849, with the districts which they embrace, are as follows:—

"TABLE No. I.

Districts.	Sewers let for Prevention of Accumulations of Deposit.	Average Rate of Work performed in Sewers passed through each Week.	Contract Charge per Week.		
	Lineal Feet.	Lineal Feet.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Westminster	485,795	150,615	40	0	0
Holborn & Finsbury	355,085	118,000	23	0	0
Tower Hamlets	223,738	30,000	15	0	0
Surrey and Kent ..	440,642	40,000	75	0	0
Poplar	26,000	2,000	6	16	0
	1,531,260	340,615	159	16	0
Westminster—Attendance on Flaps, &c.			4	0	0
			£163	16	0

"The weekly cost prior to the contract system was in the several districts as follows:—

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"TABLE No. II.

	£	s.	d.
In the Westminster District	78	10	0
,, Holborn and Finsbury do.	24	17	0
,, Tower Hamlets do.	23	0	0
,, Surrey and Kent do.	56	8	4
,, Poplar do.	6	13	0
	189	8	0

Hence there would appear to have been a saving of 25*l.* 12*s.* effected. But by what means was this brought about? It is the old story, I regret to say—a reduction of the wages of the labouring men. But this, indeed, is the invariable effect of the contract system. The wages of the flushermen previous to Sept., 1848, were 24*s.* to 27*s.* a week; under the present system they are 21*s.* to 22*s.* Here is a reduction of 4*s.* per week per man, at the least; and as there were about 150 hands employed at this period, it follows that the gross weekly saving must have been equal to 30*l.*, so that, according to the above account, there would have been about 5*l.* left for the contractors or middlemen. It is unworthy of *gentlemen* to make a parade of economy obtained by such ignoble means.

The engineers, however, speak of flushing as what is popularly understood as but "a make-shift"—as a system imperfect in itself, but advantageously resorted to because obviating the evils of a worse system still.

"With respect to these operations," says Mr. Lovick, in a Report on the subject, in February, 1849, "I may be permitted to state that, although I do not approve of the flushing as an ultimate system, or as a system to be adopted in the future permanent works of sewerage, or that its use should be contemplated with regulated sizes of sewers, regulated supplies of water, and proper falls, it appears to be the most efficacious and economical for the purpose to which it is adapted of any yet introduced."

A gentleman who was at one time connected professionally with the management of the public sewerage, said to me,—

"Mr. John Roe commenced the general system of flushing sewers in London in 1847. It is, however, but a clumsy expedient, and quite incompatible with a perfect system of sewerage. It has, nevertheless, been usefully applied as an auxiliary to the existing system, though the cost is frightful."

OF THE WORKING FLUSHERMEN.

WHEN the system of sewer cleansing first became general, as I have detailed, the number of flushermen employed, I am assured, on good authority, was about 500. The sewers were, when this process was first resorted to, full of deposit, often what might be called "coagulated" deposit, which could not be affected except by constantly repeated efforts. There are now only about 100 flushermen, for the more regularly flushing is repeated, the easier becomes the operation.

Until about 18 months ago, the flushermen were employed directly by the Court of Sewers, and were paid ("in Mr. Roe's time," one man said, with a sigh) from 24*s.* to 27*s.* a week; now the work is *all done by contract.* There are some six or seven contractors, all builders, who undertake or are responsible for the whole work of flushing in the metropolitan districts (I do not speak of the City), and they pay the working flushermen 21*s.* a week, and the gangers 22*s.* This wage is always paid in money, without drawbacks, and without the intervention of any other middleman than the contractor middleman. The flushermen have no perquisites except what they may chance to find in a sewer. Their time of labour is 6½ hours daily.

The state of the tide, however, sometimes, as a matter of course, compels the flushermen to work at every hour of the day and night. At all times they carry lights, common oil lamps, with cotton wicks; only the inspectors carry Davy's safety-lamp. I met no man who could assign any reason for this distinction, except that "the Davy" gave "such a bad light."

The flushermen wear, when at work, strong blue overcoats, waterproofed (but not so much as used to be the case, the men then complaining of the perspiration induced by them), buttoned close over the chest, and descending almost to the knees, where it is met by huge leather boots, covering a part of the thigh, such as are worn by the fishermen on many of our coasts. Their hats are fan-tailed, like the dustmen's. The flushermen are well-conducted men generally, and, for the most part, fine stalwart good-looking specimens of the English labourer; were they not known or believed to be temperate, they would not be employed. They have, as a body, no benefit or sick clubs, but a third of them, I was told, or perhaps nearly a third, were members of general benefit societies. I found several intelligent men among them. They are engaged by the contractors, upon whom they call to solicit work.

"Since Mr. Roe's time," and Mr. Roe is evidently the popular man among the flushermen, or somewhat less than four years ago, the flushermen have had to provide their own dresses, and even their own shovels to stir up the deposit. To contractors, the comforts or health of the labouring men must necessarily be a secondary consideration to the realization of a profit. New men can always be found; safe investments cannot.

The wages of the flushermen therefore have been not only decreased, but their expenses increased. A pair of flushing-boots, covering a part of the thigh, similar to those worn by sea-side fishermen, costs 30*s.* as a low price, and a flusherman wears out three pairs in two years. Boot stockings cost 2*s.* 6*d.* The jacket worn by the men at their work in the sewers, in the shape of a pilot-jacket, but fitting less loosely, is 7*s.* 6*d.*; a blue smock, of coarse common cloth (generally), worn over the dress, costs 2*s.* 6*d.*; a shovel is 2*s.* 6*d.* "Ay, sir," said one man, who was greatly dissatisfied with this change, "they'll make soldiers find their own regimentals next; and, may be, their own guns, a'cause they can always get rucks of men for soldiers or labourers. I know there's plenty

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would work for less than we get, but what of that? There always is. There 's hundreds would do the work for half what the surveyors and inspectors gets; but it 's all right among the nobs."

Nor is the labour of the flushermen at all times so easy or of such circumscribed hours as I have stated it to be in the regular way of flushing. When small branch-sewers have to be flushed, the deposit must first be loosened, or the water, instead of sweeping it away, would flow over it, and in many of these sewers (most frequent in the Tower Hamlets) the height is not more than 3 feet. Some of the flushermen are tall, bulky, strong fellows, and cannot stand upright in less than from 5 feet 8 inches to 6 feet, and in loosening the deposit in low narrow sewers, "we go to work," said one of them, "on our bellies, like frogs, with a rake between our legs. I 've been blinded by steam in such sewers near Whitechapel Church from the brewhouses; I couldn't see for steam; it was a regular London fog. You must get out again into a main sewer on your belly; that's what makes it harder about the togs, they get worn so."

The division of labour among the flushermen appears to be as follows:—

The *Inspector*, whose duty it is to go round the several sewers and see which require to be flushed.

The *Ganger*, or head of the working gang, who receives his orders from the inspector, and directs the men accordingly.

The *Lock-keeper*, or man who goes round to the sewers which are about to be flushed, and fixes the "penstocks" for retaining the water.

The *Gang*, which consists of from three to four men, who loosen the deposit from the bottom of the sewer. Among these there is generally a "for'ard man," whose duty it is to remove the penstocks.

The ganger gets 1*s.* a week over and above the wages of the men.

TABLE SHOWING THE DISTRICTS UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF SEWERS; ALSO THE NUMBER AND SALARIES OF THE CLERKS OF THE WORKS, ASSISTANT CLERKS OF THE WORKS, AND INSPECTORS OF FLUSHING, PAID BY THE COMMISSIONERS, AND THE NUMBER AND WAGES PAID TO THE FLUSHERMEN BY THE GENERAL CONTRACTORS.

Districts.	Paid by the Commissioners of Sewers.									Paid by Contractors.				
	Clerks of Works.		Assist. Clerks of Works *.		Inspectors of Flushings.		Flap & Sluice Keepers.		Aggregate Total.	Gangers.		Flushers.		Aggregate Total.
	No.	Annual Salary of the whole.	No.	Rate of Annual Salary.	No.	Annual Salary of the whole.	No.	Yearly Wages of the whole.		No.	Weekly Wage of each.	No.	Weekly Wage of each.	
		£		£		£		£	£		*s.*		*s.*	£ *s.*
Fulham and Hammersmith.—Counter's Creek and Ranelagh Districts	3	450	4	400	1	120	..	..	970	2	22	13	21	824 4
Westminster Sewers.—Western Division, Eastern Division, Regent-street District, Holborn Division	4	600	3	300	1	80	6	390	1370	3	22	30	21	1809 12
Finsbury Division.—Tower Hamlets Levels, and Poplar and Blackwall Districts	3	450	2	200	3	280	1	70	1000	3	22	27	21	1645 16
Districts south of the Thames	3	450	6	600	4	320	12	374	1744	2	22	22	21	1315 12
Total	13	1950	15	1500	9	800	19	834	5084	10	..	92	..	5595 4
City	..	..	..	..	1	80	3	148	228	1	22	9	21	548 12

Total cost of flushing the sewers . . . . . . £12,000 per annum.

* These officers are paid only during the period of service, and are chiefly engaged on special works.

The corresponding officers for London are under the City Commissioners.

*** The above division of districts is the one adopted by the Commissioners of Sewers, but the districts of the Flushermen are more numerous than those above given, being as follows:—

District		Ganger.		Flushermen.	
Fulham and Hammersmith	employing	1	and	6	1st District of Commissioners.
Counter's Creek and Ranelagh Districts	,,	1	,,	7	1st District of Commissioners.
Westminster (Western Division)	,,	1	,,	10	2nd District of Commissioners.
Ditto (Eastern Division)	,,	1	,,	12	2nd District of Commissioners.
Holborn Division	,,	1	,,	8	2nd District of Commissioners.
Finsbury Division	,,	1	,,	9	3rd District of Commissioners.
Tower Hamlets Levels	,,	1	,,	10	3rd District of Commissioners.
Poplar and Blackwall	,,	1	,,	8	3rd District of Commissioners.
Districts south of the Thames	,,	2	,,	22	4th District of Commissioners.
City	,,	1	,,	9	

Holborn and Finsbury districts are under one contractor, and so are the two divisions of Westminster. The same men who flush Holborn flush the Finsbury district also, 17 being the average number employed; but the Finsbury district requires rather more men than the Holborn; and the same men who work on the western division of Westminster flush also the eastern, the number of flushers in the western district being more, on account of its being the larger division.

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The inspector receives 80*l.* per annum.

The table on p. 429 shows the number of clerks of the works, inspectors of flushing, flap and sluice keepers, gangers, and flushermen employed in the several districts throughout the metropolis, as well as the salaries and wages of each and the whole.

None of the flushermen can be said to have been "brought up to the business," for boys are never employed in the sewers. Neither had the labourers been confined in their youth to any branch of trade in particular, which would appear to be consonant to such employment. There are now among the flushermen men who have been accustomed to "all sorts of ground work:" tailors, pot-boys, painters, one jeweller (some time ago there was also one gentleman), and shoemakers. "You see, sir," said one informant, "many of such like mechanics can't live above ground, so they tries to get their bread underneath it. There used to be a great many pensioners flushermen, which weren't right," said one man, "when so many honest working men haven't a penny, and don't know which way to turn theirselves; but pensioners have often good friends and good interest. I don't hear any complaints that way now."

Among the flushermen are some ten or twelve men who have been engaged in sewer-work of one kind or another between 20 and 30 years. The cholera, I heard from several quarters, did not (in 1848) attack any of the flushermen. The answer to an inquiry on the subject generally was, "Not one that I know of."

"It is a somewhat singular circumstance," says Mr. Haywood, the City Surveyor, in his Report, dated February, 1850, "*that none of the men employed in the City sewers in flushing and cleansing, have been attacked with, or have died of, cholera during the past year; this was also the case in* 1832–3. I do not state this to prove that the atmosphere of the sewers is not unhealthy—I by no means believe an impure atmosphere is healthy—but I state the naked fact, as it appears to me a somewhat singular circumstance, and leave it to pathologists to argue upon."

"I don't think flushing work disagrees with my husband," said a flusherman's wife to me, "for he eats about as much again at that work as he did at the other." "The smell underground is sometimes very bad," said the man, "but then we generally take a drop of rum first, and something to eat. It wouldn't do to go into it on an empty stomach, 'cause it would get into our inside. But in some sewers there 's scarcely any smell at all. *Most of the men are healthy who are engaged in it; and when the cholera was about many used to ask us how it was we escaped.*"

The following statement contains the history of an individual flusherman:—

"I was brought up to the sea," he said, "and served on board a man-of-war, the *Racer*, a 16-gun brig, laying off Cuba, in the West Indies, and thereaway, watching the slavers. I served seven years. We were paid off in '43 at Portsmouth, and a friend got me into the *shores*. It was a great change from the open sea to a close *shore*—great; and I didn't like it at all at first. But it suits a married man, as I am now, with a family, much better than being a seaman, for a man aboard a ship can hardly do his children justice in their schooling and such like. Well, I didn't much admire going down the man-hole at first—the 'man-hole' is a sort of iron trap-door that you unlock and pull up; it leads to a lot of steps, and so you get into the *shore*—but one soon gets accustomed to anything. I 've been at flushing and *shore* work now since '43, all but eleven weeks, which was before I got engaged.

"We work in gangs from three to five men." [Here I had an account of the process of flushing, such as I have given.] "I 've been carried off my feet sometimes in the flush of a *shore*. Why, to-day," (a very rainy and windy day, Feb. 4,) "it came down Baker-street, when we flushed it, 4 foot plomb. It would have done for a mill-dam. One couldn't smoke or do anything. Oh, yes, we can have a pipe and a chat now and then in the *shore*. The tobacco checks the smell. No, I can't say I felt the smell very bad when I first was in a *shore*. I 've felt it worse since. I 've been made innocent drunk like in a *shore* by a drain from a distiller's. That happened me first in Vine-street *shore*, St. Giles's, from Mr. Rickett's distillery. It came into the *shore* like steam. No, I can't say it tasted like gin when you breathed it—only intoxicating like. It was the same in Whitechapel from Smith's distillery. One night I was forced to leave off there, the steam had such an effect. I was falling on my back, when a mate caught me. The breweries have something of the same effect, but nothing like so strong as the distilleries. It comes into the *shore* from the brewers' places in steam. I 've known such a steam followed by bushels of grains; ay, sir, cart-loads washed into the *shore*.

"Well, I never found anything in a *shore* worth picking up but once a half-crown. That was in the Buckingham Palace sewer. Another time I found 16*s.* 6*d.*, and thought that *was* a haul; but every bit of it, every coin, shillings and sixpences and joeys, was bad—all smashers. Yes, of course it was a disappointment, naturally so. That happened in Brick-lane *shore*, Whitechapel. O, somebody or other had got frightened, I suppose, and had shied the coins down into the drains. I found them just by the chapel there."

A second man gave me the following account of his experience in flushing:—

"You remember, sir, that great storm on the 1st August, 1848. I was in three *shores* that fell in —Conduit-street and Foubert's-passage, Regent-street. There was then a risk of being drowned in the *shores*, but no lives were lost. All the house-drains were blocked about Carnaby-market —that 's the Foubert's-passage *shore*—and the poor people was what you might call houseless. We got in up to the neck in water in some places, 'cause we had to stoop, and knocked about the rubbish as well as we could, to give a way to the water. The police put up barriers to prevent any carts or carriages going that way along the streets. No, there was no lives lost in the *shores*. One

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man was so overcome that he was falling off into a sort of sleep in Milford-lane *shore*, but was pulled out. I helped to pull him. He was as heavy as lead with one thing or other—wet, and all that. Another time, six or seven year ago, Whitechapel High-street *shore* was almost choked with butchers' offal, and we had a great deal of trouble with it."

Of the Rats in the Sewers.

I will now state what I have learned from long-experienced men, as to the characteristics of the rats in the sewers. To arrive even at a conjecture as to the numbers of these creatures—now, as it were, the population of the sewers—I found impossible, for no statistical observations have been made on the subject; but all my informants agreed that the number of the animals had been greatly diminished within these four or five years.

In the better-constructed sewers there are no rats. In the old sewers they abound. The sewer rat is the ordinary house or brown rat, excepting at the outlets near the river, and here the water-rat is seen.

The sewer-rat is the common brown or Hanoverian rat, said by the Jacobites to have come in with the first George, and established itself after the fashion of his royal family; and undoubtedly such was about the era of their appearance. One man, who had worked twelve years in the sewers before flushing was general, told me he had never seen but *two* black (or old English) rats; another man, of ten years' experience, had seen but one; others had noted no difference in the rats. I may observe that in my inquiries as to the sale of rats (as a part of the live animals dealt in by a class in the metropolis), I ascertained that in the older granaries, where there were series of floors, there were black as well as brown rats. "Great black fellows," said one man who managed a Bermondsey granary, "as would frighten a lady into asterisks to see of a sudden."

The rat is the only animal found in the sewers. I met with no flusherman or other sewer-worker who had ever seen a lizard, toad, or frog there, although the existence of these creatures, in such circumstances, has been presumed. A few live cats find their way into the subterranean channels when a house-drain is being built, or is opened for repairs, or for any purpose, and have been seen by the flushermen, &c., wandering about, looking lost, mewing as if in misery, and avoiding any contact with the sewage. The rats also—for they are not of the water-rat breed—are exceedingly averse to wetting their feet, and "take to the sewage," as it was worded to me, only in prospect of danger; that is, they then swim across or along the current to escape with their lives. It is said that when a luckless cat has ventured into the sewers, she is sometimes literally worried by the rats. I could not hear of such an attack having been witnessed by any one; but one intelligent and trustworthy man said, that a few years back (he believed about eight years) he had in one week found the skeletons of two cats in a particular part of an old sewer, 21 feet wide, and in the drains opening into it were perfect colonies of rats, raging with hunger, he had no doubt, because a system of trapping, newly resorted to, had prevented their usual ingress into the houses up the drains. A portion of their fur adhered to the two cats, but the flesh had been eaten from their bones. About that time a troop of rats flew at the feet of another of my informants, and would no doubt have maimed him seriously, "but my boots," said he, "stopped the devils." "The sewers generally swarms with rats," said another man. "I runs away from 'em; I don't like 'em. They in general gets away from us; but in case we comes to a stunt end where there 's a wall and no place for 'em to get away, and we goes to touch 'em, they fly at us. They 're some of 'em as big as good-sized kittens. One of our men caught hold of one the other day by the tail, and he found it trying to release itself, and the tail slipping through his fingers; so he put up his left hand to stop it, and the rat caught hold of his finger, and the man 's got an arm now as big as his thigh." I heard from several that there had been occasionally battles among the rats, one with another.

"Why, sir," said one flusherman, "as to the number of rats, it ain't possible to say. There hasn't been a census (laughing) taken of them. But I can tell you this—I was one of the first flushermen when flushing came in general—I think it was before Christmas, 1847, under Mr. Roe—and there was cart-loads and cart-loads of drowned rats carried into the Thames. It was in a West Strand *shore* that I saw the most. I don't exactly remember which, but I think Northumberland-street. By a block or a hitch of some sort, there was, I should say, just a bushel of drowned rats stopped at the corner of one of the gates, which I swept into the next stream. I see far fewer drowned rats now than before the *shores* was flushed. They 're not so plenty, that 's one thing. Perhaps, too, they may have got to understand about flushing, they 're that 'cute, and manage to keep out of the way. About Newgate-market was at one time the worst for rats. Men couldn't venture into the sewers then, on account of the varmint. It 's bad enough still, I hear, but I haven't worked in the City for a few years."

The rats, from the best information at my command, do not derive much of their sustenance from the matter in the sewers, or only in particular localities. These localities are the sewers neighbouring a connected series of slaughter-houses, as in Newgate-market, Whitechapel, Clare-market, parts adjoining Smithfield-market, &c. There, animal offal being (and having been to a much greater extent five or six years ago) swept into the drains and sewers, the rats find their food. In the sewers, generally, there is little food for them, and none at all in the best-constructed sewers, where there is a regular and sometimes rapid flow, and little or no deposit.

The sewers are these animals' breeding grounds. In them the broods are usually safe from the molestation of men, dogs, or cats. These "breeding grounds" are sometimes in the holes (excavated by

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the industry of the rats into caves) which have been formed in the old sewers by a crumbled brick having fallen out. Their nests, however, are in some parts even more frequent in places where old rotting large house-drains or smaller sewers, empty themselves into a first-class sewer. Here, then, the rats breed, and, in spite of precautions, find their way up the drains or pipes, even through the openings into water-closets, into the houses for their food, and almost always at night. Of this fact, builders, and those best informed, are confident, and it is proved indirectly by what I have stated as to the deficiency of food for a voracious creature in all the sewers except a few. One man, long in the service of the Commissioners of Sewers, and in different capacities, gave me the following account of what may be called a rat settlement. The statement I found confirmed by other working men, and by superior officers under the same employment.

"Why, sir, in the Milford-lane sewer, a goodish bit before you get to the river, or to the Strand—I can't say how far, a few hundred yards perhaps—I've seen, and reported, what was a regular chamber of rats. If a brick didn't fall out from being rotted, the rats would get it out, and send it among other rubbish into the sewer, for this place was just the corner of a big drain. I couldn't get into the rat-hole, of course not, but I've brought my lamp to the opening, and—as well as others—have seen it plain. It was an open place like a lot of tunnels, one over another. Like a lot of rabbit burrows in the country—as I've known to be—or like the partitions in the pigeon-houses: one here and another there. The rat-holes, as far as I could tell, were worked one after another. I should say, in moderation, that it was the size of a small room; well, say about 6 yards by 4. I can't say about the height from the lowest tunnel to the highest. I don't see that any one could. Bless you, sir, I've sometimes heerd the rats fighting and squeaking there, like a parcel of drunken Irishmen—I have indeed. Some of them were rare big fellows. If you threw the light of your lamp on them sudden, they'd be off like a shot. Well, I should say, there was 100 pair of rats there—there might be more, besides all their young-uns. If a poor cat strayed into that sewer, she durstn't tackle the rats, not she. There's lots of such places, sir, here, and there, and everywhere."

"I believe rats," says a late enthusiastic writer on the subject, under the cognomen of Uncle James, "to be one of the most fertile causes of national and universal distress, and their attendants, misery and starvation."

From the author's inquiries among practical men, and from his own study of the natural history of the rat, he shows that these animals will have six, seven, or eight nests of young in the year, for three or four years together; that they have from twelve to twenty-three at a litter, and breed at three months old; and that there are more female than male rats, by ten to six.

The author seems somewhat of an enthusiast about rats, and as the sewerage is often the head-quarters of these animals—their "breeding-ground" indeed—I extract the following curious matter. He says:—

"Now, I propose to lay down my calculations at something less than one-half. In the first place, I say four litters in the year, beginning and ending with a litter, so making thirteen litters in three years; secondly to have eight young ones at a birth, half male and half female; thirdly, the young ones to have a litter at six months old.

"At this calculation, I will take one pair of rats; and at the expiration of three years what do you suppose will be the amount of living rats? Why no less a number than 646,808.

"Mr. Shaw's little dog 'Tiny,' under six pounds weight, has destroyed 2525 pairs of rats, which, had they been permitted to live, would, at the same calculation and in the same time, have produced 1,633,190,200 living rats!

"And the rats destroyed by Messrs. Shaw and Sabin in one year, amounting to 17,000 pairs, would, had they been permitted to live, have produced, at the above calculation and in the same time, no less a number than 10,995,736,000 living rats!

"Now, let us calculate the amount of human food that these rats would destroy. In the first place, my informants tell me that six rats will consume day by day as much food as a man; secondly, that the thing has been tested, and that the estimate given was, that eight rats would consume more than an ordinary man.

"Now, I—to place the thing beyond the smallest shadow of a doubt—will set down ten rats to eat as much as a man, not a child; nor will I say anything about what rats waste. And what shall we find to be the alarming result? Why, that the first pair of rats, with their three years' progeny, would consume in the night more food than 64,680 men the year round, and leaving eight rats to spare!"

The author then puts forth the following curious statement:—

"And now for the vermin destroyed by Messrs. Shaw and Sabin—34,000 yearly! Taken at the same calculation, with their three years' progeny—can you believe it?—they would consume more food than the whole population of the earth? Yes, if Omnipotence would raise up 29,573,600 more people, these rats would consume as much food as them all! You may wonder, but I will prove it to you:—The population of the earth, including men, women, and children, is estimated to be 970,000,000 souls; and the 17,000 rats in three years would produce 10,995,736,000: consequently, at ten rats per man, there would be sufficient rats to eat as much food as all the people on the earth, and leaving 1,295,736,000. So that if the human family were increased to 1,099,573,600, instead of 970,000,000, there would be rats enough to eat the food of them all! Now, sirs, is not this a most appalling thing, to think that there are at the present time in the British Empire thousands—nay, millions—of human beings in a state of utter starvation, while rats are con-

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LONDON LABOUR

AND THE

LONDON POOR.

THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK.

INTRODUCTION.

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

Such are the *ultimate* objects of my present labours: the result of them is given to the world with an earnest desire to better the condition of the wretched social outcasts of whom I have now to treat, and to contribute, if possible, my mite of good towards the common weal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of the Workers and Non-Workers.

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

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

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

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

Hence, in every state, we have two extensive causes of allobiism, or living by the labour of others; the one intellectual, as in the case of lunatics and idiots, and the other physical, as in the case of the infirm, the crippled, and the maimed—the old and the young.

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

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

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

I. Those that Will Work.
II. Those that Cannot Work.
III. Those that Will Not Work.
IV. Those that Need Not Work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Raw Materials.
Machinery and Mechanical Inventions.
Manufactures.
Sculpture and Plastic Art generally."

Now, were it possible for monarchs to do with natural laws as with social ones, namely, to blow a trumpet and declaring "*le roi le veut*," to have their will pass into one of the statutes of creation, it might be advantageous to science that Princes should seek to lay down orders of arrangement and propound systems of classification. But seeing that Science is as pure a republic as Letters, and that there are no "Highnesses" in philosophy—for if there be any aristocracy at all in such matters, it is at least an aristocracy of intellect — it is rather an injury than a benefit that those who are high in authority should interfere in these affairs at all; since, from the very circumstances of their position it is utterly impossible for them to arrive at anything more than the merest surface knowledge on such subjects. The influence, too, that their mere "authority" has over men's minds is directly opposed to the perception of truth, preventing that free and independent exercise of the intellect from which alone all discovery and knowledge can proceed.

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

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

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

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

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

That Prince Albert has conferred a great boon on the country in the establishment of the Great Exhibition (for it is due not only to his patronage but to his own personal exertions), no unprejudiced mind can for a moment doubt; and that he has, ever since his first coming among us, filled a most delicate office in the State in a highly decorous and commendable manner, avoiding all political partizanship, and being ever ready to give the influence of his patronage, and, indeed, co-operation, to anything that appeared to promise an amelioration of the condition of the working classes of this country, I am most glad to have it in my power to bear witness; but that, *because of this*, we should pin our faith to a "hasty generalization" propounded by him, would be to render ourselves at once silly and servile.

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

I. *Those employed in Agriculture.*
  1. Agricultural Occupiers.
    a. Employing Labourers.
    b. Not employing Labourers.
  2. Agricultural Labourers.

II. *Those employed in Manufactures.*
  1. Employed in Manufactures.
  2. Employed in making Manufacturing Machinery.

III. *All other Classes.*
  1. Employed in Retail Trade or in Handicraft, as Masters or Workmen.
  2. Capitalists, Bankers, Professional, and other educated men.
  3. Labourers employed in labour not Agricultural—as Miners, Quarriers, Fishermen, Porters, &c.
  4. Male Servants.
  5. Other Males, 20 years of age.

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

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TABLE SHOWING THE

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

COUNTIES.	Dimensions.		Houses.						Population, 1851.					Density.			
	Square Miles.	Statute Acres.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Number of Uninhabited Houses.	Number of Houses Building.	Total Number of Houses, 1851.	Total Number of Houses, 1841.	Increase of Houses per cent., 1841–51.	Males.	Females.	Total Population, 1851.	Total Population, 1841.	Increase of Population per cent., 1841–51.	No. of Persons to each 100 acres.	No. of acres to each Person.	No. of acres to each House.	No. of Persons to each Inhabited House.
Bedford	465	297,632	25,694	676	126	26,496	22,877	15·8	62,420	67,369	129,789	112,378	16	43·5	2·3	11·2	5·1
Berks	741	473,920	39,462	1,563	211	41,236	39,660	4·0	99,227	99,927	199,154	189,227	5	41·7	2·4	11·5	5·0
Bucks	725	463,880	29,217	1,103	89	30,409	28,860	5·4	70,784	72,886	143,670	138,248	4	31·3	3·2	15·2	4·9
Cambridge	838	536,313	38,773	1,777	204	40,754	35,799	13·8	95,505	96,351	191,856	169,638	13	35·8	2·8	13·1	4·9
Chester	1014	649,050	79,849	4,248	756	84,853	75,103	13·0	206,715	216,723	423,438	368,115	15	65·2	1·5	7 6	5·3
Cornwall	1336	854,770	68,214	4,528	353	73,095	71,913	1·6	171,979	184,683	356,662	343,265	4	41·7	2·4	11·6	5·2
Cumberland	1515	969,490	36,771	1,531	238	38,540	37,160	3·7	96,106	99,381	195,487	177,807	10	20·0	5·0	25·1	5·3
Derby	1036	663,180	52,482	2,411	423	55,316	49,477	1·2	129,379	131,328	260,707	239,791	9	40·0	2·5	11·9	5·0
Devon	2557	1,636,450	99,104	6,016	765	105,885	102,424	3·4	271,579	300,628	572,207	534,883	6	34·5	2·9	15·4	5·7
Dorset	980	627,220	34,771	1,554	218	36,543	35,400	3·2	85,816	91,781	177,597	167,689	6	28·6	3·5	17·1	5·1
Durham	1062	679,530	68,989	3,030	595	72,614	61,940	17·2	206,666	204,866	411,532	325,854	26	62·5	1·6	9·3	5·9
Essex	1530	979,000	68,383	3,353	364	72,100	65,570	10 0	172,161	171,755	343,916	320,605	7	34·5	2·9	13·5	5·0
Gloucester	1235	790,470	78,385	4,961	393	83,739	79,953	4·7	198,122	221,353	419,475	395,533	6	53·0	1·9	9·4	5·3
Hereford	850	543,800	20,453	983	69	21,505	21,119	1·8	49,694	49,418	99,112	96,515	3	18·2	5·5	25·3	4·8
Hertford	626	400,350	33,954	1,189	214	35,357	32,687	8·2	86,331	87,632	173,963	162,394	7	43·5	2·3	11·3	5·1
Hunts	379	242,250	12,472	641	62	13,175	11,676	12·8	29,984	30,336	60,320	55,565	9	25·0	4·0	18·3	4·8
Kent	1519	972,240	108,386	5,516	1290	115,192	101,717	13·3	308,115	311,092	619,207	540,275	14	63·6	1 6	8·4	5·7
Lancaster	1746	1,117,260	356,436	17,453	3470	377,359	322,148	17·1	1,005,627	1,058,286	2,063,913	1,696,377	22	200·0	·5	2·9	5·8
Leicester	799	511,340	49,968	1,599	198	51,765	49,470	4·6	115,295	119,643	234,938	220,263	7	45·4	2·2	9·9	4·7
Lincoln	2600	1,663,850	79,667	3,394	579	83,640	74,133	12·8	201,027	199,239	400,266	356,226	12	23·8	4·2	19·9	5·0
Middlesex	280	179,590	242,798	12,213	3276	258,287	222,443	16·1	885,614	1,010,096	1,895,710	1,582,538	20	1059·0	·09	·7	7·9
Monmouth	507	324,310	32,901	1,473	183	34,557	30,099	4·8	92,095	85,070	177,165	150,544	17	55·5	1·8	9·3	5·4
Norfolk	2019	1,292,300	91,143	3,312	449	94,904	88,378	7·4	210,360	223,443	433,803	404,971	7	33·3	3·0	13·6	4·8
Northampton	1011	646,810	43,945	1,478	238	45,661	42,358	7·8	106,533	107,251	213,784	193,518	7	33·3	3·0	14·1	4·9
Northumberland	1821	1,165,430	47,509	2,060	384	49,953	55,337	10·8*	149,158	154,377	303,535	265,636	13	25·6	3·9	23·3	6·3
Nottingham	822	525,800	59,427	1,481	267	61,175	57,611	6·2	144,428	150,010	294,438	270,535	9	55·5	1·8	8·6	5·0
Oxford	730	467,230	34,922	1,323	105	36,350	34,151	6·4	85,449	84,837	170,286	163,216	4	37·0	2·7	12·8	4·9
Rutland	152	97,500	4,961	153	18	5,132	4,899	4·8	12,270	12,002	24,272	23,151	5	25·0	4 0	19·0	4·9
Salop	1351	864,360	48,842	2,184	112	51,138	50,131	2·0	122,022	122,997	245,019	241,685	1	28·6	3·5	16·9	5·0
Somerset	1606	1,028,090	87,776	5,090	396	93,252	90,947	2·6	216,716	239,521	456,237	448,793	2	43·5	2·3	11·0	5·2
Southampton	1591	1,018,550	74,588	3,471	617	78,676	69,807	12·7	199,834	202,199	402,033	348,298	13	38 4	2·6	12·9	5·3
Stafford	1150	736,290	120,501	4,526	962	125,989	107,941	16·7	320,394	310,112	630,506	528,867	20	83·3	1·2	5·8	5·2
Suffolk	1436	918,760	69,479	3,098	424	73,001	67,050	8·9	165,267	170,724	335,991	314,467	7	37·0	2·7	12·5	4·8
Surrey	741	474,480	109,453	5,717	1663	116,833	101,121	15 6	325,155	359,650	684,805	586,816	17	144·0	·7	4·0	6·3

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Sussex	1419	907,920	59,308	2,220	609	62,137	58,506	6·2	166,828	172,600	339,428	302,081	12	37·0	2·7	14·6	5·7
Warwick	887	567,930	98,323	4,609	977	103,909	90,868	14·4	235,263	244,716	479,979	408,814	18	83·3	1·2	·54	4·9
Westmorland	759	485,990	11,247	530	94	11,871	11,783	0·8	29,064	29,316	58,380	56,609	3	12·0	8·3	40·9	5·2
Wilts	1356	8,060	49,061	2,223	171	51,455	49,918	3·1	118,839	122,164	241,003	242,772	0·7	27·7	3·6	16·8	4·9
Worcester	718	9,710	59,065	2,753	362	55,170	49,371	11·8	126,739	132,023	258,762	230,387	13	55·5	1·8	8·5	5·0
York	5733	3,669,510	358,604	16,469	3244	378,417	341,147	10·9	886,845	901,922	1,788,767	1,582,977	13	48·7	2·5	9·7	4·9
Travelling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,016	..	..	..	..	..
North Wales	3194	2,044,160	83,091	3,720	522	87,333	85,847	8·5	200,538	203,622	404,160	388,106	4	19·	5·1	23·2	4·9
South Wales	4231	2,707,840	119,507	5,269	844	125,620	115,822	1·7	300,645	306,851	607,496	528,849	14	22·2	4·5	21·5	5·1
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	57,067	36,522,615	[illegible]	152,898	26,534	3,460,393	3,144,626	10·0	8,762,588	9,160,180	17,922,768	15,884,294	13	49·7	2·0	10·5	5·5

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

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

Counties above the Average.	
Middlesex	1059·0
Lancaster	200·0
Surrey	144·0
Stafford	83·3
York, West Riding	83·3
Chester	65·2
Kent	63·6
Durham	62·5
Worcester	55·5
Warwick	83·3
Nottingham	55·5
Monmouth	55·5
Gloucester	53·0
Average for England and Wales	49·7

Counties below the Average.	
Leicester	45·4
Bedford	43·5
Hertford	43·5
Somerset	43·5
Berks	41·7
Cornwall	41·7
Derby	40·0
Southampton	38·4
Oxford	37·0
Suffolk	37·0
Sussex	37·0
Cambridge	35·8
Devon	34·5
Essex	34·5
Norfolk	33·3
Northampton	33·3
York, East Riding	33·3
Bucks	31·3
Dorset	28·6
Shropshire	28·6
Wilts	27·7
Northumberland	25·6
Huntingdon	25·0
Rutland	25·0
Lincoln	23·8
South Wales	22·2
Cumberland	20·0
North Wales	19·6
Hereford	18·2
York, North Riding	15·2
Westmorland	12·0

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

	1841.	1851.
Agricultural Counties.		
Lincoln	21·7	23·8
Rutland	22·7	25·0
Huntingdon	25·0	25·0
Cambridge	30·3	35·8
Essex	35·7	34·5
Sussex	32·2	37·0
Hereford	20·8	18·2
Agricultural and Submanufacturing Counties.		
Westmorland	11·6	12·0
Norfolk	32·2	33·3
Suffolk	33·3	37·0
Hertford	40·0	43·5
Bedford	37·0	43·5
Buckingham	33·3	31·3
Northampton	31·2	33.3
Oxford	34·4	37·0
Berks	34·4	41·7
Hants	47·6	38·4
Wilts	30·3	27·7
Dorset	27·7	28·6
Somerset	41·6	43·5
Devon	32·2	34·5
Sub-Agricultural and Sub-Manufacturing County.		
Gloucester	55·5	26·1
Manufacturing Counties.		
Lancaster	166·6	200·0
Yorkshire	42·6	48·7
Chester	58·8	65·2
Nottingham	47·6	55·5
Leicester	43·0	45·4
Warwick	71·4	83·3
Worcester	52·6	55·5

	1841.	1851.
Mining Counties.		
Durham	47·6	62·5
Cornwall	41·6	41·7
Manufacturing and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Derby	41·6	40·0
Stafford	71·4	83·3
Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Shropshire	28·5	28·6
North Wales	19·3	19·6
South Wales	19·0	22·2
Sub-Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Northumberland	21·2	25·6
Cumberland	18·5	20·0
Monmouth	43·0	55·5
Metropolitan County.		
Middlesex	1000·0	1059·0
Sub-Metropolitan Counties.		
Surrey	125·0	141·0
Kent	55·5	63·6

NOTE.—An *Agricultural* county has *more than* 10 per cent., and a *Sub-Agricultural* county *less than* 10 per cent. of its population employed in agriculture.

A *Manufacturing* county has *more* than 15 per cent., and a *Sub-Manufacturing* county *less than* 15 per cent. of its population employed in manufacture.

A *Mining* county has *more than* 5 per cent., and a *Sub-Mining* county *less than* 5 per cent. of its population employed in mining.

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MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TO EVERY 100 ACRES;

OR

THE DENSITY OF THE POPULATION

MAP

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

OR

THE INTENSITY OF THE CRIMINALITY

IN EACH COUNTY OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number of Criminals is *above* the average.

The counties left *white* are those in which the number of Criminals is *below* the average.

The average has been calculated from the returns for the last ten years.

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

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841–50.	Total number of Persons committed for Trial or Bailed.										Total for 10 years.	Average per Year	Proportion to the Population	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 of Population.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford	121,083	191	229	202	188	155	185	178	204	162	161	1,855	185	1 in 654	15·2
Berks	194,763	306	333	328	287	260	250	335	360	358	318	3,135	313	„ 622	12·9
Bucks	140,959	287	277	313	280	286	283	315	310	287	242	2,880	288	„ 489	20·4
Cambridge	180,747	240	241	257	297	239	276	255	244	309	302	2,660	266	„ 679	14·7
Chester	395,919	943	1086	1018	777	688	767	871	1070	861	900	8,981	898	„ 440	22·6
Cornwall	349,991	295	282	301	269	272	280	341	272	277	226	2,815	281	„ 1245	8·0
Cumberland	186,762	151	115	109	138	118	147	120	130	159	146	1,333	133	„ 1404	7·1
Derby	250,249	277	322	322	279	186	277	214	264	245	255	2,641	264	„ 947	10·5
Devon	554,738	687	716	740	715	720	721	949	924	893	807	7,872	787	„ 704	14·1
Dorset	172,736	284	241	252	203	218	225	307	287	326	190	2,533	253	„ 682	14·6
Durham	368,787	215	266	300	376	203	249	279	334	321	358	2,901	290	„ 1271	7·8
Essex	332,363	647	758	710	596	554	602	603	689	587	631	6,377	638	„ 520	19·1
Gloucester	407,504	1236	1252	1186	1071	929	884	1092	1042	1063	920	10,675	1067	„ 381	26·1
Hereford	97,813	245	259	238	230	226	158	212	270	242	252	2,332	233	„ 419	23·8
Hertford	168,178	319	338	265	271	244	243	291	348	318	315	2,952	295	„ 570	17·5
Hunts	57,942	62	68	68	79	88	81	89	104	93	90	822	82	„ 706	14·1
Kent	585,240	962	1155	977	911	831	815	889	1020	980	958	9,598	960	„ 609	16·4
Lancaster	1,881,261	3987	4497	3677	2893	2852	3072	3456	3778	3290	3340	34,842	3484	„ 539	18·5
Leicester	227,621	466	492	509	481	328	358	335	346	299	300	3,914	391	„ 582	17·1
Lincoln	378,246	349	507	563	542	389	419	506	504	529	528	4,836	484	„ 781	12·8
Middlesex	1,740,814	3586	4094	4260	4027	4440	4641	5175	4856	3861	3732	42,672	4267	„ 407	24·5
Monmouth	164,093	364	264	261	278	196	217	282	298	370	433	2,963	296	„ 554	18·0
Norfolk	419,468	666	808	782	788	642	720	751	689	633	705	7,184	718	„ 584	17·1
Northampton	206,496	342	346	270	294	302	270	243	307	327	248	2,949	295	„ 699	14·2
Northumberland	284,777	226	245	290	294	189	169	189	201	261	283	2,347	235	„ 1211	8·2
Nottingham	282,584	329	374	353	348	267	286	343	364	341	325	3,330	333	„ 848	11·8
Oxford	166,751	323	334	328	296	309	228	299	296	303	252	2,968	297	„ 591	17·8
Rutland	23,711	14	48	39	23	28	26	41	52	35	27	333	33	„ 718	13·9
Salop	243,352	416	470	534	449	308	227	267	305	347	307	3,630	363	„ 670	14·9
Somerset	452,515	991	1148	967	1039	873	701	774	888	885	754	9,020	902	„ 501	19·9
Southampton	377,040	677	702	676	517	619	608	737	728	751	686	6,701	670	„ 562	17·7
Stafford	579,686	1059	1485	1175	885	717	851	1028	1120	1009	1053	10,382	1038	„ 558	17·9
Suffolk	325,336	482	527	585	630	407	471	505	495	537	472	5,111	511	„ 636	15·7
Surrey	635,917	923	1017	867	941	942	958	1315	1296	1109	1030	10,398	1040	„ 611	16·3

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Sussex	320,944	539	550	493	409	409	468	522	546	502	480	4918	492	,, 652	15·3
Warwick	444,558	1046	1003	1045	894	769	799	998	1257	910	880	9601	960	,, 463	21·6
Westmoreland	57,494	33	39	44	24	46	74	33	47	57	70	467	47	,, 1223	8·1
Wilts	241,887	506	548	464	432	379	436	502	465	452	386	4570	457	,, 529	18·9
Worcester	244,574	566	609	679	603	563	535	620	681	653	607	6116	612	,, 399	25·0
York	1,686,461	1895	2598	2304	1691	1417	1560	1794	2036	2022	1915	19,232	1923	,, 876	11·4
North Wales	396,161	251	279	294	283	269	220	307	332	338	316	2889	289	,, 1370	7·2
South Wales	568,430	377	387	546	514	426	350	471	590	514	613	4788	479	,, 1186	8·4
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	16,918,458	27,760	31,309	29,591	26,542	24,303	25,107	28,833	30,349	27,816	26,813	278,423	27,842	,, 607	16·4

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF CRIMINALS TO EVERY 10,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average in Crime.		*Counties below the Average in Crime.*	
Gloucester	26·1	Kent	16·4
Worcester	25·0	Surrey	16·3
Middlesex	24·5	Suffolk	15·7
Hereford	23·8	Sussex	15·3
Chester	22·6	Bedford	15 2
Warwick	21·6	Salop	14·9
Bucks	20·4	Cambridge	14·7
Somerset	19·9	Dorset	14·6
Essex	19·1	Northampton	14·2
Wilts	18·9	Devon	14·1
Lancaster	18·5	Rutland	13·9
Monmouth	18·0	Berks	12·9
Stafford	17.9	Lincoln	12·8
Oxford	17·8	Nottingham	11·8
Southampton	17·7	York	11·4
Hertford	17.5	Derby	10·5
Leicester	17·1	South Wales	8·4
Norfolk	17·1	Northumberland	8·2
Average for all England and Wales	16·4	Westmorland	8·1
		Cornwall	8·0
		Durham	7·8
		North Wales	7·2
		Cumberland	7·1

THE YEARS OF CRIME.

Years.	Number of Criminal Offenders.	Population.	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 people.	Years.	Number of Criminal Offenders.	Population.	Number of Criminals to every 10,000 people.
1811	5,337	10,150,615	5·2	1831	19,647	13,897,187	14·1
1812	6,576	10,332,441	6·3	1832	20,829	14,098,142	14·7
1813	7,164	10,515,267	6·8	1833	20,072	14,299,097	14·0
1814	6,390	10,689,093	5·9	1834	22,451	14,500,052	15·4
1815	7,818	10,881,919	7·3	1835	20,731	14,701,007	14·1
1816	9,091	11,064,745	8·2	1836	20,984	14,901,962	14·1
1817	13,932	11,247,571	11·5	1837	23,612	15,102,917	15·6
1818	13,567	11,430,397	11·8	1838	23,094	15,303,872	15·1
1819	14,254	11,613,223	12·2	1839	24,443	15,504,827	15·7
1820	13,710	11,796,049	11·6	1840	27,187	15,705,782	17·3
Total for 10 years	97,839	109,630,320		Total in 10 years	223,050	148,114,825	
Average ditto.	9,783	10,963,032	8·9	Average ditto	22,305	14,811,482	15·0
1821	13,115	11,978,875	10·9	1841	27,750	15,914,148	17·4
1822	12,241	12,170,706	10·0	1842	31,309	16,115,010	19·4
1823	12,263	12,362,537	9·9	1843	29,591	16,315,872	18·1
1824	13,698	12,554,368	10·9	1844	26,542	16,516,734	16·0
1825	14,437	12,746,199	11·3	1845	24,303	16,717,596	14·5
1826	16,164	12,938,030	12·5	1846	25,107	16,918,458	14·9
1827	17,924	13,129,861	13·6	1847	28,833	17,119,320	16·8
1828	16,564	13,321,692	12·4	1848	30,349	17,320,182	17·5
1829	18,675	13,531,523	13·8	1849	27,816	17,521,044	15·9
1830	18,107	13,705,354	13·2	1850	26,813	17,721,906	15·1
Total for 10 years	153,188	128,421,145		Total for 10 years	278,413	168,180,270	
Average ditto	15,318	12,842,114	11·9	Average ditto	27,841	16,818,027	16·5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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regard of the great "economical" divisions of society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. Enrichers, or those who are employed in producing utilities fixed and embodied in material things, that is to say, in producing exchangeable commodities or riches.

II. Auxiliaries, or those who are employed in aiding the production of exchangeable commodities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *production* of the materials of wealth, which indicates a far higher state of civilization, and which consists in the several agricultural and farming processes for increasing the natural stock of animal and vegetable food, employs upwards of one million; while those who are engaged in the *extraction* of our treasures from the earth, either by mining or quarrying, both of which processes—depending, as they do, upon a knowledge of some of the subtler natural powers — could only have been brought into operation in a highly advanced stage of the human intellect, number about a quarter of a million. Altogether, there appear to be about one million and a half of individuals engaged in the industrial processes connected with the collection, extraction, and production of the materials of wealth; those who are employed in operating upon these materials, in the fashioning of them into manufactures, making them up into commodities, as well as those engaged in the distribution of them—that is to say, the transport and sale of them when so fashioned or made up—appear to amount to another two millions and a half, so that the industrial classes of Great Britain, taken altogether, may be said to amount to four millions. For the more perfect comprehension, however, of the several classes of society, let me subjoin a table in round numbers, calculated from the census of 1841, and including among the first items both the employers as well as employed :—

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

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

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

An artisan is an *educated* handicrafts-

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

The most natural mode of grouping the artisans into classes would appear to be according as they pursue some *mechanical* or *chemical* occupation. The former are literally mechanics or handicraftsmen —the latter chemical manufacturers. The handicraftsmen consist of (1) The workers in silk, wool, cotton, flax, and hemp—as weavers, spinners, knitters, carpet-makers, lace-makers, rope-makers, canvas-weavers, &c. (2) The workers in skin, gut, and feathers—as tanners, curriers, furriers, feather dressers, &c. (3) The makers up of silken, woollen, cotton, linen, hempen, and leathern materials—as tailors, milliners, shirt-makers, sail-makers, hatters, glove-makers, saddlers, and the like. (4) The workers in wood, as the carpenters, the cabinet-makers, &c. (5) The workers in cane, osier, reed, rush, and straw—as basket-makers, straw-plait manufacturers, thatchers, and the like. (6) The workers in brick and stones —as bricklayers, masons, &c. (7) The workers in glass and earthenware—as potters, glass-blowers, glass-cutters, bottle-makers, glaziers, &c. (8) The workers in metals—as braziers, tinmen, plumbers, goldsmiths, pewterers, coppersmiths, iron-founders, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, anchor-smiths, locksmiths, &c. (9) The workers in paper—as the paper-makers, cardboard-makers. (10) The chemical manufacturers —as powder-makers, white-lead-makers, alkali and acid manufacturers, lucifer-match-makers, blacking-makers, ink-makers, soap-boilers, tallow-chandlers, &c. (11) The workers at the superlative or extrinsic arts—that is to say, those which have no manufactures of their own, but which are engaged in adding to the utility or beauty of others—as printing bookbinding, painting, and decorating, gilding, burnishing, &c.

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

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

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CLASSIFICATION

OF

THE WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS

OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THOSE WHO WILL WORK.

I. Enrichers, as the Collectors, Extractors, or Producers of Exchangeable Commodities.

II. Auxiliaries, as the Promoters of Production, or the Distributors of the Produce.

III. Benefactors, or those who confer some permanent benefit, as Educators and Curators engaged in promoting the physical, intellectual, or spiritual well-being of the people.

IV. Servitors, or those who render some temporary service, or pleasure, as Amusers, Protectors, and Servants.

THOSE WHO CANNOT WORK.

V. Those who are provided for by some public Institution, as the Inmates of workhouses, prisons, hospitals, asylums, almshouses, dormitories, and refuges.

VI. Those who are unprovided for, and incapacitated for labour, either from want of power, from want of means, or from want of employment.

THOSE WHO WILL NOT WORK.

VII. Vagrants.

VIII. Professional Beggars.

IX. Cheats.

X. Thieves.

XI. Prostitutes.

THOSE WHO NEED NOT WORK.

XII. Those who derive their income from rent.

XIII. Those who derive their income from dividends.

XIV. Those who derive their income from yearly stipends.

XV. Those who derive their income from obsolete or nominal offices.

XVI. Those who derive their income from trades in which they do not appear.

XVII. Those who derive their income by favour from others.

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

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THOSE WHO WILL WORK.

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

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

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

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

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

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l. Artificial Stone and Cement Manufacturers.
m. Asphalte and Tar Manufacturers.
n. Glue and Size Makers.
o. Polishing Paste, and Glass and Emery Paper Makers.
p. Lime, Coke, and Charcoal Burners.
q. Manufacturing Chemists and Drug Manufacturers.
r. Workers connected with Provisions, Luxuries, and Medicines.
i. Bakers, and Biscuit Makers.
ii. Brewers.
iii. Soda-water and Ginger-beer Manufacturers.
iv. Distillers and Rectifiers.
v. British Wine Manufacturers.
vi. Vinegar Manufacturers.
vii. Fish and Provision Curers.
viii. Preserved Meats and Preserved Fruit Preparers.
ix. Sauce and Pickle Manufacturers.
x. Mustard Makers.
xi. Isinglass Manufacturers.
xii. Sugar Bakers, Boilers, and Refiners.
xiii. Confectioners and Pastry-cooks.
xiv. Rice and Farinaceous Food Manufacturers.
xv. Chocolate, Cocoa, and other Manufacturers of Substitutes for Tea.
xvi. Cigar, Tobacco, and Snuff Manufacturers.
xvii. Quack, and other Medicine Manufacturers, as Pills, Powders, Syrups, Cordials, Embrocations, Ointments, Plaisters, &c.

3. Workers connected with the Superlative Arts, that is to say, with those arts which have no products of their own, and are engaged either in adding to the beauty or usefulness of the products of other arts, or in inventing or designing the work appertaining to them.
a. Printers.
b. Bookbinders.
c. Painters, Decorators, and Gilders.
d. Writers and Stencillers.
e. Dyers, Bleachers, Scourers, Calenderers, and Fullers.
f. Print Colourers.
g. Designers of Patterns.
h. Embroiderers (of Muslin, Silk, &c.), and Fancy Workers.
i. Desiccators, Anti-dry-rot Preservers, Waterproofers.
j. Burnishers, Polishers, Grinders, Japanners, and French Polishers.
k. Engravers, Chasers, Die-Sinkers, Embossers, Engine-Turners, and Glass-Cutters.
l. Artists, Sculptors, and Carvers of Wood, Coral, Jet, &c.
m. Modellers and Moulders.
n. Architects, Surveyors, and Civil Engineers.
o. Composers.
p. Authors, Editors, and Reporters.

*** Operatives are divisible, *according to the mode in which they are paid*, into—
1. Day-workers.
2. Piece-workers.
3. "Lump" or Contract-workers, as at the docks.
4. Perquisite-workers, as waiters, &c.
5. "Kind" or Truck-workers, as the farm servants in the North of England, Domestic Servants and Milliners, Ballast-heavers, and men paid at "Tommy-shops."
6. Tenant-workers, or those who lodge with or reside in houses belonging to their employers. The Slop-working Tailors generally lodge with the "Sweaters," and the "Hinds" of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland have houses found them by their employers. These "Hinds" have to keep a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   *** Employers are known among operatives as "honourable" or "dishonourable," according as the wages they pay are those, or less than those, of the Trade Society.
2. Superintendents, or those who look after the workmen on behalf of employers.

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a. Managers.
b. Clerks of the Works.
c. Foremen.
d. Overlookers.
e. Tellers and Meters, or those who take note of the number and quantity of the articles delivered.
f. Provers, or those whose duty it is to examine the quality or weight of the articles delivered.
g. Timekeepers, or those who note the time of the operatives coming to and quitting labour.
h. Gatekeepers, or those who see that no goods are taken out.
i. Clerks, or those who keep accounts of all sales and purchases, incomings, and outgoings of the business.
j. Pay Clerks, or those who pay the workmen their wages.

3. Labourers.
a. Acting as motive powers.
i. Turning wheels, working pumps, blowing bellows.
ii. Wheeling, dragging, pulling, or hoisting loads.
iii. Shifting (scenes), or turning (corn).
iv. Carrying (bricks, as hodmen).
v. Driving (piles), ramming down (stones, as paviours).
vi. Pressing (as fruit, for juice ; seeds, for oil).
b. Uniting or putting one thing to another.
i. Feeding (furnace), laying-on (as for printing machines).
ii. Filling (as "fillers-in" of sieves at dust-yards).
iii. Oiling (engines), greasing (railway wheels), pitching or tarring (vessels), pasting paper (for bags).
iv. Mixing (mortar), kneading (clay).
v. Tying up (plants and bunches of vegetables).
vi. Folding (printed sheets).
vii. Corking (bottles), or caulking (ships).
c. Separating one thing from another.
i. Sifting (cinders), screening (coals).
ii. Picking (fruit, hops, &c.), shelling (peas), peeling, barking, and threshing.
iii. Winnowing.
iv. Weeding and stoning.
v. Reaping and mowing.
vi. Felling, lopping, hewing, chopping (as fire-wood), cutting (as chaff), shearing (sheep).
vii. Sawing.
viii. Blasting.
viii. Breaking (stones), crushing (bones and ores), pounding (drugs).
ix. Scouring (as sand from castings), scraping (ships).
d. Excavating, sinking, and embanking.
i. Tunnelling.
ii. Sinking foundations.
iii. Boring.
iv. Draining, trenching, ditching, and hedging.
v. Embanking.
vi. Road-making, cutting.

B. Distributors of Production.

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

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f. Contractors for privileges, as the right of Printing the Catalogue of the Great Exhibition, or selling refreshments at Railway Stations, &c.
g. Farmers of revenues from dues, tolls, &c.
h. Itinerants, or those who seek out the Customers, instead of the Customers seeking out them.
 i. Hawkers, or those who cry their goods.
 ii. Pedlars, or those who carry their goods round.

2. Agents, or those who are engaged in the buying or selling of commodities for others, as Land Agents, House and Estate Agents, Colonial and East India Agents, &c., &c.
a. Supercargoes.
b. Factors, or Consignees.
c. Brokers, Bill, Stock, Share, Ship, Sugar, Cotton, &c.
d. Commission Salesmen, or Unlicensed Brokers.
e. Buyers, or those who purchase materials or goods for Manufacturers, or Dealers.
f. Auctioneers, or those who sell goods on Commission to the highest bidder.

3. Lenders and Lettors-out, or those who receive a certain sum for the loan or use of a thing.
a. Lenders or Lettors-out of commodities, as—
 i. Job-horses, carriages, chairs and seats in parks, gardens, &c.
 ii. Plate, linen, furniture, piano-fortes, flowers, fancy dresses, Court suits, &c.
 iii. Books, newspapers, prints, and music.
b. Lettors-out of tenements and storage room, as—
 i. Houses.
 ii. Lodgings.
 iii. Warehouse-room for imports, &c., as at wharfs.
 iv. Warehouse-room for furniture and other goods.
c. Lenders of money, as—
 i. Mortgagees.
 ii. Bankers.
 iii. Bill-discounters.
 iv. Loan offices with and without policies of assurance.
 v. Building and investment societies.
 vi. Pawnbrokers.
 vii. Dolly shopmen.

*** The several modes of distributing goods or money are—
1. By private contract or agreement.
2. By a fixed or ticketed price.
3. By competition, as at Auctions.
4. By games of chance, as Lotteries (with the "Art Union"), Raffles (at Fancy Fairs), Tossing (with piemen and others), Prizes for skill (with throwing sticks, &c.), Betting, Racing, &c.

The places at which goods are distributed are—
1. Fairs, or annual gatherings of buyers and sellers.
2. Markets, or weekly gatherings of buyers and sellers.
3. Exchanges, or daily gatherings of merchants and agents.
4. Counting-houses, or the places of business of wholesale traders.
5. Shops, or the places of business of retail traders.
6. Bazaars, or congregations of shops.

4. Trade Assistants.
a. Shopmen and Warehousemen.
b. Shopwalkers.
c. Cashiers or Receivers.
d. Clerks.
e. Accountants.
f. Rent-Collectors.
g. Debt-collectors.

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

COUNTIES.	Average Annual No. of Persons married, 1839–48.	Number of Males and Females who signed the Marriage Register with Marks.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. of Persons who signed with Marks in every 100 married.	Per Cent. above and below the Average.
		1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.				
Bedford . .	1,850	1,112	1,148	956	921	1,028	1,110	1,095	1,124	957	1,003	10,454	1,045	56	+40·0
Berks . .	2,588	1,036	1,131	1,061	1,063	1,111	1,079	1,070	1,137	1,118	1,164	10,970	1,097	42	+ 5·0
Bucks . .	1,920	979	1,008	820	918	882	918	975	1,074	906	999	9,479	948	49	+22·5
Cambridge .	2,784	1,269	1,372	1,495	1,389	1,281	1,330	1,471	1,398	1,213	1,328	13,546	1,355	45	+12·5
Chester . .	5,160	2,343	2,510	2,350	2,096	2,366	2,403	2,777	2,608	2,121	2,503	24,017	2,408	46	+15·0
Cornwall . .	4,894	2,150	2,148	2,128	2,312	2,284	2,141	2,338	2,407	2,102	2,146	22,156	2,216	45	+12·5
Cumberland .	2,072	470	563	527	539	506	500	581	647	520	350	5,203	520	25	*37·5
Derby . .	3,652	1,521	1,490	1,321	1,061	1,351	1,455	1,642	1,544	1,382	1,377	14,144	1,414	39	* 2·5
Devon . .	8,678	2,603	1,817	2,744	2,971	2,995	3,055	3,312	3,224	2,782	1,981	27,484	2,748	32	*20·0
Dorset . .	2,358	725	930	785	852	449	945	1,033	905	941	923	8,488	849	36	*10·0
Durham . .	5,770	1,900	2,083	2,001	1,830	1,771	1,825	2,375	2,378	2,376	2,327	20,866	2,087	36	*10·0
Essex . .	4,228	1,964	2,215	2,103	2,062	2,110	2,157	2,246	2,163	1,977	1,963	20,960	2,096	50	+25·0
Gloucester .	6,918	2,329	2,541	2,347	2,197	2,393	2,277	2,578	2,698	2,215	2,304	23,879	2,388	35	*12·5
Hereford . .	1,268	462	463	522	548	609	516	598	576	424	488	5,206	521	41	+ 2·5
Hertford . .	1,976	1,189	1,045	1,057	954	1,083	1,033	1,153	1,102	947	1,013	10,581	1,058	54	+35·0
Hunts . .	904	391	465	453	446	439	413	434	466	438	440	4,385	439	49	+22·5
Kent . .	8,094	2,431	2,382	2,476	2,488	2,556	2,502	2,944	2,855	2,569	2,481	25,684	2,568	32	*20·0
Lancaster . .	34,068	16,411	15,793	16,096	14,626	17,820	19,850	22,177	20,709	16,588	18,161	178,231	17,823	52	+30·0
Leicester . .	3,460	1,494	1,504	1,281	1,189	1,416	1,505	1,518	1,579	1,329	1,441	14,256	1,426	41	+ 2·5
Lincoln . .	5,530	1,944	2,209	2,174	2,082	1,959	1,998	2,232	2,166	2,159	2,436	21,359	2,136	39	* 2·5
Middlesex .	31,590	5,134	5,569	5,242	5,045	5,416	6,141	6,456	6,163	5,666	5,433	56,265	5,627	18	*55·0
Monmouth .	2,562	1,646	1,697	1,283	1,091	1,110	1,228	1,722	1,982	1,720	1,574	15,053	1,505	59	+47·5
Norfolk . .	6,042	2,485	2,772	2,514	2,832	2,816	2,901	3,120	2,961	2,783	2,855	28,042	2,804	46	+15·0
Northampton .	3,194	1,338	1,489	1,377	1,220	1,404	1,441	1,504	1,467	1,253	1,332	13,825	1,383	43	+ 7·5
Northumberland	4,094	1,149	1,264	1,108	965	1,013	811	1,214	1,244	1,190	1,328	11,286	1,129	28	*30·0
Nottingham .	4,168	1,715	1,724	1,645	1,642	1,742	1,953	2,000	1,834	1,635	1,760	17,650	1,765	42	+ 5·0
Oxford . .	2,316	826	961	951	957	929	889	831	880	869	843	8,936	894	39	* 2·5
Rutland . .	216	115	92	125	99	97	69	73	99	152	118	1,039	104	49	+22·5
Salop . .	3,180	1,647	1,568	1,497	1,533	1,392	1,496	1,428	1,544	1,532	1,661	15,298	1,530	48	+20·0
Somerset . .	6,226	2,300	2,608	2,705	2,643	2,654	2,643	2,598	2,632	2,183	2,360	25,326	2,533	41	+ 2·5
Southampton .	5,768	1,614	1,801	2,049	1,959	1,910	1,977	2,181	2,185	2,019	1,875	19,570	1,957	34	*15·0
afford . .	8,292	3,886	4,045	3,552	3,065	3,335	3,937	5,091	4,920	6,423	5,263	43,517	4,352	52	+30·0
uffolk . .	4,738	2,173	2,353	2,342	2,057	2,124	2,304	2,436	2,389	2,325	2,354	22,857	2,286	48	+20·0

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2,342 | 2,057 | 2,124 | 2,304 | 6,091 2,436 | 4,920 2,389 | 6,423 2,325 | 5,263 2,351 | 43,517 22,857 | 1,957 4,352 2,298 | 34 52 48 | *15·0 †30·0 †20·0

Surrey	10,374	2,128	2,260	2,180	2,129	2,205	2,185	2,47[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sussex	4,268	1,452	1,480	1,400	1,364	1,443	1,427	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Warwick	6,494	1,512	2,470	2,294	2,052	2,415	2,516	2,670	2,958	2,870	2,855	24,012	2,401	38	5·0
Westmorland	780	195	191	177	185	193	22[illegible]	237	321	220	135	2,079	208	27	*32·5
Wilts	3,236	1,495	1,603	1,550	1,487	1,522	1,527	1,685	1,642	1,481	1,528	15,520	1,552	48	†20·0
Worcester	5,536	3,201	3,098	2,934	2,588	2,528	2,974	3,744	4,192	1,871	1,643	28,773	2,877	52	†30·0
York	26,664	11,439	11,899	10,726	10,503	11,099	12,970	13,395	12,688	11,797	11,930	118,446	11,845	44	†10·0
North Wales	5,164	3,028	3,022	2,999	2,925	2,694	2,737	2,916	3,219	2,904	1,951	28,395	2,840	55	†37·5
South Wales	8,152	4,382	4,532	4,378	4,093	4,190	4,617	4,978	5,565	4,703	4,811	46,249	4,625	57	†42·5
Total for England and Wales	261,340	100,616	104,335	99,634	94,996	101,235	107,985	118,894	117,633	104,306	105,937	1,050,907	105,091	40	

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR IGNORANCE, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER WHO SIGNED THE MARRIAGE REGISTER WITH MARKS IN EVERY 100 PERSONS MARRIED.

Counties above the Average, or most Ignorant.		*Counties below the Average, or least Ignorant.*	
Monmouth	59	Derby	39
South Wales	57	Lincoln	39
Bedford	56	Oxford	39
North Wales	55	Warwick	38
Hertford	54	Dorset	36
Lancaster	52	Durham	36
Stafford	52	Gloucester	35
Worcester	52	Southampton	34
Essex	50	Sussex	34
Bucks	49	Devon	32
Hunts	49	Kent	32
Rutland	49	Northumberland	28
Salop	48	Westmorland	27
Suffolk	48	Cumberland	25
Wilts	48	Surrey	21
Chester	46	Middlesex	18
Norfolk	46		
Cambridge	45		
Cornwall	45		
York	44		
Northampton	43		
Berks	42		
Nottingham	42		
Hereford	41		
Leicester	41	Average for England and Wales	40
Somerset	41		

THE CRIME AND IGNORANCE OF THE SEVERAL COUNTIES COMPARED.

	Percentage above and below the Average.		
	In No. of Criminals.	In No. signing Register with Marks.	In No. of Criminals unable to read and write.
Counties having great Crime and great Ignorance.			
Worcester	†52·4	†36·0	† 8·5
Hereford	†45·1	† 2·5	†41·5
Chester	†37·8	†15·0	† 9·4
Bucks	†24·4	†22·5	† 6·9
Somerset	†21·3	† 2·5	† 7·2
Essex	†16·4	†25·0	†24·2
Lancaster	†12·8	†30·0	†22·0
Hertford	† 6·7	†35·0	†29·8
Norfolk	† 4·2	†15·0	†19·1
Counties having little Crime and little Ignorance.			
Cumberland	*56·7	*37·5	*15·4
Westmorland	*50·6	*32·5	*38·6
Northumberland	*50·0	*30·0	*19·1
Derby	*36·0	* 2·5	*23·5
Lincoln	*22·0	* 2·5	*14·8
Devon	*14·0	*20·0	*12·9
Sussex	* 6·7	*15·0	* 4·0
Surrey	* ·6	*47·5	*13·8
Counties having great Crime, and in which the Ignorance Tests are contradictory.			
Warwick	†31·7	* 5·0	† 9·7
Wilts	†15·2	†20·0	*20·4
Monmouth	† 9·7	†47·0	*12·2
Stafford	† 9·1	†30·0	* 3·4
Leicester	† 4·2	† 2·5	*11·6

	Percentage above and below the average.		
	In No. of Criminals.	In No. signing Register with Marks.	In No. of Criminals unable to read and write.
Counties having great Crime and little Ignorance.			
Gloucester	†59·1	*12·5	*11·9
Middlesex	†49·4	*55·0	*21·7
Oxford	† 8·5	* 2·5	* ·9
Southampton	† 7·9	*15·0	*13·5
Counties having little Crime and great Ignorance.			
North Wales	*56·1	†37·5	†20·4
South Wales	*48·7	†42·5	†14·7
Hants	*14·0	†22·5	† 1·9
Northampton	*13·4	† 7·5	† 1·5
Salop	* 9·1	†20·0	†25·8
Bedford	* 7·3	†40·0	†28·3
Suffolk	* 4.2	†20·0	† 8·1
Counties having little Crime, and in which the Ignorance Tests are contradictory.			
Durham	*51·8	*10·0	† 1·5
Cornwall	*51·2	†12·5	* 6·9
York	*30·5	†10·0	* 8·5
Nottingham	*28·0	† 5·0	* 5·6
Berks	*21·4	† 5·0	* 4·7
Rutland	*15·2	†22·5	* 2·5
Cambridge	*10·3	†12·5	* 2·5
Dorset	*10·0	*10·0	† 4·7
Kent		*20·0	† 6·3

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

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

COUNTIES.	Average Annual Number of Criminals from 1839–48.	Number of Criminals who could neither read nor write.										Total for 10 years.	Average Number per Year.	No. of Criminals who can neither read nor write in every 100.	Per Cent. above and below the Average. † denotes above. * " below.
		1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.				
Bedford	181	39	72	90	110	80	81	64	66	64	79	745	74	40·8	†28·3
Berks	313	103	121	97	113	48	75	79	88	100	127	951	95	30·3	* 4·7
Bucks	285	89	107	87	112	113	91	95	89	105	82	970	97	34·0	† 6·9
Cambridge	249	79	65	90	78	80	77	69	78	75	81	772	77	30·9	* 2·5
Chester	904	285	370	334	333	336	259	230	296	336	371	3,150	315	34·8	† 9·4
Cornwall	294	81	95	82	80	82	65	90	89	125	86	875	87	29·6	* 6·9
Cumberland	130	39	30	26	45	37	41	21	46	32	37	354	35	26·9	*15·4
Derby	263	74	48	66	92	77	61	53	63	41	64	642	64	24·3	*23·5
Devon	755	143	154	146	144	204	235	211	248	307	295	2,087	209	27·7	*12·9
Dorset	258	84	107	96	75	95	73	83	64	93	84	864	86	33·3	† 4·7
Durham	260	70	33	56	88	96	138	66	78	97	120	842	84	32·3	† 1·5
Essex	638	213	297	302	295	290	219	188	242	254	224	2,524	252	39·5	†24·2
Gloucester	1067	326	322	370	414	330	211	210	235	293	276	2,987	299	28·0	*11·9
Hereford	229	102	120	121	107	107	83	96	64	112	115	1,027	103	45·0	†41·5
Hertford	288	147	133	146	119	98	111	90	82	121	148	1,195	119	41·3	†29·8
Hunts	77	20	33	21	22	26	27	32	14	21	36	252	25	32·4	† 1·9
Kent	942	348	251	353	371	330	301	301	267	305	368	3,195	319	33·8	† 6·3
Lancaster	3462	1143	1391	1556	1947	1423	992	1023	1097	1283	1389	13,444	1344	38·8	†22·0
Leicester	419	141	159	135	141	137	135	87	96	66	82	1,179	118	28·1	*11·6
Lincoln	458	117	119	99	133	131	134	112	125	136	137	1,243	124	27·1	*14·8
Middlesex	4230	927	882	980	800	1033	933	1230	1177	1280	1322	10,564	1056	24·9	*21·7
Monmouth	272	83	94	112	73	79	67	34	45	81	95	763	76	27·9	*12·2
Norfolk	727	285	266	258	308	284	290	254	271	293	247	2,756	276	37·9	†19·1
Northampton	291	96	92	118	111	92	90	107	86	56	93	941	94	32·3	† 1·5
Northumberland	214	24	57	45	58	75	96	44	45	49	57	550	55	25·7	*19·1
Nottingham	333	104	108	91	102	112	115	79	88	95	106	1,000	100	30·0	* 5·6
Oxford	308	113	134	106	99	117	84	93	64	90	73	973	97	31·5	* ·9
Rutland	29	4	—	1	11	13	8	12	8	15	17	89	9		
Salop	367	136	176	182	173	215	164	104	89	112	119	[illegible]			
Somerset	935	281	410	352	363	333	360	298	224	[illegible]					
Southampton	664	215	207	188	186	159	126	153	[illegible]						
Stafford	1017	233	271	324	465	313	304	212[illegible]	2,451	2,134		2,039	22,184	2,218	21 *47·5
Suffolk	511	187	201	184	188	195	198	1,594	1,534	1,512		1,371	14,577	1,458	34 *15·0
Surrey	1026	345	320	274	300	223	233	[illegible]							

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Sussex	498	173	173	176	191	143	111	97	151	136	168	1,519	152	30·5	* 4·0
Warwick	959	293	396	403	363	392	267	237	234	324	440	3,349	335	34·9	+ 9·7
Westmorland	41	8	6	5	5	6	3	11	20	5	9	78	8	19·5	*38·6
Wilts	462	132	145	146	127	116	100	85	101	118	104	1,174	117	25·3	*20·4
Worcester	594	169	275	244	250	242	204	210	195	229	232	2,250	225	34·5	+ 8·5
York	1878	553	572	531	776	621	444	378	453	528	619	5,475	547	29·1	* 8·5
North Wales	274	84	110	92	122	116	107	81	79	126	136	1,053	105	38·3	+20·4
South Wales	435	108	136	135	138	174	188	183	108	187	240	1,593	159	36·5	+14·7
Total for England and Wales	27,542	8196	9058	9220	10,128	9173	7901	7438	7698	9050	9691	87,553	8755	31·8	

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

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Hereford	45·0	Oxford	31·5
Hertford	41·3	Rutland	31·0
Bedford	40·8	Cambridge	30·9
Salop	40·0	Stafford	30·7
Essex	39·5	Sussex	30·5
Lancaster	38·8	Berks	30·3
North Wales	38·3	Nottingham	30·0
Norfolk	37·9	Cornwall	29·6
South Wales	36·5	York	29·1
Warwick	34·9	Leicester	28·1
Chester	34·8	Gloucester	28·0
Worcester	34·5	Monmouth	27·9
Suffolk	34·4	Devon	27·7
Somerset	34·1	Southampton	27·5
Bucks	34·0	Surrey	27·4
Kent	33·8	Lincoln	27·1
Dorset	33·3	Cumberland	26·9
Hunts	32·4	Northumberland	25·7
Durham	32·3	Wilts	25·3
Northampton	32·3	Middlesex	24·9
		Derby	24·3
Average for England and Wales	31·8	Westmorland	19·5

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

DIVISION I.—*Northern, Welsh, and Cornish Counties.*

	No. of Criminals in 10,000.
Cumberland	7·1
Durham	7·8
Westmorland	8·1
Northumberland	8·2
North Wales	7·2
South Wales	8·4
Cornwall	8·0

DIVISION II.—*York and N. Midland Counties.*

York	11·4
Derby	10·5
Nottingham	11·8
Lincoln	12·8
Rutland	13·9

DIVISION III.—*S. Midland & Eastern Counties.*

Hunts	14·1
Northampton	14·2
Cambridge	14·7
Bedford	15·2
Suffolk	15·7
Norfolk	17·1
Essex	19·1
Oxford	17·8
Herts	17·5
Bucks	20·4

DIVISION IV.—*South Eastern and South Western.*

	No. of Criminals in 10,000.
Berks	12·9
Devon	14·1
Dorset	14·8
Sussex	15·3
Surrey	16·3
Kent	16·4
Hants	17·7
Wilts	18·9
Somerset	19·9
Monmouth	18·0

DIVISION V.—*Western and North Western.*

Shropshire	14·9
Leicestershire	17·1
Stafford	17·9
Lancaster	18·5
Chester	22·6
Warwick	21·6
Hereford	23·3
Worcester	25·0
Gloucester	26·1

DIVISION VI.—*Metropolitan.*

Middlesex	24·5

The Northern, Welsh, and Cornish Counties range in criminality from 7·1 to 8·4 in 10,000.
York and the N. Midland Counties, from 11·4 to 13·9.
The S. Midland and Eastern Counties, from 14·1 to 20·4.
The S. Eastern and S. Western, from 12·9 to 19·9.
The Western and N. Western, from 14·9 to 26·1.
The Metropolitan, 24·5.

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

	No. of Criminals in every 10,000 of Pop.	No. of Persons who signed with Marks in every 100 married.
Agricultural Counties.		
Lincoln	12	39
Rutland	13	49
Huntingdon	14	49
Cambridge	14	45
Essex	19	50
Sussex	15	34
Hereford	23	41
Agricultural and Sub-Manufacturing Counties.		
Westmorland	8	27
Norfolk	17	46
Suffolk	15	48
Hertford	17	54
Bedford	15	56
Buckingham	20	49
Northampton	14	43
Oxford	17	39
Berks	12	42
Hants	17	34
Wilts	18	48
Dorset	14	36
Somerset	19	41
Sub-Agricul. and Sub-Manufact. County.		
Gloucester	26	35
Manufacturing Counties.		
Lancaster	18	52
Yorkshire	11	44
Chester	22	46
Nottingham	11	42
Leicester	17	41
Warwick	21	38
Worcester	25	52
Mining Counties.		
Durham	7	36
Cornwall	8	45
Manufacturing and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Derby	10	39
Stafford	17	52
Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Salop	14	48
North Wales	7	55
South Wales	8	57
Sub-Agricultural and Sub-Mining Counties.		
Northumberland	8	28
Cumberland	7	25
Monmouth	18	59
Metropolitan County.		
Middlesex	24	18
Sub-Metropolitan Counties.		
Surrey	16	21
Kent	16	32

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

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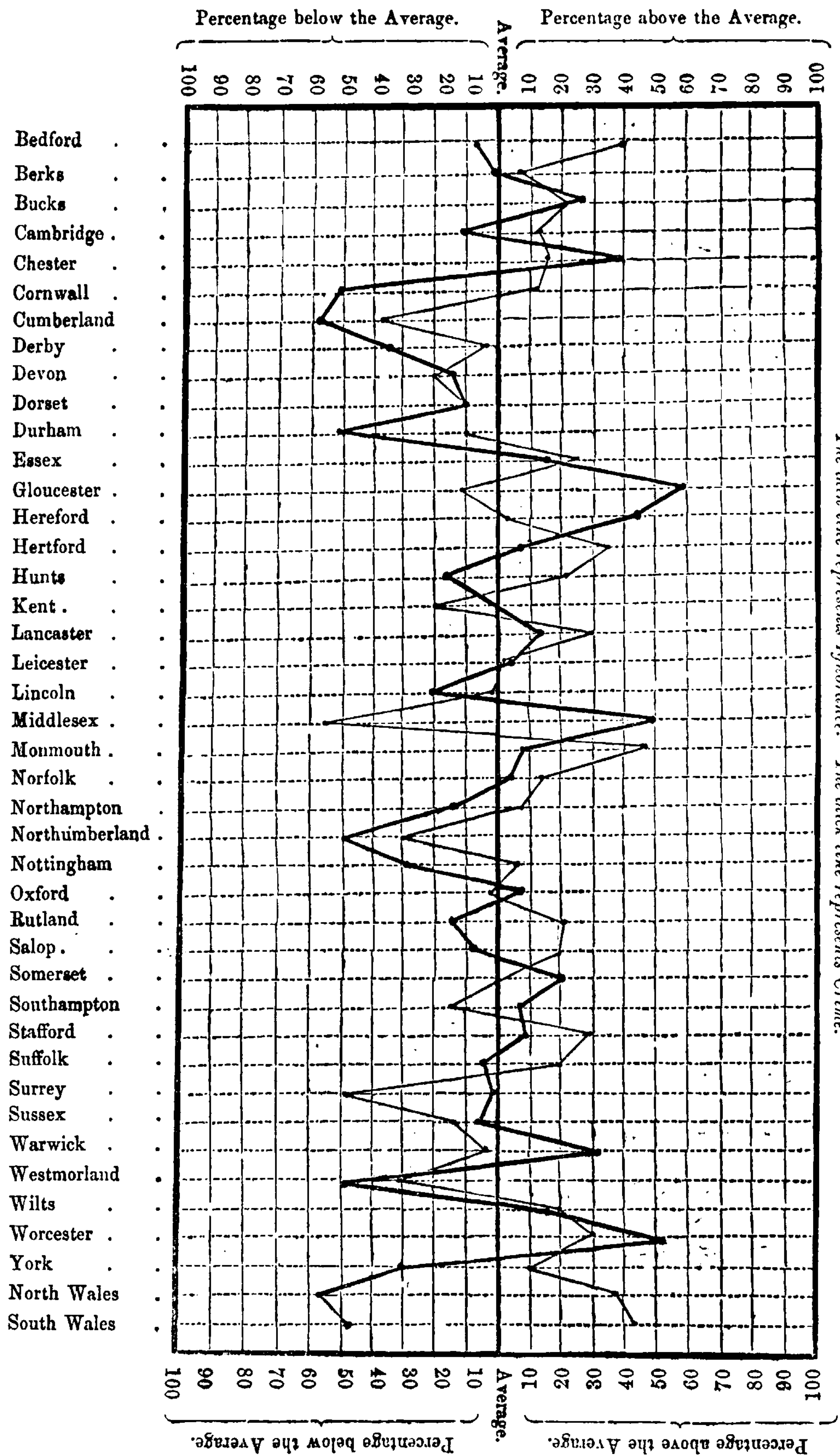
TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE DEGREES OF CRIMINALITY AND IGNORANCE IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE AVERAGE TAKEN FOR TEN YEARS.

The thin line represents Ignorance. The thick line represents Crime.



h. Travellers, Town as well as Commercial.
i. Touters.
j. Barkers (outside shops).
k. Bill deliverers.
l. Bill-stickers.
m. Boardmen.
n. Advertizing-van Men.

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

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

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

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B. CURATORS.
1. Corporeal.
a. Physicians.
b. Surgeons.
c. General Practitioners.
d. Homœopathists.
e. Hydropathists.

2. Spiritual.
a. Ministers of the Church of England.
b. Dissenting Ministers.
c. Catholic Ministers.
d. Missionaries.
e. Scripture Readers.
f. Sisters of Charity.
g. Visitants.

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

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

B. PROTECTORS, or those who contribute to our security against injury.
1. Legislative.
a. The Sovereign.
b. The Members of the House of Lords.
c. The Members of the House of Commons.

2. Judicial.
a. The Judges in Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, Admiralty, and Criminal Courts.
b. Masters in Chancery, Commissioners of the Bankruptcy, Insolvent Debtors, Sheriffs, and County Courts, Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Recorders, Coroners, Revising Barristers.
c. Barristers, Pleaders, Conveyancers, Attorneys, Proctors.

3. Administrative or Executive.
a. The Lords Commisioners of the Treasury; the Secretaries of State for Home, Foreign, and Colonial Affairs; the Chancellor and Comptroller of the Exchequer; the Privy Council, and the Privy Seal; the Board of Trade, the Board of Control, and the Board of Health; the Board of Inland Revenue, the Poor-Law Board, and the Board of Audit; the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; the Ministers and Officials in connection with the Army and Navy, the Post Office, and the Mint; the Inspectors of Prisons, Factories, Railways, Workhouses, Schools, and Lunatic Asylums; the Officers in connection with the Registration and Statistical Departments; and the other Functionaries appertaining to the *Government at home.*
b. The Ambassadors, Envoys Extraordinary, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Secretaries of Legation, Chargés d'Affaires, Consuls, and other Ministers and Functionaries appertaining to the *Government abroad.*

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

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

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

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2. Private Servants temporarily engaged.
   a. Couriers.
   b. Interpreters.
   c. Monthly Nurses and Invalid Nurses.
   d. Waiters at Parties.
   e. Charwomen.
   f. Knife, boot, window, and paint Cleaners, Pot scourers, Carpet beaters.

3. Public Servants.
   a. Waiters at hotels and public gardens.
   b. Masters of the Ceremonies.
   c. Chamber-Maids.
   d. Boots.
   e. Ostlers.
   f. Job Coachmen.
   g. Post-boys.
   h. Washerwomen.
   i. Dustmen.
   j. Sweeps.
   k. Scavengers.
   l. Nightmen.
   m. Flushermen.
   n. Turncocks.
   o. Lamplighters.
   p. Horse Holders.
   q. Crossing Sweepers.

THOSE WHO CANNOT WORK.

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

A. The Inmates of Workhouses.

B. The Inmates of Prisons.
   1. Debtors.
   2. Criminals (Some of these, however, are made to work by the authorities).

C. The Inmates of Hospitals.
   1. The Sick.
   2. The Insane—as Lunatics and Idiots.
   3. Veterans—as Greenwich and Chelsea Hospital men.
   4. The Deserted Young—as the Foundling Hospital children.

D. The Inmates of Asylums and Almshouses.
   1. The Afflicted—as the Deaf, and Dumb, and Blind.
   2. The Destitute Young—as Orphans.
   3. The Decayed Members of the several Trades or Sects.
      a. Trade and Provident Asylums and Almshouses.
      b. Sectarian Asylums and Almshouses—as for aged Jews, Widows of Clergymen, &c.

E. The Inmates of the several Refuges and Dormitories for the Houseless and Destitute.

VI. *Those who are Unprovided for.*

A. Those who are incapacitated from Want of Power.
   1. Owing to their Age.
      a. The Old.
      b. The Young.

   2. Owing to some Bodily Ailment.
      a. The Sick.
      b. The Crippled.
      c. The Maimed.

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d. The Paralyzed.
e. The Blind.
3. Owing to some Mental Infirmity.
a. The Insane.
b. The Idiotic.
c. The Untaught, or those who have never been brought up to any industrial occupation (as Widows and those who have "seen better days").

B. THOSE WHO ARE INCAPACITATED FROM WANT OF MEANS.
1. Having no tools (as is often the case with distressed carpenters).
2. Having no clothes (as servants when long out of a situation).
3. Having no stock-money (as impoverished street-sellers).
4. Having no materials (as the "used-up" garret or chamber masters in the boot and shoe or cabinet-making trade).
5. Having no place wherein to work (as when those who pursue their calling at home are forced to become the inmates of a nightly lodging-house).

C. THOSE WHO ARE INCAPACITATED FROM WANT OF EMPLOYMENT.
1. Owing to a glut or stagnation in business (as among the cotton-spinners, the iron-workers, the railway-navigators, and the like).
2. Owing to a change in fashion (as in the button-making trade).
3. Owing to the introduction of machinery (as among the sawyers, hand-loom weavers, pillow-lace makers, threshers, and others).
4. Owing to the advent of the slack season (as among the tailors and mantua-makers, and drawn-bonnet-makers).
5. Owing to the continuance of unfavourable weather.
a. From the prevalence of rain (as street-sellers, and others).
b. From the prevalence of easterly winds (as dock-labourers).
6. Owing to the approach of winter (as among the builders, brickmakers, market-gardeners, harvest-men).
7. Owing to the loss of character.
a. Culpably; from intemperate habits, or misconduct of some kind.
b. Accidentally; as when a servant's late master goes abroad, and a written testimonial is objected to.

THOSE WHO WILL NOT WORK.

VII. *Vagrants or Tramps.*

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

VIII. *Professional Beggars and their Dependents.*

A. NAVAL AND MILITARY BEGGARS.
1. Turnpike Sailors.
2. Spanish Legion Men, &c.
3. Veterans.

B. "DISTRESSED-OPERATIVE" BEGGARS.
1. Pretended Starved-out Manufacturers, as the Nottingham "Driz" or Lace-Men.
2. Pretended Unemployed Agriculturists.
3. Pretended Frozen-out Gardeners.
4. Pretended Hand-loom Weavers, and others deprived of their living by Machinery.

C. "RESPECTABLE" BEGGARS.
1. Pretended Broken-down Tradesmen, or Decayed Gentlemen.
2. Pretended Distressed Ushers, unable to take situation for want of clothes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IX. *Cheats and their Dependents.*

A. Those who Cheat the Government.
1. Smugglers defrauding the Customs.
2. "Jiggers" defrauding the Excise by working illicit stills, and the like.

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

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

C. The Dependents of Cheats are—
1. "Jollies," and "Magsmen," or accomplices of the "Bouncers and Besters."
2. "Bonnets," or accomplices of Gamblers.
3. Referees, or those who give false characters to swindlers and others.

X. *Thieves and their Dependents.*

A. Those who Plunder with Violence.
1. "Cracksmen"—as Housebreakers and Burglars.
2. "Rampsmen," or Footpads.
3. "Bludgers," or Stick-slingers, plundering in company with prostitutes.

B. Those who "Hocus," or Plunder their Victims when Stupified.
1. "Drummers," or those who render people insensible.
   a. By handkerchiefs steeped in chloroform.
   b. By drugs poured into liquor.
2. "Bug-hunters," or those who go round to the public-houses and plunder drunken men.

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

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xi. "Bluey-Hunters," or those who purloin lead from the tops of houses.
xii. "Cat and Kitten Hunters," or those who purloin pewter quart and pint pots from the top of area railings.
xiii. "Toshers," or those who purloin copper from the ships along shore.
xiv. Mudlarks, or those who steal pieces of rope and lumps of coal from among the vessels at the river-side.

b. Those who steal animals.
i. Horse Stealers.
ii. Sheep, or "Woolly-bird," Stealers.
iii. Deer Stealers.
iv. Dog Stealers.
v. Poachers, or Game Stealers.
vi. "Lady and Gentlemen Racket Men," or those who steal cocks and hens.
vii. Cat Stealers, or those who make away with cats for the sake of their skins and bones.

c. Those who steal dead bodies—as the "Resurrectionists."

3. Those who plunder by breach of trust.
a. Embezzlers, or those who rob their employers.
i. By receiving what is due to them, and never accounting for it.
ii. By obtaining goods in their employer's name.
iii. By purloining money from the till.
b. Illegal Pawners.
i. Those who pledge work given out to them by employers.
ii. Those who pledge blankets, sheets, &c., from lodgings.
c. Dishonest servants, those who make away with the property of their masters.
d. Bill Stealers, or those who purloin bills of exchange entrusted to them, to get discounted.
e. Letter Stealers.

D. "Shoful Men," or those who Plunder by Means of Counterfeits.
1. Coiners or fabricators of counterfeit money.
2. Forgers of bank notes.
3. Forgers of checks and acceptances.
4. Forgers of wills.

E. Dependents of Thieves.
1. "Fences," or receivers of stolen goods.
2. "Smashers," or utterers of base coin or forged notes.

XI. *Prostitutes and their Dependents.*

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

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6. Thieves' women, or those who entrap men into bye streets for the purpose of robbery.
7. The Dependents of Prostitutes:
   a. "Bawds," or Keepers of Brothels.
   b. Followers of Dress Lodgers.
   c. Keepers of Accommodation Houses.
   d. Procuresses, Pimps, and Panders.
   e. Fancy-Men.
   f. Magsmen and Bullies.

B. Clandestine Prostitutes.
1. Female Operatives.
2. Maid Servants.
3. Ladies of Intrigue.
4. Keepers of Houses of Assignation.

C. Cohabitant Prostitutes.
1. Those whose paramours cannot afford to pay the marriage fees.
2. Those whose paramours do not believe in the sanctity of the ceremony.
3. Those who have married a relative forbidden by law.
4. Those whose paramours object to marry them for pecuniary or family reasons.
5. Those who would forfeit their income by marrying, as officers' widows in receipt of pensions, and those who hold property only while unmarried.

THOSE WHO NEED NOT WORK.

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

A. Landlords of Estates.
B. Landlords of Houses.

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

A. Fundholders.
B. Shareholders.
1. In Mines.
2. In Canals.
3. In Railways.
4. In Public Companies.

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

A. Annuitants.
B. Pensioners.

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

Sinecurists.

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

A. Sleeping Partners.
B. Royalty Men.

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

A. Protegés.
B. Dependents.

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

A. Wives.
B. Children.

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OF THE NON-WORKERS.

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

The incapacitated, or compulsory non-workers.

The indisposed, or voluntary non-workers.

The independent, or privileged non-workers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. Offences against persons; including murder, rape, bigamy, assaults, &c.

II. Offences against property.

A. With violence; including burglary, robbery, piracy, &c.

B. Without violence; including embezzlement, cattle-stealing, larceny, and fraud.

C. Malicious offences against property; including arson, incendiarism, maiming cattle, &c.

III. Forgery and offences against the currency; including the forging of wills, bank-notes, and coining, &c.

IV. Other offences; including high-treason, sedition, poaching, smuggling, working illicit stills, perjury, &c.

M. Guerry, the eminent French statist, adopts a far more philosophic arrangement, and divides the several crimes into—

I. Crimes against the State; as high treason, &c.

II. Crimes against personal safety; as murder, assault, &c.

III. Crimes against morals (with and without violence); as rape, bigamy, &c.

IV. Crimes against property (proceeding from cupidity or malice); as larceny, embezzlement, incendiarism, and the like.

The same fundamental error which renders the government classification comparatively worthless, deprives that of the French philosopher of all practical value. It gives us no knowledge of the character of the people committing the crimes; being merely a system of criminal mnemonics, as it were, or easy method of remembering the several varieties of offences. The classes in both systems are but so many mental pigeon-holes for the orderly arrangement and partitioning of the various infractions of the law; further than this they cannot help us.

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

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

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

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

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

II. Crimes of lust and perverted appetites; as rape, &c.
III. Crimes of shame; as concealing the births of infants, attempts to procure miscarriage, and the like.
IV. Crimes of temptation, } with, or without breach of trust.
V. Crimes of cupidity,
VI. Crimes of want,
VII. Crimes of political prejudices.

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

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

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

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

The "*Rampsman*" or "*Cracksman*" plunders by force; as the burglar, footpad, &c.
The "*Drummer*" plunders by stupefaction; as the "hocusser."
The "*Mobsman*" plunders by manual dexterity; as the pickpocket.
The "*Sneaksman*" plunders by stealth; as the petty-larceny men and boys.
The "*Shofulman*" plunders by counterfeits; as the coiner.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The number of individuals belonging to the professional criminal class, we are not yet in a position to ascertain; but few dependable facts have been collected on the subject, and even these have been obtained so many years back that, with the increase of population, they have become almost worthless, except in a historic point of view. Such as they are, however, it will be as well to add them to this introduction to the class of voluntary non-workers, as the best information at present existing upon the subject.

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

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

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

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

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

* Those marked thus * are of a non-migratory character.
† The titles of the classes as here given do not form part of the original table.

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

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

District or Place.	Number of Depredators, Offenders, and Suspected Persons.				Average Length of Career.	Proportion of known bad Characters to the Population.
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total.		
Metropolitan Police District	10,444	4353	2104	16,901	4 yrs.	1 in 89
Borough of Liverpool	3,580	916	215	4,711	......	1 in 45
City and County of Bristol	1,935	1190	356	3,481	......	1 in 31
City of Bath	284	470	847	1,601	......	1 in 37
Town and County of Newcastle-on-Tyne	1,730	222	62	2,014	2¼ yrs.	1 in 27
Total	17,973	7151	3584	28,708		

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

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

Let us now, for a moment, turn our attention to the number and cost of the honest and dishonest poor throughout England and Wales. Mr. Porter, usually no mean authority upon all matters of a statistical nature, tells us, in his "Progress of the Nation," p. 530, that "the proportion of persons in the United Kingdom who pass their time without applying to any gainful occupation is quite *inconsiderable!* Of 5,800,000 males of 20 years and upwards living at the time of the census of 1831, there were said to be engaged in some calling or profession 5,450,000, thus leaving unemployed only 350,000, or rather less than six per cent." "The number of unemployed adult males in Great Britain in 1841," he afterwards informs us, "was only 274,000 and odd."

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

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

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EDUCATION OF CRIMINALS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

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

Years.	Unable to read or write.	Able to read and write imperfectly.	Able to read and write well.	Superior Instruction.	Instruction could not be ascertained.	Total.
1839	8,196	13,071	2462	78	636	24,443
1840	9,058	15,109	2253	101	666	27,187
1841	9,220	15,732	2053	126	629	27,760
1842	10,128	18,260	2121	69	731	31,309
1843	9,173	17,045	2371	140	862	29,591
1844	7,901	15,735	2165	111	639	26,549
1845	7,438	14,179	2037	89	560	24,303
1846	7,698	14,942	1936	85	446	25,107
1847	9,050	16,980	2245	82	476	28,833
1848	9,691	17,111	2984	81	482	30,349

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

Years	Unable to read or write.	Able to read and write imperfectly.	Able to read and write well.	Superior Instruction.	Instruction could not be ascertained.
1839	33·53	53·48	10·07	0·32	2·60
1840	33·32	55·57	8·29	0·37	2·45
1841	33·21	56·67	7·40	0·45	2·27
1842	32·35	58·32	6·77	0·22	2·34
1843	31·00	57·60	8·02	0·47	2·91
1844	29·77	59·28	8·42	0·42	2·41
1845	30·61	56·34	8·38	0·37	2·30
1846	30·66	59·51	7·71	0·34	1·78
1847	31·39	58·89	7·79	0·28	1·65
1848	31·93	56·38	9·83	0·27	1·59

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

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

Counties having great Ignorance and great density of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average. In No. signing register with Marks.	In No. of Persons to 100 Acres.	*Counties having little Ignorance and great density of Population.*	Percentage above and below the Average. In No. signing register with Marks.	In No. of Persons to 100 Acres.
Monmouth ..	†47	† 9	Middlesex ..	*55	†2030
Lancaster ..	†30	†270	Surrey	*47	† 189
Stafford	†30	† 72	Kent	*20	† 28
Worcester....	†30	† 13	Gloucester ..	*12	† 6
Chester	†15	† 31	Durham	*10	† 21
Nottingham	† 5	† 12	Warwick	* 5	† 70
Counties having little Ignorance and little density of Population.			*Counties having great Ignorance and little density of Population.*		
Cumberland	*37	*59	South Wales	†48	*55
Westmorland	*32	*75	Bedford	†40	*12
Northumb. ..	*30	*48	North Wales	†37	*60
Devon	*20	*30	Hertford	†35	*12
Sussex	*15	*25	Essex........	†25	*29
Southampton	*15	*20	Bucks	†22	*37
Dorset	*10	*43	Hunts	†22	*49
Oxford	* 2	*26	Rutland	†22	*49
Lincoln......	* 2	*51	Salop........	†20	*42
Derby	* 2	*20	Suffolk	†20	*26
			Wilts........	†20	*44
			Norfolk	†15	*32
			Cambridge ..	†12	*28
			Cornwall	†12	*16
			York	†10	* 2
			Northampton	† 7	*33
			Berks........	† 5	*15
			Hereford	† 2	*63
			Leicester	† 2	* 7
			Somerset	† 2	*10

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

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

Counties having great Crime and great density of Population.	Percentage above and below the Average. In Number of Criminals.	In No. of Persons to 100 Acres.	*Counties having great Crime and little density of Population.*	Percentage above and below the Average. In Number of Criminals.	In No. of Persons to 100 Acres.
Gloucester ..	†59·1	† 6·4	Hereford	†45·1	*63·4
Worcester....	†52·4	† 13·3	Bucks	†24·4	*37·0
Middlesex....	†49·4	†2030·8	Somerset	†21·3	*10·9
Chester	†37·8	† 31·2	Essex	†16·4	*29·6
Warwick	†31·7	† 70·0	Wilts	†15·2	*44·1
Lancaster	†12·8	† 270·6	Oxford	† 8·5	*26·8
Monmouth ..	† 9·7	† 9·9	Southampton	† 7·9	*20·7
Stafford	† 9·1	† 72·2	Hertford	† 6·7	*12·5
			Leicester	† 4·2	* 7·4
			Norfolk	† 4·2	*32·6
Counties having little Crime and little density of Population.			*Counties having little Crime and great density of Population.*		
Cumberland	*56·7	*59·6	Durham	*51·8	† 21·9
North Wales	*56·1	*60·4	Nottingham..	*28·0	† 12·7
Cornwall	*51·2	*16·3	Surrey	* ·6	†189·7
Westmorland	*50·6	*75·9	Kent		† 28·0
Northumb. ..	*50·0	*48·1			
South Wales	*48·7	*55·1			
Derby	*36·0	*20·9			
York	*30·5	* 2·0			
Lincoln	*22·0	*51·7			
Berks	*21·4	*15·5			
Hunts	*14·0	*49·9			
Devon	*14·0	*30·0			
Rutland	*15·2	*49·9			
Northampton	*13·4	*33·4			
Cambridge ..	*10·3	*28·2			
Dorset	*10·0	*43·1			
Salop	* 9·1	*42·9			
Bedford	* 7·3	*12·3			
Sussex	* 6·7	*25·0			
Suffolk	* 4·2	*26·6			

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

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

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MAP

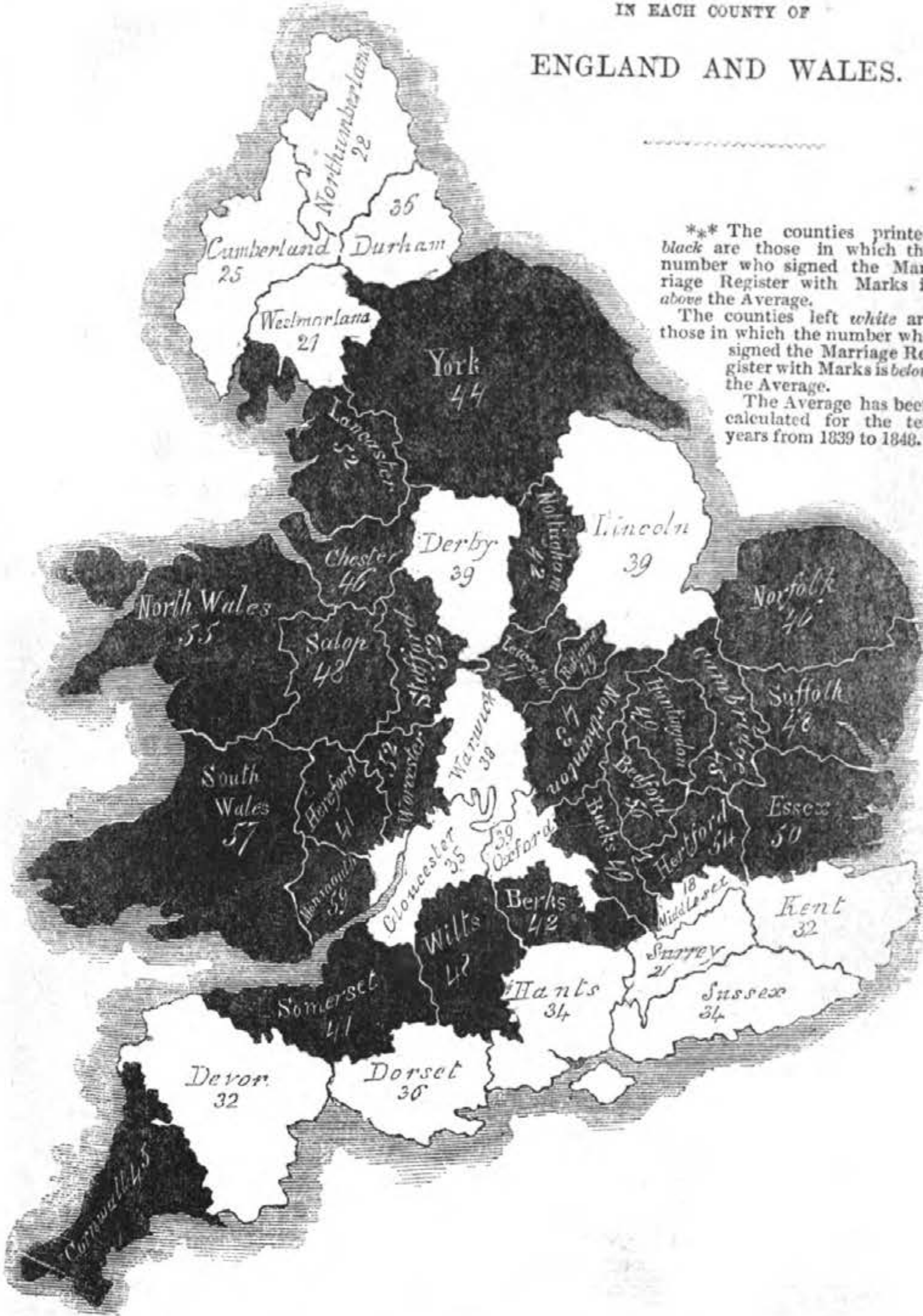
SHOWING THE NUMBER WHO SIGNED THE MARRIAGE REGISTER WITH MARKS IN EVERY 100 PERSONS MARRIED;

OR

THE INTENSITY OF IGNORANCE

IN EACH COUNTY OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.



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ROMAN BROTHEL—IMPERIAL ERA. (DUFOUR.)

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

But though it may be said that we give altogether 15,000,000*l.* a year to alleviate the distress of those who want or suffer, we must remember that this vast sum expresses not only the liberal extent of our sympathy, but likewise the fearful amount of want and suffering, on the one hand, and of excess and luxury on the other, that there must be in the land. If the poorer classes require fifteen millions to be added in charity every year to their aggregate income in order to relieve their pains and privations, and the richer can afford to have the same immense sum taken from theirs, and yet scarcely feel the loss, it shows at once how much the one class must have in excess and the other in deficiency. Whether such a state of things is a necessary evil connected with the distribution of wealth, this is not the place for me to argue. All I have to do here is to draw attention to the fact. It is for others to lay bare the cause, and, if possible, discover the remedy.

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

OF THE PROSTITUTE CLASS GENERALLY.

We have now seen that the two modes of obtaining a living other than by working for it are, by forcibly or stealthily appropriating the proceeds of another's labour, or else by seducing the more industrious or thrifty to part with a portion of their gains. Prostitution, professionally resorted to, belongs to the latter class, and consists, when adopted as a means of subsistence without labour, in inducing others, by the performance of some immoral act, to render up a portion of their possessions. Literally construed, prostitution is the putting of anything to a vile use; in this sense perjury is a species of prostitution, being an unworthy use of the faculty of speech; so, again, bribery is a prostitution of the right of voting; while prostitution, specially so called, is the using of her charms by a woman for immoral purposes. This, of course, may be done either from mercenary or voluptuous motives; be the cause, however, what it may, the act remains the same, and consists in the base perversion of a woman's charms—the surrendering of her virtue to criminal indulgence. Prostitution has been defined to be the illicit intercourse of the sexes; but illicit is unlicensed, and the mere sanctioning of an immoral act could not dignify it into a

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

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

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

In what, then, it may be asked, *does* prostitution consist? It consists, I answer, in what the word literally expresses—putting a woman's charms to vile uses. The term *whore* has, strictly, the same signification as that of *prostitute;* though usually supposed to be from the Saxon verb *hyrian,* to hire, and, consequently, to mean a woman whose favours can be procured for a reward. But the Saxon substantive *hure,* is the same word as the first syllable of *hor-cwen,* which signifies literally a filthy quean, a *har*-lot. Now the term *hor,* in *hor-cwen,* is but another form of the Saxon adjective *horig,* filthy, dirty, the Latin equivalent of which is *sor*-didus; hence the substantive *horines* means filthiness, and *horingas,* adulterers (or filthy people), and *hornung,* adultery, fornication, whoredom (or filthy acts). Prostitution and whoredom, then, have both the same meaning, viz., perversion to vile or *filthy* uses; and consist in the surrendering of a woman's virtue in a manner that excites *our moral disgust.* The offensiveness of the act of unchastity to the moral taste or sense constitutes the very essence of prostitution; and it is this moral offensiveness which often makes the licensed intercourse of the sexes, as in the marriage of a young girl to an old man, for the sake of his money, as much an act of prostitution as even the grossest libertinism.

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in Ancient States: General View.

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

Far as we can trace the history of society we discover no state without the blemish of prostitution. In some it was more, in others less prevalent; but in all it existed in one form or another. In examining the manners of the ancient nations, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, and Anglo Saxons, we find women who degraded themselves from vanity, lust, or for gain; and, among the old communities of the East, less known to us, public immorality was a characteristic. We shall show this to have been the case, and, basing our statements on the most creditable authority, indicate the principal features of each system. The information, it is true, which has been bequeathed to us, and elucidated by the learning and diligence of numerous scholars, is far from complete; but enough may be collected among the antiquities of Israel, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, to establish a fair opinion. The general design of this inquiry will be to draw a view of the position occupied by the female sex in different ages and countries, to measure the estimation in which it was held, to fix the accepted standard of morality, to ascertain the recognised significance of the marriage contract, the laws relating to polygamy and concubinage, the value at which feminine virtue and modesty were held, and thus to consider the prostitute in relation to the system of which she formed a part. *She* will be the particular object of investigation; but the others are by no means unimportant. They are, indeed, necessary to a just and comprehensive view of the question before us. In a society where men lived in brutal promiscuousness with the women, prostitution could scarcely exist; where chastity was lightly esteemed, and marriage held to be a loose contract for social purposes, adultery could hardly be very full of shame. In this, therefore, as in all other inquiries, it is necessary to view the actual object in relation to others which are invariably connected with it. There is no universal, unvarying standard, by which even prostitution can be measured. Circumstances, not belonging, yet not entirely foreign to it, are to be considered. Consequently, while we hold that in view as the main ground of research, we shall, where materials allow, draw a sketch of the situation occupied by the female sex, and of the other traits of civilization to which we have referred.

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

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always be more distinct, and therefore more conspicuous.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution among the Jews and other Ancient Nations.

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

The position of woman among the Jews was by no means exalted. She was seldom consulted by her friends, when an union with her was desired by a wealthy suitor. Indeed, in the patriarchal times she was regarded more as her husband's property than as his companion. Such must invariably be the case where polygamy and concubinage are institutions of society. At a still earlier period the customs of society were even more at variance with our ideas. Of course the sons of Adam must have married their sisters, and the practice continued after the necessity for it had ceased. Abraham formed such an union without exciting surprise. The patriarchs permitted men to wed two sisters at once, but the law of Moses brought a reform of marriage customs among the Jews *. They discontinued the intercourse between blood-relatives long before it was abandoned by the surrounding nations. Marriages with sisters not by the same mother were forbidden in the Mosaic code. Previously, however, none were unlawful except those of a man with his mother, or mother-in-law, or full sister. In the new dispensation the widow of a deceased brother was placed within the prohibited degree of consanguinity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From all the passages in Scripture referring to this subject, it appears that women among the Jews held but an indifferent position, being made the subject of barter, and that marriage was not a sacred but a civil institution,—a legal bond, which might be broken by a legal act. Matches were usually made by the woman's kindred, she herself being a secondary actor in the transaction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The circumstance is related in a manner which seems to show that the practice was common with men, nor does any particular disgrace appear to attach to it. When, however, Judah learns that his daughter-in-law Tamar is "with child by whoredom," he condemns her to the punishment of death by burning, on the secret being at length revealed to him *. We have here a singular illustration of manners among the primitive tribes of that great family of mankind. The corruption of manners reached, it is probable, a high degree before the laws were given.

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

* The passage here alluded to is as follows:—

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

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

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

"And she put her widow's garments off from her, and covered her with a vail, and wrapped herself, and sat in an open place, which is by the way to Timnath; for she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in Ancient Egypt.

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

The position of a woman in ancient Egypt was in some respects remarkable. Entire mistress of the household, she exercised considerable influence over her husband, and was not subjected to any intolerable tyranny. In all countries, however, where concubinage is allowed, the condition of the sex must be in a degree degraded. Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians married only one wife, Diodorus that they married as many as they pleased, the restriction applying only to the sacerdotal order. The contradiction may be reconciled by supposing that the former writer described the general practice, and the latter the permission granted by the law; or, which is more probable, that he confounded concubinage with polygamy. From frequent allusions to this system we know it was tolerated. Wise laws, however, held a check upon the practice. Every child, the fruit of whatever union, was to be reared by its parents, infanticide being severely punished. Illegitimacy was a term not recognised. The son of the free, and the son of the bondwoman, had an equal right to inheritance, the father alone being referred to, since the mother was viewed as little more than a nurse to her own offspring. Women in Egypt bore numerous children, which rendered many concubines a burden too heavy for any but the wealthy to bear; nevertheless, some did indulge themselves in this manner, procuring young girls from the slave-merchants who came from abroad, or captives taken in the field.

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in Ancient Greece.

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

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

* Dr. Beloe also takes this view.

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

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whole female population, married and single.

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

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

The young girls of Attica were early trained to all the offices of religion; they acquired considerable knowledge; their intellectual qualities were to some degree developed: they were educated to become housekeepers, wives, and mothers, such as we describe under those heads. Exercising considerable influence over their male relatives, they possessed consequently considerable weight in the community, and altogether held a higher position than the women of Sparta. They led secluded lives, yet they enjoyed many opportunities of intercourse with the other sex; and though, in their theatres, and in their temples, indecency of the grossest description was frequently displayed to their sight, they seem otherwise to have been somewhat refined in this respect. In Sparta, the virgins never hesitated to expose themselves naked before any circle of spectators: in Athens they observed at least the public forms of decorum, and, with the exception of the Hetairæ or prostitute class, were sufficiently modest in their conversation and in their behaviour.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Mackinnon's History of Civilization.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Potter's Antiquities of Greece.

‡ Ibid.

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

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

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

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

* Hase On the Ancient Greeks.

† Boeck's Public Economy of Athens.

‡ Potter's Antiquities of Greece.

§ Hase On the Ancient Greeks.

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A TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN ENGLAND AND WALES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

*** *The average is calculated for as long a series of years as the returns of the Registrar General will permit.*

COUNTIES.	Total Number of Births for 4 Years, from 1845-48.	Average per Year.	Number of Illegitimate Births.				Total for 4 Years.	Average per Year.	Proportion to all Births, 1 in every	Number of illegitimate in every 1000 Births.	Per Cent. above and below the Average. †denotes above * " below
			1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.					
Bedford	17,384	4,346	355	349	302	338	1,344	336	12·9	77	†14·9
Berks	23,195	5,799	463	472	438	470	1,843	461	12·5	79	†17·9
Bucks	17,984	4,496	328	329	296	306	1,259	315	14·2	70	†4·4
Cambridge	25,546	6,386	441	407	442	404	1,694	423	15·0	66	*1·5
Chester	51,396	12,599	1188	1190	1064	1072	4,514	1128	11·3	89	†32·8
Cornwall	45,017	11,254	576	537	515	508	2,136	534	21·0	47	*29·8
Cumberland	23,541	5,885	647	641	629	638	2,555	639	9·2	108	†61·2
Derby	32,295	8,074	672	670	674	610	2,626	656	12·2	81	†20·9
Devon	64,802	16,200	789	889	758	837	3,273	818	19·7	50	*25·3
Dorset	20,529	5,132	364	331	309	366	1,370	342	14·9	66	*1·5
Durham	54,916	13,729	804	821	812	859	3,296	824	16·3	60	*10·4
Essex	41,356	10,339	588	673	590	634	2,485	621	16·6	60	*10·4
Gloucester	49,444	12,361	811	855	720	767	3,153	788	15·6	64	*4·5
Hereford	10,984	2,746	273	305	254	263	1,095	274	10·0	100	†49·2
Hertford	21,590	5,397	402	414	368	367	1,551	388	13·9	72	†7·4
Hunts	8,179	2,045	116	100	80	98	394	98	20·7	48	*28·3
Kent	73,836	18,459	1015	1008	976	995	3,994	998	14·8	54	*19·4
Lancaster	293,023	73,256	5929	5897	5477	5384	22,687	5672	12·9	77	†14·9
Leicester	29,512	7,378	640	624	531	536	2,331	583	12·6	79	†17·9
Lincoln	49,546	12,386	843	845	773	821	3,282	820	15·0	66	*1·5
Middlesex	217,523	54,381	2048	2254	2201	2298	8,801	2200	24·7	40	*40·3
Monmouth	21,995	5,499	247	266	253	309	1,075	269	20·4	49	*26·8
Norfolk	52,387	13,097	1424	1440	1295	1336	5,495	1374	9·5	105	†56·7
Northampton	27,674	6,918	440	420	395	411	1,666	416	16·6	60	*10·4
Northumberland	37,523	9,381	668	678	715	679	2,740	685	13·6	73	†8·9
Nottingham	35,244	8,811	895	827	775	736	3,233	808	10·9	91	†35·8
Oxford	20,886	5,221	368	468	386	361	1,583	396	13·1	76	†13·4
Rutland	2,825	706	52	34	30	45	161	40	17·5	56	*16·4
Salop	25,899	6,475	676	658	593	632	2,559	640	10·1	99	†47·7
Somerset	53,509	13,377	903	860	796	830	3,389	847	15·7	63	*6·0
Southampton	46,726	11,681	704	711	688	709	2,812	703	16·6	60	*10·4
Stafford	77,972	19,493	1240	1283	1409	1433	5.365	1341	14·5	69	†3·0
Suffolk	42,055	10,514	937	950	849	846	3,582	895	11·7	85	†26·8
Surrey	81,968	20,492	855	911	930	915	3,611	903	22·6	44	*34·3

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Sussex	38,454	9,613	657	669	695	626	2,647	662	14·5	63	+1·5
Warwick	58,938	14,734	779	835	830	879	3,323	831	17·7	56	*16·4
Westmorland	7,073	1,793	179	147	149	149	624	156	11·3	87	+29·8
Wilts	29,008	7,252	521	549	485	469	2,024	506	14·3	69	+3·0
Worcester	40,561	10,140	768	885	512	553	2,718	679	14·9	66	*1·5
York	231,444	57,861	4266	4817	4030	4106	16,619	4155	13·9	71	+6·0
North Wales	48,268	10,817	872	854	830	832	3,388	847	12·7	78	+16·4
South Wales	72,188	18,047	1407	1256	1271	1300	5,234	1308	13·7	72	+7·4
Total for England and Wales	2,219,170	554,792	38,241	38,259	36,125	36,747	149,642	37,410	14·8	67	

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

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

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

Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the number of Early Marriages are both above the Average.	Rate of Increase of the Population from 1841 to 1851 per cent.	Annual No. of Early Marriages in every 1000 Marriages, from 1844–48. Among Males.	Among Females.
Lancaster	22	50	130
Stafford	20	62	176
Bedford	16	109	235
Chester	15	54	151
Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the number of Early Marriages are both below the Average.			
Northumberland	13	39	124
Southampton	13	25	118
Cumberland	10	33	105
Gloucester	6	42	104
Devon	6	22	82
Rutland	5	36	128
Cornwall	4	32	131
North Wales	4	27	77
Hereford	3	17	79
Westmorland	3	32	128
Salop	1	29	95
Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the Early Marriages among Females are above the Average and those among Males below it.			
Durham	26	35	142
Kent	14	46	140
County in which the Increase of the Population and Early Marriages among Females are below the Average, and those among Males above it.			
Warwick	18	46	131

Counties in which the Increase of the Population is below the Average, and the number of Early Marriages is above it.	Rate of Increase of the Population from 1841 to 1851 per cent.	Annual No. of Early Marriages in every 1000 Marriages, from 1844–48. Among Males.	Among Females.
Cambridge	13	73	227
Worcester	13	56	151
York	13	57	187
Hunts	9	99	336
Nottingham	9	60	158
Derby	9	46	138
Essex	7	57	204
Hertford	7	75	210
Norfolk	7	50	148
Suffolk	7	52	162
Northampton	7	71	190
Leicester	7	79	179
Berks	5	148	143
Bucks	4	94	74
Oxford	4	46	151
Wilts	0·7	68	164
Counties in which the Increase of Population is above the Average, and the number of Early Marriages is below it.			
Middlesex	20	18	85
Surrey	17	16	91
Monmouth	17	28	105
South Wales	14	30	82
Counties in which the Increase of the Population and the Early Marriages among Males are below the Average and those among Females above it.			
Lincoln	12	39	153
Sussex	12	38	160
Counties in which the Increase of the Population and Early Marriages among Females is below the Average and those among Males above it.			
Somerset	2	47	112
Dorset	6	47	125

MAP

SHOWING

THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

IN EVERY 1000 BIRTHS,

IN EACH COUNTY OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the number of Illegitimate Births is *above* the Average.

The counties left *white* are ose in which the number of Illegitimate Births is *below* the Average.

The Average is taken for four years (as long as the returns will allow).

Northumberland 73
Cumberland 108
Durham 60
York 71
Lancaster 77
Lincoln 66
Chester 89
Derby 91
Notts 91
N. Wales 78
Salop 99
Stafford 69
Leicester 79
Norfolk 100
Suffolk 85
Worcester 66
56 Warwick
Northampton 60
Cambridge 65
Hereford 100
S. Wales 72
Gloucester 64
Oxford 76
Bucks 70
Bedford 77
Hertford 72
Essex 60
49 Monmouth
Middlesex 40
Kent 54
Wilts 69
Berks 79
Surrey 44
Somerset 62
Hants 60
Sussex 68
Devon 50
Dorset 66
Cornwall 47

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

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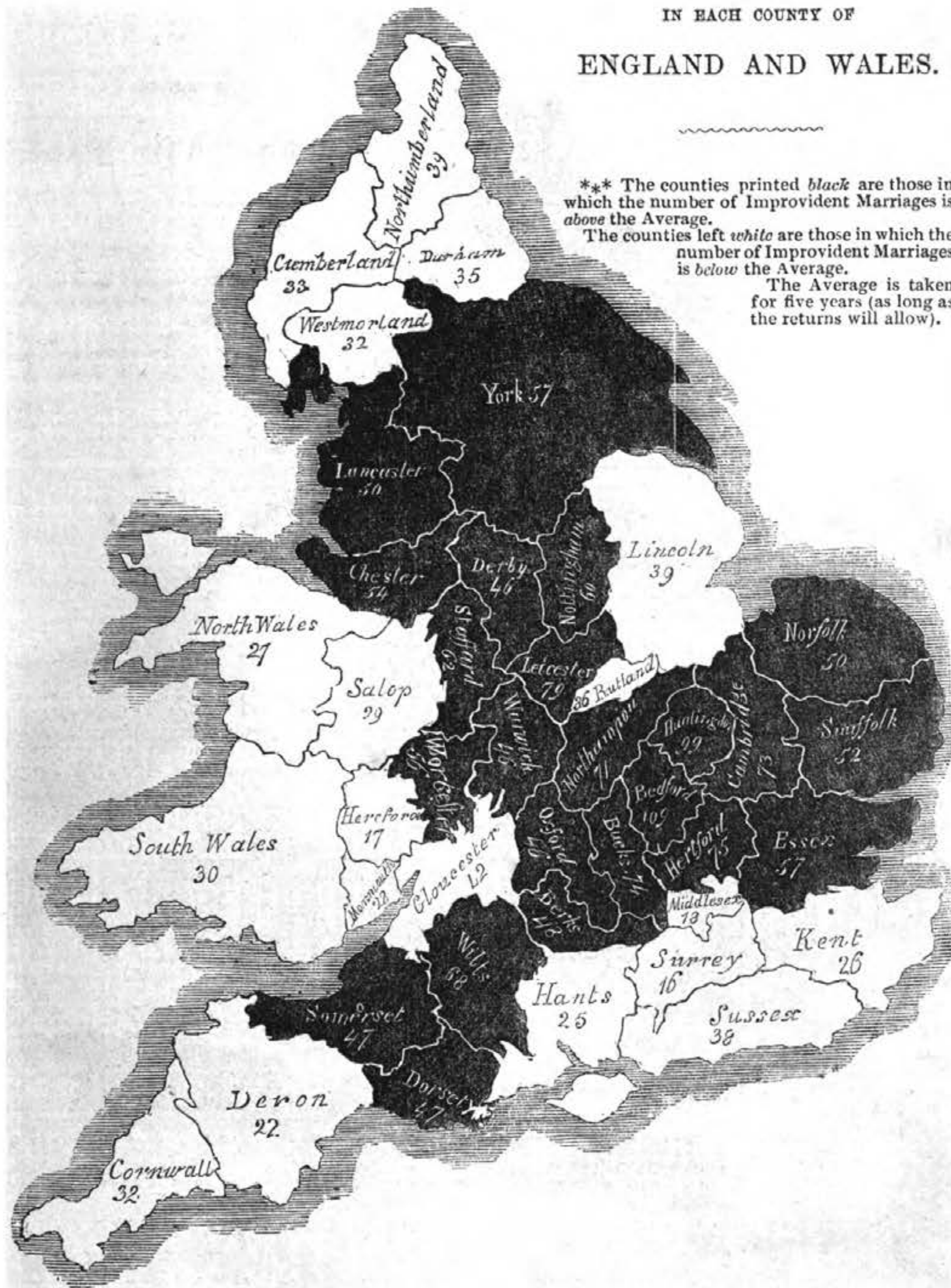
MAP

SHOWING

THE NUMBER OF EARLY MARRIAGES AMONGST MALES

IN EVERY 1000 MARRIAGES,



The Average for all England and Wales is 43 *in* 1000.

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

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

COUNTIES.	Annual Average Number of Marriages from 1844–48.	Number of Early Marriages. 1844.		1845.		1846.		1847.		1848.		Total for 5 years.		Average per year.		Proportion to all Marriages, 1 in every		Number of early Marriages to every 1000.		Per Cent. above and below the Average. † denotes above * ,, below	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Bedford	960	102	237	103	216	108	238	115	221	96	218	524	1,130	105	226	9·1	4·2	109	235	†153	†74
Berks	1,322	52	186	61	182	62	201	74	204	70	171	319	944	61	189	20·6	6·9	48	143	†12	†6
Bucks	974	66	181	66	175	87	196	76	179	67	213	362	944	72	189	13·5	5·1	74	194	†72	†44
Cambridge	1,428	115	324	89	808	112	849	96	311	115	328	527	1,620	105	324	13·6	4·4	73	227	†70	†68
Chester	2,764	153	393	175	427	154	455	132	372	136	446	750	2,093	150	419	18·4	6·5	54	151	†25	†12
Cornwall	2,510	86	312	84	848	80	334	86	313	68	341	404	1,648	81	330	30·9	7·6	32	131	*25	*3
Cumberland	1,060	31	88	54	145	28	183	23	94	38	97	174	557	35	111	30·2	9·5	33	105	*23	*22
Derby	1,954	86	276	76	243	104	289	82	270	109	275	457	1,353	91	271	21·4	7·2	46	138	†7	†2
Devon	4,574	84	324	95	352	104	367	97	401	124	430	504	1,874	101	375	45·2	12·1	22	82	*49	*39
Dorset	1,209	62	155	64	161	46	130	57	166	57	147	286	759	57	152	21·2	7·9	47	125	†9	*7
Durham	3,137	82	358	110	468	118	468	124	462	115	489	549	2,235	110	447	28·5	7·0	35	142	*19	†5
Essex	2,154	125	454	133	436	116	415	123	411	121	462	618	2,178	124	436	17·3	4·9	57	202	†33	†50
Gloucester	3,568	133	350	162	378	180	414	114	340	163	372	752	1,854	150	371	23·7	9·6	42	104	*2	*23
Hereford	648	15	47	10	61	11	60	14	47	7	42	57	257	11	51	58·9	12·7	17	79	*60	*41
Hertford	1,009	86	218	77	229	83	227	68	193	68	192	382	1,059	76	212	13·2	4·7	75	210	†74	†56
Hunts	455	77	370	41	91	29	110	42	94	37	102	226	767	45	153	10·1	2·9	99	336	†130	†149
Kent	4,339	93	584	112	614	128	659	108	567	128	625	574	3,049	115	610	37·7	7·1	26	140	*40	†4
Lancaster	18,785	831	2810	1040	2729	1005	2784	773	2330	1100	2864	4749	13,017	950	2603	19·7	7·2	50	139	†16	†3
Leicester	1,827	160	330	168	359	150	321	125	277	124	347	727	1,634	145	327	12·6	5·5	79	179	†84	†33
Lincoln	2,862	112	393	115	430	82	453	110	417	138	509	557	2,202	111	440	25·7	6·5	39	153	*9	†13
Middlesex	16,859	249	1262	360	1477	329	1606	322	1428	286	1437	1516	7,210	309	1442	54·5	11·6	18	85	*58	*37
Monmouth	1,395	28	119	38	149	43	147	44	157	44	165	197	737	39	147	35·7	9·4	28	105	*35	*22
Norfolk	3,189	164	467	173	448	158	472	144	444	164	504	803	2,335	161	467	19·8	6·8	50	146	†16	†81
Northampton	1,648	109	317	136	354	112	326	110	287	119	281	586	1,565	117	313	14·0	5·2	71	190	†65	†41
Northumberland	2,161	68	219	79	283	98	310	97	255	77	278	419	1,345	84	269	24·5	8·0	39	124	*9	*81
Nottingham	2,204	148	369	133	365	139	365	113	302	130	341	663	1,742	133	348	16·5	6·3	60	158	†40	†17
Oxford	1,154	53	172	52	190	56	156	51	163	57	196	269	877	54	175	21·3	6·5	46	151	†7	†12
Rutland	164	2	10	5	16	4	14	11	34	6	33	28	107	6	21	27·3	7·8	36	128	*16	*5
Salop	1,596	36	144	32	118	62	165	52	151	55	177	237	755	47	151	33·9	10·5	29	95	*33	*30
Somerset	3,159	144	375	159	328	166	385	116	319	159	371	744	1,778	149	356	21·2	8·8	47	112	†9	*17
Southampton	3,085	77	370	81	414	100	370	67	304	70	367	395	1,825	79	365	39·0	8·4	25	118	*42	*13
Stafford	4,807	215	634	278	818	285	835	391	1045	319	907	1488	4,239	298	848	16·1	5·6	62	176	†44	†30

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Suffolk	2,453	115	367	133	401	139	420	123	394	128	420	638	2,002	128	400	19·1	6·1	52	163	†21	†21
Surrey	5,550	84	485	90	523	108	532	86	536	70	462	438	2,538	88	508	63·0	10·9	16	91	*63	*25
Sussex	2,231	83	320	98	355	95	411	72	345	79	356	427	1,787	85	357	26·2	6·2	38	160	*12	†19
Warwick	3,650	130	383	158	437	175	482	176	502	212	597	851	2,401	170	480	21·4	7·6	46	131	†7	*3
Westmorland	436	10	44	11	40	22	80	17	64	8	50	68	278	14	56	31·1	7·7	32	128	*25	*5
Wilts	1,681	117	265	108	294	134	308	99	246	115	282	573	1,395	115	279	14·6	6·0	68	164	†58	†21
Worcester	2,796	151	421	201	583	254	604	93	272	89	240	788	2,120	158	424	17·6	6·5	56	151	†30	†12
York	14,399	828	2586	934	2368	841	2774	747	2649	794	2619	4144	13,496	829	2699	17·3	5·3	57	187	†33	†39
North Wales	2,643	75	200	75	186	65	224	67	207	79	211	361	1,028	72	206	36·7	12·8	27	77	*37	*43
South Wales	4,337	113	280	118	377	141	417	129	345	150	372	651	1,791	130	358	33·3	12·1	30	82	*30	*39
Total for England & Wales	139,146	5515	17,410	6287	19,376	6313	20,001	5566	18,118	6091	19,336	29,772	94,241	5954	18,848	23·3	7·3	43	135		

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

Amongst Males. Counties above the Average.		Amongst Males. Counties below the Average.		Amongst Females. Counties above the Average.		Amongst Females. Counties below the Average.	
Bedford	109	Gloucester	42	Huntingdon	336	Warwick	131
Hunts	99	Lincoln	39	Bedford	235	Cornwall	131
Leicester	79	Northumb.	39	Cambridge	227	Westmor.	128
Hertford	75	Sussex	38	Hertford	210	Rutland	128
Bucks	74	Rutland	36	Essex	204	Dorset	125
Cambridge	73	Durham	35	Bucks	194	Northumb.	124
Northamp.	71	Cumberland	33	Northamp.	190	Southamp.	118
Wilts	68	Cornwall	32	York	187	Somerset	112
Stafford	62	Westmor.	32	Leicester	179	Monmouth	105
Nottingham	60	S. Wales	30	Stafford	176	Cumberland	105
Essex	57	Salop	29	Wilts	164	Gloucester	104
York	57	Monmouth	28	Suffolk	162	Shropshire	95
Worcester	56	N. Wales	27	Sussex	160	Surrey	91
Chester	54	Kent	26	Nottingham	158	Middlesex	85
Suffolk	52	Southamp.	25	Lincoln	153	Devon	82
Lancaster	50	Devon	22	Oxford	151	S. Wales	82
Norfolk	50	Middlesex	18	Chester	151	Hereford	79
Berks	48	Hereford	17	Worcester	151	N. Wales	77
Dorset	47	Surrey	16	Norfolk	148		
Somerset	47			Berks	143	Average for England and Wales	135
Derby	46	Average for England and Wales	43	Durham	142		
Oxford	46			Kent	140		
Warwick	46			Lancaster	139		
				Derby	138		

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

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

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

(† denotes *plus.*) (* denotes *minus.*)

	Percent. above & below the Aver. In No. of Illegitimate Births.	In No. of Early Marriages. Among Males.	In No. of Early Marriages. Among Females.
Counties in which the Illegitimate Births and the Early Marriages are both above the Average.			
Norfolk	†56	†16	†81
Nottingham	†35	†40	†17
Suffolk	†26	†21	†21
Derby	†20	†7	†2
Chester	†32	†25	†12
Leicester	†17	†84	†33
Berks	†17	†12	†6
Lancaster	†14	†16	†3
Bedford	†14	†153	†74
Oxford	†13	†7	†12
Hertford	†7	†74	†56
York	†6	†33	†39
Bucks	†4	†72	†44
Stafford	†3	†44	†30
Wilts	†3	†58	†21
Counties in which the Illegitimate Children and Early Marriages are both below the Average.			
Middlesex	*40	*58	*37
Surrey	*34	*63	*25
Cornwall	*29	*25	*3
Monmouth	*26	*35	*22
Devon	*25	*49	*39
Rutland	*16	*16	*5
Southampton	*10	*42	*13
Gloucester	*4	*2	*23
Counties in which the Illegitimate Children and Early Marriages among Males are both below the Average, and those among Females above it.			
Kent	*19	*40	†4
Durham	*10	*19	†5
Lincoln	*1	*9	†13
Exceptional County.			
Sussex	†1	*12	†19

	Percent. above & below the Aver. In No. of Illegitimate Births.	In No. of Early Marriages. Among Males.	In No. of Early Marriages. Among Females.
Counties in which the Illegitimate Births are above the Average and the Early Marriages below it.			
Cumberland	†61	*23	*22
Hereford	†49	*60	*41
Salop	†47	*33	*30
Westmorland	†29	*25	*5
North Wales	†16	*37	*43
Northumberland	†8	*9	*81
South Wales	†7	*30	*39
Counties in which the Illegitimate Children are below the Average, and the Early Marriages above it.			
Hunts	*28	†130	†149
Northampton	*10	†65	†41
Essex	*10	†33	†50
Worcester	*1	†30	†12
Cambridge	*1	†70	†68
Counties in which the Illegitimate Children and the Early Marriages among Females are both below the Average, and those among Males above it.			
Warwick	*16	†7	*3
Somerset	*6	†9	*17
Dorset	*1	†9	*7

⁎ In the majority of these counties some peculiar form of courtship (as "night courtship" and "bundling") prevails.

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in ancient Rome.

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

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

In the more honourable days of the Republic, women occupied a high status. While the state was extremely young we find them, indeed, in perpetual tutelage; but gradually, as institutions were improved and manners refined, they rose to independence, and formed an influential element in society. The matron, in particular, stood in her due position. Respected, accomplished, allowed to converse with men, she was, in the most flourishing era of Roman history, a model for her sex. She presided over the whole household, superintended the education of the children, while they remained in tender years, and shared the honours of her husband. Instead of confined apartments being allotted to her as a domestic prison, the best chambers in the house were assigned, while the whole of it was free to her. Other circumstances in her condition combined to invest her with dignity; and the consequence was, that the Roman matron seldom or never transgressed against the moral or social law. No divorce is recorded before the year 234 B.C.; and that instance was on account of the woman's barrenness—a plea allowed by the law, but universally reprobated by the people. Yet the obstacles to this dissolution of the marriage compact were by no means formidable. Under the imperial régime, when there was less facility, divorces were more frequent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There was in Rome a legal concubinage between unmarried persons, resembling the morganatic or "left-handed" marriage, giving neither the woman nor her children any rights acquired from the husband. Widowers often took a concubine, without infamy*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* See Satire vi. 121-2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the early period of the decline, the licentious amours of Faustina were excused, even encouraged, by her husband, and the nobles paid homage in the temples before the image of an adultress. In the eyes of Commodus virtue was criminal, since it implied a reflection upon his profligacy. Dissolving his frame in lust amid 300 concubines and boys, he violated by force the few modest women remaining near his court. Julia, the wife of Severus, though flattered in life and death by public writers, was no better than a harlot. We have already noticed the pleasures of Elagabalus, who committed rape upon a vestal virgin, and condescended to the most bestial vice. The nobles readily followed his example, and the people were easily led into the fashion. Maximin drowned every coy maiden who refused his embraces. In process of time, the most degrading features of Asiatic profligacy were introduced into Rome, and eunuchs crowded the palaces of the emperor and his nobles. History alludes to no more vulgar prostitute than the Empress Theodora, who played comedies before the people of Constantinople, and prostituted her person—of unparalleled beauty as it was—night after night to a promiscuous crowd of citizens and strangers, of every rank and description. She exhibited herself naked in the theatre. Her sympathy for the prostitute class may be indicated by almost the only virtuous action recordered of her;—inducing her husband Justinian to found a monastery on the shores of the Bosphorus, where 500 miserable women, collected from the streets and brothels, were offered a refuge. When we remember the usual relative proportion of objects relieved by charity, to the numbers from which they are selected, this indicates a considerable trade in prostitution then carried on in Constantinople. When, however, such a social system prevailed, no inquiry could fix the professional class of harlots, since moral women, if any existed, were certainly exceptions.

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

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

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

Of Prostitution among the Anglo-Saxons.

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

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

Among the Britons, however, prevailed the extraordinary and pernicious institution of small societies of ten or twelve men, with a community of women among them. Ceremonies of mariage, indeed, took place, but for no other purpose than to provide that each woman's husband should maintain all her children, whoever their fathers might be. In some of their religi[illegible]s ceremonies women officiated naked, and in all their modes of life a coarse licentiousness obtained.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OF PROSTITUTION AMONG THE BARBAROUS NATIONS.

Introduction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The inhabitants of some islands, and the shores of bays and roadsteads, have discovered that in prostituting their women to the crews of trading ships they have a readier means of subsistence than was offered by their former industry. This has produced a frightful system of vicious commerce, which still prevails to a great extent in the Pacific, as well as in New Zealand and the ports of Africa. It is for Europeans to repair the evil created by the incontinence of their predecessors. Many captains of vessels have already effected much good by forbidding women to come on board.

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution among African Nations.

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

In ranging over Africa in search of facts to complete the present inquiry, we meet with numerous tribes belonging to seven separate races of mankind: the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Negro, the Moor, the Abyssinian, the Arab, and the Copts or descendants of the true Egyptian stock. Among each of these we perceive some varieties of manners; but everywhere in Africa one circumstance is prominent—the degraded condition of the female sex. The women of Cairo and Algiers are in comparison treated with little more refinement than those of some purely savage states; but we shall not include such communities among the barbarian races, reserving Egypt and some of the other countries characterised by a mongrel civilization for separate notices. We may, as far as our present inquiry goes, present the subject clearly and without confusion by making a geographical arrangement, and, commencing from the south, pass over the continent, until we encounter a form of civilization in the valley of the Lower Nile.

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

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

* Napier's Excursions in Southern Africa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The native of Western Africa, in most cases, looks upon his wife, in one respect as a source of pleasure, in another as a source of gain, reckoning her as property to the amount she can earn by labour. In the institution of marriage, therefore, it may easily be conceived that no sacred tie is acknowledged. It is merely a civil contract, to be dissolved at will. The man sends a present to the woman's father; if a virgin, she exchanges her leathern girdle for a cloth wrapped about the loins, and a little merry-making consummates the transaction. This account applies especially to the Tilatates. In Yarriba and Bughor, when a woman finds herself *enceinte*, she is obliged to inform her husband, or suffer a public whipping when the discovery is made. This custom refers, there is no doubt, to a feature in the morals of the people. Mothers, also, are forced to suckle their children until three years old, and punished if, during that period, they cohabit with a man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Cowries are valued at fifteen pence to the thousand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COUNTIES.	1851. Male Population.	1851. Female Population.	Number of Females to every 100 Males.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Average. † denotes above. * below.
Bedford	62,420	67,369	108	†2·9
Berks	99,227	99,927	101	*3·3
Bucks	70,784	72,896	103	*1·9
Cambridge	95,505	96,354	101	*3·8
Chester	206,715	216,723	105	
Cornwall	171,979	184,683	107	†1·9
Cumberland	96,106	99,331	103	*1·9
Derby	129,379	131,328	101	*3·8
Devon	271,579	300,628	111	†5·7
Dorset	85,816	91,781	107	†1·9
Durham	206,666	204,866	99	*5·7
Essex	172,161	171,755	100	*4·8
Gloucester	198,122	221,353	112	†6·7
Hereford	49,694	49,418	99	*5·7
Hertford	86,331	87,632	102	*2·9
Hunts	29,984	30,336	101	*3·8
Kent	308,115	341,092	101	*3·8
Lancaster	1,005,627	1,058,286	105	
Leicester	115,295	119,643	104	*1·0
Lincoln	201,027	199,239	99	*5·7
Middlesex	895,614	1,010,096	114	†8·6
Monmouth	92,095	85,070	92	*12·4
Norfolk	210,360	223,443	106	†1·0
Northampton	106,533	107,254	101	*3·8
Northumberland	149,158	154,377	103	*1·9
Nottingham	144,428	150,010	104	*1·0
Oxford	85,449	84,837	99	*5·7
Rutland	12,270	12,002	98	*6·7
Salop	122,022	122,997	101	*3·8
Somerset	216,716	239,521	111	†5·7
Southampton	199,334	202,199	101	*3·8
Stafford	320,394	310,112	97	*7·6
Suffolk	165,267	170,724	103	*1·9
Surrey	325,155	359,650	111	†5·7
Sussex	166,828	172,600	103	*1·9
Warwick	235,263	244,716	104	*1·0
Westmorland	29,064	29,316	101	*3·8
Wilts	113,839	122,164	103	*1·9
Worcester	126,739	132,023	104	*1·0
York	886,845	901,922	102	*2·9
North Wales	200,538	203,622	102	*2·9
South Wales	300,645	306,851	102	*2·9
TOTAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES	8,762,588	9,160,180	105	

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

COUNTIES ABOVE THE AVERAGE.		COUNTIES BELOW THE AVERAGE.	
Middlesex	114	Chester	105
Gloucester	112	Lancaster	105
Devon	111	Leicester	104
Somerset	111	Nottingham	104
Surrey	111	Warwick	104
Bedford	108	Worcester	104
Cornwall	107	Bucks	103
Dorset	107	Cumberland	103
Norfolk	106	Northumb.	103
		Suffolk	103
		Sussex	103
		Wilts	103
		Hertford	102
		York	102
		North Wales	102
		South Wales	102
		Berks	101
		Cambridge	101
		Derby	101
		Hunts	101
		Kent	101
		Northampton	101
		Salop	101
		Southampton	101
		Westmorland	101
		Essex	100
		Durham	99
		Hereford	99
		Lincoln	99
		Oxford	99
Average for England & Wales	105	Rutland	98
		Stafford	97
		Monmouth	92

THE EXCESS OF FEMALES AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS COMPARED.

Counties in which the Number of Females and Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above and * below. In No. of Females to Males.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.	*Counties in which the Number of Females is above and of the Illegitimate Births is below the Average.*	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above and * below. In No. of Females to Males.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Bedford	†3	†14	Middlesex	†8	*40
Norfolk	†1	†56	Gloucester	†6	* 4
			Devon	†5	*25
			Surrey	†5	*34
			Somerset	†5	* 6
			Cornwall	†2	*29
			Dorset	†1	* 1

Counties in which the Number of Females and Illegitimate Births are both below the Average.			*Counties in which the Number of Females is below the Average and the Illegitimate Births above it.*		
Monmouth	*12	*26	Stafford	*7	† 3
Rutland	* 6	*16	Oxford	*5	†13
Lincoln	* 5	* 1	Hereford	*5	†49
Durham	* 5	*10	Westmorland	*3	†29
Essex	* 4	*10	Salop	*3	†47
Hunts	* 3	*28	Derby	*3	†20
Northampton	* 3	*10	Berks	*3	†17
Kent	* 3	*19	York	*2	† 6
Cambridge	* 3	* 1	Hertford	*2	† 7
Southampton	* 3	*10	South Wales	*2	† 7
Warwick	* 1	*16	North Wales	*2	† 6
Worcester	* 1	* 1	Northumb.	*1	† 8
			Cumberland	*1	†61
			Wilts	*1	† 3
			Suffolk	*1	†26
			Bucks	*1	† 4
			Nottingham	*1	†35
			Leicester	*1	†17
			Sussex	*1	† 1
			Lancaster	..	†14
			Chester	..	†32

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

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Map No. VI.

MAP

SHOWING

THE NUMBER OF FEMALES TO EVERY 100 MALES

IN EACH OF THE COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND & WALES.

*** The counties printed *black* are those in which the proportion of Females to Males is *above* the Average.

The counties left *white* are those in which the proportion of Females to Males is *below* the Average.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Dupuis' Observations.

* Thompson and Allen's Expedition up the Niger.

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

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

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

The Mohammedans believe that a man cannot have too many wives, or, at least, too many concubines. They declare it assists their devotion; but the feeling is one merely sensual. Pure sentiment is a thing in which they can scarcely believe. Rich men who are accustomed to travel in pursuit of trade, have one family at Ghadames, another, perhaps, at Ghat, and another at Soudan, and live with each of them by turns. These women stand in great fear of their husbands. The rich are veiled, and live in retirement; the poor do not; but all will unveil their faces to a stranger, if it can be done with safety. The white, or respectable women of Ghadames, never descend into the streets, or even into the gardens of their houses. The flat roof of their dwelling is their perpetual promenade, and a suite of two or three rooms their abode. It is said that in these retreats many of the women privately rule their husbands, though no men will confess the fact. Among the Marabouts it is held disgraceful to be unmarried, but shameful also to be under the wife's control.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Richardson's Travels in the Sahara.

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

‡ Count St. Marie's Visit to Algeria.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Ignatius Palme's Travels in Kordofan.

† Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar.

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

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

It must be evident that, in an inquiry like the present, a view of the manners and morals of Africa with regard to the female sex must be incomplete. In the first place, our information is very limited; in the second, we are confined for space—for otherwise these sketches could be extended to an indefinite extent. We have, however, taken observations in Southern, in Western, in Eastern, in Northern, and Central Africa. Kingdoms and communities, indeed, there are which we have not included in our description. Of these some wear features so similar to others we have noticed, that to particularise them is unnecessary in a general view. Of others, such as Egypt, Nubia, Barca, Tripoli, Algiers, and Morocco, we shall treat in a future division of the subject, because they are not included, by the character of their civilization, among the communities of which we have hitherto spoken. The reader will, we trust, have been enabled to form a fair idea of the average of morals among the savages and semi-savages of Africa. With modern barbarians, as with ancient states, tabular statistics are impossible: but from a description in general terms, we cannot always refuse to ground a confident opinion.

* Werne's Expedition up the White Nile.

WOMEN IN AUSTRALIA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Australian wife when past the prime of life is usually a wretched object. She is often deformed and crippled by excessive toil—her body bent, her legs crooked, her ankles swollen, her face wearing an aspect of sullen apathy, produced by long hardship. When young, however, they are frequently lively and happy, not being cursed with keen feelings, and caring for little beyond the present hour. Should a young woman, nevertheless, be distinguished by peculiar beauty, she leads, while her attractions last, a miserable course of existence. Betrothed at an early age, she is perpetually watched by the future husband, and upon the least suspicion of infidelity is subjected to the most brutal treatment. To thrust a spear through her thigh or the calf of her leg is the common mode of punishment. She may, in spite of all precautions, be snatched away: whether consenting or not, she must endure the same penalty. If she be chaste, the man who has attempted to seduce her may strike her with a club, stun her, and bear her to a wood, where she is violated by force. Still she is punished, and it is, says Sir George Grey, no common sight to see a woman of superior elegance or beauty who has not some scars disfiguring various parts of her person. This period, however, is soon over, for the bloom of an Australian woman is very short-lived. When the seducer is found, he is punished in a similar manner, and if he have committed adultery with a married woman, suffers death.

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

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

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

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

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

Though we have mentioned three ways of obtaining a wife, the system of betrothal is the most general. Almost every female child is so disposed of a few days after its birth. From that moment the parents have no control whatever over her future settlement; she is in fact a bought slave. Should her betrothed die she becomes the property of his heir. Whatever her age she may be taken into the hut; cohabitation often commencing while the girl is not twelve years old, and her husband only a boy. Three days after her first husband's death the widow goes to the hut of the second.

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

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

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

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

A large proportion of the young men in Australia can by no means obtain wives. This arises from the numerical disparity between the sexes, which is almost universal in that region, and is chiefly attributable to the practice of infanticide. Child-killing is indeed among the social institutions of that poor and barbarous race. Women have been known to kill and eat their offspring, and men to swing them by the legs and dash out their brains against a tree. The custom is becoming rare among those tribes in constant intercourse with Europeans, but that intercourse itself has caused much of the evil. Half-castes, or the offspring of native women by European fathers, are almost invariably sacrificed. They are held in dread by the people, who fear the growth of a mixed race which may one day conquer or destroy them. Females, also, are killed in great numbers. This class of infanticide is regulated by various circumstances in different communities. Among some tribes all the girls are destroyed until a boy is born; in others, the firstborn is exposed; in others, all above a certain number perish; but everywhere the custom prevails. One of two twins—a rare birth—is almost always killed. It may be ascribed to the miserably poor condition of the people, and the degraded state of the female sex; for in a region where the aborigines have not yet learned to till the soil, and where the means of life are scanty, there will always be an inducement to check the growth of numbers by infanticide; and where women have to perform all the labour, and follow their husbands in long marches or campaigns, ministering to every want they may experience, the trouble of nursing an infant is often saved at the cost of the infant's life. Neglect also effects the same purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in New Zealand.

In the New Zealand group we find a race considerably elevated above the other inhabitants of Australasia, with a species of native civilization—a system of art, industry, and manners. Perhaps the savage of New Holland is one of the most miserable, and the New Zealander one of the most elevated, barbarians in the world. By this we do not mean that he has made any progress in refinement, or been subdued by the amiable amenities of life; but he is quick, intelligent, apt to learn, swift to imitate, and docile in the school of civilization. The Maories, in their original state, are low and brutal; but they are easily raised from that condition. They have exhibited a capacity for the reception of knowledge, and a desire to adopt what they are taught to admire—which encourage strong hopes of their reclamation. Among them, however, vice was, until recently, almost universal, and at the present day it is so, with the exception of a few tribes brought directly under the influence of educated and moral European communities. The only class which has discarded the most systematic immorality is that which has reconciled itself to the Christian religion, or been persuaded to follow the manners of the white men. The unreclaimed tribes present a spectacle of licentiousness which distinguishes them even among barbarous nations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Formerly many of the chiefs dwelling on the coast were known to derive a part of their revenue from the prostitution of young females. It was, indeed, converted into a regular trade, and to a great extent with the European ships visiting the group. The handsomest and plumpest women in the villages were chosen, and bartered for certain sums of money or articles of merchandise, some for a longer, some for a shorter period. The practice is now, if not abolished, at least held in great reprobation, as the following anecdote will show. It exhibits the depraved manners of the people in a striking light, and is an illustration of that want of affection between married people which has been remarked as a characteristic of the New Zealanders. A chief from Wallatani, in the Bay of Plenty, went on an excursion to the Bay of Islands, and was accompanied by his wife and her sister. There he met a chief of the neighbourhood, who possessed some merchandise which he coveted. He at once offered to barter the chastity of his wife for the goods, and the proposal was accepted. The woman told her sister of the transaction, and she divulged the secret. So much reproach was brought upon the chief among his people, that he shot his wife's sister to punish her incontinent tongue.

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in the Islands of the Pacific.

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

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

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

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

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

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841–50.	Total Number Committed for Rape.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually for Rape in every 10,000,000 Persons.	Proportion per Cent above and below the Aver. † denotes above. * ,, below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford	121,083	2	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	1	8	·8	66	*2·9
Berks	194,763	1	1	1	3	...	...	...	3	1	2	12	1·2	62	*8·8
Bucks	140,959	1	1	2	7	2	...	2	...	5	2	22	2·2	156	†129·4
Cambridge	180,747	1	...	...	...	1	2	2	1	1	2	10	1·0	55	*19·1
Chester	395,919	1	9	7	6	...	7	1	11	2	6	50	5·0	126	†85·3
Cornwall	349,991	7	1	1	2	1	3	...	5	2	2	24	2·4	68	
Cumberland	186,762	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	2	...	7	·7	37	*45·6
Derby	250,249	...	...	5	2	...	2	1	...	1	1	12	1·2	48	*29·4
Devon	554,738	1	1	5	1	1	5	4	4	...	5	27	2·7	49	*27·9
Dorset	172,736	...	1	3	...	2	...	1	1	...	1	9	·9	52	*23·5
Durham	368,787	2	2	8	5	1	9	7	4	5	4	47	4·7	127	†86·8
Essex	332,363	2	10	2	12	1	4	2	4	2	2	42	4·2	126	†85·3
Gloucester	407,504	...	1	2	7	2	2	2	1	4	7	28	2·8	69	†1·5
Hereford	97,813	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	1	...	5	·5	51	*25·0
Hertford	168,178	...	6	...	5	2	3	1	4	2	1	24	2·4	143	†110·3
Hunts	57,942	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	·3	52	*23·5
Kent	585,249	1	10	7	8	1	1	1	1	2	3	35	3·5	60	*11·8
Lancaster	1,881,261	8	8	11	12	10	8	12	12	4	9	94	9·4	50	*26·5
Leicester	227,621	1	3	2	2	...	2	1	...	4	1	16	1·6	70	†2·9
Lincoln	378,246	...	1	2	1	...	...	3	4	...	2	13	1·3	34	*50·0
Middlesex	1,740,814	9	13	11	8	12	12	15	15	11	9	115	11·5	66	*2·9
Monmouth	164,093	3	2	2	5	4	6	1	...	1	5	29	2·9	177	†145·6
Norfolk	419,463	2	1	4	3	2	7	2	4	5	9	39	3·9	93	†36·8
Northampton	206,496	3	...	1	2	3	...	...	1	2	4	15	1·5	73	†7·4
Northumberland	234,777	1	...	6	3	...	1	2	...	3	...	16	1·6	56	*17·6
Nottingham	282,584	...	1	2	1	...	1	...	1	1	1	8	·8	28	*58·8
Oxford	166,751	1	...	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	15	1·5	90	†32·4
Rutland	23.711	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	·2	84	†23·5
Salop	243,352	...	2	2	2	1	1	2	...	...	5	15	1·5	62	*8·8
Somerset	452,515	2	...	3	6	...	4	3	3	2	3	26	2·6	57	*16·2
Southampton	377,040	4	1	4	4	2	1	3	4	5	1	29	2·9	77	†13·2
Stafford	579,686	6	4	8	4	5	10	8	6	17	13	81	8·1	140	†105·9
Suffolk	325,336	1	3	2	...	2	3	2	2	3	2	20	2·0	61	*10·8
Surrey	635,917	...	1	6	1	7	3	4	5	4	4	35	3·5	55	*19·1
Sussex	320,944	5	4	2	...	3	2	...	...	1	...	17	1·7	53	*22·1

Warwick	444,558	...	5	1	4	...	...	1	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	19	1·9	[illegible]	[illegible]
Westmorland	57,494	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	4	·4	70	[illegible]
Wilts	241,887	3	6	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	23	2·3	95	†39·[illegible]
Worcester	244,574	1	1	4	2	1	8	1	...	3	3	24	2·4	98	†44·1
York	1,686,461	5	12	3	2	12	17	7	14	15	15	102	10·2	60	*11·8
North Wales	396,161	3	2	...	...	2	...	1	2	...	2	12	1·2	30	*55·9
South Wales	568,430	...	3	3	1	1	3	1	3	3	2	20	2·0	35	*48·5
Total for England and Wales	16,918,458	78	118	127	127	86	139	97	124	121	137	1154	115·4	68	

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

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO RAPE, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Monmouth	177	Cornwall	68
Bucks	156	Bedford	66
Hertford	143	Middlesex	66
Stafford	140	Berks	62
Durham	127	Salop	62
Chester	126	Suffolk	61
Essex	126	Kent	60
Worcester	98	York	60
Wilts	95	Somerset	57
Norfolk	93	Northumb.	56
Oxford	90	Cambridge	55
Rutland	84	Surrey	55
Southamp.	77	Sussex	53
Northamp.	73	Dorset	52
Leicester	70	Hunts	52
Westmor.	70	Hereford	51
Gloucester	69	Lancaster	50
		Devon	49
		Derby	48
		Warwick	43
		Cumberland	37
		S. Wales	35
Average for England and Wales	68	Lincoln	34
		N. Wales	30
		Nottingham	28

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

Counties in which the Number of Rapes and the Number of Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * denotes below. In Number of Rapes.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.	*Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above and the Number of Illegitimate Births below the Average.*	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * denotes below. In Number of Rapes.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Bucks	†129·4	† 4·4	Monmouth	†145·6	*26·8
Hertford	†110·3	† 7·4	Durham	† 86·3	*10·4
Stafford	†105·9	† 3·0	Essex	† 85·3	*10·4
Chester	† 85·3	†32·8	Worcester	† 44·1	* 1·5
Wilts	† 39·7	† 3·0	Rutland	† 23·5	*16·4
Norfolk	† 36·8	†56·7	Southampton	† 13·2	*10·4
Oxford	† 32·4	†13·4	Northampton	† 7·4	*10·4
Leicester	† 2·9	†17·9	Gloucester	† 1·5	* 4·5
Westmorland	† 2·9	†29·8			
Counties in which the Number of Rapes and the Number of Illegitimate Births are both below the Average.			*Counties in which the Number of Rapes is below and the Number of Illegitimate Births above the Average.*		
Lincoln	*50·0	* 1·5	Nottingham	*58·8	†35·8
Warwick	*36·8	*16·4	North Wales	*55·9	†16·4
Devon	*27·9	*25·3	South Wales	*48·5	† 7·4
Hunts	*23·5	*28·3	Cumberland	*45·6	†61·2
Dorset	*23·5	* 1·5	Derby	*29·4	†20·9
Surrey	*19·1	*34·3	Lancaster	*26·5	†14·9
Cambridge	*19·1	* 1·5	Hereford	*25·0	†49·2
Somerset	*16·2	* 6·0	Sussex	*22·1	† 1·5
Kent	*11·8	*19·4	Northumb.	*17·6	† 8·9
Middlesex	* 2·9	*40·3	York	*11·8	† 6·0
Cornwall	*	*29·8	Suffolk	*10·3	†26·8
			Salop	* 8·8	†47·7
			Berks	* 8·8	†17·9
			Bedford	* 2·9	†14·9

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

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

Counties in which the Number of Rapes and the Number of Females are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * denotes below. In Number of Rapes.	In No. of Females to Males.	*Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above and the Number of Females below the Average.*	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * denotes below. In Number of Rapes.	In No. of Females to Males.
Norfolk	†36·8	†1·0	Monmouth	†145·6	*12·4
Gloucester	† 1·5	†6·7	Bucks	†129·4	* 1·9
Counties in which the Number of Rapes and the Number of Females are both below the Average.			Hertford	†110·3	* 2·9
Nottingham	*58·8	*1·0	Stafford	†105·9	* 7·6
North Wales	*55·9	*2·9	Durham	† 86·8	* 5·7
Lincoln	*50·0	*5·7	Chester	† 85·3	*
South Wales	*48·5	*2·9	Essex	† 85·3	* 4·8
Cumberland	*45·6	*1·9	Worcester	† 44·1	* 1·0
Warwick	*36·8	*1·0	Wilts	† 39·7	* 1·9
Derby	*29·4	*3·3	Oxford	† 32·4	* 5·7
Lancaster	*26·5	*	Rutland	† 23·5	* 6·7
Hereford	*25·0	*5·7	Southampton	† 13·2	* 3·8
Hunts	*23·5	*3·8	Northampton	† 7·4	* 3·8
Sussex	*22·1	*1·9	Leicester	† 2·9	* 1·0
Cambridge	*19·1	*3·8	Westmorland	† 2·9	* 3·8
Northumb.	*17·6	*1·9	*Counties in which the Number of Rapes is below and the Number of Females above the Average.*		
York	*11·8	*2·9	Devon	*27·9	† 5·7
Kent	*11·8	*3·8	Dorset	*23·5	† 1·9
Suffolk	*10·3	*1·9	Surrey	*19·1	† 5·7
Salop	* 8·8	*3·8	Somerset	*16·2	† 5·7
Berks	* 8·8	*3·3	Middlesex	* 2·9	† 8·6
			Bedford	* 2·9	† 2·9
			Cornwall	*	† 1·9

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

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Map No. VII.

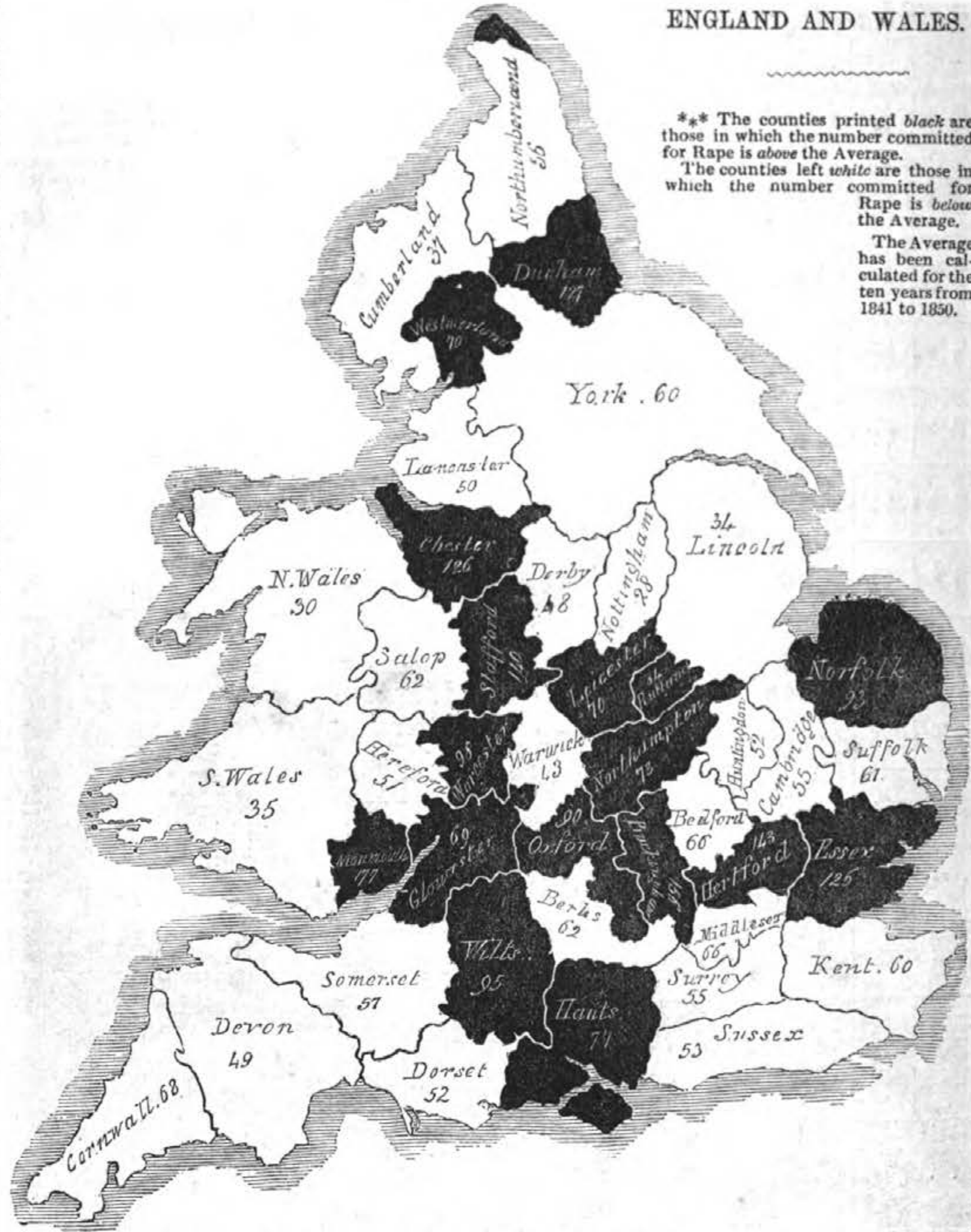
MAP

SHOWING

THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR RAPE

IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF



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

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

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Map No. VIII.

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF

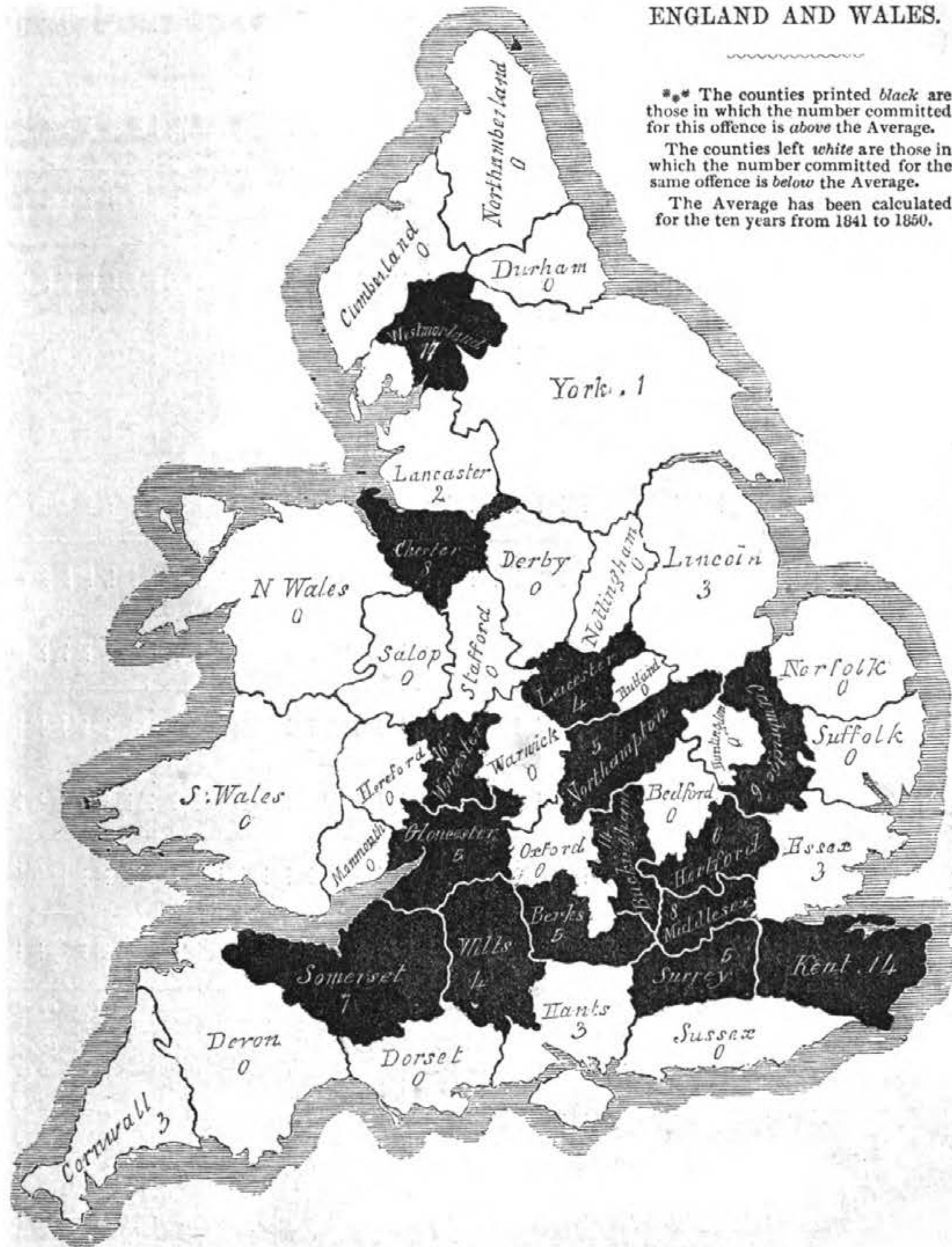
PERSONS COMMITTED FOR CARNALLY ABUSING GIRLS

BETWEEN THE AGE OF TEN AND TWELVE YEARS

IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.



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

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

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841–50.	Total number committed for carnally abusing girls between the age of 10 and 12 years.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000,000 Persons.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Aver. † denotes above. * ,, below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford	121,083	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	†100·0
Berks	194,763	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	·1	5	†66·7
Bucks	140,959	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	·2	14	†366·7
Cambridge	180,747	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	·1	6	†100·0
Chester	395,919	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	·3	8	†166·7
Cornwall	349,991	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	·1	3	
Cumberland	186,762	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	†100·0
Derby	250,249	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	†100·0
Devon	554,738	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Dorset	172,736	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Durham	368,787	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Essex	332,363	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	·1	3	
Gloucester	407,504	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	·2	5	†66·7
Hereford	97,818	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Hertford	168,178	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	·1	6	†100·0
Hunts	57,942	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Kent	585,249	...	...	2	1	1	...	1	3	...	...	8	·8	14	†366·7
Lancaster	1,881,261	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	4	·4	2	*33·3
Leicester	227,621	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	·1	4	†83·3
Lincoln	378,246	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	·1	3	
Middlesex	1,740,814	...	1	2	1	4	1	2	1	2	...	14	1·4	8	†166·7
Monmouth	164,093	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Norfolk	419,463	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Northampton	206,496	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	·1	5	†66·7
Northumberland	284,777	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Nottingham	282,584	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Oxford	166,751	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Rutland	23,711	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Salop	243,352	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Somerset	452,515	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	·3	7	†133·3
Southampton	377,040	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	·1	3	
Stafford	579,686	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Suffolk	325,336	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Surrey	635,917	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	3	·3	5	†66·7
Sussex	320,944	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0

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Warwick	444,558	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Westmorland	57,494	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	·1	17	†466·7
Wilts	241,887	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	·1	4	†33·3
Worcester	244,574	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	4	·4	16	†433·3
York	1,686,461	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	·2	1	*66·7
North Wales	396,161	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
South Wales	568,430	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Total for England and Wales	16,918,458	4	2	7	8	6	5	5	9	8	2	56	5·6	3	

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

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO CARNALLY ABUSING GIRLS BETWEEN THE AGE OF 10 AND 12 YEARS, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Westmor.	17	Cornwall..	3
Worcester	16	Essex	3
Kent	14	Lincoln ..	3
Bucks	14	Southamp.	3
Middlesex	8	Lancaster..	2
Chester....	8	York	1
Somerset ..	7	Bedford ..	
Cambridge	6	Cumberland	
Hertford ..	6	Derby	
Surrey	5	Devon	
Gloucester	5	Dorset	
Berks	5	Durham	
Northamp.	5	Hereford	
Leicester ..	4	Hunts	
Wilts	4	Monmouth	
		Norfolk	
		Northumb.	
		Nottingham	
		Oxford	
		Rutland	
		Salop	
		Stafford	
		Suffolk	
		Sussex	
		Warwick	
		N. Wales	
		S. Wales	
Average for England and Wales	3		

THE CRIME OF RAPE COMPARED WITH THAT OF CARNALLY ABUSING CHILDREN IN EACH COUNTY.

Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * „ below.

Counties in which the Number of Rapes and the Number of Cases of Carnal Abuse are both above the Average.	In Number of Rapes.	In No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse.
Bucks........	†129·4	†366·7
Hertford	†110·3	†100·0
Chester	† 85·3	†166·7
Worcester....	† 44·1	†433·3
Wilts	† 39·7	† 33·3
Northampton	† 7·4	† 66·7
Leicester	† 2·9	† 33·3
Westmorland	† 2·9	†466·6
Gloucester...	† 1·5	† 66·7
Counties in which the No. of Rapes and the No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse are both below the Aver.		
Nottingham .	*58·8	*100·0
North Wales .	*55·9	*100·0
Lincoln	*50·0	*
South Wales .	*48·5	*100·0
Cumberland .	*45·6	*100·0
Warwick	*36·8	*100·0
Derby	*29·4	*100·0
Devon	*27·9	*100·0
Lancaster	*26·5	* 33·3
Hereford......	*25·0	*100·0
Hunts........	*23·5	*100·0
Dorset........	*23·5	*100·0
Sussex	*22·1	*100·0
Northumb. ..	*17·6	*100·0
York	*11·8	* 66·7
Suffolk	*10·3	*100·0
Salop	* 8·8	*100·0
Bedford......	* 2·9	*100·0
Cornwall.	*	*

Counties in which the Number of Rapes is above and the Number of Cases of Carnal Abuse is below the Average.	In Number of Rapes.	In No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse.
Monmouth ..	†145·6	*100·0
Stafford......	†105·9	*100·0
Durham	† 86·8	*100·0
Essex	† 85·3	*
Norfolk......	† 36·8	*100·0
Oxford.	† 32·4	*100·0
Rutland	† 23·5	*100·0
Southampton	† 13·2	*
Counties in which the No. of Rapes is below and the No. of Cases of Carnal Abuses above the Aver.		
Surrey	*19·1	† 66·7
Cambridge ..	*19·1	†100·0
Somerset	*16·2	†133·3
Kent	*11·8	†366·7
Berks........	* 8·8	† 66·7
Middlesex....	* 2·9	†166·7

⁎ The rule appears to be, that where the Number of Rapes is the *greatest*, the Number of Cases of Carnally Abusing Children is (generally speaking) the greatest also; and *vice versâ*, where the Rapes are the *least*, the carnal abuse of Children is the *least* likewise.

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

Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * „ below.

Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children and the Number of Females to Males are both above the Average.	In No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse.	In No. of Females to Males.
Middlesex....	†166·7	†8·6
Somerset	†133·3	†5·7
Gloucester ..	† 66·7	†6·7
Surrey	† 66·7	†5·7
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children and the No. of Females to Males are both below the Average.		
South Wales .	*100·0	* 2·9
North Wales .	*100·0	* 2·9
Warwick	*100·0	* 1·0
Sussex	*100·0	* 1·9
Suffolk	*100·0	* 1·9
Stafford	*100·0	* 7·6
Salop	*100·0	* 3·8
Rutland	*100·0	* 6·7
Oxford	*100·0	* 5·7
Nottingham .	*100·0	* 1·0
Northumb. ..	*100·0	* 1·9
Monmouth ..	*100·0	*12·4
Hunts	*100·0	* 3·8
Hereford	*100·0	* 5·7
Durham	*100·0	* 5·7
Derby	*100·0	* 3·8
Cumberland .	*100·0	* 1·9
York.........	* 66·7	* 2·9
Lancaster	* 33·3	*
Southampton	*	* 3·8
Lincoln	*	* 5·7
Essex	*	* 4·8

Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is above, and the Number of Females to Males below the Average.	In No. of Cases of Carnal Abuse.	In No. of Females to Males.
Westmorland	†466·6	*3·8
Worcester....	†433·3	*1·0
Bucks	†366·7	*1·9
Kent	†366·7	*3·8
Chester	†166·7	*
Cambridge ..	†100·0	*3·8
Hertford	†100·0	*2·9
Berks	† 66·7	*3·8
Northampton	† 66·7	*3·8
Leicester	† 33·3	*1·0
Wilts.........	† 33·3	*1·9
Counties in which the Carnal Abuse of Children is below and the No. of Females to Males above the Average.		
Norfolk......	*100·0	†1·0
Dorset	*100·0	†1·9
Devon	*100·0	†5·7
Bedford	*100·0	†2·9
Cornwall	*	†1·9

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

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

Marriage under such circumstances could not be looked upon as a sacred tie, or even a dignified state. It was held to serve only the purposes of nature and the pleasures of the men. With all, indeed, except the rich, it was a mere unceremonious bargain, in which the woman was purchased, though the parents usually made a present to their son-in-law. Among the nobler orders of society there was a little more parade, though an equal absence of sanctity. A person with a beautiful daughter brought her to some chief, saying, "Here is a wife for you." If she pleased him he took her from her father's hands, placed her under the care of a confidential servant, and had her fattened, until old and plump enough for marriage. All her friends assembled with his at the temple, and proceeded to the altar. The bride, with a rope hanging about her neck, was accompanied by a man bearing a bunch of the fragrant fern. Prayers were muttered, and blessing invoked upon the union. Then the names of their ancestors were whispered, and at each one of the leaves was torn. The nearest kinsman of the woman next loosened the rope from about her neck, and delivered her over to the bridegroom, bidding him take her home. Presents of various kinds were made to the newly-married pair, but, with all this ceremony, the tie was merely one of convenience. Within a month the man might tire of his partner and wish to be rid of her. All he had to do was to desire her departure, saying, "It is enough —go away." She immediately left him, and almost invariably became a prostitute. This process might be repeated as often as he pleased. The caprice of the male sex thus threw numbers of the females into a necessity of supporting themselves by the public hire of their persons. For, although polygamy existed, it was practised only by the rich, since the facility of divorce rendered it more convenient to take one wife, dwell with her a short time, and abandon her for another, than to be troubled or burdened with several at the same time. The wealthy, however, took numerous concubines—indulging in this luxury more than any of the other islanders. In all their customs and national characteristics, if we desire to view them in their original form, we must contemplate the people of those islands as they were twenty years ago. A great change is now apparent among them. The accounts, therefore, published at that period, though improved by later inquiries, afford us the information we are in search of. We are not surprised to find an indolent licentious people, as they were, when under no restraint, addicted to the most odious forms of vice. One natural result of their manner of life was infanticide. It was practised to a frightful extent, and was encouraged by a variety of causes. In the first place, poverty and idleness often induced parents to destroy their children — choosing to suffer that short pang of natural sorrow than the long struggles with starvation which awaited the indigent—even in those prolific islands. Next the common licentiousness produced innumerable bastards, which were generally killed. Thirdly, the social institutions of the country, with the division of classes, contributed to increase the prevalence of the custom—for the fruit of all unequal matches was cast aside. Superstition also aided it, for the priests demanded for their gods frequent oblations of infant blood. The missionary Williams was informed that, from the constant occurrence of wars, women, being abandoned by their husbands, slew their children, whom they knew not how to support. When a man married a girl of inferior rank, two, four, or six of her children were sacrificed before she could claim equality with him, and should she bear any more they were spared. Vanity, too, exercised its influence, for, as nursing impaired the beauty of the women, they sought to preserve their attractions by sparing themselves the labour. Perhaps, however, we should not lay it to the charge of vanity. The miserable women of these islands found in the flower of their persons the only chance of attachment or respect from their husbands. When this had faded, nothing could save them from neglect.

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

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

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

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

The Areois formed a body of privileged libertines, who spent their days travelling from province to province, from island to island, exhibiting a kind of licentious dramatic spectacle to the people, and everywhere indulging the grossest of their passions. The company located itself in a particular spot as its head-quarters, and at certain seasons departed on an excursion through the group. Great parade was made on the occasion of their setting out. They bore with them portable temples for the worship of their tutelar gods, and, wherever they halted, performed their pantomimes for the amusement of the people. The priests and others—all classes and things—were ridiculed by them in their speeches, with entire impunity, and they were entertained by the chiefs with sumptuous feasts. There were, however, seven classes of the Areois, of which the first was select and small, while the seventh performed the lower and more laborious parts in their entertainments. Numbers of servants followed them to prepare their food and their dresses, and were distinguished by the name of Fanannau; these were not obliged to destroy their children.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inconstancy among wives, and profligacy among unmarried women, was then a characteristic almost universal in Tahiti. The wide-spread practice of procuring abortion concealed many of the intrigues which took place, and the last crime which began visibly to decrease was that of adultery. Nor could this be a matter of wonder. The education of the people was in a school of licentiousness. The most effective lessons in obscenity were afforded by the priests in the temples, and children of tender years indulged in acts of indescribable depravity. Thus in few parts of the world could be discovered a more corrupt system of manners, a more complete absence of morals, than in Tahiti.

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

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

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

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

We believe this to be an unfair account of the state of things now existing in Tahiti. The writer* is possessed of a strong prejudice against the missionaries, and we are inclined to apply to him, with some modification, the observations of Commodore Wilkes, commander of the recent American exploring expedition in reference to that island. He tells us there is a class of traders who defame the missionaries, as well as a profligate class who hate them, because they forbid intoxicating liquors, have abolished lascivious dances, and prevent women going on board ship to prostitute themselves. One charge against the missionaries is, however, proved: they are guilty of a misjudging zeal amounting to fanaticism, forbidding the women to wear chaplets of flowers, because it is a sinful vanity; such a restriction is worse than ridiculous. The Commodore, however, whom we accept as a judicious and a trustworthy authority, already shows that much good has been effected. The population is now almost stationary—the births and deaths among all ages and both sexes were in 1839 naturally proportionate; Christian marriage is established as the national custom, and polygamy abolished; if infanticide be ever practised, it is as a secret crime; and as for immorality, though by no means extirpated, it has been considerably reduced. "Licentiousness," says Wilkes, "does still exist among them, but the foreign residents and visitors are in a great degree the cause of its continuance, and an unbridled intercourse with them serves to perpetuate it. Severe laws have been enacted, but they cannot be put in force in cases where one of the parties is a foreigner." He proceeds to deny that the island is conspicuous in this respect, and believes it would show advantageously in contrast with many countries usually styled civilized.

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

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

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

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

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

The infanticide of the Sandwich Islands presented details still more horrible than the worst of those described in connection with Tahiti. Children six or seven years old, who so far had been carefully nursed, were sometimes sacrificed when their parents became desperate or indolent. An American traveller relates an affecting incident of a man who desired to be rid of his child, while the mother endeavoured to save it. Long altercations took place between them, until the father one day, to put an end to the debate, seized his little son, threw him over his knees, and with a single blow broke his back. The circumstance was related to the king, with a demand for punishment upon the offender. "Whose child was it?" he asked. They answered, "His own." "Then that is nothing," he said, "to you or to me." Usually the office was performed by female child-stranglers, who made it their profession. In a country where marriage, especially among the rich, was simply a compact for temporary or permanent cohabitation, abundance of employment was naturally afforded to those people. The chiefs, it is true, married in the temple, but the addition of ceremonies added not a whit of sanctity or durability to the bond. The first Christian wedding took place in Oalm in 1822, and the rite has since that period been established by law. The edict of 1819, indeed, proclaimed a revolution in the social system of the group. But it is not easy to reform the manners of a whole people. It is a slight task to publish laws, but difficult to enforce them, especially when they assail the most deeply-rooted prejudices, the sentiments, the passions, the religions, and the pleasures, of a numerous community. Idolatry, infanticide, polygamy, concubinage, and prostitution were all prohibited by the declaration of 1819, but are still practised, though in secret, but by no means so extensively as in former times. The financial laws check infanticide. If a man has four children, he is exempt from labour taxes to the king and to his landlord; if five, from the poll-tax also; if six, from all taxes whatsoever. Indeed, the condition of the females has been considerably raised, so that, instead of being the slaves, they are now, at least in some degree, the companions of the men.

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

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

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

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

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

During Mariner's residence of four years in the islands, where he enjoyed privileges of social intercourse which no native was allowed, he made numerous inquiries, and was led to believe that infidelity among the married women was very rare. He remembered only three successful instances of planned intrigue, with one other which he suspected. Great chiefs might kill their wives taken in adultery, while inferior men beat them. They were under the surveillance of female servants, who continually watched their proceedings. Independently of this also, he considered them inclined to conjugal virtue.

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

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

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

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

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

In the wild isles of the Kingsmill group in the Western Pacific, polygamy prevails; but more consideration is paid to the female sex than in any other part of that great insular region. All the hard labour is performed by the men; the women pursuing only those occupations which are truly domestic and feminine. Men, indeed, beat their wives, but in a similar manner to the lower classes here. If she be vigorous or bold enough, she returns blow for blow, and there is no appeal for him against her retaliation. Chastity is scarcely esteemed a virtue, nor is it considered essential by a man requiring a wife. After marriage, however, continence is strictly required. The adulteress is either put to death or expelled; but, in spite of these punishments, offences of this class are not uncommon. They are encouraged by the laws which forbid the younger brothers of a chief, who are not holders of land, from marriage; for it may be laid down as an axiom that all restrictions upon lawful intercourse with women multiply illicit connections. The adulteress and the prostitute in the Kingsmill Isles, as elsewhere, form the resources of those to whom celibacy is enjoined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution among the North-American Indians.

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

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

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

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

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

The Indian loves society. He is never found wandering alone. He is attached also to the company of women. Priding himself, however, on his stoicism, he never, at any period of his history, condescended to voluptuousness. His sense of manly pride prevented him from becoming immodest or indecent. This feeling at the same time inspired him with the idea that everything except the hunt and the war-path was below the dignity of man. The sentiments, therefore, which saved the female sex from becoming the mere food of lust, consigned it to an inferior position. The Indian women formed the labouring class. Such a result was inevitable. The warrior would only follow the chase or fight. There was labour to be performed. No men were to be employed for hire. Whatever, therefore, was to be done must be done by the females. The wife is, consequently, her husband's slave. She plants the maize, tobacco, beans, and running vines; she drives the blackbird from the corn, prepares the store of wild fruits for winter, tears up the weeds, gathers the harvest, pounds the grain, dries the buffalo meat, brings home the game, carries wood, draws water, spreads the repast, attends on her husband, aids in canoe building, and bears the poles of the wigwam from place to place. Among the trading communities she is especially valuable,—joining in the hunt, preparing the skins and fur, and filling the wigwam with the riches of the prairie, which the men exchange for the means of a luxurious life. When the hunter kills game he leaves it under a tree, perhaps many miles from the "smokes" of his tribe, returns home, and sends his wife to fetch it. Making garments of skins, sewing them with sinews and thorns; weaving mats and baskets; embroidering with shells, feathers, and grass; preparing drugs and administering medicine; and building huts—are among the other offices of the sex. To educate them for this life of industry, the girls are trained by the severe discipline of toils; taught to undergo fatigue, to be obedient, and to suffer without complaining.

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

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

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

Whether polygamists or otherwise, the American Indians universally recognise the marriage contract. There is no such thing among them as a tribe practising promiscuous intercourse; the reports of such are idle tales. Such a community would become extinct, in the inevitable course of nature. The circumstances of the contract vary, however, in different parts, and among different societies. In fertile districts polygamy is more common; in barren tracts most of the men of all classes have only one wife. In some communities the man takes his squaw for life, and only divorces her for a recognised cause; in others, no more than a temporary union is expected. Everywhere, however, the condition of the sex is humiliating, if not miserable, and marriage is no more than the conjunction of a master with his servant. Thus the noblest institution of society is perverted into a form of slavery. That polygamy is practised cannot, nevertheless, be lamented in a social view. The frequency of wars among the American Indians, in their original state, caused a disproportion of the sexes, which allowed many of the men to take several wives, without preventing all from having one. Had this custom not been prevalent, one alternative only would have remained to the superfluous women—they would have become common prostitutes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among the curious customs preceding marriage in other parts of North America, is that of the lover going at midnight into the tent of the woman he desires, and, lighting a splinter of wood, holding it to her face. If she wake and leave the torch burning, it is a sign for him to be gone; if she blow it, he is accepted, and we are told that this frequently leads to immoral intercourse. Catlin knew a young chief of the Mandans on the Upper Missouri, who took four wives in one day, paying for each a horse or two. They were from twelve to fifteen years old, and sat happily in his wigwam, perfectly contented to dwell under his commands. He was applauded for the act. This extreme youth in the bride is common among the tribes; children pass from infancy to womanhood by a single bound—we are assured, on good testimony, that mothers twelve years of age are not unfrequent. The youths are led by precept and example to adopt marriage; celibacy beyond the age of puberty being very rare, especially in those communities which have come into familiar contact with Europeans. It appears indeed that this plan is resorted to by the men to secure virgins as their wives, for among few barbarous nations is the chastity of unmarried woman safe very long after she has reached a marriageable age. To have no husband is esteemed by the females a misfortune and a disgrace, while to have no wife entails great discomfort on a man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

COUNTIES.	Average Population from 1841–50.	Number Committed for keeping Disorderly Houses.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000,000 of the Population.	Proportion per Cent above and below the Aver. † denotes above. * " below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford . . .	121,083	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Berks . . .	194,763	4	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	·9	46	*41·8
Bucks . . .	140,959	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	*100·0
Cambridge . .	180,747	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	4	·4	22	*72·2
Chester . . .	395,919	4	12	3	4	2	1	1	1	2	3	33	3·3	83	†5·1
Cornwall . .	349,991	4	3	7	1	2	6	5	4	4	2	38	3·8	109	†38·0
Cumberland . .	186,762	7	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	11	1·1	59	*25·3
Derby . . .	250,249	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	·2	8	*89·9
Devon . . .	554,738	2	3	1	...	...	...	4	4	1	1	16	1·6	29	*63·3
Dorset . . .	172,736	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	5	·5	29	*63·3
Durham . . .	368,787	...	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	14	19	1·9	52	*34·2
Essex . . .	332,363	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	·2	6	*92·4
Gloucester . .	407,504	5	9	1	5	2	...	1	...	1	...	24	2·4	59	*25·3
Hereford . .	97,813	3	...	2	2	...	...	1	2	...	...	10	1·0	102	†29·1
Hertford . .	168,178	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	·4	24	*69·6
Hunts . . .	57,942	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	·4	70	*11·4
Kent . . .	585,249	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	3	·3	5	*93·7
Lancaster . .	1,881,261	85	55	45	27	24	16	14	32	42	4	344	34·4	183	†131·6
Leicester . .	227,621	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	3	·3	13	*83·5
Lincoln . . .	378,246	1	3	2	2	...	7	1	7	3	...	26	2·6	69	*12·7
Middlesex . .	1,740,814	36	67	31	114	37	31	51	42	79	27	515	51·5	296	†274·7
Monmouth . .	164,093	...	...	...	2	1	1	2	...	...	...	6	·6	37	*53·2
Norfolk . . .	419,463	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	·4	10	*87·3
Northampton . .	206,496	8	5	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	18	1·8	87	†10·1
Northumberland .	284,777	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	13	15	1·5	53	*32·9
Nottingham . .	282,584	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Oxford . . .	166,751	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	·2	12	*84·8
Rutland . . .	23,711	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Salop . . .	243,352	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	·5	21	*73·4
Somerset . .	452,515	7	...	1	5	2	1	...	...	1	1	18	1·8	40	*49·4
Southampton . .	377,040	...	...	...	1	2	...	1	...	...	8	12	1·2	32	*59·5
Stafford . . .	579,686	1	2	...	...	2	...	1	4	5	2	17	1·7	29	*63·3
Suffolk . . .	325,336	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	·1	3	*96·2
Surrey . . .	635,917	...	1	15	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	24	2·4	38	*51·9
Sussex . . .	320,944	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	·3	9	*88·6

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Warwick	444,558	2	6	...	1	...	2	4	...	...	...	15	1·5	34	*57·0
Westmorland	57,494	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	·2	35	*55·7
Wilts	241,887	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	5	8	·8	33	*58·2
Worcester	244,574	1	3	11	...	...	2	4	1	2	2	26	2·6	106	†34·2
York	1,686,461	21	3	21	11	5	3	4	7	4	6	85	8·5	50	*36·7
North Wales	396,161	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	·2	5	*93·7
South Wales	568,430	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Total for England and Wales	16,918,458	198	186	145	187	86	84	99	190	148	93	1335	133·5	79	

LIST OF COUNTIES IN THE ORDER OF THEIR BROTHELS, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR KEEPING DISORDERLY HOUSES IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Middlesex	296	Hunts	70
Lancaster	183	Lincoln	69
Cornwall	109	Gloucester	59
Worcester	106	Cumberland	59
Hereford	102	Northumberland	53
Northampton	87	Durham	52
Chester	83	York	50
		Berks	46
		Somerset	40
		Surrey	38
		Monmouth	37
		Westmorland	35
		Warwick	34
		Wilts	33
		Southampton	32
		Devon	29
		Dorset	29
		Stafford	29
		Hertford	24
		Cambridge	22
		Salop	21
		Leicester	13
		Oxford	12
		Norfolk	10
		Sussex	9
		Derby	8
		Essex	6
		Kent	5
		North Wales	5
		Suffolk	3
		Bedford	0
		Bucks	0
		Nottingham	0
		Rutland	0
		South Wales	0
Average for England and Wales	79		

THE NUMBER OF DISORDERLY HOUSES COMPARED WITH THE NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN EACH COUNTY.

Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below.

Counties in which the Number of Disorderly Houses and the Number of Illegitimate Children are both above the Average.	In No. of Disorderly Houses.	In No. of Illegitimate Children.
Lancaster	†131·	†14
Hereford	† 29·	†49
Chester	† 5·	†32

Counties in which the Number of Disorderly Houses and the Number of Illegitimate Children are both below the Average.	In No. of Disorderly Houses.	In No. of Illegitimate Children.
Rutland	*100·	*16
Kent	* 93·	*19
Essex	* 92·	*10
Cambridge	* 72·	* 1
Dorset	* 63·	* 1
Devon	* 63·	*25
Southampton	* 59·	*10
Warwick	* 57·	*16
Monmouth	* 53·	*26
Surrey	* 51·	*34
Somerset	* 49·	* 6
Durham	* 34·	*10
Gloucester	* 25·	* 4
Lincoln	* 12·	* 1
Hunts	* 11·	*28

*** The rule appears to be, that the number of Disorderly Houses is the *least* in those Counties where the number of Illegitimate Births is the *greatest*, and, *vice versâ*, the *greatest* where the Illegitimates are the *least*.

Counties in which the Number of Disorderly Houses is above and the Number of Illegitimate Children below the Average.	In No. of Disorderly Houses.	In No. of Illegitimate Children.
Middlesex	†274·	*40
Cornwall	† 38·	*29
Worcester	† 34·	* 1
Northampton	† 10·	*10

Counties in which the Number of Disorderly Houses is below and the Number of Illegitimate Children above the Average.	In No. of Disorderly Houses.	In No. of Illegitimate Children.
South Wales	*100·	† 7
Nottingham	*100·	†35
Bucks	*100·	† 4
Bedford	*100·	†14
Suffolk	* 96·	†26
North Wales	* 93·	† 6
Derby	* 89·	†20
Sussex	* 88·	† 1
Norfolk	* 87·	†56
Oxford	* 84·	†13
Leicester	* 83·	†17
Salop	* 73·	†47
Hertford	* 69·	† 7
Stafford	* 63·	† 3
Wilts	* 58·	† 3
Westmorland	* 55·	†29
Berks	* 41·	†17
York	* 36·	† 6
Northumberland	* 32·	† 8
Cumberland	* 25·	†61

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MAP No. IX.

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF

PERSONS COMMITTED FOR KEEPING DISORDERLY HOUSES IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

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

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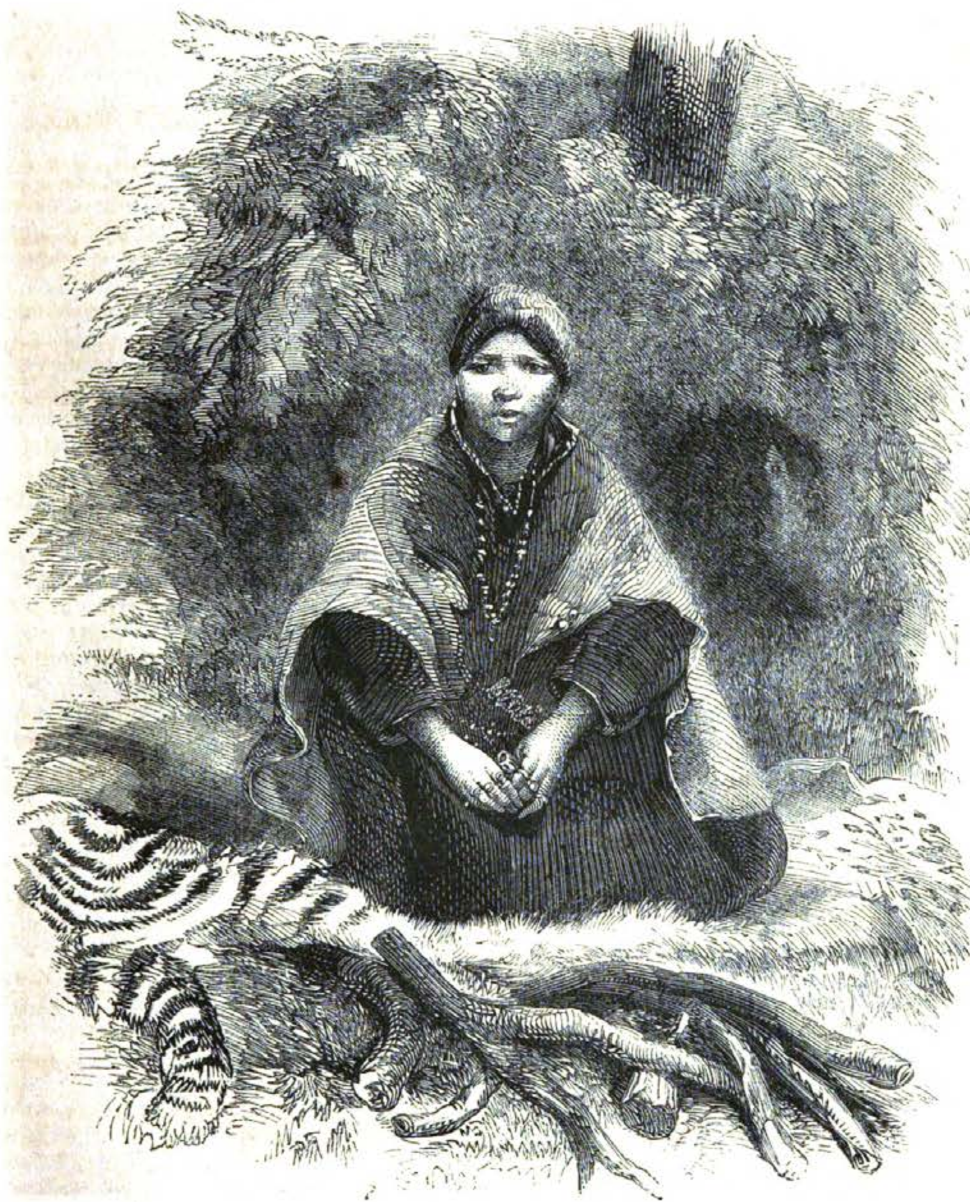

WOMAN OF THE BOSJES RACE.

[*From a Daguerreotype by* BEARD.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution among the Indians of South America.

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

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

Two classes of Indians exist in South

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

Among the Indians of Brazil a curious system of manners existed before the establishment of European power, and many traces of it still exist. No man might marry until he had killed an enemy. When a girl reached the age of puberty her hair was cut off, her back tattooed, and she wore a necklace of the teeth of wild beasts until her hair grew again. Bands of cotton were fastened about her waist and the fleshy parts of her arms, to signify her maidenhood. It was said that if any but a pure virgin wore these emblems, the evil spirit would bear her away; but the national belief was not sufficiently strong to render this a defence of chastity, for it was lost without reproach or fear, and incontinence was regarded as no offence. Sleeping in crowds, in large common dormitories produced a pernicious effect on the people, destroyed all ideas of decency, and caused universal lewdness. When a man tired of his wife, he put her away and took another; indeed, as many as he pleased. Although unrestrained polygamy was allowed, the first wife, however, continued to enjoy some privileges, as having a separate berth to sleep in, and a separate plot of ground to cultivate for her own use. Nevertheless she was bitterly jealous of those who supplanted her, and frequently, when altogether neglected by her husband, abandoned herself altogether to vice, and became a clandestine prostitute to any of the young men who would flatter or pay her for the favour.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of Prostitution in the Cities of South America.

When we visit the semi-civilized communities of South America, instead of the barbarian tribes still running wild in its deserts of forest, the state of morals we discover presents a contrast by no means favourable to the half-educated States, where a hybrid compromise seems to have been made between refinement and barbarism. The general characteristic of South-American society is profligacy. Almost every city on that continent is demoralized and debauched; Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Chili, all present features very similar, and differing only in the inferior details. Professional prostitutes, indiscriminate in their companionship, form only a small part of the system. Immorality takes many other forms. This, however, we learn only from the general terms in which traveller after traveller has described those regions, especially the cities. Absolute information we have none, except with respect to the station occupied by women, and their moral demeanour in society. Statistics are entirely wanting. All writers seem by mutual consent to have avoided our subject, and left us to conjecture the extent and character of prostitution in Mexico, Rio Janeiro, Lima, and the various other cities of South America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Chili, also, a reform of manners has commenced since the reduction of the military power, which is proverbially demoralizing. The higher classes of females have a character for modesty and virtue, but the men generally indulge themselves in vicious pleasures to a very considerable extent. It is, perhaps, in Brazil that society is most corrupt, for there the common decencies of life are, among the inferior orders, grossly disregarded. Matheson, the traveller, slept in the same room with a young married couple; girls are sold as concubines, and children are hired out by their mothers to prostitution. The youth of that sex bathe, while very young, entirely naked, and afterwards with scarcely any clothing, before the public eye, so that altogether the manners of the people are wanting in decency.

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

Of Prostitution in the West Indies.

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

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

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

These, however—the original inhabitants of the West-Indian Islands—have disappeared, and been succeeded by another race or compound of races, among which the Negroes only claim our notice at present. Among the blacks of Antigua, as an example of the rest, immorality is a characteristic which may be traced to the institution of slavery. Infanticide is frequently practised by them, especially since the Emancipation Act was passed. The reason of this circumstance, which at first seems strange, is very clear. Under the institution of slavery, negroes were not allowed to marry, or, at least, their marriages were never held as binding before the law. They therefore cohabited, and their unions lasted usually only so long as the caprice of affection, or the heat of a criminal appetite existed. Women, therefore, continually had five, six, seven, eight, or nine children by various fathers, and no disgrace was attached to the fact. A new system was introduced by the abolition of the slave system. The sentiments of shame and modesty have been cultivated in their minds; and the idea of female virtue has at least been awakened, so that they often seek to escape the consequences of an illicit amour by destroying the offspring.

One of the demoralizing effects of slavery was the encouragement of a species of concubinage. Rewards, indeed, were held out by some masters to such of the negroes as lived faithfully with a single partner; but the prevalence of vice was all but universal. A permanent engagement between a man and a woman was seldom formed. Two females frequently lived with one man, and of these one was considered his wife and the other his mistress.

When the negroes were emancipated, in 1834, many of them were anxious to be legally married. Numbers had been already united in wedlock by the missionary preachers; yet, though complete in its character, and regarded as a sacred tie, this act was not held as binding by the law, and many of the emancipated negroes, putting away the partners of their compulsory servitude, took new companions to their homes.

The offence of bigamy was not uncommon among them, and still continues to be so. It is prohibited under a severe enactment, but many devices are adopted to elude the law. Concubinage is less openly practised than formerly, but the tie of marriage is by no means generally respected. Chastity is indifferently regarded; and where the men do not prize it in women, women will be at little pains to preserve it for the men. Women are sometimes married who have been living in concubinage with several persons, and become the mothers of numerous children.

The condition of the free female negroes is by no means so degraded as in the original country of the blacks. Women enjoy an independent existence, and live as they please, though many of them labour. Their character is not distinguished by morality. Decency was entirely obliterated from their ideas, and they are only beginning to recover it. Women who were daily stripped and exposed to receive a whipping from the hands of men, could not be expected long to retain the sense of feminine shame; and this process, acting upon one generation after another, has left its impress on the

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character of the negro population. Human nature, also, was outraged by the gross tyranny of the planters. The intercourse of the sexes was regulated, not with a view to the morals of the negroes, but to the propagation of the species. They were coupled like beasts, to increase the number of slaves on the estate. In consequence of this the degradation of the negro population was so complete that, after it was emancipated, a woman considered it more honourable to become the mistress of a white, than the wife of a black man. In all the islands, indeed, this vile system was carried on. In St. Lucia, however, the intercourse was almost unrestrained, and consequently became in a degree promiscuous; for moral law there was none. The St. Lucia negro, in fact, is, even at this day, averse to matrimony, and inclined to support concubines, to none of whom is he faithful, even for an interval of time. Yet he is thoroughly attached to his children. It has been observed, that if any improvement in the morality of the island has taken place, it is more in the tone than in the temper, in the appearance than in the reality. Infanticide is never practised, or only as a rare and secret crime. It is prevented, however, not by moral restraint, but by the motherly feelings of the women—by the absence of reproach on bastardy, and the facility for rearing children.

In Santa Cruz the same low condition of manners is observable in the negro population; though in Jamaica the negroes are generally married, and are, on the whole, faithful to the engagement. This, however, is the result of the Emancipation Act. Previously to that mighty social reform, marriage, or a connubial contract of any kind, was rare; and the intercourse of the sexes was loose, profligate, and lewd. The men lived either with several concubines at once, or replaced one by another, as their inclination prompted. When the missionaries endeavoured to change this state of things, any couples which submitted to their teaching were sure to be ridiculed and jeered by the servile and demoralized populace. When slavery was abolished, so far had the corruption of manners proceeded, that numbers of the women, in the delirium of their new liberty, abandoned themselves to their vicious appetites, and became common prostitutes.

The example of Europeans has not by any means displayed to the negroes any instruction in morality; on the contrary, it has, to a great extent, encouraged their vices. This we shall show in a future division of the subject. We therefore leave at present the other islands which form the plantation colonies of England and Spain: we shall hereafter visit the native community which has recently made itself ridiculous by enacting the forms of an empire—we allude to Hayti, or St. Domingo. The brief notice we have given is intended to apply to the rude black population, but not in respect of its relation to the white communities *.

Of Prostitution in Java.

In the island of Java, which is perhaps the most fertile and beautiful country in the world, a curious system of manners now prevails. Hindoos have been succeeded by Mohammedans, and these by Dutch: each of the conquering races has impressed some characteristic trait on the population, and, unfortunately, the stamp of vice is more easily set than any other. The character and condition of the female sex in Java indicate the whole state of manners there. The men are somewhat cold towards the women, a fact which some learned Theban has ascribed to their feeding more on vegetable than on animal substances, but they are neither cruel nor negligent towards them. The institution of marriage is universally known, if not universally practised or generally respected. The lot of women may be described as peculiarly fortunate; in general they are not ill-used at all, and when, as among some of the more opulent, they are secluded, they are rather withdrawn from the indiscriminate gaze of the people, than shut up in lonely secrecy, for they are by no means watched with that exaggerated jealousy which in some parts of the East renders the husband a continual spy on the actions of his wife. Though the man pays a price for his bride, he does not therefore disdain or abuse her.

The condition of the sex in Java is, indeed, an exception to the habitual custom of Asiatics. The women eat with the men, associate with them in all the offices and pleasures of life, and live on terms of mutual equality.

* Capadose's Sixteen Years in the West Indies; Antigua and the Antiguans; Breen's Historical Account of St. Lucia; Gurney's Winter in the West Indies; Bidwell's West Indies as they Are; Stewart's State of Jamaica; Lloyd's Letters from the West Indies; Bayley's Four Years' Residence; Southey's History of the West Indies; Washington Irving's Life and Voyages of Columbus; Baird's Impressions of the West Indies, &c.

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Many queens have, in different States, occupied the throne. The sex is nowhere in the island, as a rule, treated with coarseness, violence, or neglect. They are industrious, and hard-working, but they labour more through desire of praise than through fear of chastisement, and are admitted to the performance of many honourable tasks. Among the wealthier classes men sometimes act tyrannically in their households; but this must be taken as the characteristic not of the race, but of individuals. Those who seclude their wives do so only from the common eye; English gentlemen have often been introduced into the most private chambers of the harem, while the wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs have appeared at the entertainments given by the European residents in Batavia, Sumarang, and other cities, where they conduct themselves usually with modesty and good grace.

Polygamy and concubinage are tolerated, that is, they are practised among the nobility of Java, who do not allow public opinion to interfere with the gratification of their desires; both of these customs are looked upon, however, rather as vicious luxuries, than as established social institutions; yet, however limited their extent, they never fail to degrade the position and to vitiate the character of the female sex. Some circumstances in the feelings of the people prevent either practice from being generally adopted, and the evil is thus, in its moral influence, mitigated. The first wife is always mistress of the household, and the others are little more than her handmaids, who contribute to her husband's gratification, but never share his rank or his wealth. No man of station will give his daughter as a second or third wife, unless to a chief of far higher nobility than himself; the inferior wives or concubines are therefore of an inferior class. Thus the artificial distinctions of classes vitiate the public morals, for a woman considers it dishonourable, not to prostitute herself, but to prostitute herself to a poor man of humble birth.

When we say that polygamy and concubinage are not general in Java, the reader must by no means infer a high state of manners to exist there. On the contrary, Java is the most immoral country in insular Asia. The woman who would be ashamed to become the second wife of a chief might not be ashamed to commit adultery with him; in general terms, both sexes are extremely profligate and depraved, though the poets and historians of the island boast of chastity as the distinguishing ornament of their women; because a married female shrieks when a strange man attempts to kiss her before her attendants and a large mixed company, they hold up their sex in Java as the standard of feminine purity and virtue.

In most islands of the Indian Archipelago, divorces are not easy to be obtained; but in Java the total separation of married people may be procured with the utmost freedom and facility. It is a privilege in which the women indulge themselves to a most wanton degree, and often so much as to fall little short of prostitution. A wife may turn away her husband by paying him a certain sum of money; he is not, indeed, absolutely bound to accept this, but usually does so, in conformity with the established opinion of society, that it is disreputable to live with a woman on such terms. Women often change their partners three or four times before they are thirty years of age; some have been seen boasting of a twelfth husband. In Java the means of subsistence abound, and are easy to be procured as well by females as by men; one sex is, therefore, in a great measure, independent of the other; women find no difficulty in living without husbands. They are not, consequently, forced to remain in a state of bondage through fear of being drifted destitute upon the world; but, unfortunately for the theories of our new female reformers, the sex in Java, though thus enfranchised, is proverbially dissolute and libertine.

This, nevertheless, in reality is no argument for those who attempt to show that the female sex, enjoying perfect liberty, makes use of its freedom to indulge in vicious pleasures. The women of Java are dissolute, not because they are free of control, but because the whole society of the island is profligate. Among the wealthier classes, especially, the utmost immorality prevails with respect to the intercourse of the sexes. In the great native towns the population is debauched to the last degree. Intrigues among the married women continually occur; and females of high rank have intercourse with paramours, to the knowledge, and almost before the faces, of their husbands. The men are tame and servile, often not daring to revenge their honour or assert the conjugal right, and they are by no means inspired with that fiery spirit of jealousy which among many Asiatics renders a wife sacred from all but her husband's eye. Females of respectable rank are often the subject of conversation. An inquiry after a man's family is held by no means in-

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sulting, but rather as a conventional act of courtesy.

Flagrant instances of the loose character of Javan manners have come to the notice of travellers. Before the island was absolutely conquered by the Dutch, one of its great princes, being desirous of purchasing the favour of the people, gave many public feasts and entertainments, at which the wives and daughters of the chiefs attended. He seduced one of his guests, a married woman, and was in the habit of passing the night with her, while her husband was engaged with his duty on the public guard. One morning, by chance, the chief returned home earlier than usual, and detected them together. He had, however, discovered the rank of the paramour, and discreetly coughed, that the prince might have an opportunity to escape. He then went into the chamber, and severely flogged his guilty wife. She fled, and complained to the king of the treatment she had received. He being in the critical position of making good his claim to a crown, dared not exercise the usual prerogative of a throne; but called for the man he had injured, made him many rich gifts, and offered him, as compensation, the handsomest woman in his own household. The husband accepted the peace-offerings, and was content to take back his adulterous wife. The relation of a subject to his prince must, at least when developed in this manner, be most unnatural.

Women in Java are usually married very young, though not before the age of puberty, which is speedily reached. The reason assigned by writers for this haste is, that their chastity is no longer safe after they have reached womanhood. Men wait for two or three years after that period, during which they may indulge in unbounded profligacy. At eighteen or twenty a girl is looked upon as verging towards the wane of life, and becomes a suspected character. No age, however, excludes a woman from the chance of a match; but scarcely any are unmarried after 22. Widows at 50 often procure husbands; for men at that period of life usually choose wives equal in years to themselves, and sometimes older.

The preliminary arrangements are made by the parents on both sides; for no intercourse could previously take place between the young people themselves without being, and often justly, the occasion of scandal. They are looked upon, as the natives themselves express it, as mere puppets in the performance. There are three kinds of connection. The first is when the rank of the parties is equal, or when the man is superior to the woman. The second is when the bride is above her husband, who is taken into the house, and adopted into the family, by his father-in-law. The third is a species of concubinage, without any rites whatever, and confirmed by the simple fact of recognised cohabitation. In such cases, as no formality is required to conclude, so none is necessary to dissolve the contract, which is, therefore, no more than a species of prostitution, for the changes of companions are extremely frequent.

In the other two, the ceremonies are similar. The young people are, in all cases, betrothed for a longer or a shorter period before their union—from one month to several years. The father of the youth, having made for his son what he considers a suitable choice, proceeds to the parents of the girl, and proposes for an alliance. If they accept the suit, a betrothal is ratified by some trifling present to the bride. Visits are made, that the intended nuptials may be publicly known. At the third stage in the progress of the transaction the price is arranged, and varies according to the rank and circumstances of the families. Sometimes it is plainly called the *purchase money;* sometimes the act of sale is covered by a more delicate term—*the deposit*. It is usually considered, however, as a settlement or provision for the bride.

The only Mohammedan feature in the whole ceremony is the exchange of vows in a mosque. This is followed by many ritual observances, more of etiquette than religion, and great parade is affected. At length the married people eat rice from one vessel, to typify their common fortune; but in some places the bride washes her husband's feet, as an acknowledgment of her subjection to him, or else he treads upon a raw egg, and she wipes his foot.

Though, as we have said, polygamy and concubinage are not generally practised, partly because too expensive, partly from a feeling against them—some of the rich chiefs indulge in them to an extravagant degree, and glory in a train of 60 children. The wives, however, as already noticed, can easily release themselves when their married state is deteriorated into real or fancied bondage. The fact of their early marriage, without knowing their future husband, or consenting to the union, causes a great number of divorces. A widow may marry again after three months and ten days have elapsed since her husband's death.

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Though the intercourse of the sexes is so free that vicious inclinations may be indulged without difficulty or peril, the Javans support a large class of women—prostitutes by profession. Adultery is not considered a very heinous crime, but rather an offence against the husband's property and honour, yet it is attended sometimes with danger, and often with disagreeable results. The vocation of the trading prostitute is not, therefore, taken away. She unites in Java, as in India, the profession of a dancer with her infamous calling.

There is a large class of these dancers in the island. The people are passionately fond of this amusement, but no respectable woman will join in it. The sultans, indeed, used to have some of their most beautiful concubines trained to dance, and they were privileged in the performance of certain figures; but, otherwise, all its professors are prostitutes. Nevertheless, a Javan chief of high rank is not ashamed to be seen before a large mixed assembly tripping with one of these women.

The dancers may be found in all parts of Java, but chiefly in the north-west, towards the capital. They figure at most of the public and private entertainments. Their conduct is so dissolute that the words dancer and prostitute are, in the Javan language, synonymous; yet, on account of the wealth they often amass, petty chiefs occasionally marry them. In such cases they usually, after a few years, become tired of their quiet secluded life, divorce their husbands, and resume their old calling. The dress in which they appear to dance is very immodest, exposing almost the whole bosom, and the attitudes they assume are licentious in a high degree. Nevertheless, they seldom descend to the obscene and degrading postures practised by some of the Bayaderes in India.

The Europeans in Java have not certainly, up to a late period, at least, set to their native subjects an example of pure manners. The Dutch merchant had usually a Javan female at the head of his household, who served him as a mistress as well. Indeed, the marriage ceremony is seldom insisted on by the women; while, among the lower classes, simple cohabitation is the usual method in which the sexes are related. Yet they are by no means so gross and sensual as the wealthier sort of people. Altogether, however, the island is remarkable for the profligacy of its inhabitants. In every city prostitutes abound; and about the roads in their vicinity women may be seen straying, ready for hire. They mostly, as we have said, assume also the profession of dancers, and this, in a manner, covers the profligacy of those who employ them at their houses*.

Of Prostitution in Sumatra.

The population of this extensive island is divided into several tribes, slightly differing in their manners and modes of life. The Rejangs, who may be supposed to represent its original habits, are still rude barbarians. With them, as with many people of the East, the scrupulous attention to external show is by no means accompanied by a similar spirit within. They drape their women from chin to foot, and dread lest a virgin should expose any part of her person; yet modesty is not at all a characteristic of the dwellers in villages and towns, to whom this description refers. Those who live in the rural communities, and are more easy in their costume, distinguish themselves by their decency and decorum. In this is exhibited a curious fact, which may be discovered in many parts of the world.

The civilization, if such it may be called, of Sumatra, is of a peculiar character. Its people are in that stage of their progress when great importance is ascribed to the multiplied formulas of etiquette. Ritual is with them more essential than principle—of which, indeed, they know little. It is wonderful to examine the intricate details of the Sumatran marriage contract. Nearly all the litigation in the country springs from that perplexing cause. Men in a barbarous state appear to be under the influence of some law which forces them into extremes. They must be at one pole or another. Either they dispense altogether with ceremonial usages, and satisfy themselves with obeying the simple dictates of nature, under plain rules for their own convenience, or they divide the sexes by a maze of convention, which prescribes a form for the most trivial occasions of life. True refinement appears to be in the medium; but this is a question still to be resolved. In some districts of Sumatra, Europeans, wearied with the endless legal quarrels arising from these complicated transactions, have prevailed on the people to simplify their code of marriage, and the result has proved beneficial.

* Raffles's History of Java; Crawford's Indian Archipelago; Stavorinie's Voyages; Earl's Eastern Seas, &c.

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Some have supposed that the system of procuring wives by purchase, which renders marriage difficult to the poor, has retarded the growth of population. Others, however, assert, and with much appearance of reason, that in Sumatra at least the contrary is true. Children being considered as property, and daughters being especially valuable for the price they command, powerful incentives to matrimony exist. The purchase-money obtained for the girls supplies wives for the sons, and in few islands are instances of celibacy more rare. It is certain, however, that the fostering, or rendering obligatory, thrifty habits on the young, has a tendency to check population, though it may be only so far as to keep it on a level with the means of subsistence. Various European countries illustrate that truth. In Sumatra, also, we have a wealthy region thinly and badly peopled; but misgovernment, war, and barbarism may be assigned as the chief causes. Besides, it is said the women are naturally unprolific; that they cease to bear children at an early age; that ignorance of the medical art causes thousands to perish of endemic complaints.

There are three modes of forming a marriage contract. The first is that, when one man pays to another a certain sum of money in exchange for his daughter, who becomes a virtual slave. There is usually, however, a certain amount — about five dollars—held back, and, so long as this remains unpaid, friendship is supposed to exist between the families, and the girl's parents have a right to complain if she be ill-treated. If the husband wound her he is liable to a fine, and in other ways his absolute command is curtailed. When, however, on the occasion of a violent quarrel, the sum is paid, the bond of relationship is broken, and the woman is entirely in her master's power. The regulations in regard to money are numerous and intricate; but need not be explained in detail. They give occasion, however, as we have said, to endless law-suits, which are bequeathed by one generation to another.

In other cases the marriage contract is an affair of barter. One virgin is given for another, and a man who has not one of his own sometimes borrows a girl, engaging to replace or pay for her when required. A man having a son and a daughter, may give the latter in exchange for a wife to the former. A brother may barter his sister for a wife, or procure a cousin instead. If, however, she be under age, a certain allowance is made until she becomes marriageable.

Another method is practised when a parent desires to get rid of a daughter suffering from some infirmity or defect. He sells her altogether without any reserve, and she has fewer privileges than other classes of wives.

Sometimes a girl evades these laws by an elopement, and a match is formed upon mutual affection. If the fugitive couple are overtaken on the road, they may be separated; but when once they have taken sanctuary, and the man declares his willingness to comply with all the necessary forms, his wife is safely secured to him.

Many persons have assigned to whole nations, in various parts of the world, a Jewish origin, partly because the custom prevails with them of a man marrying his brother's widow. The Sumatrans, in this case, belong to them also, for the same rule is enforced by them; but if there be no brother surviving, the woman is taken by her husband's nearest male relation—the father excepted. If any of her purchase-money remains unpaid, her new master is answerable for it.

When, under this system, adultery is committed—which is not frequently the case—the husband usually passes it over, or inflicts revenge with his own hand. It is seldom such an offence is brought before the law. When a man desires to divorce his wife thus married to him, he may claim back her purchase-money, with the exception of twenty-five dollars, as she is supposed, by cohabitation with him, to have diminished in value to that amount. If, having taken a woman, he be unable to pay the whole price, though repeatedly dunned for it, the girl's parents may sue for a divorce, but they must restore all they have received. The old ceremony consisted merely in cutting a rattan cane in two, in the presence of the disunited couple, their friends, and the chiefs of the province. The woman is expected to take to her husband's house effects to the value of ten dollars. If she take more, he is chargeable to the amount. Thus the whole transaction is carried on upon mercenary grounds.

The second kind of marriage, is when a virgin's father chooses for her husband some young man whom he adopts into his family, making a feast on the occasion and receiving what we may term a premium of twenty dollars. The young man is thenceforward a property in his father-in-law's family. They are answerable for the debts he may incur; but all he has and all he earns belong to them; he is liable to be divorced when they please, and to be

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turned away destitute. Under certain circumstances he may redeem himself from this bondage, but pecuniary considerations are so entangled with the whole agreement that infinite confusion is the result. Several generations are sometimes bound in this manner before the contract can be legally broken by the fulfilment of all the required conditions.

The Malays of Sumadla have generally adopted the third kind of marriage, which is called *the free*. It is a more honourable compact, in which the families approach each other on the natural level of equality. A small sum is paid to the girl's parents, usually about twelve dollars, and an agreement is drawn up, that all property shall be common between husband and wife, and that, when divorce takes place by mutual consent, all shall be fairly divided. If the man only presses a separation, he gives half his effects, and loses the twelve dollars; if the woman, she then loses her right to any but her female paraphernalia. This description of contract, which is productive of most just dealing and felicity, has been adopted in many parts of the island.

The actual ceremony of marriage, though fenced about with so many ceremonial observances, is extremely simple. An entertainment is given, the couple join their hands, and some one pronounces them man and wife.

Where the female sex is a material for sale, little of what we term courtship can be expected. The manners of the country are opposed to it; strict separation is enforced between the youth of different sexes; and when a man pays the full price for a bride, he considers himself entitled to her without any manner of persuasion or solicitation to herself. Nevertheless, traces of gallantry—using that word in its proper, not its ridiculous sense—may be observed in the manners of the people. A degree of respect is shown to women, which may be favourably contrasted with the conduct of some polished nations. On the few occasions on which the young people meet, such as festivals and public gatherings in the village hall, they dance and sing, and behave with much delicacy; mutual attachments often spring out of such association, and the parents frequently promote the desire of union thus arising. In most countries, indeed, the barbarism of the law is mitigated in its influence by the universal operation of the natural human sentiments; it is no less true than strange, that mankind are usually better, not only than their rulers, but than their laws. The festivals are enlivened by dances and songs; the dances have been described as licentious and grotesque, but Marsden, the philosophical historian of Sumadla, only remarks that the figures displayed at English balls are often more immodest and absurd. The songs are usually extempore, and always turn on the subject of love.

The existence or flourishing of any sentiment among a people with whom marriage is a commercial transaction, and who allow a plurality of wives, may be considered incredible; but as, in the first instance, Nature often asserts herself and the law is accommodated to her will, so, in the second, the nature of things prevents any general extension of the practice. Polygamy is permitted; but only a few chiefs have more than one companion. The general indigence of the people is one cause of this, for the perpetual weight of necessity is more powerful than the irregular impulse of animal passion. To be a second wife is also considered by many below the dignity of a reputable person. A man sometimes prefers a divorce for his daughter when he hears that her husband is about to take another wife. In the contract which stipulates for a division of property, polygamy is impossible, for this obvious reason, that the wife must have half the husband's effects, which more than one, of course, could not do. The origin of polygamy in Sumadla and other parts of Asia has been traced by various ingenious writers to different causes; but being, as it is, the indulgence which is a privilege of wealth, it appears to have grown up with the whole system of manners; no natural reason seems to exist for it. The proportion of the sexes is nearly equal, and all the theories grounded on a different assumption fall to pieces. Wherever polygamy exists, women are purchased, and where they are thus viewed as property, wealthy men will surely distinguish themselves from their neighbours by a plurality of wives; and this happens in Rajpooratan, where the women are far less numerous than the men, as well as in other countries where they out-number them to an equal extent.

In the country parts of Sumatra, chastity, says Marsden, exists more than among any other people with which he was acquainted. The same characteristic appears to distinguish them at the present day. Interest, as well as decency, renders the parents anxious to preserve the virtue of their daughters. The price of a virgin is so far above that of a woman who has been defiled, that the girls are jealously watched, lest their value deteriorate in this respect. But the truth of the Oriental

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idea is sometimes illustrated—that girls should marry as soon as they are marriageable, or they soon cease to be chaste. In Sumatra they remain single for some time after that period, and occasionally lose their chastity in consequence. In such cases the seducer, if discovered, may be forced to marry the girl, and pay her price, or make good the diminution he has occasioned in her value.

Regular prostitution is little known, except in the towns. There, especially in the bazaars, women following that calling may be found mixed up with the concourse of sailors and others who support them. In the seaports especially, where the population is not only floating, but mixed from various nations, there is a great deal of profligacy, and troops of professional prostitutes ply the streets for hire. Europeans, however, who represent the general manners of the island from the experience of short visits to the maritime cities, convey a false impression of the people. The Sumatran is, as a rule, contented to marry and be faithful to his wife. This proceeds, however, it would seem, rather from some peculiar tone of temperament, than from any principles of morality; for their ideas on this subject are, at any rate, widely different from ours. Incest they hold as an offence; but except it occurs within the first degree it is regarded rather as an infraction of the conventional, than the natural law. It is sometimes punished by a fine; but sometimes also the marriage is confirmed, and the parties remain together.

The chiefs of the cannibal nations of Battar have sometimes several concubines. A man once stole a woman of this kind—the favourite of her master—and was punished by being cut to pieces, roasted, and devoured. Among the people of Bulu China, on the east coast, a man may have four wives, and as many concubines as possible. Some of the chiefs possess one of these companions in each town or village of their country. Adultery is punished by death to both criminals.

The general treatment of the sex in Sumatra is of an average character. They are not absolutely degraded, nor do they enjoy an elevated position. The poorer classes labour, and all are subject to the men; but on the whole they are far superior to Java, and, in a considerable degree, to many other Eastern countries*.

* Marsden's Sumatra; Anderson's Mission to the East Coast; Crawford's Indian Archipelagó; Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

Of Borneo.

The splendid achievements in the cause of civilization which Sir James Brooke has performed, have directed an extraordinary attention to the immense island of Borneo. Like the rest of the Indian Archipelago, it is, nevertheless, little known to the English reader—no complete accounts having been yet published. Sir James Brooke, however, with Captain Keppel, Captain Mundy, Mr. Hugh Law, and others, have thrown a new light on the country, and enabled us to discern many striking features in the social system of the races which inhabit it. The uniformity of manners observable in Celebes does not exist in Borneo. The inhabitants of Borneo, for the most part, remain in an inferior stage of the barbarian state. There are, however, among them many varieties of the social law. Some are the purest savages, wandering unclothed in the depths of the forests, and subsisting alone on the spontaneous gifts of nature. Others cultivate the soil, dwell in comfortable villages, and traffic with their neighbours. The river communities are far more advanced than those who live far from the means of water-carriage; and the inhabitants of the maritime towns are more educated, and also more profligate, than any. They have been depraved by that bloody and destructive system of piracy, which was, until recently, the curse of the Archipelago; but when Sir James Brooke's policy has been maturely developed, we may expect to see vast ameliorations in their manners.

The state of morals among the Sea Dyaks, or dwellers on the coast, is low, even in comparison with the average of other Asiatic races. There is no social law to govern the intercourse of the youths of both sexes before marriage. Even the authority of parents is not recognised to any extent. The Dyak girl is supposed capable of selecting a husband for herself; and before she is betrothed to a man she may cohabit, without disgrace, with any other with whom she may please to associate. The women appear to make liberal use of this privilege. Loose as their conduct is, however, before marriage, they are subject afterwards to a more stringent code. As a man is only allowed one wife, he requires strict fidelity in her, and if she break faith with him, she is punished by a severe beating and a heavy fine. On his part, moreover, he must be continent, for the penalty is the same for either sex. Cases of adultery are not frequent in times of peace, though during war more licence

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TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH REGARD TO THE CONCEALMENT OF THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS.

COUNTIES.	Average Yearly No. of Illegitimate Births.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed for concealments in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Aver. † denotes above, * „ below.
Bedford	336	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	·2	6	*64·7
Berks	461	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	1	3	2	10	1·0	22	†29·5
Bucks	315	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	3	·3	10	*41·2
Cambridge	423	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	1	3	...	7	·7	17	......
Chester	1128	3	2	2	...	...	1	...	3	...	5	16	1·6	54	*17·6
Cornwall	534	2	3	2	2	1	1	...	...	4	1	16	1·6	30	†76·9
Cumberland	639	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	5	·5	8	*52·9
Derby	656	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	4	8	·8	12	*29·4
Devon	818	2	1	8	...	2	3	2	1	1	3	23	2·3	28	†64·8
Dorset	342	1	1	...	...	1	2	2	1	1	1	10	1·0	29	†70·6
Durham	824	...	1	2	7	2	4	1	2	...	...	19	1·9	23	†35·3
Essex	621	1	1	1	5	2	1	...	...	4	1	16	1·6	26	†53·0
Gloucester	788	1	2	1	4	...	4	5	...	3	2	22	2·2	28	†64·8
Hereford	274	1	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	...	...	7	·7	26	†53·0
Hertford	388	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	5	·5	13	*23·5
Hunts	98	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Kent	998	2	...	2	4	3	1	5	...	3	2	22	2·2	22	†29·5
Lancaster	5672	4	4	4	5	7	7	6	5	5	3	50	5·0	9	*47·1
Leicester	583	2	1	2	...	1	...	...	2	2	1	11	1·1	19	†11·8
Lincoln	820	1	4	1	7	2	1	...	2	1	4	23	2·3	28	†64·8
Middlesex	2200	2	4	6	7	5	8	7	5	6	4	54	5·4	25	†47·1
Monmouth	269	1	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	3	...	8	·8	30	†76·9
Norfolk	1374	...	2	1	3	1	6	3	2	3	...	21	2·1	15	*11·8
Northampton	416	...	...	1	2	2	3	1	...	...	...	9	·9	22	†29·5
Northumberland	685	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	1	...	5	·5	7	*58·8
Nottingham	808	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	4	·4	5	*70·6
Oxford	396	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	·1	3	*82·4
Rutland	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*100·0
Salop	640	3	2	2	2	...	2	1	4	1	2	19	1·9	14	*17·6
Somerset	847	3	2	1	1	1	2	...	3	1	2	16	1·6	19	†11·8
Southampton	703	1	1	5	3	3	5	4	2	...	2	26	2·6	37	†117·7
Stafford	1341	2	2	1	6	1	2	2	2	3	2	23	2·3	17	......
Suffolk	895	3	...	2	5	1	2	3	1	1	2	20	2·0	22	†29·5
Surrey	903	4	6	3	5	1	4	2	4	3	3	35	3·5	39	†129·5
Sussex	662	2	2	1	2	1	5	1	1	1	...	16	1·6	24	†41·2
Warwick	831	1	...	1	1	1	...	1	4	...	2	11	1·1	13	*23·5
Westmorland	156	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	4	·4	26	†53·0
Wilts	506	...	...	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	...	9	·9	18	†4·1
Worcester	679	1	1	3	1	...	3	1	2	2	3	17	1·7	25	†47·1

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York	4155	3	3	5	3	4	4	10	5	7	5	49	4·9	12	*29·4
North Wales	847	...	...	2	2	...	1	...	1	2	1	9	·9	11	*35·3
South Wales	1308	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	...	3	4	19	1·9	15	*11·8
Total for England and Wales	37,410	51	49	66	87	53	78	65	60	75	66	650	65·0	17	

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO THE CONCEALMENT OF THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Surrey	39	Cambridge	17
Southampton	37	Stafford	17
Cornwall	30	Norfolk	15
Monmouth	30	South Wales	15
Dorset	29	Chester	14
Devon	28	Salop	14
Gloucester	28	Hertford	13
Lincoln	28	Warwick	13
Essex	26	Derby	12
Hereford	26	York	12
Westmorland	26	North Wales	11
Middlesex	25	Bucks	10
Worcester	25	Lancaster	9
Sussex	24	Cumberland	8
Durham	23	Northumberland	7
Berks	22	Bedford	6
Kent	22	Nottingham	5
Northampton	22	Oxford	3
Suffolk	22	Hunts	0
Leicester	19	Rutland	0
Somerset	19		
Wilts	18		

Average for England and Wales 17

THE ATTEMPTS AT CONCEALING THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS COMPARED.

Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below.

Counties in which the Number of cases of Concealing Births and Number of Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Hereford	†53·0	†49·2
Westmorland	†53·0	†29·8
Sussex	†41·2	† 1·5
Berks	†29·5	†17·9
Suffolk	†29·5	†26·8
Leicester	†11·8	†17·9
Wilts	† 4·1	† 3·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	†29·4	†31·4

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 22 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and the Number of Illegitimate Births 88 in every 1000 Births.)

Counties in which the No. of cases of Concealing Births and No. of Illegitimate Births are both below the Average.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Rutland	* ——	* 1·5
Hunts	* 23·5	*16·4
Warwick	*100·0	*28·3
Cambridge	*100·0	*16·4
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	*23·5	*13·4

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 13 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and the Number of Illegitimate Births 58 in every 1000 Births.)

Counties in which the Number of cases of Concealing Births is above the Average and the Number of Illegitimate Births below it.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Surrey	†129·5	*34·3
Southampton	†117·7	*10·4
Cornwall	† 76·9	*29·8
Monmouth	† 76·9	*26·8
Dorset	† 70·6	* 1·5
Devon	† 64·8	*25·3
Gloucester	† 64·8	* 4·5
Lincoln	† 64·8	* 1·5
Essex	† 53·0	*10·4
Middlesex	† 47·1	*40·3
Worcester	† 47·1	* 1·5
Durham	† 35·3	*10·4
Kent	† 29·5	*19·4
Northampton	† 29·5	*10·4
Somerset	† 11·8	* 6·0
The Average for the above Counties is	† 58·9	*20·9

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 27 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and the Number of Illegitimate Births 53 in every 1000 Births.)

Counties in which the No. of cases of Concealing Births is below the Average and the No. of Illegitimate Births above it.	In No. of Cases of Concealing Births.	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Oxford	*82·4	†13·4
Nottingham	*70·6	†35·8
Bedford	*64·7	†14·9
Northumberland	*58·8	† 8·9
Cumberland	*52·9	†61·2
Lancaster	*47·1	†14·9
Bucks	*29·5	† 4·4
North Wales	*35·3	†16·4
York	*29·4	† 6·0
Derby	*29·4	†20·9
Hertford	*23·5	† 7·4
Salop	*17·6	†47·7
Chester	*17·6	†32·8
South Wales	*11·8	† 7·4
Norfolk	*11·8	†56·7
Stafford	*——	† 3·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	*29·4	†17·9

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 12 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and the Number of Illegitimate Births 79 in every 1000 Births.)

Map No. X.

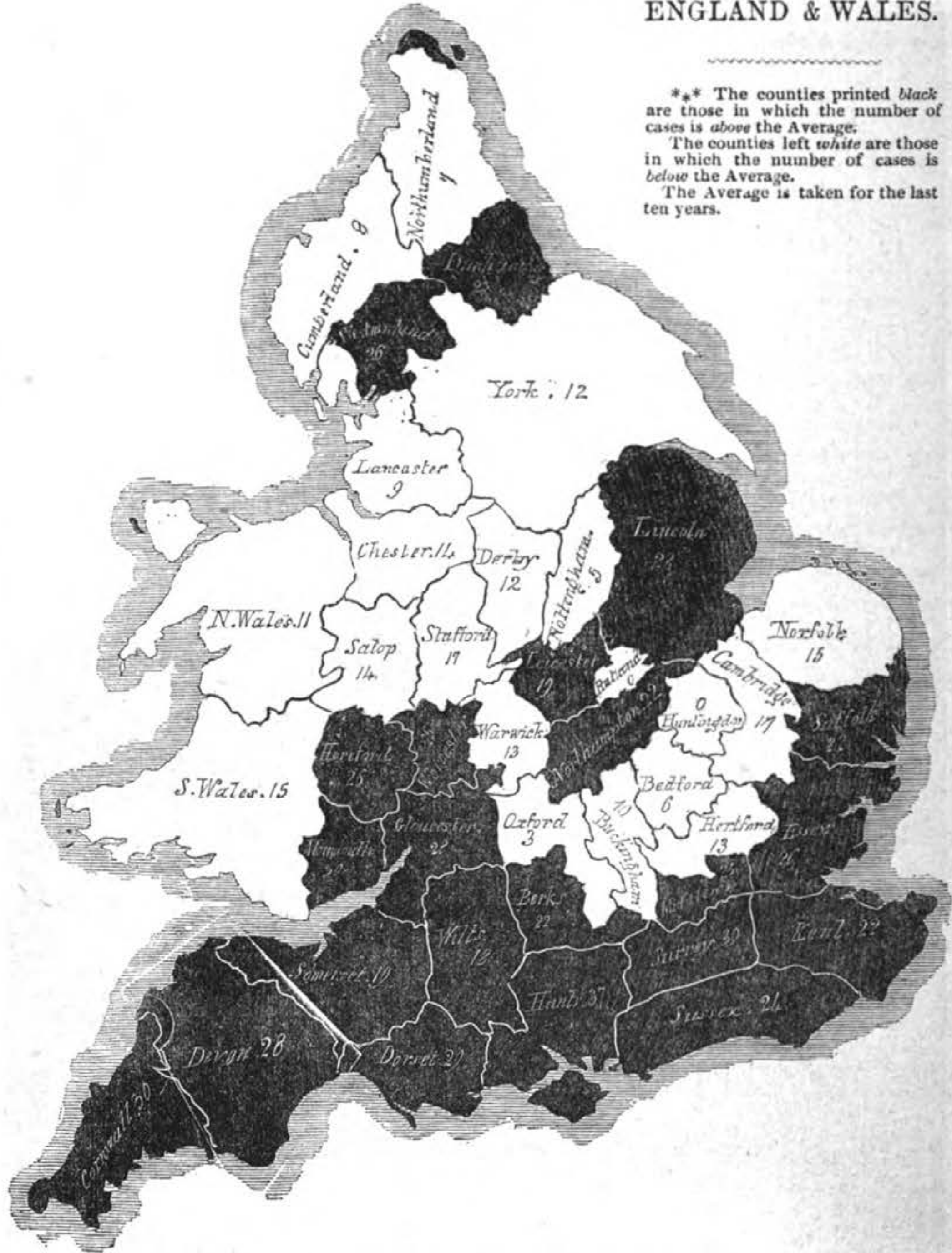
MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CASES OF

CONCEALING THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS

IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS,

IN EACH COUNTY OF



The Average for all England and Wales is .... 17 *in every* 10,000 *illegitimate births.*
" " *Surrey* (*the highest*) 39 " "
" " *Huntingdon and Rutland* (*the lowest*) 0 " "

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MAP No. XI.

MAP

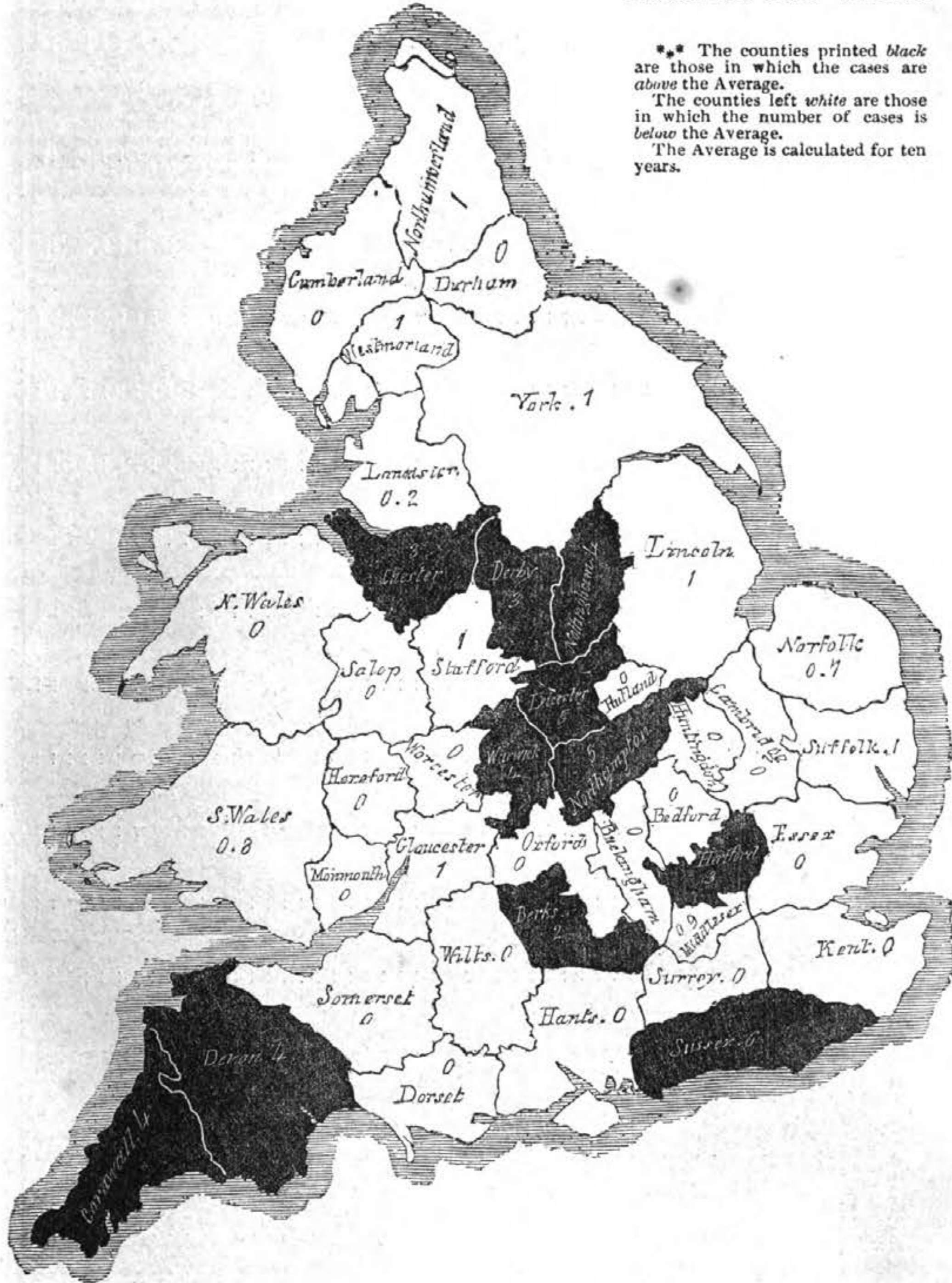
SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PROVED CASES OF

ATTEMPTING TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN

IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.



The Average for England and Wales is 1 *in every* 10,000 *illegitimate births.*

" " *Sussex* (*the highest*) 6 " "

TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, WITH REGARD TO THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN.

COUNTIES.	Average Yearly No. of Illegitimate Births.	Total number committed for attempting to procure the miscarriage of women.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed annually in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.	Proportion per Cent. above and below the Aver. † denotes above. * ,, below.
		1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.				
Bedford	336	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Berks	461	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	·1	2	†100·0
Bucks	315	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Cambridge	423	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Chester	1128	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	·3	3	†200·0
Cornwall	534	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	·2	4	†300·0
Cumberland	639	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Derby	656	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	·2	3	†200·0
Devon	818	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	·3	4	†300·0
Dorset	342	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Durham	824	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Essex	621	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Gloucester	788	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	·1	1	......
Hereford	274	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Hertford	338	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	·1	3	†200·0
Hunts	98	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Kent	998	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Lancaster	5672	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	·1	0·2	†80·0
Leicester	583	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	3	·3	5	*400·0
Lincoln	820	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	·1	1	......
Middlesex	2200	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	·2	0·9	*10·0
Monmouth	269	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Norfolk	1374	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	·1	0·7	*30·0
Northampton	416	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	·2	5	†400·0
Northumberland	685	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	·1	1	......
Nottingham	808	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	3	·3	4	†300·0
Oxford	396	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Rutland	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Salop	640	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Somerset	847	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Southampton	703	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Stafford	1341	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	·2	1	......
Suffolk	895	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	·1	1	......
Surrey	903	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Sussex	663	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	·4	6	†500·0
Warwick	831	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	·3	4	†300·0
Westmorland	156	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Wilts	506	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Worcester	679	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
York	4155	2	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	6	·6	1	......
North Wales	847	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
South Wales	1308	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	·1	0·8	*20·0
Total for England and Wales	37,410	3	5	13	6	1	4	3	3	3	3	44	4·4	1	

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO ATTEMPTING TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Sussex	6	York	1
Leicester	5	Stafford	1
Northampton	5	Gloucester	1
Devon	4	Lincoln	1
Nottingham	4	Northumb.	1
Warwick	4	Suffolk	1
Cornwall	4	Middlesex	0·9
Chester	3	S. Wales	0·8
Derby	3	Norfolk	0·7
Hertford	3	Lancaster	0·2
Berks	2	Bedford	0
		Bucks	0
		Cambridge	0
		Cumberland	0
		Dorset	0
		Durham	0
		Essex	0
		Hereford	0
		Hunts	0
		Kent	0
		Monmouth	0
		Oxford	0
		Rutland	0
		Sa p	0
		Somerset	0
		Southamp.	0
		Surrey	0
		Westmor.	0
		Wilts	0
		Worcester	0
		N. Wales	0

Average for England and Wales 1

THE CONCEALMENT OF THE BIRTHS OF INFANTS AND THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN COMPARED.

Counties in which the Concealment of Births and attempts to procure Miscarriage are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below. In No. of Concealment of Births.	In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage
Cornwall	†76·9	†300·0
Devon	†64·8	†300·0
Sussex	†41·2	†500·0
Berks	†29·5	†100·0
Northampton	†29·5	†400·0
Leicester	†11·8	†400·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	†41·1	†300·0

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 24, and of Attempts at Miscarriage 4 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)

Counties in which the Concealment of Births and Attempts to procure Miscarriage are both below the Average.	In No. of Concealment of Births.	In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage
Rutland	*100·0	*100·0
Hunts	*100·0	*100·0
Oxford	* 82·4	*100·0
Bedford	* 64·7	*100·0
Northumb.	* 58·8	* —
Cumberland	* 52·9	*100·0
Lancaster	* 47·1	* 80·0
Bucks	* 41·2	*100·0
North Wales	* 35·3	*100·0
York	* 29·4	* —
Salop	* 17·6	*100·0
South Wales	* 11·8	* 20·0
Norfolk	* 11·8	* 30·0
Stafford	* —	* —
Cambridge	* —	*100·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	* 29·4	* 30·0

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 14, and Attempts at Miscarriage 0·7 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)

Counties in which the Concealment of Births is above the Average, and the attempts to procure Miscarriage below it.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below. In No. of Concealment of Births.	In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage
Surrey	†129·5	*100·0
Southampton	†117·7	*100·0
Monmouth	† 76·9	*100·0
Dorset	† 70·6	*100·0
Gloucester	† 64·8	* —
Lincoln	† 64·8	* —
Essex	† 53·0	*100·0
Hereford	† 53·0	*100·0
Westmorland	† 53·0	*100·0
Middlesex	† 47·1	* 10·0
Worcester	† 47·1	*100·0
Durham	† 35·3	*100·0
Kent	† 29·5	*100·0
Suffolk	† 29·5	* —
Somerset	† 11·8	*100·0
Wilts	† 4·1	*100·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	† 53·0	* 60·0

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 26, and Attempts at Miscarriage 0·4 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)

Counties in which the Concealment of Births is below the Average, and the Attempts to procure Miscarriage above it.	In No. of Concealment of Births.	In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage
Nottingham	* 70·6	†300·0
Derby	* 29·4	†200·0
Warwick	* 23·5	†300·0
Hertford	* 23·5	†200·0
Chester	* 17·6	†200·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	* 29·4	†200·0

(The Number of cases of Concealing Births is 12, and Attempts at Miscarriage 3 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births.)

THE ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE MISCARRIAGE OF WOMEN AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS COMPARED.

Counties in which the Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage and Number of Illegitimate Births are both above the Average.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below. In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Sussex	†500·0	† 1·5
Leicester	†400·0	†17·9
Nottingham	†300·0	†35·8
Chester	†200·0	†32·8
Derby	†200·0	†20·9
Hertford	†200·0	† 7·4
Berks	†100·0	†17·9
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	†300·0	†20·9

(The number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 4 in 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and Number of Illegitimate Births 81 in every 1000 Births.)

Counties in which the cases of Attempts at Miscarriage and Number of Illegitimate Births are both below the Average.	In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Cambridge	*100·0	* 1·5
Dorset	*100·0	* 1·5
Durham	*100·0	*10·4
Essex	*100·0	*10·4
Hunts	*100·0	*28·3
Kent	*100·0	*19·4
Monmouth	*100·0	*26·8
Rutland	*100·0	*16·4
Somerset	*100·0	* 6·0
Southampton	*100·0	*10·4
Surrey	*100·0	*34·3
Worcester	*100·0	* 1·5
Middlesex	*10·0	*40·3
Lincoln	* —	* 1·5
Gloucester	* —	* 4·5
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	* 60·0	* 19·4

(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is ·4 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and Number of Illegitimate Births 54 in every 1000 Births.)

Counties in which the cases of Attempts at Miscarriage are above the Average and the Number of Illegitimate Births below it.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below. In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Northampton	†400·0	*10·4
Devon	†300·0	*25·3
Warwick	†300·0	*16·4
Cornwall	†300·0	*29·8
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	†300·0	*20·9

(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is 4 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and Number of Illegitimate Births 53 in every 1000 Births.)

Counties in which the cases of Attempts at Miscarriage are below the Average and the Number of Illegitimate Births above it.	In No. of Attempts at Miscarriage	In No. of Illegitimate Births.
Bedford	*100·0	†14·9
Bucks	*100·0	† 4·4
Cumberland	*100·0	†61·2
Hereford	*100·0	†49·2
Oxford	*100·0	†13·4
Salop	*100·0	†47·7
Westmorland	*100·0	†29·8
Wilts	*100·0	† 3·0
North Wales	*100·0	†16·4
Lancaster	* 80·0	†14·9
Norfolk	* 30·0	†56·7
South Wales	* 20·0	† 7·4
Suffolk	* —	†26·8
Northumb.	* —	† 8·9
Stafford	* —	† 3·0
York	* —	† 6·0
The Average for the whole of the above Counties is	* 40·0	†16·4

(The Number of cases of Attempts at Miscarriage is ·6 in every 10,000 Illegitimate Births, and Number of Illegitimate Births 78 in every 1000 Births.)

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is allowed. The Dyak women seldom engage in intrigues with Malays or other foreigners.

From their long intercourse with the Malays, who are all Mohammedans, the Dyaks might have been expected to borrow such of their customs as encourage the savage in the gratification of his animal appetites, and would enable him to live in lordly indolence on the labour of his wives. Monogamy, however, still prevails with all the tribes.

The ceremony of marriage—if such it can be called—is simple to the last degree with all except a few communities, who practise some particular rites. The consent of the woman is necessary to the match, which is made without the intervention of the parents, who, after the mutual willingness of the young people has been expressed, cannot refuse their sanction. The bride and bridegroom meet, a feast is given, and the transaction is concluded.

There are certain restrictions on the immoral intercourse of the young people, to which we have alluded. If a girl becomes pregnant, the father of her child must marry her. Such an occurrence often precedes a match. Men and women live with each other on trial, and if no signs of offspring appear, the acquaintance is discontinued. Constancy during such an intercourse is not rigidly required. Mr. Hugh Law was assured that, in some communities, the laxity of manners was carried so far, that when a chief was travelling from place to place, hospitality required that at every village he should be furnished with a girl as his companion while he rested. Such a practice is general among the Kyans who inhabit a large part of the interior of Borneo. The fear of not becoming the father of a family—a misfortune greatly dreaded by the Dyaks—is supposed to encourage the loose intercourse of the unmarried people, since, as we have said, a man always marries the woman by whom he has a child.

Among the Dyaks who dwell on the hills in the interior, a higher morality prevails. The licentious intercourse of the unmarried people is not permitted. The young and single men are obliged to sleep apart in a separate building, and the girls are carefully kept from them. Marriage is contracted at a very early age, and adultery is almost unknown. Polygamy is not allowed; but some of the chiefs indulge in a second wife or concubine—an infringement of the law which is held in great reprobation, though it cannot be prevented. The degrees of consanguinity within which marriage is prohibited extend beyond cousins. One man shocked the public feeling of his tribe by marrying his granddaughter—his wife and the girl's mother, his own child, being still alive. The people affirmed that ruin and darkness had covered the face of the sun ever since the day when that incestuous union took place. Nevertheless, as they adhere almost constantly to the practice of marrying within their own tribe, the whole commonwealth comes, in the course of time, to be united by distant ties of blood, which has been assigned as a cause for the cases of insanity not uncommon among them. This may be true, since it is a fact that many royal families, constrained to perpetual intermarriage, have dwindled into a race of imbeciles in consequence. The women put faith in medicines to render them fruitful; but they never resort to the custom of procuring abortion adopted by the Malay prostitutes on the coast. These women eat large quantities of honey, largely mixed with hot spices, which produces the desired result. It is said that among the people of the south numerous public prostitutes are to be found, though this is on the equivocal authority of a German missionary, whose testimony is much to be suspected. No word for prostitution appears to exist in the Dyak language. Among the Malays such women are numerous.

The Siboravan females present a fair average of the manners prevailing with the various divisions of that singular race. Their women are not concealed, nor are they shy before strangers. They will bathe naked in the presence of men; yet many of the decencies of life are observed. Though the unmarried people sleep promiscuously in a common room, married couples have separate chambers. The labour of the household, with all the drudgery, is allotted to the females; they grind rice, carry burdens, fetch water, catch fish, and till the fields, but are far from occupying the degraded condition of the wives of the North-American Indians; their situation may, indeed, be compared to that of women in the humblest classes in England. They eat with the men, and take part in their concerns as well as their festivals. This is an agricultural and fishing tribe.

Among the Kayans a *naked woman* cannot under any circumstances be killed, or a woman with child.

Among the Mohammedan Malays, as we have said, there is more civilization and corruption of manners in another form. They are polygamists, indulge in concubines, encourage prostitutes, and some-

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times treat their wives with great tyranny. An English physician lately received a message from one of the wives of a chief—celebrated for fostering privacy—desiring a secret interview with him at a secluded spot in the jungle. He went with the high belief that the woman was enamoured of his good looks. He met her, found her young and pretty, but with an air of firmness and dignity which showed that it was no frivolous purpose which had led her to take so dangerous a step. She complained of her miserable life, of the despotism under which she suffered, declared she would endure it no longer, and requested the doctor to furnish her with a small dose of arsenic to poison, not herself, but her husband. Of course he refused, and the poor creature went away sorely disappointed.

The rich Malays allow their wives to keep female slaves for their service. The position of these captives is, under any circumstances, unenviable; should, however, one of them, by her personal qualities, excite the jealousy of her mistress, her case is miserable, until she can procure another owner. Sometimes the slaves are used as concubines, when by law they become free, though they seldom avail themselves of their liberty, preferring to be supported by their old masters, while prostituting themselves to others. The wealthy chiefs spend large sums in the purchase of concubines. The marriage ceremony is performed according to the ritual of the Koran, but is often neglected.

The prostitutes who congregate in the seaport towns have not been particularly described. They appear to be divided into classes: those who cohabit temporarily with the Malays, are paid a certain price, and exchange their residence; those who prostitute themselves indiscriminately to all comers; and those who are supported by the sailors, and profligate Chinese, who invariably create such a class wherever they settle. Of their numbers we have no account, nor of their modes of life; but it is certain they exist in considerable numbers.*

* Brooke, Keppel, Mundy, Belcher, Law, &c.

PROSTITUTION AMONG THE SEMI-CIVILIZED NATIONS.

Introduction.

Surveying the social aspects of the globe, we discover an immense range occupied by races partially civilized, which connect the barbarian with the polished communities. Some of these, perhaps, are placed below European nations rather because they differ from, than because they are inferior to them.

The influence of every great religion is powerful in various divisions of the vast range. Buddha and Bramah have their millions of worshippers in China, India, and the intervening regions. The prophet is followed by whole nations in eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Christianity has numerous adherents on the plains of Syria, Palestine, and the countries of Asia Minor. An equal variety of institutions prevails among these half-educated races. British policy in India; paternal despotism in China; republican simplicity in Arabia, Celebes, and Afghanistan; religious tyranny in the empire of the Porte; and patriarchal freedom among the nomades of Asia Minor, exercise different influences on this mighty and mixed population. In some we find a singular purity of manners, as among the Bedouins of Arabia; with others, morals are more gross than among the worst savages; but in all there is a perceptible contrast between the civilized states of Europe on the one hand, and the barbarian countries of Africa, Australasia, and the Pacific on the other.

The position of the female sex among half-civilized races, as among all others, may be taken as a standard to measure their progress. It differs, in some remarkable particulars, from that occupied by women in purely savage or highly-civilized communities. In the one, where any regulations exist they are rude and coarse, and only obeyed where their action is constant, which it seldom is. In the other, men fear blame more than the law, and manners perform what legislation is unable to accomplish. In most of the countries of which we are now treating, government endeavours to rule with parental discipline the minutest concerns of life, to affix a penalty to every fault, to adjust with nicety the slightest relations of individuals with individuals, to guard morals by police and suppress profligacy by imperative decrees. So it is in China, so in Japan, and so in a less degree in the dominions of every Asiatic prince. In Egypt Mohammed Ali attempted, by one stroke of his pen, to blot out the stain of

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prostitution. He banished the old professors of that class, and new ones were created from the remainder of the population. In Persia a royal decree forbade prostitution, and men immediately prostituted the right of marriage to evade the law. In China the Emperors have, from time to time, fulminated proclamations against all profligate persons; but they have flung their invectives into the void, and no impression has been produced. The coarse and awkward efforts of a barbarian despot's will never produce any better result. The Draconic decree is promulgated and the offences it is intended to suppress continue to be perpetrated as before. A distinction must be drawn, however, between those communities in which severe laws are enacted to produce, and those in which they are inspired by, public morality. In the one case they are worthless, because they are in hostility to the prevailing system; in the other they are the signification, because they are the embodiment, of the national feeling. They may be symptoms, but they can never be causes, of virtuous manners.

The view of the half-civilized nations, which is here presented, includes sketches of India, of Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Hindu-Chinese races, China, Japan, Celebes, Ceylon, Persia, Egypt, the Barbary States, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Arabia, and Turkey. In all of them polygamy exists, though to a very small extent in Ceylon. It will be seen that the popular ideas on this subject are somewhat exaggerated. Most persons unaccustomed to read or reflect, imagine that throughout the East all men have their harems filled with wives, who are beautiful prisoners, immured in perpetual seclusion, slaves to the will of their lord, and never allowed to move unless guarded by a fierce black eunuch, or a duenna still more dark and angry. It is left for those who are accustomed to peruse the accounts of veracious travellers, to know that polygamy, though allowed to almost all, is practically a privilege only of the rich, and not indulged in even by the majority of these. The general notions, also, of female seclusion are extravagant. Women in Turkey enjoy far more liberty than is usually imagined. So do they even in China, though very wealthy husbands, especially among the Hindus, shut up their wives and never allow a stranger's glance to fall upon their countenances. This excessive jealousy is not always disagreeable to the objects of it; indeed, in the harem where three or four wives are congregated, the youngest and most beautiful sometimes makes it her chief triumph over her mortified rivals, that she is watched, guarded, shaded even from the light, and immured beyond the sound of a man's voice, while they are far less religiously secluded. Thus the sex, influenced during ages by a peculiar system of manners, accommodates itself to them, invariably sinking or rising to the level assigned it by the civilization of the period.

Throughout the world the numerical disparity of the sexes is nowhere such as to induce the belief that polygamy is natural to certain countries. It is practised in many where the females are less numerous than the males, in consequence of infanticide. Everywhere, when extensively prevalent, it produces injurious results, diminishing the fecundity of women, and by no means preventing men from encouraging a class of professional prostitutes. There is, indeed, in this idea, something debasing to the female sex. That men should multiply their wives that they may not be induced to visit harlots, appears to degrade the institution of marriage, which was not intended for the satisfaction of sensual appetites, but for the continuation of the human species. Polygamy is opposed to increase, and thus appears unnatural; still more revolting to our ideas of civilization is the custom of polyandrism, or one wife with many husbands. It obtains in some regions of the Himalaya, among the Nairs of Malabar, and in the Cingalese kingdom of Kandy. Nowhere else do we find more than a trace of it, and it is singular to find a practice so utterly repugnant to the general sense of Orientals, prevailing close to the region in which men are most jealous and women most carefully guarded. In Hindustan some men will not divorce a wife whom they thoroughly dislike, because they will not allow her to be unveiled by a stranger; yet among the neighbouring Hindu-Chinese nations, a man will frequently prostitute his wife for gain. On the southern coast, and in Ceylon, eight men will live with one wife. This proves that institutions have no geographical distribution. Both kinds of polygamy are equally opposed to the natural increase of population.

Where nobler qualities distinguish the men of any race, we still find, as we ascend the scale of civilization, that women rise with them. In Afghanistan, in Celebes, and among the Bedouins of Arabia, the male sex is distinguished for its upright, dignified, and manly character. Chastity in women is prized, and because it is prized it is preserved. Where, on the contrary, the husband desires his wife may be faithful to him, not that she may be virtuous, but that he may

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not be robbed or wronged, it frequently occurs that she only keeps her vow until she has an opportunity to break it. On the whole, however, female chastity among the Hindus and Mohammedans is more general than from some popular accounts might be inferred. With the mixed races—hybrid in blood, manners, and religion—an inferior state of morality prevails.

With respect to actual prostitution the region which is most free from it is the desert country of Arabia. It flourishes most, perhaps, in India and China. The flower boats of the Pearl River, the temples of the Deccan, the kiosks of Barbary, the Ghawazee villages of Egypt, the dancing houses of Java, and the tea-gardens of Japan, were all originally consecrated to vice, which nowhere flourishes more rankly than in those countries where despotism has paralyzed the virtuous energies of men.

Almost everywhere the prostitute class, among Eastern nations, has addicted itself to other pursuits—to music and the dance—to inflame the lust which it designs itself to satisfy. In many countries also the prostitutes have been allied to the priesthood. Thus in India they have formed a sacred class; in the cities of Arabia they are encouraged by the Moolahs to frequent places of worship; elsewhere they have flourished under the auspices of government, which has placed them under the charge of inspectors and derived profit from their degradation. In such countries they carry on their profession more openly, and are more openly encouraged, than in others where their occupation is clandestine.

Some of the nations included in this division of the subject appear to have reached the last stage of their native civilization. Among these is China: her further progress will not be influenced by internal causes, but will be regulated by contact with a superior race. In India the process has already begun, and in the condition of women, and consequently, also, in their national character, the change is becoming apparent. Widow-burning is already a thing of the past; the blot of infanticide will soon be obliterated from the face of society; the prejudice which prevented the second marriage of women, and drove thousands to suicide or prostitution, is gradually yielding before reason; the barriers of caste are being broken down, and more natural relations restored to society. Women in India are the chief degradation to the sacred class of Brahmins, in whom were combined the fanaticism of idolatrous priests and the pride of nobles. Thus the contact of English with Oriental civilization, gentle as it has been, is leading to the subjugation of the latter before the more humane and liberal principles of the former. But it is singular to find that much more difficulty is experienced in modifying the social institutions of half-educated, than in changing those of barbarous races. With the one they are based on habit, with the other on prejudice; and the pride of a little learning induces the one to cling to them, while the simplicity of the savage allows him easily to yield.

The sentiment of chastity is nowhere discovered pure except among very simple and unsophisticated, or very refined and polished nations. It is found in the Bedouin encampments of Arabia, it is found in the pastoral communities of Afghanistan, and it is found among the wandering shepherds of Asia Minor; but amid the barbaric millions of China, with their innumerable maxims of virtue, the true sentiment is very rare. So also is that of love, which belongs also to the infancy and to the maturity of nations, for in the intervening stages it becomes mingled with an alloy of interest, sensuality, or superstition.

Prostitution, however, belongs to all ages and to every nation. But it assumes various forms in the different classes of mankind: it is loose and scattered among the barbarous tribes not yet settled under the forms of regular society; it is systematized and acknowledged among the half-barbarous races; it is adopted as a sacred institution in regions where the object of the priesthood is, to enslave the souls of men through their senses; it is encouraged in States where the desire of government is to absorb the people in the pursuit of animal gratification, and thus distract their attention from public affairs; it is submitted to a strict, though awkward discipline in countries where the rulers desire to mimic the social code of civilized commonwealths; and as society progresses, though it becomes distinct and conspicuous, it exchanges the highway for the bye-street, the day for the night, withdraws from other classes of the people, and becomes a despised sisterhood, cut off from intercourse with the moral classes of women.

Various stages of this process may have been remarked in the view of the condition and character of women, and the extent and state of the prostitute system in barbarous countries. We now enter on the half-educated communities which occupy the greater part of the world's surface, and these will lead in the communities of Europe, to which they are linked, on the one hand

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by Turkey, and on the other by the inhospitable deserts of Siberia.

Of Celebes.

In a region so vast as the Indian Archipelago it would be useless to dwell separately upon every island, especially as many characteristics are common to most of them. We have taken Java and Sumatra as representing the Sunda group, and we shall take Celebes as the head of a family of isles, with Borneo as another, and the Philippines as the fifth division. Incidental notices of any peculiarities in the lesser isles will suffice.

Celebes, in its political and social state, is far in advance of the other countries in insular Asia. It enjoys in many of its States a considerable degree of civilization. The idea of freedom, so rare among barbarous races, is recognised in its political system, and representative institutions have actually developed themselves into a republican form of government. Where such progress has been made in the art of civil polity, we may look with confidence for a superior social scheme, and this we actually find. It should be premised that the Indian Archipelago is peopled by two races—the brown, or Malay; and the black, or Ethiopian. The former is the more powerful, intelligent, and polished, and has therefore become the conquering race. It has subdued the Negro hordes of the various islands, and is now paramount in all the great native States. In Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, it has entirely displaced the original possessors of the soil, who dwell only in scattered communities, defended from annihilation by forests and hills, which serve in some degree to balance that native valour which has made the Malays an imperial nation, subdued in their turn by the more powerful race from Europe.

In the states of Celebes women are not excluded from their share in the public business of the commonwealth, though their influence is usually indirect. They rule their own households, give counsel to the men on all important occasions, and even, when the monarchy is elective, are frequently raised to the throne. They eat with their husbands, and from the same dish, only using the left side. They appear mixed with the other sex at public festivals, and, when intrusted with authority, preside over the councils, and are vigorous in the exercise of their prerogative. Nor is peace the only era of their reign. They have sometimes presented themselves in the field, and animated the warriors to battle by applauding the courageous and upbraiding the timid.

In the State of Wajo, which is, perhaps, the most advanced in the island, one check upon civilization exists, and that is the extravagant pride of birth. The spirit, if not the actual institution of caste, exists, and is productive of the usual evils attending an artificial division of classes. A woman of pure descent dare not mingle her blood with that of an inferior, though a man may ally himself with a girl of humbler station. The offspring of such a connection, however, carry with them an appellation denoting their imperfect parentage.

Polygamy is universally permitted among the Bugis of Celebes; but certain restrictions, unknown in other Mohammedan countries, attach to the privilege. Two wives seldom inhabit the same house, and for three or four to do so is an extremely rare circumstance. Usually each has a separate dwelling, and in this private establishment she generally supports herself, with occasional assistance from her husband. The men can easily procure a divorce, and when the consent is mutual nothing remains but to separate as quickly as possible. If the woman only, however, desire to be set free, she must produce some reasonable ground of complaint, for the mere neglect of conjugal duties is not considered a sufficient cause. Many years pass sometimes without any intercourse taking place between man and wife. Nevertheless, though many of them indulge in polygamy, concubinage, or the keeping of female slaves for sensual purposes, is rarely practised. Many of the rajahs, however, take women of inferior rank to be their companions until they marry a woman of equal birth, when their old partners are divorced.

In Wajo, the marriage state, though characterised by these extraordinary customs, is decently preserved, and more honourable than with any other Eastern nation. So equal, indeed, is the proportion of the sexes, that not only is the throne, or rather president's chair, given to them, but also the great offices of state. Four out of six of the great councillors are sometimes women. They ride about, transact business, and visit even foreigners as they please, and enjoy every advantage. Their manners are easy and self-possessed, though too listless and slow to be fascinating to an European. Their morals, as well as those of the men, are far superior to that of any other race in Eastern or Western Asia, and prostitution is all but unknown.

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Far from modest, in the English sense of the term, they are yet very chaste; and, though they maintain little reserve in their conduct towards strangers, never exhibit the inclination to be indecent or licentious. Even the dancing girls, though of loose virtue, dress with the utmost modesty, though their performances are occasionally lascivious.

Throughout the beautiful and interesting island of Celebes the same state of things prevails, and wherever the women are most free, they are least licentious. The intercourse of the sexes is unrestrained; the youth meet without hindrance; and chastity is guarded more by the sense of honour and by the pride of virtue, than by the jealousy of husbands or the rigid surveillance of parents. On the whole, therefore, the condition of the sex in Celebes is elevated. That women are there perverted in some of their manners, and that they do not approach that exalted state which was accorded to them in the Attic states of Greece, is true, because the people are barbarians. It is necessary always, in considering the state and character of women in any country, to hold in view the state and character of the men also. We are to apply no unvarying standard to measure the condition of one sex, for it is only by viewing it relatively to the other that we can arrive at a sound conclusion. The Bugis of Celebes are among the most manly, enterprising, and virtuous nations of Asia; and their women are proportionably free, chaste, and happy*.

Of Prostitution in Persia.

In Persia the Oriental idea of the female sex is completely developed. Women are there the property of men and their enjoyment of life is circumscribed to suit the pleasure of their masters; among the wandering tribes, indeed, they go unveiled, and breathe the air of partial freedom; but among the fixed inhabitants of cities and villages, their lot is one of seclusion and servitude. Subservient as they are to the will and caprice of the supreme sex, the estimation in which they are held is extremely low. The lower classes consider them, indeed, valuable in proportion to the amount of household labour they perform; the higher classes look on them as the means of sensual gratification. We find, it is true, in Persian romance and poetry, eulogiums on the beauty of their women, and songs of devotion to them; but they are the objects of barter, and are consequently in a despised condition.

There is actually no station assigned to women in Persia; they are recognised only as ministers to the wants or pleasures of the male sex. They are what their husbands choose to make them. Instances occur where a favourite wife or concubine is ruler of the house, or a mother exercises strong influence over her son, but these are rare examples; women, in total seclusion, are submissive slaves. The wives of the Shah, especially, vegetate within the walls of a splendid prison; occasionally one of them is permitted to walk abroad, but then all must fly from the route she takes, and no one dare look upon her on pain of death. She is paraded in stately procession, and eunuchs run in front to clear the way, firing guns loaded with ball to frighten any bold adventurer who may be reckless enough to remain on the line of the cortege. This isolation of the sex pervades all the wealthier orders of Persian society; even brothers are not allowed to see their sisters after a certain age.

Polygamy is practised in Persia. The palace especially has a crowded harem; numbers of female officers and attendants wait on the Shah. The wives and concubines are arranged with the most rigid regard to the rules of precedence; none but those of the highest rank and most distinguished favour dare sit down in the presence of their royal lord; over all the rest the strictest discipline is preserved. The king is said sometimes to have a thousand women in his palace, and much skill is required to preserve decorum among them; some he has given away to his principal officers. The chief of them lives in splendour, wearing garments so thickly embroidered with pearls that they impede her movements; but the others are subject to much rigour, especially under the savage eunuchs whose favourite mode of chastising the female slaves is to strike them on the mouth with the heel of a slipper. However, large numbers of them lead a pleasant, while all enjoy an indolent life, lounging for hours in the warm bath, whence they emerge, with enervated frames, to spend an equal time in the coquetry of the toilette. All the arts which vanity can devise are exhausted to render their persons attractive to the Shah, whose favours are courted as much as his displeasure is feared. In the one case, the fortunate woman is elevated, for a brief period at least, to the very ideal of her hopes, while, in the other, she may be fastened in a sack and hurled from the top of a lofty tower.

* Brooke's Journals; Mundy; Keppel's Voyage of the Dido; Crawford's Archipelago.

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The Persians generally believe themselves entitled to unlimited indulgence in the delights of the harem. Their religious law confines them to four wives, but they may have as many concubines or other female companions as they can support. The priests are expected to be the most chaste, but are usually the most licentious; it is remarked as an extraordinary circumstance of one celebrated spiritual leader, that it was affirmed that he never had connection with any other woman than his four legitimate wives.

A Persian is permitted, as well by the enactments of the law as by common usage, to take a female, not within the prohibited degrees of affinity, in three different ways: he may marry, he may purchase, or he may hire her. Persons are frequently betrothed during infancy; but the engagement is not considered binding unless contracted by both the actual parents. The girl, indeed, may, even under these circumstances, refuse her consent, but this privilege is rather nominal than real. If she resolutely refuse, she may be taken back to the recesses of her parent's harem, and there chastened until she choses to submit; and it is not long before she is whipped into compliance. The nuptial ceremony must be witnessed by at least two men, or one man and two women. An officer of the law attends to attest the contract. The written document is delivered to the wife, who carefully preserves it, for it is the deed that entitles her to the amount of her dower, which is part of her provision in case of being left a widow, and her sole dependence in case of being divorced. Her right in this respect is strictly guarded by law, and by her male friends, and it is one of which the women of Persia are extremely jealous. The marriage festival is usually very expensive, for the reputation of the husband is supposed to be measured by the splendour of his nuptials.

Though a man may, when he pleases, put away his wife, the expense and scandal attending such a proceeding make it rare. It seldom occurs, indeed, except among the poorer classes, who do not so rigidly seclude their females; among the wealthier and prouder, a man would be ashamed to expose a woman, with whom he had once associated, to be seen by others, unless in the case, of course, of a common woman. Divorce never takes place on account of adultery, which is punished with death. Bad temper and extravagance on the woman's side, and neglect or cruel usage on the husband's, may be urged by either as reasons for separation. If the husband sues for a divorce, he pays back the dowry he received with his bride; if the wife commences the proceeding, she loses her claim. In this, as in all other respects, the male sex has the advantage. A man who desires to be relieved of a disagreeable partner, sometimes uses her so cruelly that she is compelled to open the suit, by which means he gets rid of her, but keeps her money.

The Persian may have as many female slaves as he desires or is able to maintain. They earn no advantage of position by becoming his concubines instead of the sweepers of his house. They are still in slavery, and may at any time be sold again if they displease their masters. A woman so cast off is in a bad position, for she must then sink into worse degradation than before. Mohammedan jealousy, however, serves, in some respects, as a kind of protection for the woman; for a man, having once cohabited with her, will seldom allow her to fall into the hands of any other.

One very extraordinary custom prevails in Persia, and seems now peculiar to that country, though it is said to have existed in Arabia at the time of the prophet's appearance there. Mohammed tolerated it; but his successor, Omar, abolished it, as a species of legal prostitution injurious to the morals of the people. All the Turks and others, therefore, who hold his precepts in veneration, abhor and condemn the practice, but it still obtains. It is that of hiring a companion. A man and a woman agree to cohabit for a certain period—some for a few days, others for 99 years. In the one case it is simply an act of prostitution; in the other it is morally equivalent to marriage, though the woman acquires no right to property of any kind, except the price of her hire. This sum is agreed upon at the first compact; and though the man may discard his companion when he pleases, he must pay her the whole amount promised. If both are willing, the arrangement may be renewed at the expiration of the term, which is generally short. This kind of intercourse usually takes place among persons of very unequal stations. The women are generally of a low class, and are, for the most part, a peculiar sort of prostitutes, if prostitution mean the hiring out of a woman's person for money. The children springing from such a union are supported by the father. In one circumstance the custom differs from the ordinary prostitution of other countries. When a man has parted from a woman of this class, she is forbidden to form any new connection until a suffi-

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cient time has elapsed to prove whether or not she is pregnant from the last. This precaution is to hinder the chance of a man's being burdened with the support of a child of which he is not actually the father.

The characteristics of women in Persia agree with this picture of their treatment. They are degraded down to the level of their condition. Leaving a few exceptions out of sight, we find the rich and idle vain, sensual, and absorbed by animal desires; the poorer classes, licentious and intriguing.

The peculiar customs of the country cause strange occurrences to take place. A man is sometimes deceived into marrying the wrong woman, under cover of the inviolable drapery which veils her face. He is usually content to stow her away in his harem, and solace himself with a concubine, or the company of prostitutes; for though he may hold that his own wife and daughter would be polluted by the eye of a strange man, and though he may be able to fill his harem with beautiful slaves, the Persian voluptuary is not content. He must associate with the more brilliant and lively beauties, who are ready to receive him in various retired houses of the city. These houses are generally in obscure places, dull and uninviting on the outside, but fitted up in the interior with much elegance and luxury.

Formerly there was a numerous class of public dancing girls in Persia, and the beauty of their persons, and the melody of their voices, were celebrated by the most famous poets of the country. They were wealthy and popular, continuing to figure prominently at the entertainments of the people until the family of Futteh Ali Khan rose to the throne; they were then discouraged by a monarch who crowded his harim with a thousand women, and, in the midst of this multitude of concubines, issued edicts for the suppression of immorality. The dancing girls were prohibited from approaching the court, and compelled to seek a livelihood in the distant provinces of the empire. It is not to be denied that considerable reform has taken place in the manners of the people; but profligacy is still a marked characteristic of the cities in Persia.

Under the Sefi dynasty morals reached the last stage of depravity. The royal treasury was filled with the proceeds of immorality. Public brothels were licensed and became extremely numerous. A large revenue was drawn from them. In Ispahan alone no less than 30,000 prostitutes paid an annual sum to government. The governors of provinces and cities also granted the same privileges for sums of money, and there was scarcely a town of any size in Persia which had not at least one large brothel, crowded with inmates. The prostitutes were all licensed, and known by the appellation of *cahbeha*, or *the worthless*. An old traveller, whose authority is accepted by the best writers, describes the system then prevailing; it displays the corruption of manners in the open and systematic character of profligacy. As soon as the merchants' shops were closed in the cities the brothels were opened; the prostitutes then issued into the streets, dispersed themselves, and repaired to particular localities. There they sat down in rows, closely veiled; behind each company stood an old woman holding an extinguished candle in her hand. When any man approached with a sign that he desired to make a bargain, this harridan lit her taper, and led him down the line of women, removing the veil of each in her turn until he made his choice. The girl was then dispatched with him, under the guidance of a slave, to the house, which usually stood close by the way-side. All payments were made to the old woman or "*mother*" of the company.

Under the reigning family this open system has been checked, and prostitution, not being licensed, is a more secret system. Nevertheless, there abound in the cities of Persia numerous brothels, to which the men proceed after dark, and where they are entertained as they desire; numbers of women are always ready to hire themselves out to any who desire to associate with them.

The females of the wandering tribes are far more virtuous than those of the cities; they are also more happy and free, for if they share the labours of the men, they share also their pleasures and hopes; far from being secluded, they are allowed to converse even with strangers, and grace the hospitality of the tents with modest but polite attention. The men seldom have more than one wife, and abhor the practice of hiring women, though their priests have made attempts to introduce it among them. Still, even the women of these tribes are below their proper condition, and the men as they become wealthier become more corrupt; when, also, they sojourn for a while in the cities, they speedily contribute to the general profligacy, and often exceed the regular inhabitants in vice. Among those, however, in the nomade state, rape and adultery are rare, and when committed the woman suffers a cruel death at the hands of

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her nearest kindred. In the cities females are seldom publicly executed, but are put to death in private, or given as slaves to men of infamous occupation*.

Of Prostitution among the Afghans.

Women in Afghanistan are sold to the men. A marriage is a commercial transaction. The practice is recognised by the Moslem law, and is here, as in most parts of Asia, universally adopted. The price varies, of course, according to the condition of the bridegroom or his friends. Females, consequently, are in some measure regarded as property. They are in absolute subjection to the other sex. A husband may at any time, from mere caprice, and without assigning any reason, divorce his wife; but a woman cannot, unless she have good grounds, and sue for the separation before a magistrate. Even this is seldom done. When a widow marries, the friends of her first husband may claim the price that was originally paid for her; but usually the brother of the deceased inherits this property, and any one else usurping his privilege becomes a mortal enemy. However, the widow is not forced to take a new partner against her will. Indeed, if she have children with claims upon her care, it is considered more respectable to lead a single life.

In the lower regions of India, on the warm plains, we find marriage contracts fulfilled at a very early age. In the colder climate of Kabul they are left to a later period in life—men being wedded at twenty, women at about fifteen years of age. The time varies, however, with different classes. Among the poor, with whom the price of a wife is not easily to be amassed, the men often remain unmarried until forty, and the women till twenty-five. On the other hand, the rich frequently take brides of twelve to bridegrooms of fifteen, or even earlier, before either of them has attained puberty. Those living in towns and in Western Afghanistan marry earlier than those dwelling in the pastoral districts and in the eastern parts. These often wait until twenty-five, until the chin is thoroughly covered with beard, and the man is in all respects mature. The Ghiljies are still more prudent in this respect. In most parts of the country, nevertheless, the date of marriage is determined by the individual's ability to purchase a wife, provide a home, and support a family. Usually men form alliances within the blood of their own tribe; but many Afghans take also Tavjik and Persian women. It is not considered disreputable to take a wife from those nations; but it is held below the dignity of the Durani race to bestow a wife on a stranger, and this, consequently, is seldom or never done.

The intercourse of the sexes is regulated by various circumstances, many of them accidental. In the crowded towns, where the men have little opportunity of converse with the women, matches are generally made with views of family policy, and contracted through the agency of a go-between. When a man has fixed on any particular girl to be his wife, he sends some female relation or neighbour to see her and report to him upon her qualifications. If the account be satisfactory, the same agent ascertains from the girl's mother whether her family are favourable to the match; should all this prove well, arrangements are made for a public proposal. On an appointed day the suitor's father goes with a party of male relations to the young woman's father, while a similar deputation of females waits on her mother, and the offer is made in customary form. Various presents are also sent, the dowry is settled, a feast is prepared, and the betrothal takes place. Some time after, when both man and woman have mutually, by free consent, signed the articles of agreement—which stipulate for a provision for the wife in case of divorce—the union is completed at a festival, and the bride is delivered, on payment of her price, at the dwelling of her future master.

In the country, formalities very similar take place; but, as women there go unveiled, and the intercourse of the sexes is less restricted, the marriage generally originates in a personal attachment between the wedded pair, and the negotiations are only matters of etiquette. An enterprising lover may also obtain his mistress, without gaining the consent of her parents, by tearing away her veil, cutting off a lock of her hair, or throwing a large white cloth over her, and declaring her to be his lawful and affianced wife. After this no other suitor would propose for her, and she is usually bestowed on the bold lover, though he cannot escape paying some price for his wife. Such expedients are, therefore, seldom resorted to. When a man desires a girl for whom he cannot pay, and who reciprocates his affection, the common plan is to elope. This is,

* Malcolm's History of Persia; Javler's Three Years in Persia; Kotzebue's Embassy to Persia; Brydges' Narrative of the Embassy; Morier's Second Journey in Persia; Ker Porter's Travels; Stocqueler's Pilgrimage.

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indeed, considered by her family as an outrage equivalent to the murder of one of its members, and pursued with equally rancorous revenge, but the possession of the wife is at least secured. The fugitive couple take refuge in the territories of some other tribe, and find the hospitable protection which is accorded by the Afghans to every guest, and still more to every suppliant.

Among the Eusufzies different customs prevail. A man never sees his bride until the marriage rites are completed. The Beduranis, also, maintain great reserve between the youth and the girl betrothed one to another. Sometimes a man goes to the house of his future father-in-law, and labours, as Jacob laboured for Rachael, without being allowed to see his destined wife until the day for the ceremony has arrived. With many of the Afghan tribes a similar rule is nominally laid down, but a secret intercourse is countenanced between the bridegroom and future bride. It is called Naumzud bauzee, or the sport of the betrothed. The young man steals by night to the house of his affianced, pretending to conceal his presence altogether from the knowledge of the men, who would affect to consider it a great scandal. He is favoured by the girl's mother, who privately conducts him to an interior apartment, where he is left alone with his beloved until the approach of morning. He is allowed the freest intercourse with her, he may converse with her as he pleases, he may kiss her, and indulge in all other innocent freedoms; but the young people are under the strongest cautions and prohibitions to refrain from anticipating the nuptial night. "Nature, however," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "is too strong for such injunctions, and the marriage begins with all the difficulty and interest of an illicit amour." Cases have not unfrequently occurred in which the bride has been delivered of two or three children before being formally received into her husband's house. This, however, is regarded as extremely scandalous, and seldom happens among the more respectable Afghans. However, the custom of Naumzud bauzee prevails with men of the highest rank, and the king himself sometimes enjoys its midnight pleasures.

Though polygamy is allowed by the Mohammedan laws, it is too expensive to be practised by the bulk of the people. The legal number of wives is four; but many of the rich exceed this, and maintain a crowd of concubines besides. Two wives and two female slaves form a liberal establishment for a man of the middle class; while the poor are obliged to be content with one companion.

The social condition of the female sex in Afghanistan is low, as it must be in all countries where women are bought and sold. The wives of the rich, indeed, secluded in the recesses of the harem, are allowed to enjoy all the comforts and luxuries within reach of their husband's wealth. This, however, is more to please the man, than indulge the women, though many husbands really love their wives, and are influenced to a considerable degree by their desires. In general, however, it is to enjoy the pride of having a beautiful wife in his zenana, with all the appliances of opulence to render her gracious and dainty.

Among the poorer classes the women perform the drudgery of the house and carry water. Those of the most barbarous tribes share the labours of the field; but nowhere are they employed as in India, where there is scarcely any difference between the toils of the sexes. A man by the Mohammedan law is allowed to chastise his wife by beating. Custom, however, is more chivalrous and merciful than the written code, and lays it down as disgraceful for a man to avail himself of this privilege of his sex.

Though many women of the higher ranks learn to read, and exhibit considerable talents for literature, it is reckoned immodest for a female to write, as that accomplishment might be made use of to intrigue by correspondence with a lover.

Many families have all their household affairs, and many even their general customs, controlled by women. These sometimes correspond for their sons. It is usually the mother who enjoys this influence, but the wives also frequently rise to ascendancy; and all the advantages conferred on him by the Mohammedan law frequently fail to save a man from sinking to a secondary position in his own house. All domestic amusements indulged in by men are, among the lower and more estimable orders, shared by the women.

In towns, these envelope themselves in an ample white wrapper, like the Arab burnouse, which covers them to the feet, and altogether conceals their figure. A network in the hood, spread over the face, enables them to see, while their features are invisible to others. When on horseback, those of the upper classes wear large white cotton wrappers on their legs, which completely hides the shape of the limb. Frequently, also, they travel in hampers, large enough to allow of their reclining,

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which are strung like paniers over a camel's back, and covered with a case of broad cloth. They are hot almost to suffocation during the sultry season. Females are allowed to go about seated in this manner, and form a large proportion in the crowds which throng the public ways. Scrupulously concealed as their features are, they are thus subject to little restraint; and, compared with their sex in the neighbouring regions, though they do not occupy an honourable, they are by no means in an unhappy position.

In the rural districts they are still more free, and go without a veil. Walking through the village or the camp, they are subject to no other restraint than the universal opinion that it is indecent to associate with the other sex. Should a strange man approach, they immediately cover their faces. At home, they seldom enter the public room of their house if an Afghan with whom they are not intimate is there. With Armenians, Persians, and Hindoos, indeed, they do not hold this reserve; for they consider them as of no importance; and the pride of her race is, in these cases, a sufficient guardian to the woman's virtue. When their husbands are from home, also, they receive guests, and entertain them with all the liberal courtesy required by the sacred laws of hospitality.

But the modesty and chastity of the country women, especially of those belonging to the simple shepherd tribes, has been remarked and admired by almost every traveller. "There are no common prostitutes," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "except in the towns, and very few even there, especially in the west, which is the colder region; it is considered very disreputable to frequent their company." In Afghanistan, however, as in all other parts of the East, and in many states of antiquity, the imperfect education of the women is a cause of profligacy among the men. The wives and concubines who fill a rich man's harem are usually ignorant, insipid, and unacquainted even with the forms of conversation. The prostitutes, on the other hand, are generally well versed in the science of the world, polished in their manners, practised in the arts of seduction, and afford amusement of such interest and variety that men, with four wives and numerous female slaves at their command, frequently seek the society of these accomplished women.

An able and judicious writer has observed that, as far as he recollected, he saw among no people in the East, except the Afghans, any traces of the sentiment which we call love, that is, according to European ideas. There, however, it not only exists, but is extremely prevalent. One sign of this is exhibited in the numerous elopements, which are always attended with peril, and are risked through love. It is common also for a man in humble circumstances to pledge his faith to a particular girl, and then start off to some remote town, or even to Lower India, where, by industry or trade, he might acquire wealth enough to purchase her from her friends. One traveller met at Poonah a young man who had contracted one of these engagements. He had formed an attachment with the daughter of a Mullah, who reciprocated his affection. Her father gave his consent willingly to the marriage; but said that his daughter's honour would suffer if she did not bring as large a price as the other women of her family. The young people were much afflicted, for the man owned only one horse. However, his mistress gave him a needle used for applying antimony to the eye, and with this pledge of her affection he was confidently working to accumulate the fortune which was required to purchase her. These romantic amours are most common among the country people, especially where the women are partially secluded—accessible enough to be admired, but withdrawn enough to excite the lover's attachment by some difficulty. Among the higher orders such unions are less frequent, though with them also they occasionally occur. It was an affair of love between a chief of the Turkolaunis and a Khan of the Euzufzies that gave rise to a bloody war which lasted many years. Many of the songs and tales sung and told among the Afghans have love for their plot and spirit, and that passion is expressed in the most glowing and flowery language. Such a trait in a nation's manners is highly favourable, and, joined with many others, renders the Afghan one of the most admirable races of the East.

An exceptional feature in the manners of that region is exhibited by the Moolah Zukkee, a sect of infidel pedants, who are more unprincipled, dissolute, and profligate than any other class in the country. They resemble in their conduct the Areois of the South Sea Islands, doubt the truth of a future state, are sceptical as to the existence of a God, and have released themselves from every fear of hell. They have taken full advantage of this, and indulge in the vilest lusts without check or shame. This is the more extraordinary as the Afghans

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are represented, on the whole, as a devout and pious people.

The inhabitants of Afghanistan are divided into the stationary and wandering population—the dwellers in tents, and the dwellers in houses. It is a curious fact that the dwellers in tents, who live chiefly to the west, are the more chaste and moral. It is among these, however, that the intercourse of the sexes is confined less by law than by public opinion. Men and women dance together, but in modest measures.

The slaves we have alluded to are divided into the home-born and the foreign. The beautiful girls are purchased for the harims of the rich; the others are sold as menials, or attendants on the rich women. The habit of buying concubines is unfortunately becoming more common. Intercourse with the voluptuaries of Persia has seduced them into many Persian vices. Naturally they are, perhaps, one of the least voluptuous nations in Asia; but their manners are becoming visibly corrupted, and this decay of their ancient simplicity is felt and regretted by themselves. Corps of prostitutes and harims full of concubines will do the work of the sword among them, and their spirit of independence, which never yielded even before English bayonets, will evaporate, if they long continue to decline in their morals and manners. Luxury has subdued more great nations than the sword.

In the Vizeeree country, to the north of the Sherauni district, one very extraordinary custom prevails; it is quite peculiar to that tribe; the women have the right of choosing their husbands. When a woman has fixed on any man whom she desires to marry, she sends the drummer of the camp to pin a handkerchief on his cap, with a pin which she has previously used to fasten up her hair. The drummer goes on his mission, cautiously watches his opportunity, and executes the feat in public, naming the woman. The man is obliged immediately to take her as his wife, if he can pay her price to her father*.

Of Prostitution in Kashmir.

In Kashmir we find the Hindu system of manners considerably modified by various circumstances. The people are not oppressed by that rigid code of etiquette, which in India isolates every caste and almost every family. Naturally addicted to pleasure, they find much of their enjoyment in the society of the female sex, and from the earliest times have been celebrated for their love of singers and dancers. Formerly, when the valley was more populous and flourishing than at present, its capital city was the scene of eternal revel, in which morals stood little in the way of those gratifications to which the sensual ideas of the richer orders inclined them. Now, under a vile and monstrous despotism, the inhabitants relieve themselves from a continual struggle with misfortune by indulging in gross vices. Formerly they were corrupted by luxury; now they decay through misery, and drown the sense of hopeless poverty in the gratification of their animal passions.

The situation of the female sex in Kashmir differs from that occupied by them among the Hindus of Bengal. They are far more free, and appear more licentious. The women of this delightful and romantic valley have long been celebrated for their grace and beauty. Their renown extended on the one side as far as the plains of Central Asia, and on the other beyond the borders of the Ganges. They were formerly much sought after by the Mogul nobility of Delhi, to whom they bore strong and handsome sons; and even after that monarchy had declined from its original opulence and power, its luxurious kings solaced themselves in their humiliation by concubines and dancing girls from Kashmir. Nor has the beauty which in those early ages attracted to the women of this country the admiration of all the East, faded in any degree. They are still described as the flowers of Oriental grace—not so slender as the Hindus of Bengal, but more full, round, voluptuous, and fascinating. Since few except those belonging to the very highest classes wear a veil, travellers have enjoyed abundant opportunities of observing the characteristics of the sex. The face is of a dark complexion, richly flushed with pink; the eyes are large, almond-shaped, and overflowing with a peculiar liquid brilliance; the features are regular, harmonious, and fine; while the person, as we have said, is plump and round, though the limbs are often models of grace. Such is the portrait we are led to draw by the accounts of the best writers. They agree, however, in adding, that among all, except the dancers, singers, and prostitutes, with probably those few women who are shut up in harems, art has done nothing to aid nature. The eyes, unsurpassed for brightness, with full orbs, and long black lashes, shine often from a dirty face, expressing a mind flooded with sensual desires, and utterly unadorned by

* See Elphinstone's Kabul; Vignes' Visit to Ghuzni; Burnes' Kabul.

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education or accomplishments. Among the poorer classes, especially, filth, poverty, and degradation render many of the women repulsive, in spite of their natural beauty. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the boats on the lakes possess among them the handsomest women in the valley.

The customs of marriage, courtship, and the general habits of the women, resemble so closely what have already been described in treating of India, that we need not enter into any particular account of them. The life of the woman belonging to a chief of high rank is a monotonous seclusion. She sits, enveloped in full wrappings of shawls and robes, amid all the luxury and brilliance of an Oriental harem, with every appliance of ease and comfort, but not the liberty which the humbler orders enjoy. Wives of all classes, indeed, are subject to their husbands, but those of the nobles are most under control. They often experience in its full bitterness the curse of slavery under a capricious despot. The authority of the man is absolute.

Mikran Singh, a chief of the valley, was a few years ago, during the reign of the Maharaja Runjit Singh, guilty of a horrible act, which illustrates in a striking manner the condition of women in that country. His wife happened to be in the Punjab, and, while there, was accused by some enemies of a criminal intrigue. She was sent to her husband in Kashmir. Her son flung his dagger at the feet of Mikran Singh, and threw himself at his knees, begging mercy for his mother. The man promised to forgive her; but, as soon as occasion offered, ordered her to be forced into a bath the temperature of which was rapidly increased with the purpose of suffocating her. She was tenacious of life, and struggled long with her tortures, filling the palace with shrill and piercing shrieks. Many people fled from the neighbourhood that they might not listen to these fearful cries. At length, to put an end to this horrid scene, the husband sent his wife a bowl of poison, which she drank and immediately died.

Women of the middle and lower classes affect no concealment, and never wear a veil. They experience less caprice from their husbands, and are perhaps more free than females in Hindustan formerly were. Widows have long been released from the disgusting obligation of burning at the funeral pyre of their husbands. The custom, indeed, was at no time very prevalent in the valley, and since the decree of abolition, published by Aurungzebe in 1669, it has never been revived. Women in Kashmir bear a fair proportion to the men, and are proverbially fruitful. The depopulation of the country is owing to no natural causes, but to the rapacious despotism under which it suffers. British government would soon, without a doubt, restore it to its ancient flourishing condition, as well as reform its manners.

Travellers in Kashmir always remark the dancing girls, for which it was formerly renowned. The village of Changus, near the ancient city of Achibul, was at one time celebrated for a colony of them. They excelled, in singing, dancing, and other accomplishments, all the other girls of the valley. When Vigne visited it some years ago, the village had fallen to decay, and its famous beauties had disappeared. Old men, however, remembered and spoke of them with regret. One, whose name was Lyli, still lived in the recollection of many. A few dancers of another class remained, but were inferior in their natural charms and arts to those of the city, and were obliged to be content with engagements in the humbler or country districts.

These women may be divided into classes. Among the highest we might find some that are virtuous and even modest, as we may among singers and actresses in Europe. Others frequent entertainments at the houses of rich men and public festivals, receiving large sums for their attendance, and occasionally consent to prostitute their persons for a valuable gift. Others are regular professional harlots, indiscriminately prostituting themselves to any who desire their society. Many of these are widows, who are forbidden to marry again, and are devoted to the service of some god, whose temple and priests they enrich by the gains of their disreputable calling.

The Watul or Gipsy tribe of Kashmir is remarkable for the loveliness of its females. Living in tents or temporary huts, these Gipsies pass from spot to spot; and many of their handsomest girls are sold as slaves to furnish the harems of the rich, or enter the train of some company of dancing girls. These are bred and taught to please the taste of the voluptuary, to sing licentious songs in an amorous tone, to dance in voluptuous measures, to dress in a peculiar style, and to seduce by the very expression of their countenances. Formerly many of these women amassed large sums in their various callings; but now that the prosperity of the valley has decreased, the youngest and most beautiful seek their fortunes in the cities of Agra and Delhi; which, though decaying, still retain traces of the imperial luxury and profligacy which

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once rendered them the splendid capitals of the East.

The bands of dancing girls are usually attended by divers hideous duennas and men, whose conspicuous ugliness makes the loveliness of the women appear more complete through contrast. Baron Hugel, whose ideas are purely German, did not find his sense of the beautiful satisfied by the women, and especially the public women, of Kashmir; but every other traveller, from Bernier to Vigne, expatiates upon the subject. The Baron does not, in other respects, inspire us with the idea that he is an authority on such a question.

The Nach girls are under the surveillance of the Government—which licenses their prostitution—and lead in general a miserable life. They are actual slaves, cannot sing or dance without permission from their overseer, and must yield up to him the most considerable part of their profits. Some of them still ask large sums, especially from strangers. One troop demanded from our German author a hundred rupees for an evening's performance.

The education of a superior Nach girl should commence when she is no more than five years old. Nine years, it is said, are required to perfect them in song and dance. They dress usually in trowsers of rich-coloured silk, loosely furled round the limb, fitting tight at the ancle, and confined round the waist by a girdle and tassels, which hang down to the knee. Over these is draped a tunic of white muslin, reaching half-way down the leg; but when dancing they wear a full flowing garment of soft light tissue of various colours, intermixed with gold. Some have been seen with ornaments on their persons to the value of 10,000 or 12,000 rupees. Some, also, with all these adornments, neglect to be clean, and omit perfume from among the graces of their toilette. Their songs are often full of sentiment and fancy, finely expressed, and accompanied by pleasing music. Their dances are not chaste or modest; but neither are they obscene or gross.

Among the poorer orders exist a swarm of prostitutes, frequenting low houses in the cities or boats on the lakes; but of their modes of life we have no account. Probably the manners of prostitutes differ little throughout the world. It is certain that they are largely patronised by the more demoralised part of the population. The traveller Moorcroft, who gave gratuitous advice to the poor of Serinaghur, had at one time nearly 7000 patients on his list. Of these a very large number were suffering from loathsome diseases, induced by the grossest and most persevering profligacy. Altogether the manners of Kashmir appear very corrupt*.

Of Prostitution in India.

We shall have to view the Hindus under two aspects—as they were under their former oppressors, and as they are under the administration of the Company. The change of rule has wrought, and is working, a change in the manners and institutions of the people perfectly wonderful to contemplate. Climate and position have much to do with national characteristics, but government has more. India under the English no more resembles India under the Mogul, than the England of the nineteenth century resembles the England of the Heptarchy. A beneficent revolution in her fortune has occurred, which is developing an extraordinary reform in the customs and ideas of her native race. Consequently a distinction must be observed between the old and the new state of things. It will be necessary, also, to distinguish those provinces which are absolutely under our sway from those which are independent, or only related to us by subsidiary alliances. A strong contrast is exhibited by these different communities, which, as far as the welfare of the people is concerned, differ as much from each other as the slave states of western Africa differ from the population of Cape Colony. In the one a wise and beneficent government is administered for the happiness of the people; in the other, an imbecile yet savage tyranny makes them look with jealousy on their more fortunate neighbours. This is an important consideration, and by no means irrelevant to our subject, for it illustrates the influence of laws and institutions upon the manners and morals of a nation.

The state of women among the Hindus is not elevated, and as long as their ancient teachers of religion are revered, such must be the case. The female sex is held absolutely dependent on the male, and, as among the Chinese, the father before marriage, the husband afterwards, and the son in widowhood, are the natural protectors assigned by the sacred law. Nothing is to be done by a woman of her purely independent will. She must reverence her lord, and approach him with humble re-

* Vigne's Travels in Kashmir; Hugel's Travels in Kashmir; Moorcroft's Travels in the Himalayan Provinces; Forster's Travels from Bengal to England; Hamilton's East India Gazetteer; Bernier's Travels in the Empire of the Mogul.

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TABLE SHOWING THE CRIMINALITY OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES, WITH REGARD TO ASSAULTS WITH INTENT TO RAVISH AND CARNALLY ABUSE.

COUNTIES.	Average Population 1841-50.	Total Number Committed for Assaults, with intent to Ravish and Carnally Abuse.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. Committed Annually in every 1,000,000.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below.
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850				
Bedford	121,083	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	6	0·6	50	*39·3
Berks	194,763	1	..	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	13	1·3	67	*19·2
Bucks	140,959	..	1	4	4	1	..	1	1	1	..	13	1·3	92	†10·8
Cambridge	180,747	3	1	1	3	1	1	..	2	..	2	14	1·4	77	* 7·2
Chester	395,919	7	5	2	5	7	5	4	3	5	3	46	4·6	116	†39·8
Cornwall	349,991	2	3	1	4	..	2	2	3	4	2	23	2·3	66	*20·5
Cumberland	186,762	1	..	2	2	2	3	..	..	2	3	15	1·5	80	* 3·6
Derby	250,249	2	1	1	3	1	1	..	1	1	1	12	1·2	48	*42·2
Devon	554,738	3	2	3	3	1	5	7	1	7	3	35	3·5	63	*24·7
Dorset	172,736	..	..	2	3	3	4	..	1	..	..	13	1·3	75	* 9·6
Durham	368,787	1	3	7	..	1	3	3	1	4	3	26	2·6	71	*14·5
Essex	332,363	2	6	1	3	3	3	5	3	2	..	28	2·8	84	† 1·2
Gloucester	407,504	6	2	4	4	1	6	3	..	6	5	37	3·7	91	† 9·6
Hereford	97,813	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	4	..	1	8	0·8	82	* 1·2
Hertford	168,178	..	..	3	1	1	2	1	3	2	..	13	1·3	78	* 6·0
Hunts	57,942	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	0·3	52	*37·4
Kent	565,249	3	8	8	9	7	5	5	5	1	11	62	6·2	106	†27·7
Lancaster	1,881,261	13	19	21	21	26	15	15	15	11	6	162	16·2	87	† 4·8
Leicester	227,621	2	5	4	..	4	3	..	..	1	4	23	2·3	101	†21·7
Lincoln	378,246	2	6	2	6	3	..	1	4	3	2	29	2·9	80	* 3·6
Middlesex	1,740,814	14	10	10	11	9	12	6	20	8	11	111	11·1	64	*22·9
Monmouth	164,093	1	1	2	4	..	2	1	4	1	1	17	1·7	104	†25·3
Norfolk	419,463	3	3	7	7	7	7	7	1	3	5	50	5·0	119	†43·4
Northampton	206,496	..	1	3	2	3	2	3	5	1	1	21	2·1	102	†22·9
Northumberland	284,777	1	..	4	3	1	3	3	..	1	..	16	1·6	56	*32·5
Nottingham	282,584	1	1	..	3	1	2	2	..	..	..	10	1·0	36	*56·6
Oxford	166,751	..	4	..	2	..	2	3	3	1	2	17	1·7	102	†22·9
Rutland	23,711	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	0·1	42	*49·4
Salop	243,352	1	3	5	..	..	..	2	3	..	..	14	1·4	58	*30·1
Somerset	452,515	5	7	7	6	7	6	5	2	4	2	51	5·1	115	†38·6
Southampton	377,040	2	3	7	7	2	7	1	7	3	1	40	4·0	106	†27·7
Stafford	579,686	4	7	11	4	2	5	7	3	4	11	58	5·8	101	†21·7
Suffolk	325,336	1	1	1	3	..	4	2	2	1	3	18	1·8	56	*32·5
Surrey	635,917	2	5	2	10	2	4	5	4	2	2	38	3·8	60	*27·7
Sussex	320,944	..	7	1	..	3	4	2	4	7	4	32	3·2	100	†20·5
Warwick	444,558	5	3	4	2	3	5	3	5	3	8	41	4·1	92	†10·8
Westmorland	57,494	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	1	..	5	0·5	87	† 4·8
Wilts	241,887	3	3	3	3	..	5	1	3	4	3	28	2·8	116	†39·8
Worcester	244,574	3	3	5	4	2	4	3	4	5	1	34	3·4	139	†67·5
York	1,686,461	16	14	15	16	12	19	16	6	8	14	136	13·6	81	* 2·4
North Wales	396,161	5	2	2	2	1	3	7	5	1	4	32	3·2	81	* 2·4
South Wales	568,430	1	1	..	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	18	1·8	33	*60·2
Total for England and Wales	16,918,458	118	141	158	167	123	164	131	133	112	122	1369	137·0	83	

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO ASSAULTS WITH INTENT TO RAVISH AND CARNALLY ABUSE, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 1,000,000 OF THE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Worcester	139	Hereford	82
Norfolk	119	York	81
Chester	116	North Wales	81
Wilts	116	Lincoln	80
Somerset	115	Cumberland	80
Kent	106	Hertford	78
Southampton	106	Cambridge	77
Monmouth	104	Dorset	75
Northampton	102	Durham	71
Oxford	102	Berks	67
Stafford	101	Cornwall	66
Leicester	101	Middlesex	64
Sussex	100	Devon	63
Warwick	92	Surrey	60
Bucks	92	Salop	58
Gloucester	91	Suffolk	56
Lancaster	87	Northumberland	56
Westmorland	87	Hunts	52
Essex	84	Bedford	50
		Derby	48
		Rutland	42
		Nottingham	36
		South Wales	33

Average for England and Wales 83

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MAP No. XII.

MAP

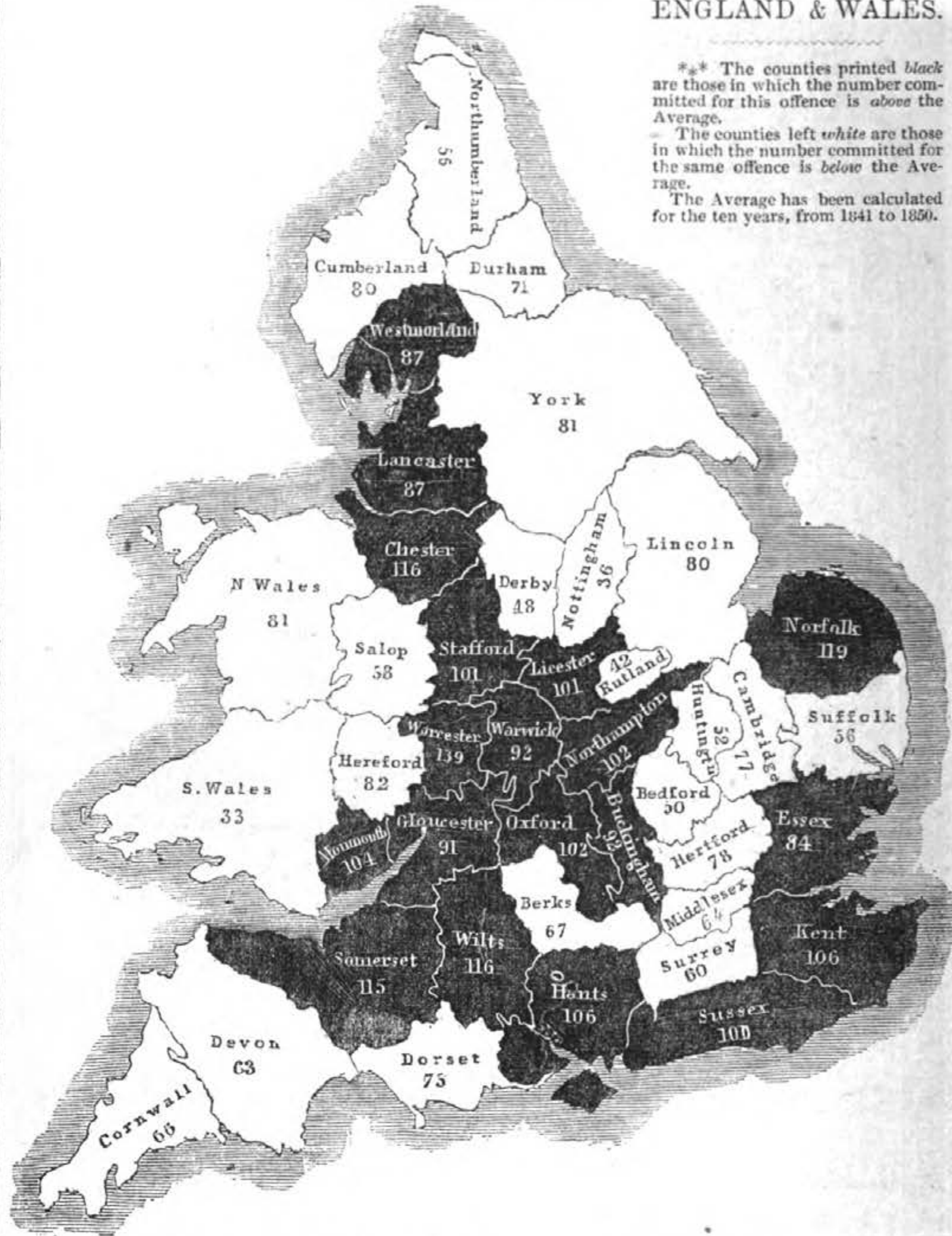
SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR

ASSAULTS, WITH INTENT TO RAVISH AND CARNALLY ABUSE,

IN EVERY 1,000,000 OF THE POPULATION,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND & WALES.



The Average for all England and Wales is .... 83 *in every* 1,000,000 *people.*
" " *Worcester* (*the highest*) 139 " "
" " *South Wales* (*the lowest*) 33 " "

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WOMAN OF THE SACS, OR "SÁU-KIES" TRIBE OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

[*Copied, by permission, from a Portrait taken by* MR. CATLIN, *during his residence among the Red Indians.*]

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spect. She is bound to him while he desires it, whatever his conduct may be, and, if she rebel, is to be chastised with a rope or cane on the back part of her person, "and not on a noble part by any means."

Writers with a particular theory to support frequently quote the institutes of Menu, to show that a contempt of women is inculcated, and hard usage of them encouraged by the precepts of that singular code.

Indolence, vanity, irrascible humours, evil dispositions, and lasciviousness, are enumerated as the vices which are declared natural to them. "A woman is chaste, when there is neither place, time, nor person, to afford her an opportunity to be immoral," says the "Hetopadera," which is quoted in application to the whole sex, though it applies only as Professor Wilson—the great authority on this subject—observes, to that class of idle, intemperate, profligate females, to be found in every society. Passages undoubtedly occur in the laws and in satirical compositions levelled at the whole sex; but the Hindus themselves usually describe them as amiable, modest, gentle, chaste, full of wit, and excelling in every grace. They are allowed to inherit property; they are permitted under certain circumstances to exercise power, though by indirect means; and they certainly exert great influence over the men. In no state of ancient times, except the polished republics of Greece and Rome, were women held in so much esteem as among the Hindus.

Debarred as they are from the advantages of education, not allowed to eat with their husbands, and forbidden from mixing in society, the Hindu women, of course, are degraded below their just position; but it is not true that they are abject slaves, or are generally treated with barbarity. Among the more wild and barbarous tribes, as well as the more ignorant classes in all parts of India, men frequently beat their wives; but, from the few revelations of the Zenana which have been made, it would appear that its inmates are generally treated with considerable deference and attention. The contact of Mohammedan with Hindu manners has certainly, however, had an effect on the latter, which has depreciated the rank and estimation of the female sex.

Nowhere, indeed, where polygamy is allowed, can women hold their true position. In India, however, though permitted, it was not encouraged by the religious law, and sanctioned in particular cases only, as barrenness, inconstancy, aversion, or some other similar cause. The wife, also, must be consulted, and her consent obtained to the second match. She still held the principal rank in the family, for the new comer could not take her place while she remained in the household.

In various parts of India, different customs of marriage prevail. There are, in deed, four prescribed forms—all honourable, and various only in detail. A fifth is, when the bridegroom, contrary to the sacred law, traffics for a girl. Another is, when a captive, left helpless in a man's power, is forced to become the companion of his bed. And a last is, when a girl is ravished, when surprised asleep, and taken off or deluded to the house of a new master.

Marriage is viewed as a religious duty by the Hindus. A few are exempted, under special circumstances, from the fulfilment of this sacred obligation. The rules of law enacted with respect to it apply chiefly to affairs of caste, with which we have here little to do. It is forbidden to purchase a wife for money, except under particular conditions; but the young girls have little share in their own destiny, being usually betrothed while very young. The father has the disposal of them until three years after the age of puberty, when it is reckoned disgraceful for her to be single, and then she may choose a partner for herself. Few, however, will marry a maiden so old. In Bahar the girl, betrothed while an infant, is not permitted to enter her husband's house until mature, when she is conducted thither with as much ceremony as the circumstances of the family will allow. In Bengal the couple are pledged with many rites and a profusion of expense. The bride is taken to her husband's house, remains there a little while, and then goes home for a short period, but the whole is consummated as soon after ten years of age as practicable. The timid effeminate Bengalee appears of a sensual character, and regards his wife as little more than the instrument of his pleasure. A better state of things is now beginning to prevail there, in consequence of the efforts made by the Company; but under the old system, not one female in twenty thousand was allowed to acquire the least particle of learning. The natives excuse or justify this fact,—first, by the prohibition against educating girls which are contained in their sacred books; and secondly, by declaring that many women would, did they possess those means of intrigue, run riot in profligacy and vice.

The birth of a daughter being throughout the East, and especially in Bengal,

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regarded as less auspicious than that of a son, indicates a low position of the sex. From that moment her parents are solicitous to settle her, so that she is often in infancy pledged for life. The character of the bridegroom is of little consequence. Matches, consequently, often prove unhappy, especially where the jealousy or despotism of the husband forces the woman to live in seclusion, and mainly within the private recesses of the zenana. This, however, is not the general custom, women being allowed to appear at festivals and jubilees. Even the wives of respectable Hindus frequently quit the interior apartments set aside for them, and go to bathe in the waters of the Ganges or some other holy stream. The poorer, of course, who assign a share of labour to their wives, cannot seclude them if they would, for the expense of confinement is not inconsiderable.

The wife waits on her husband, and is treated with very partial confidence. In the lower ranks she is employed to prepare cow-dung for fuel, to fetch water, to make purchases in the markets, and perform the drudgery of the house, though this is no more than is done by the poorer classes in Europe. The rich woman adorns herself, curls her hair, listens to the gossip of her slaves, and indulges in what amusements may be within her reach. It may be imagined that the child or wife, uneducated and without a gleam of light in her mind, amuses herself by a thousand trivial devices. The home is thus not unhappy, unless the husband be naturally harsh, or the house be ruled by a tyrannical mother-in-law, which is often the case. Matches founded upon a mutual attachment are very rare, but by no means unknown. The romances of the Hindus are in many cases founded on them. The general plan, however, is for the parties to be betrothed in childhood.

When they perform the ceremonies of marriage they are complete strangers to each other; yet Hindu wives are, on the whole, faithful. When the husband finds himself united to a woman who is hateful to him, he neglects her altogether, and takes another or a concubine, though this is against the ancient law. In many things, however, the practice of this nation, especially among the ruder classes, is opposed to that extraordinary sacred code. However, if he have no children, he adopts this plan of ensuring them, and frequently conceals the facts for a long time from his wife. Polygamy causes great troubles in the Bengalee households. A man is not allowed by law to take a new partner after fifty, but this regulation is observed by few. These customs, together with the facility of divorce—a privilege from which the female sex is excluded—contribute to the demoralization of society. A man calling his wife *mother*, by that act renounces her, and is thenceforward free from the tie. A barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year; she whose children are all dead in the birth; she who bears only daughters, in the eleventh; while she who is of an unkind disposition may be divorced without delay. The whole code, composed by the priestly order, is unjust to the sex.

Of the general character of the female sex in Hindustan very exaggerated ideas commonly prevail. It is represented as corrupted throughout by the obscenity and indecency of the public religion and the institutions framed by priests. It is true the Hindu Pantheon is a representation of the lowest vices, and that the manners of the people are by no means delicate; yet the respectable class of women appear chaste, orderly, modest, and decorous. The fair muscular race of Afghanistan has indeed been depicted in favourable contrast to the dark and slim race of Bengal, but this need suppose no characteristic depravity in the latter, for the hardy mountaineers are celebrated for their contempt of sensual pleasures. Other parts of India exhibit their peculiar features. Among the rude Mughs of Arracan—a hunting and fishing, as well as cultivating, and formerly a predatory tribe—when a man wants money he pawns his wife for a certain sum, or transfers her altogether. In the southern parts of the Peninsula and the Mysore, manners are more licentious, and women are more debased. There polygamy has always been practised by the powerful and wealthy whose means enabled them to enjoy indulgences discouraged by the precepts of the ancient law. Buchanan, travelling towards the close of the eighteenth century, found about 80 concubines secluded in the palace of Tippoo Sultan, at Seringapatam. These were attended by more than 500 handmaids. The same traveller made a diligent inquiry into the manners of the various communities he visited. Among the Teliga Divangas, followers of Siva, a man was allowed to take many wives, but not to hurt them, or divorce them, except for adultery. It was once the practice for the widow to bury herself alive with the body of her husband.

The Shaynagas of Canara were not allowed to take a second wife unless the first had died, or had no children. The Corannas permitted polygamy, and girls

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were purchased for money. Adultery was punished by a beating or by a divorce, in which case the guilty wife might marry whom she pleased. The Panchalaru had similar laws, and so indeed had many other tribes. One of the most general rules was that a woman could not be divorced except for faithless conduct. Widows were sometimes destroyed. Among the Bherid and many others, marriage was contracted, under obligation, before the age of puberty. If a girl remained single beyond that age, no credit was given to her virginity; she was declared incapable of marriage, and usually took resource in prostitution.

The severe laws against violating the law of chastity have not, in India, been formed so much for the protection of morals, as for preserving the boundaries of castes. Women are severely punished for holding intercourse with a man of superior caste; that is, if the intrigue be discovered, for there is no doubt that such intrigues frequently occur.

Among the Woddas the laws of marriage were by no means so stringent as among many other tribes visited by Buchanan. Women abounded. Every man had as many wives as he pleased. They all laboured for him; and if one was lazy she was divorced, though left free to marry again; she also might leave him if hardly treated, but could not contract a new engagement without his consent.

The Carruburru permitted adultresses to live with any man who would keep them, provided their husbands did not immediately desire revenge. They were despised, but not altogether cast out from the communion of social life. The children of concubines enjoyed equal rights with those of real wives. That they were a gross people is proved by the fact that adultery was sometimes winked at in an industrious woman, too valuable as a servant to lose. The more refined idea, however, which prevailed among them of not allowing a girl to marry until naturally marriageable, was looked upon by members of the higher castes as a beastly depravity.

Among the Rajpoots women are not degraded; they hold a higher position. Ladies of rank are, indeed, secluded, but more from ideas of dignity and etiquette than sentiments of jealousy or the habit of despotism. There is an air of chivalry in some of their customs. A woman of high station, threatened with danger, sometimes sent to any youth whom she might admire the present of a bracelet. He was then called her "bracelet-bound brother," and was expected to defend her under all circumstances, even at the hazard of his life.

Men, it has been remarked, make the laws—women make the manners—of a country. In Rajasthan, the few women reared exercised great influence on the actions, habitudes, and tastes of the men. The Rajpoot consults his wife on every important occasion; and, much as we are given to lament the condition of these women, it is by no means so debased as many writers would persuade us to imagine. Marriage contracts which often, as among the Jews, took place at the well, where the young girls assembled to draw water and converse, were, in frequent instances, the commencement of a happy life. The precepts of Menu have been quoted to show the contempt of the sex inculcated by the sacred books. His censures on a class, however, have been taken as his description of all womankind—but falsely; for the Rajpoot proverbs on this subject are derived from those famous institutes. The mouth of a woman, we find there, is constantly pure. Her name should be chosen graceful and euphonous, resembling a word of benediction. When they are honoured, the gods are pleased; when they are dishonoured, the gods are offended. The language of another sage was full of rich, and, perhaps, exaggerated sentiment. "Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults." The religious maxims laid down for married couples is equally elevated. "Let mutual fidelity continue until death." Intermarriage is prohibited in the same clan, or even tribe, though the patronymic may have been lost for centuries. Eight hundred years had divided the two branches of one famous house, yet an alliance between them was prohibited as incestuous.

Pregnant women and maidens are in Rajpootana treated with great tenderness and respect. Many women in this country can read and write. They cannot govern actually; but indirectly as regents, several of them have equalled in vigour and tyranny any of the masculine tyrants for which Asia is so celebrated. Polygamy has caused many troubles in the country; and at a remote period in its history we discover an instance of polyandrism.

One of the modified systems we have alluded to exists in Sindh and the Indian provinces of Beluchistan. Little gifted by nature, the Beluchi women are the servants of their husbands, and labour while their lords are feasting or sleeping.

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Nevertheless, when, under the destructive tyranny of the Amirs, a foray was about to be undertaken, or any danger averted, the females of the village were taken into consultation, and strongly influenced the councils of the men. A strong resemblance was discovered by Pottinger between the moral and social institutions of the Beluchis, especially in reference to marriage, and those of the Jews.

A woman's husband dying, his brother is bound to marry her, and his children are heirs of the deceased. A similar enactment is to be found in the law as set forth in Deuteronomy. In cases of adultery, full expiation and atonement must be made, or both criminals put to death. The regulations with respect to divorce are very similar. The resemblance between Indian manners and those of the Jews was, as early as 1704, noticed by an anonymous French writer, who drew up a curious parallel in support of his theory.

The Muzmi, or hill tribes of Nepaul, who are not Hindus, follow the customs of Upper Thibet in most things, except polyandrism, or the plurality of husbands. Their women enjoy considerable privileges. The females of the Brahmin and India class in Central India, also, possess great influence over their husbands. If married to men of any consequence, they have a right to a separate provision, and an estate of their own. They enjoy much liberty, seldom wear a veil, give entertainments, and expend much money in jewels and clothes. In the families of the great Sindia and Holkar they wielded no mean degree of power, which they seldom exerted in the cause of peace. Their education is not by any means so limited as that of their sex in Bengal. Generally, among the Mohammedans of India, the women of high rank are somewhat secluded, though not severely restrained; but those of the lower classes, sharing as they do the labours and the pleasures of their husbands, are neither watched nor immured. Whether they are harshly used or not depends very much, as in England, on the individual character of the husband. No description will apply universally to the conduct of any race. In Bengal there were, under native rule, many female zemindars, or village revenue administrators, who were, however, subject to the influence, but not to the authority, of the male members of their family. Among the tribes of the Rajamahal Hills, on the western borders of that province, fewer restrictions still are in practice. They are not Hindus of caste, and therefore more free to obey their natural inclinations. One of their most prominent distinctions is the permission for widows to marry again. Their morality is tolerably good. When a man sees his son inclined to the company of prostitutes, he asks him if he desires to be married. If he replies in the affirmative, a neighbour is sent—unless a choice have been already made—to find a suitable girl. Both parties must agree to the match, though the girls, being wedded very young, seldom oppose their parents' will. The young man's father makes a present to the father of the bride; a marriage dinner is provided, the newly-joined couple eat off the same leaf, their hands are joined, they are exhorted not to quarrel, and the youth then takes home his wife.

One of the most remarkable and celebrated institutions of the Hindus was that of suttee, or the burning of the widow with her husband's body. The shastres, or sacred books, are full of recommendations to perform this terrible sacrifice, and promise ineffable bliss to the voluntary victim. This custom of female immolation, which distinguished especially Rajpoot manners, had its origin, according to the priests, in the example of a holy personage, who, to avenge an insult, consumed herself before an assemblage of the gods. Custom gave it sanction, as religion offered it a reward. The institution of castes, however, and the perpetual separation enjoined upon them, appear to have been the real origin of the custom. In a few instances a man might marry a woman of inferior order, but in no case could she descend. Polygamy being practised, men continually left numerous young widows, who, being forbidden under the pain of damnation, to contract a second engagement, had to choose between infamy, misery, and the funeral pile. It is said that 15,000 victims formerly perished annually in Bengal. When we remember that 60 sometimes died on one pyre, we can believe that a large number were thus destroyed; but the calculation alluded to appears, nevertheless, extravagant. It is unnecessary here to enter largely on the subject, which is familiar to every general reader. Happily the horrible practice is now effectually abolished throughout the British dominions—one among the innumerable blessings achieved for that region by the Company's administration. The contrast between the native states and the English provinces is remarkable, if for this alone. At the death of Runjit Singh a large sacrifice of women was made for his funeral, but now that the Punjab is annexed, no more will be permitted.

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In Central India the custom prevailed most when the Rajpoots were in the height of their power, their influence, and their pride. The suttees were then very frequent, as is attested, among other evidences, by the number of monuments still remaining, with representations of the ceremony, which were erected in memory of the devoted wives. The Mohammedans, when they were supreme, endeavoured, as far as possible, to check the practice. The Mahrattas, by a judicious neglect and indifference, which neither encouraged by approval nor provoked by prohibition, which they were unable to enforce, rendered it very rare. When Sir John Malcolm wrote, about 1820, there had not been, as far as it was possible to know, throughout Central India, more than three or four instances annually during the last twenty years. These instances were confined to particular communities of Rajpoots and Brahmins, while no examples occurred, as under the princes of Jeydpoor, Jaidpoor, and Ondepoor, of women being forcibly dragged to the pile and thrust, an unwilling sacrifice, into the flames. Some of the greatest fanatics had entirely abandoned the custom for several generations. Where it continued most generally to be preserved was where the priests denounced the terrors of heavenly vengeance against those who dared to allow one precept of the sacred code to be set aside. These hereditary nobles of India obstructed the social reform of the country with all the bigotry usual to such a class. There was no duty, said the law, which a woman could honourably fulfil, after her husband's death, except casting herself in the same fire with him.

Formerly the horrors of the practice, in its details, could not be exaggerated, though writers occasionally enlarged upon the general results. Children of eight or ten years of age have devoted themselves sometimes, through fear of the harsh usage they experienced from their relatives. Women of 85 have been plunged into the blazing pile; and maidens not married, but only betrothed, have been made a sacrifice with the ashes of their intended husbands. In Ripa, if one wife consented to burn, all the rest were compelled to follow her example. Fearful scenes have on these occasions been witnessed by travellers. A miserable wretch, escaping twice from the pyre, has clung to their feet, imploring them to defend her, until, naked, with the flesh burned off many parts of her person, she has been finally flung upon the burning heap. Young children, bound together, have been laid struggling by the body, and appeared to be dead from fear before the wood was kindled. Among the Yogees, the wife sometimes buried herself alive with the corpse of her husband. In 1803 it was computed that 430 suttees took place within 30 miles of Calcutta—in 1804 between 200 and 300. What "Aborigines' Protection Society" can regret the revolution which has given India into the hands of England?

The painful subject of infanticide is next forced upon our contemplation. Formerly it prevailed to a great extent in India, though the exertions of the Company have now all but extirpated it from the British dominions. Various circumstances contributed in Rajpootana to encourage the destruction of female children. The Rajpoot must marry a woman of pure blood, beyond the utmost degree of affinity to him. To find partners for their daughters was, therefore, a difficult undertaking for the haughty nobility of Rajast'han. Besides, the stupendous extravagance of the nobles at their wedding feasts—which the pride of caste compelled—rendered such contracts an overwhelming expense. The majority of the female infants were therefore slain. In cases where a community was threatened with danger from an enemy, all the children, and, indeed, all the women, were slaughtered lest they should fall into strange hands. Custom sanctioned, but neither traditionary law nor religion allowed, infanticide, of which the ancient dwellers on the banks of the Indus gave an early example. It was the custom among them, says Ferishta, when a female child was born, to carry it to the market-place. There the parent, holding a knife in one hand and his infant in the other, demanded whether any one wanted a wife. If no one came forward to claim the child as a future bride, it was sacrificed. This caused a large numerical superiority of men. Such a birth was among the Rajpoots an occasion of sorrow. Its destruction was a melancholy event. Families were accustomed to boast of the suttees to which they had contributed the victims, but none ever recurred with pride to the children which had thus been slain. The choice, however, was for the girl to die, or live with a prospect of dishonour, which could not be endured by the proud people of Rajast'han. Wilkinson asserted in 1833, that the number of infants annually murdered in Malwa and Rajpootana was 20,000. In 1840 the population of Cutch was 12,000, but there were not 500 women. In 1843 a folio of more than 400 pages was

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presented to Parliament, full of correspondence on this subject. In many of the states, it appeared, the Rajahs were induced to offer portions to women when marrying, in order to check infanticide. In Katteewar great efforts were made, and parents were rewarded for preserving their female children. Pride of caste, the expense of marriage feasts, and poverty, were the general causes, besides a desire to conceal the fruit of illicit intrigues. In some villages there were only 12 girls to 79 boys under twelve years of age. In one hamlet of 20 people not one female was living. It is probable, nevertheless, that much exaggeration has been put forward on this subject, especially in reference to Rajpootana, as the seclusion of the females there rendered it impossible accurately to know the number of births. Undoubtedly, however, it was practised to a great extent; but by means of funds, for the reward and encouragement of those parents who reared all their children, as well as by the gradual introduction of laws, a mighty reform has been effected in India. In Odessa and the east of Bengal children were formerly sacrificed to the goddess Gunga, and for this purpose cast into the sacred river. In most countries infanticide has been chiefly the resort of the poor, but in parts of India it was the practice of the rich, being caused by pride rather than indigence. In Bengal, however, the peasantry were occasionally guilty of this device to rid themselves of a burden. A mother would sometimes expose her infant to be starved or devoured, and visit the place after three days had passed. If the child were still living—a very rare case—she took it home and nursed it.

Another unnatural crime was that of procuring abortion, which is still practised, though in a clandestine manner, since it is a breach of the law. It was formerly very prevalent. Ward was assured by a pundit, a professor, that in Bengal 100,000 children were thus destroyed in the womb every month. This was a startling exaggeration, but there is no doubt the offence was of frequent occurrence.

Whether the Hindus and other inhabitants of India are remarkable for their chasteness or immorality is a question much disputed. Unfortunately, men with a favourite theory to support, have been so extravagant in their assertions on either side that it is difficult, or even impossible, to form a just opinion on the subject. Many have represented the Hindus as a sensual, lascivious, profligate race; but we have the weighty testimony of Professor Wilson to the contrary. There is no doubt that the manners of the people have undergone a remarkable improvement since the establishment of British rule. The original institutions of the people were opposed to morality. The prohibition against the marriage of widows was a direct encouragement to prostitution. Many enlightened Hindus long ago recognised the demoralizing influence of this law, and exerted themselves to abolish it. A wealthy native in Calcutta once offered a dowry of 10,000 rupees to any woman who would brave the ancient prejudices of her race, and marry a second husband. A claim was soon made for the liberal donation. A learned Brahmin of Nagpoor, high in rank and opulence, wrote against the law. Among one tribe, the Bunyas, it was long ago abolished; not, however, from a moral persuasion of its injustice, but under the pressure of circumstances. Even then, however, in Bhopal, the hereditary dignitaries of the priestly order, naturally attached to ancient prejudices, sought to re-establish the prohibition. There were very few exceptions of this kind among all the millions of the Hindu race. Even the Mohammedans, with the precept and example of their own prophet to encourage them, held the marriage of a widow disgraceful. Temporary reform took place at Delhi, but the old custom was, until recently, supreme. The moral evils were that it led to depravity of conduct on the part of the widow, caused a frightful amount of infanticide and abortion, and induced these women by their practice to corrupt all others with whom they came in contact. Female children being married so early, hundreds and thousands were left widows before they had ripened into puberty. The crowded house—containing men of all shades of consanguinity, grandfathers, fathers-in-law, uncles, brothers-in-law, and cousins, all dwelling with the young widow in the inclosure of the family mansion—led to illicit and incestuous connections being continually formed. Pregnancies were removed by abortion. The Bombay code took cognisance of this, and punished it severely. When a woman was known to be pregnant she was narrowly watched, and if the father could be found he was compelled to support his child.

A boy might be betrothed to a child. If she died he was free from the engagement; but if he died she was condemned to remain a maiden widow, and subject to the humiliating laws attached to that condition. It is easy to imagine the demoralizing effects of such an institution. Under

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the old system the hardships and indignities imposed on the widow made her prefer suttee, or the sacrifice by fire, or else a retreat in a brothel. Another corrupting custom is that of early marriages. Men seldom have sentiments of affection for any woman, or, if at all, it is for some fascinating dancing girl, for their wives are chosen while too young to feel or excite the passion of love. They therefore—and the Brahmins in particular—resorted to the company of the prostitutes, who are all dedicated, more or less, to the service of some temple.

All the dancing women and musicians of Southern India formerly belonged to the Corinlar, a low caste, of which the respectable members, however, disdain connection with them.

They thus formed a separate order, and a certain number were attached to every temple of any consequence, receiving very small allowances. They were mostly prostitutes, at least to the Brahmins. Those attached to the edifices of great sanctity were entirely reserved for these priestly sensualists, who would have dismissed any one connecting herself with a Christian, a Mussulman, or a person of inferior caste. The others hired themselves out indiscriminately, and were greatly sought after. Their accomplishments seduced the men. The respectable women, ignorant, insipid, and tasteless, were neglected for the more attractive prostitutes. Under the rule of the Mohammedans, who were much addicted to this class of pleasures, the Brahmins did not dare enforce their exclusive privileges, but afterwards resumed their sway with great energy. A set of dancers was usually hired out at prices varying from twelve shillings to six pounds sterling. They performed at private entertainments as well as public festivals. Each troop was under a chief. When one became old she was turned away without provision, unless she had a handsome daughter following the same occupation, and in this case was usually treated by the girl with liberality and affection. Buchanan tells us that all he saw were of very ordinary appearance, inelegant in their dress, and dirty in their person. Many had the itch, and some were vilely diseased.

In the temples of Tulava, near Mangalore, a curious custom prevailed. Any woman of the four pure castes who was tired of her husband, or as a widow was weary of chastity, or as a maiden, of celibacy, went to the sacred building and ate some of the rice offered to the idol. She was then publicly questioned as to the cause of her resolution, and allowed the option of living within or without the precincts of the temple. If she chose the former, she got a daily allowance of food and annually a piece of cloth. She swept the holy building, fanned the image of the god, and confined her prostitution to the Brahmins. Usually some priestly officer of the revenue appropriated one of these women to himself, paying her a small fee or sum, and would flog her, in the most insulting manner, if she cohabited with any other man while under his care. Part of the daughters were given away in marriage, and part followed their mother's calling.

The Brahminy women who chose to live outside of the temple might cohabit with any men they pleased, but were obliged to pay a sixteenth part of their profits to the Brahmins. They were an infamous class. This system still obtains, though in a modified degree. In other parts of the region it prevails more or less. In Sindh every town of importance has a troop of dancing girls. No entertainment is complete without them. Under the native government this vice was largely encouraged. The girls swallowed spirits to stimulate their zeal. They are, many of them, very handsome, and are all prostitutes. To show the system of manners prevailing before the British conquest, it may be remarked that numbers of these women accumulated great fortunes, and that the voices of a band of prostitutes were louder than all other sounds at the Durbars of the debauched Amirs. In consequence of this the people of Sindh were hideously demoralized. Intrigues were carried on to an extraordinary extent in private life, and women generally were very lax. An evident reform is already perceptible.

Among the Hindus immorality is not a distinguishing characteristic, though many men of high grade pass their nights with dancers and prostitutes. In the temples of the south lascivious ceremonies still occur, but in Hindustan Proper such scenes are not often enacted. This decency of public manners appears of recent introduction, which is indeed a reasonable supposition, for the people have now aims in life, which they never enjoyed in security under their former rulers. It was for the interest of the princes that their subjects should be indolent and sensual. It is for the interest of the new government that they should be industrious and moral. Great efforts have been made with this object, and much good has resulted.

Towards the close of the last century an official report was made by Mr. Grant, and

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addressed to the Court of Directors. It was the result of an inquiry instituted into the morals of British India. India and Bengal were especially held in view. Much laxity of morals in private life then prevailed, and he believed that many intrigues were altogether concealed, while many that were discovered were hushed up. Receptacles for women of infamous character everywhere abounded, and were licensed. The prostitutes had a place in society, making a principal figure at all the entertainments of the great. They were admitted even into the zenanas to exhibit their dances. Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival in Bengal, was invited by the Nawab to one of these entertainments, but refused to go. The frightful punishments against adultery appeared enacted far more to protect the sanctity of caste than public or private virtue. A man committing the crime was threatened with the embraces, after death, of an iron figure of a woman made red hot. Connection, however, with prostitutes and dancing girls was permitted by the written law.

If that account was correct—and it is corroborated by many others—an immense amelioration must have taken place. The Hindus are now generally chaste, and the profligacy of their large cities does not exceed that of large cities in Europe. In Benares, in 1800, out of a population of 180,000, there were 1500 regular prostitutes, besides 264 Nach or dancing girls. They were all of the *Sudra*, which is a very low caste. In Dacca there were, out of a population of 35,238 Mohammedans and 31,429 Hindus, 234 Mohammedan and 539 Hindu prostitutes.

At Hurdwar it was one of the duties of the female pilgrims to the sacred stream to bathe stark naked before hundreds of men, which does not indicate any great modesty.

The better order of Nach girls are of the highest grace and fascination, with much personal charm, which they begin to lose at 20 years of age. They mostly dress in very modest attire, and many are decent in their manners.

The Gipsies of India, many of whom are Thugs, have numbers of handsome women in their camps, whom they send out as prostitutes to gain money, or seduce the traveller from his road.

It is said that many of the Europeans scattered over India encourage immorality, taking temporary companions. A large class of half-caste children has been certainly growing up in the country, whose mothers are not all the children of white men.

The institution of slavery in Malwa was principally confined to women. Almost all the prostitutes were of this class. They were purchased when children by the heads of companies, who trained them for the calling, and lived upon the gains of their prostitution. The system is even at present nearly similar, the girls being bargained away by their parents into virtual servitude. Many of the wealthy Brahmins, with from 50 to 200 slaves, employed them all day in the menial labours of the establishment, and at night dispersed them to separate dwellings, where they were permitted to prostitute themselves as they pleased. A large proportion of the profits, however, which accrued from this vile traffic formed the share of the master, who also claimed as slaves the children which might spring from this vile intercourse. The female slaves and dancing girls could not marry, and were often harshly used. Society was disorganized by the vast bastard breed produced by this system.

The Europeans at Madras, a few years ago, did not consider their liaisons with the native women so immoral as they would have been considered in England. The concubines were generally girls from the lower ranks, purchased from their mothers. Their conduct usually depends on the treatment they receive. Many of them become exceedingly faithful and attached, being bitterly jealous of any other native women interfering with their master's affections, but never complaining of being superseded by an English wife. They are often, however, extravagant gamblers, and involve their "lovers" in heavy debts.

An Indian mother will sometimes dedicate her female child to prostitution at the temple; and those who are not appropriated by the Brahmins may go with any one, though the money must be paid into a general fund for the support of the establishment.

Some of the ceremonies performed in the temples of the south, by the worshippers of the female deities, were simply orgies of the impurest kind. When a man desired to be initiated into these rites, he went with a priest, after various preliminary rites, to some house, taking nine females (one a Brahmin) and nine men — one woman for himself, and another for his sacerdotal preceptor. All being seated, numerous ceremonies were performed until twelve o'clock at night, when they gratified their inflamed passions in the most libidinous manner. The women, of course, were prostitutes by habit or profession. Men

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and women danced naked before thousands of spectators at the worship of the goddess Doorga. The impurities originated usually with the priests. Many of the Brahmins persuaded their disciples to allow them to gratify their lust upon their young wives, declaring it was a meritorious sacrifice. At the temple of Juggernaut, during the great festivals, a number of females were paid to dance and sing before the god daily. These were all prostitutes. They lived in separate houses, not in the temple.

The daughters of Brahmins, until eight years old, were declared by the religious code to be objects of worship, as forms of goddesses. Horrid orgies took place at the devotions paid them. Other women might be chosen as objects of adoration. A man must select from a particular class—his own wife or a prostitute: she must be stripped naked while the ceremony is performed, and this is done in a manner toc revolting to describe. The clothes of the prostitutes hired to dance before the idols are so thin that they may almost be said to have been naked. Thus the immorality of the Hindoos, as far as it extended, was encouraged by their religion.

In another way some classes of Brahmins contributed to demoralize the people. A man of this profession would marry from three to 120 wives, in different parts of the country. Many, indeed, earned a living in this manner; for as often as they visited any woman, her father was obliged to make a present. Some go once after their marriage, and never go again; while others visit their wives once in three or four years. Some of the more respectable Brahmins never hold sexual intercourse with any of their wives, who dwell at home, but treat them with great respect. These neglected women often take to prostitution. The brothels of Calcutta and other large cities are crowded with such cast-off mistresses of the Brahmins. They procure abortion when pregnant. In the city of Bombay a whole quarter is inhabited chiefly by prostitutes. Riding in the environs, the European resident is frequently assailed by men, or sometimes boys, who inquire by signs or words, whether he desires a companion; should he assent, the woman is privately brought to his house in a close palanquin, or he is taken to a regular place of resort, in one of these vehicles, which are contrived for secrecy.

Among the Nairs, on the coast of Malabar, the institution of marriage has never been strictly or completely introduced. Polyandrism is practised. A woman receives four or five brothers as her husbands, and a slipper left at the door is a signal that she is engaged with one of them. The mother is thus the only parent known, and the children inherit the property of the family in equal divisions. In some cases the Nairs marry a particular woman, who never leaves her mother's home, but has intercourse with any men she pleases, subject to the sacred law of caste. In the mountain community of Tibet the same custom prevails. It is to be regretted that our information on this subject is not more explicit and full.

The venereal disease is known in most parts of Hindustan. Some, with little reason, suppose it was carried there after the discovery of America. Had it been so, its introduction would probably have been noticed in history or by some tradition. It is not, indeed, called by any Sanscrit word, but is known by a Persian name*.

Of Prostitution in Ceylon.

In Ceylon the influence of Christianity, accompanied by the moral law of England, is working a reform in the manners of large classes among the people. Under the original institutions of the Singhalese, they never licensed public prostitution; and whatever effect the Buddhist religion produced, it produced in the cause of virtue. The temples were never made brothels; but the character of the people is naturally sensual, and the capital vices of society widely prevail among them. The Buddhist code, indeed, abounds with precepts inculcating not only chastity, but rigid conti-

* Hamilton's East India Gazetteer; Buchanan's Journey in the Mysore, &c.; Bishop Heber's Journal; Hamilton's Description of Hindustan; British Friend of India Magazine; Asiatic Researces; Hugh Murray's Account of India; Conformité des Coutumes des Indes Orienteaux avec celles des Juifs; Tod's Travels in Western India; Tod's Annals of Rajasthan; Launcelot Wilkinson's Second Marriage of Widows in India; Papers presented to Parliament in 1803, on Infanticide; Grant's Observations on Society and Morals among our Asiatic Subjects; Davidson's Travels in Upper India; Mayne's Continental India; Campbell's British India; Hough's Christianity in India; Abbé Dubois' Letters on the Hindus; Malcolm's Memoir on Central India; Bevan's Thirty Years in India; Crawfurd's Researches concerning India; Hoffmeister's Travel's in India; Ward's Account of the Hindus; Mill's History of British India, Notes by Wilson; Ferishta's Mohammedan History; Thornton's History; Penhoen's Empire Anglais; Xavier; Raymond; Jaseigny; L'Inde.

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nence. Profligacy, however, among the men, and want of chastity among the women, are general characteristics of all classes, from the highest to the humblest caste. To this day the disregard of virtue is a crying sin of the women, even of those who profess Christianity. Murders often occur from the jealousy of husbands or lovers detecting their wives or mistresses with a paramour.

In Ceylon, as in continental India, the division of castes is by the ancient and sacred law absolute, though custom sometimes infringes the enactments of the holy code. Marriage from a higher into a lower caste is peremptorily forbidden; though occasionally it is tolerated, but never approved, between a man of honourable and a woman of inferior rank. If a female of noble blood engage in a criminal intrigue with a plebeian, his life has on many occasions been sacrificed to wash out the stain, and formerly hers was also required to obliterate the disgrace. A recent and striking instance of this kind came to the knowledge of Mr. Charles Sirr. The daughter of a high-caste Kandian, enjoying the liberty which in Ceylon is allowed to women of all grades, became attached to a young man of lower caste, and entreated her parent's consent to the match, begging them to excuse her for her affection's sake, and declaring she could not live unless permitted to fulfil the design on which her heart was set. They refused, and, though the petition was again and again renewed, remained obdurate in their denial. The girl was some time after found to have sacrificed her honour to the man whom she loved, but dared not wed. He was all the while willing and desirous to marry her, and would have married her then, but her parents were inexorable. To preserve the honour of the family, the father slew his daughter with his own hand. The English authorities at once arrested the murderer, brought him to trial, and condemned him to death. He resolutely asserted his right to do as he pleased with the girl, protesting against any judicial interference of the English with his family arrangements. He was, nevertheless, executed, as a warning; and several of these examples have had a most salutary influence in restraining the passions of the natives in various parts of the island. It was undoubtedly the man's sense of honour that impelled him to murder his daughter; and she was thus the victim of caste prejudices, which in Ceylon are so rigid that a man could not force his slave to marry into a rank below him, whether free-born or otherwise.

In Ceylon, as in most other parts of Asia, marriages are contracted at a very early age. A man, by the law, "attains his majority" when sixteen years old, and thenceforward is released from paternal control; all engagements, however, which he may form previous to that time, without the consent of his friends in authority, are null and void. A girl, as soon as she is marriageable according to nature, is marriageable according to law; and her parents, or, if she be an orphan, her nearest kindred, give a feast—grand or humble, according to their means—when she is introduced to a number of unmarried male friends. If she be handsome or rich, a crowd of suitors is sure to be attracted. Free as women are in Ceylon after their marriage, they are rarely consulted beforehand on the choice of a partner. That is settled for the girl. To this custom much of the immorality prevalent in the island, as well as in all parts of the East, may without a doubt be ascribed. Where the sexes are not free to form what lawful unions they please, it may be taken as an axiom that they will have recourse to irregular intrigues.

When the feast is given at which a young girl is introduced as marriageable—a custom very similar in form and *object* to that which obtains in our own country—numerous young unmarried men of the same caste are invited to the house. In a short time after, a relative or friend of any young man who may desire to take the maiden as his wife, calls upon her family, and insinuates that a rumour of the intended union is flying abroad. If this be denied, quietly or otherwise, the matchmaker loses no time in withdrawing; but if it is answered in a jocular bantering strain, he takes his leave, with many compliments, to announce his reception to the father of the bridegroom. This personage, after a day or two, makes *his* call, inquires into the amount of the marriage dowry, and carries the negotiation a few steps further. Mutual visits are exchanged, and all arrangements made, with great precision. The mother of the young man, with several other matrons, take the girl into an inner room, where she is stripped, and her person examined, to see that it is free from any corporal defect, from ulcers, and from any cutaneous disease. Should this investigation prove satisfactory, numerous formalities succeed, and an auspicious day is fixed upon for the wedding. This takes place with much ceremony, the stars being in all things consulted. Should the bridegroom's horoscope refuse to agree with

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that of the bride, his younger brother may wed her for him by a species of proxy. The whole is a tedious succession of formal observances, not so much the ordinance of religion as the details of an ancient ritual etiquette. This is the Buddhaical custom; but it is immensely expensive, and cannot be followed by the very poor classes. It is also forbidden to people of extremely low caste, even though they should be wealthy enough to afford, or sufficiently improvident to risk it. Among the humble and indigent the marriage is confirmed by the mutual consent of the parents and the young couple passing a night together.

One of the most remarkable features in the social aspect of Ceylon is the institution of polyandrism, which among the Kandians is permitted and practised to a great extent. A Kandian matron of high caste is sometimes the wife of eight brothers. The custom is justified upon various grounds. Sirr expressed to a Kandian chief of no mean rank his abhorrence of this revolting practice. The man was surprised at these sentiments, and replied that on the contrary it was an excellent custom. Among the rich it prevented litigation; it saved property from minute subdivision; it concentrated family influence. Among the poor it was absolutely necessary, for several brothers could not each maintain a separate wife, or bear the expense of a whole family, which jointly they could easily do. The offspring of these strange unions call all the brothers alike their fathers, though preference is given to the eldest, and are equal heirs to the family property; should litigation, however, arise concerning the inheritance, they often all claim the senior brother as a parent, and the Kandian laws recognise this claim.

Although, when a plurality of husbands is adopted, they are usually brothers, a man may, with the woman's consent, bring home another, who enjoys all the marital rights, and is called an associated husband. In fact, the first may, subject to his wife's pleasure, bring home as many strangers as he pleases, and the children inherit their property equally. It is rare, however, to meet one of these associated husbands among the Kandians of higher and purer caste, though two or more brothers continually marry the same woman. This revolting custom is now confined to the province of Kandy, though some writers assert that it was formerly prevalent throughout the maritime districts. In these, however, monogamy is at present practised, except by the Mohammedans, who are polygamists. Statements to the contrary have been laid before us; but Sirr positively asserts that he never saw a Kandian or Singhalese who had acknowledged himself to have more than a single wife. The Muslims, though long settled in the island, preserve their peculiar characteristics, their religion, habits, and manners, which they have not communicated to the rest of the population.

There are two kinds of marriage in Kandy, the one called "Bema," the other "Deega." In the first of these the husband goes to live at his wife's residence, and the woman shares with her brothers the family inheritance. He, however, who is married after this fashion, enjoys little respect from his bride's relations; and if he gives offence to her father, or the head of the household, may be at once ejected from the abode. In reference to this precarious and doubtful lodgement there is an ancient proverb still popular in Kandy. It says that a man wedded according to the Bema process should only take to his bride's dwelling four articles of property—a pair of sandals to protect his feet, a palm-leaf to shield his head from the fiery rays of the sun, a walking staff to support him if he be sick, and a lantern to illuminate his path should he chance to be ejected during darkness. He may thus be prepared to depart at any hour of the day or night.

Deega, the other kind of marriage, is that in which the wife passes from underneath the parental roof to dwell in her husband's own house. In this case she relinquishes all claim to a share in her family inheritance, but acquires a contingent right to some of her husband's property. The man's authority is, under this form of contract, far greater than under that of Bema. He cannot be divorced without his own consent, while, in the other case, separation, as we have seen, is a summary process, entirely depending on the caprice of the woman or her family. In a country where the female population is considerably less numerous than the male, and where women generally enjoy much freedom, a certain degree of indulgence will always be granted to the fickle quality in their character. In Ceylon this liberty in the one sex involves a certain kind of slavery in the other. Women frequently seek for divorces upon the most frivolous and trifling pretexts, and as these are too easily attainable by the simple return of the marriage gifts, they continually occur. Should a child be born within nine months from the day of the final separation, the husband is bound to maintain it for the first three years of its

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life, after which it is considered sufficiently old to be taken from its mother. If, however, while under the marriage pledge, the woman defiles herself by adultery, the husband, if with his own eyes he was the witness of her infidelity, might with his own hands, under the native law, take away the life of her paramour. Notwithstanding this terrible privilege, it is asserted with consistency by many authorities that, in all parts of Ceylon, from the highest to the lowest caste, the want of conjugal faith in the married, and chastity in the unmarried people, is frightful to consider. When a man puts away his wife for adulterous intrigue, he may disinherit her and the whole of her offspring, notwithstanding that he may feel and acknowledge them all to be his own children. When, however, he seeks a divorce from caprice, he renounces all claim to his wife's inheritance or actual property, and must divide with her whatever may have been jointly accumulated during the period of their cohabitation. The men of Ceylon do not always, however, exercise their privileges. They are generally very indulgent husbands. Many of them, indeed, are uxorious to an offensive extreme, and forgive offences which, by most persons, are held unpardonable. A short time since a Kandian applied to the British judicial authorities to compel the return to him and his children of an unfaithful wife, who had deserted her home for that of a paramour. The husband pleaded his love for her, implored her for her children's sake to come back, and promised to forgive her offence; but she turned away from him, and coolly asked the judge if he could force her to return. He answered that unfortunately he could not, but advised her to return to the home of her lawful partner, who was ready to forgive and embrace her. She disregarded equally the entreaties of the one and the exhortation of the other, and returned to her paramour, whom she shortly afterwards deserted for another.

The numerous instances of this kind which happen in the island have encouraged a swarm of satirical effusions upon the faithlessness of the female sex; but if the women were also poets, they might echo every note of the song. In illustration of the estimate formed of them, we may quote a few lines translated from the original by Sirr. They apply to the fraudulent disposition of women, and have become proverbial among the people.

> "I've seen the adumbra tree in flower, white plumage on the crow,
> And fishes' footsteps on the deep have traced through ebb and flow.
> If man it is who thus asserts, his words you may believe;
> But all that woman says distrust—she speaks but to deceive."

The adumbra is a species of fig-tree, and the natives assert that no mortal has ever seen its bloom.

Under the native kings the Singhalese were forbidden to contract marriage with any one of nearer affinity than the second cousin; such an union was incestuous, and severely punished. Under the English government, however, many of these old restrictions have been modified. Among the Christian population, on the other hand—Catholic as well as Protestant—many traces of their old idolatry are still distinctly visible in the ceremony of marriage.

The Buddhist law allows to every man, whatever his grade, only one wife; but the ancient Kandian princes, of course, broke this law and took as many wives or concubines as they pleased.

We have alluded to the numerical difference between the sexes. The population of Ceylon is about 1,500,000, and the males exceed the females by nearly a tenth. In 1814 it was 476,000; there were 20,000 more males than females. In 1835 there was a population of 646,000 males, and 584,000 females. At both these periods the disparity was greatest in the poorest places. In the fishing villages, where wholesome food abounded, there were more females than males. The same circumstance is true at the present day. Some writers attribute this to a gracious provision of Nature, which checks the increase of the people; but Nature makes no provision against unnatural things, and starvation is a monstrous thing in a fertile country. We may with more safety assign as a cause the open or secret infanticide, which, under the old laws, was common. Female children, except the first born, born under a malignant star, were sure to be sacrificed. It was hardly considered an offence; but being, under the British rule, denounced as murder, has been gradually abolished. The easier means of life, which in Ceylon and throughout the rest of our Asiatic dominions are afforded to the people under English sway, take away the incentive of poverty to crime. The population has enormously increased, an unfailing sign of good government, if misery does not increase with it.

The social position of the Singhalese women is not so degraded as in many other parts of the East; the poor labouring hard, but as partners rather than as slaves. This superior condition does not, unhappily, elevate their moral character, for it is un-

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accompanied by other essential circumstances. Profligacy, we have said, is widely prevalent in Ceylon; yet prostitution, at least of the avowed and public kind, is not so. Under the Kandian dynasty it was peremptorily forbidden; a common harlot had her hair and ears cut off and was whipped naked. If, however, we accept the general definition of the word prostitution as any obscene traffic in a woman's person, we shall find much of it clandestinely practised. The women are skilful in procuring abortion, and thus rid themselves of the consequences which follow their intrigues. Of course, in the sea-port towns prostitution exists, but we have no account of it. It is fair, however, to notice the opinions of Sir Emerson Tennent, that the morals of the people in these and in all other parts of the islands are rapidly improving, and that marriage is *becoming* a more sacred tie*.

Of Prostitution in China.

In the immense empire of China, the civilization of which has been cast in a mould fashioned by despotism, a general uniformity of manners is prevalent. Singular as many of its customs are, they vary very little in the different provinces, for although the population be composed of a mixture of races, the iron discipline of the government forces all to bend to one universal fashion. The differences which are remarked between the practice of the people in one district, and those of another, spring only from the nature of circumstances. It is more easy, therefore, to take an outline view of this vast empire, than it is to sketch many smaller countries, where the uniformity of manners is not so absolute.

China affords a wide and interesting field for our inquiry. Were our information complete, there is perhaps no state in the world with reference to which so curious an account might be written as China, with its prostitution system. Unfortunately, however, the negligence or prudery of travellers has allowed the subject to be passed over. We know that a remarkable system of this kind does exist, that prostitutes abound in the cities of the Celestial Empire, and that they form a distinct order; we know something of the classes from which they are taken, how they are procured, in what their education consists, where and in what manner they live, and how and by whom they are encouraged. But this information is to be derived, not from any full account by an intelligent and observing inquirer, but from isolated facts scattered through a hundred books which require to be connected, and then only form a rough and incomplete view of the subject. Statistics we have positively none, though ample opportunities must be afforded travellers for arriving at somethiug near the truth in such cities as Canton. However, from what knowledge we possess it is evident the social economy of the Chinese with respect to prostitution presents clear points of analogy with our own.

In conformity with the plan of this inquiry, we proceed first to ascertain the general condition of the female sex in China. Abundant information has been supplied us on this subject, as well by the written laws, and by the literature of the country, as by the travellers who have visited and described it.

As in all Asiatic, indeed in all barbarous, countries, women in China are counted inferior to men. The high example of Confucius taught the people—though their own character inclined them before, and was reflected from him—that the female sex was created for the convenience of the male. The great philosopher spoke of women and slaves as belonging to the same class, and complained that they were equally difficult to govern. That ten daughters are not equal in value to one son is a proverb which strongly expresses the Chinese sentiment upon this point, and the whole of their manners is pervaded by the same spirit. Feminine virtue, indeed, is severely guarded by the law, but not for its own sake. The well-being of the state, and the interest of the male sex, are sought to be protected by the rigorous enactments on the subject of chastity; but the morality, like the charity of that nation, is contained principally in its codes, essays, and poems, for in practice they are among the most demoralised on the earth.

The spirit of the Salic law might naturally be looked for in the political code of such a state. It is so. The throne can be occupied only by a man. An illegitimate son is held in more respect than a legitimate daughter. The constitution provides that if the principal wife fail to bear male children, the son of the next shall succeed, and if she be barren also, of the next, and so on, according to their seniority, the son of each has a contingent claim to the sovereignty.

* Sirr's Ceylon and the Singhalese; Pridham's History of Ceylon; Forbes' Eleven Years in Ceylon; Davy's Interior of Ceylon; Campbell's Excursions in Ceylon; Knox's Captivity in Ceylon; Knighton's History of Ceylon; Tennent's Christianity in Ceylon.

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Thus in the most important department of their public economy the national sentiment is manifested. We may now examine the laws which regulate the intercourse of the sexes, and then inquire into the actual state of manners. It will be useful to remember the truth, which has already been stated, that no language is so full of moral axioms and honourable sentiments as the Chinese, while no nation is more flagitious in its practice.

The government of China, styled paternal because it rules with the rod, regulates the minutest actions of a man's career. He is governed in everything—in the temple, in the street, at his own table, in all the relations of life. The law of marriage, for instance, is full, rigid, and explicit. The young persons about to be wedded know little or nothing of the transaction.

Parental authority is supreme, and alliances are contracted in which the man and wife do not see each others' faces until they occupy the same habitation and are mutually pledged for life. Match-making in China is a profession followed by old women, who earn what we may term a commission upon the sales they effect. When a union between two families is intended, its particulars must be fully explained on either side, so that no deceit shall be practised. The engagement is then drawn and the amount of presents determined, for in all countries where women hold this position, marriage is more or less a mercantile transaction. When once the contract is made, it is irrevocable. If the friends of the girl repent and desire to break the match, the man among them who had authority to give her away is liable to receive fifty strokes of the bamboo, and the marriage must proceed. Whatever other engagements have been entered into are null and punishable, and the original bridegroom has in all cases a decisive claim. If he, on the other hand, or the friend who represents and controls him, desire to dissolve the compact, giving a marriage present to another woman, he is chastised with fifty blows, and compelled to fulfil the terms of his first engagement, while his second favourite is at liberty to marry as she pleases. If either of the parties is incontinent after the ceremony of betrothal, the crime is considered as adultery, and so punished. But if any deceit be practised, and either family represent the person about to marry under a false description, they become liable to severe penalties, and on the part of the man most strictly.

The husband, finding that a girl had been palmed off on him by fraud, is permitted to release himself from the tie. Such incidents, nevertheless, do occasionally occur. One of rather an amusing nature is alluded to by several writers. A young man who had been promised in marriage the youngest daughter of a large family was startled when, after the ceremony was complete, he unveiled his bride, to find the eldest sister, very ugly and deeply pitted with the small pox. The law would have allowed him to escape from such an union, but he submitted, and soon afterwards consoled himself with a handsome concubine.

Although the girl, when once betrothed, is absolutely bound to the husband selected for her, he dare not, under pain of the bastinado, force her away before the specified time. On the other hand, her friends must not, under similar penalties, detain her after that time. Thus the law regulates the whole transaction, and the parents dispose as they will of their children. Occasionally, however, a young man, not yet emancipated from paternal authority, contracts a marriage according to his own inclination, and if the rites have actually been performed, it cannot be dissolved; but if he be only betrothed, and his parents have in the meanwhile agreed upon an alliance for him, he must relinquish his own design and obey their choice.

Polygamy is allowed in China, but under certain regulations. The first wife is usually chosen from a family equal in rank and riches to that of the husband, and is affianced with as much splendour and ceremony as the parties can afford. She acquires all the rights which belong to the chief wife in any Asiatic country. The man may then take as many as he pleases, who are inferior in rank to the first, but equal to each other. The term inferior wife is more applicable than that of concubine, as there is a form of espousal, and their children have a contingent claim to the inheritance. The practice, however, brings no honour, if it brings no positive shame, though now sanctioned by long habit. Originally it appears to have been condemned by the stricter moralists, and it has been observed that the Chinese term to describe this kind of companion is, curiously enough, compounded of the words *crime* and *woman*. It is a derogatory position, and such as only the poor and humble will consent to occupy. One of the national sayings, and the feeling with many of the women, is, that it is more honourable to be a poor man's wife than the concubine of an emperor. A man cannot, under the penalty of a hundred blows, degrade his first wife to this position, or raise an infe-

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rior wife to hers—no such act is valid before the law.

None but the rich can afford, and none but the loose and luxurious will practise, polygamy except when the first wife fails to bear a son. Unless some such reason exists, the opinion of moralists is against it. Men with too many wives lose the Emperor's confidence, since he accuses them of being absorbed in domestic concerns. In this case it is usual to take an inferior wife, who is purchased from the lower ranks for a sum of money, that an heir may be born to the house. The situation of these poor creatures is aggravated or softened according to the disposition of their chief, for they are virtually her servants, and are not allowed even to eat in her presence. They receive no elevation by her decease, but are for ever the mere slaves of their master's lust. At the same time their inferior position, and therefore inferior consequence, gains them some agreeable privileges. The principal wife is not allowed to indulge in conversation or any free intercourse with strangers—a pleasure which is sometimes enjoyed with little restraint by the others, as well as by the female domestics. Not much jealousy appears to be entertained by these women, who are easily to be procured. Their sons receive half as much patrimony as the sons of the mistress of the household.

The social laws of China inculcate the good treatment of wives; but the main solicitude of the legislator has been with respect to the fixity of the law, and the rights of the male or supreme sex. Leaving her parents' home, the girl is transferred into bondage. Some men, however, go to the house of their bride's father, which is contrary to the established form; but when once received across the threshold as a son-in-law, he cannot be ejected, and leaves only when he is inclined.

A man may not marry within a certain period of his chief wife's death; but if he takes a woman who has already been his concubine, the punishment is two degrees milder. So also with widows, who cannot be forced by their friends to make any new engagement at all, but are protected by the law. Women left in this position have a powerful dissuasive against a fresh union, in the entire independence which they enjoy, and which they could enjoy under no other circumstances.

With respect to the laws relating to consanguinity, the Chinese system is particularly rigid. The prohibited limits lie very widely apart. In this a change appears to have been effected under the Mantchus, for among the traces of ancient manners which become visible at a remoter period, revealed only, however, by the twilight of tradition, a profligate state of public morals is indicated. We find parents giving both their daughters in marriage to one man, while the intercourse of the sexes was all but entirely unrestrained. The strictness of the modern law is attended with some inconvenient results, for in China the number of family names is very small, while it enacted that all marriages between persons of the same family names are not only null and void, but punishable by blows and a fine. All such contracts between individuals previously related by marriage within four degrees, are denounced as incestuous. A man may not marry his father's or his mother's sister-in-law, his father's or mother's aunt's daughter, his son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's sister, his grandson's wife's sister, his mother's brother's or sister's daughter, or any blood relations whatever, to any degree, however remote. Such offences are punished with the bamboo. Death by strangling is enacted against one who marries a brother's widow, while with a grandfather's or father's wife it is more particularly infamous, and the criminal suffers the extreme disgrace of decapitation.

These regulations apply to the first wife, similar offences with regard to the inferior being visited with penalties two degrees less severe. Not only, however, are the degrees of consanguinity strictly defined, but the union of classes is under restriction. An officer of government within the third order marrying into a family under his jurisdiction, or in which legal proceedings are under his investigation, is subject to heavy punishment. The family of the girl, if they voluntarily aid him, incur the chastisement also; but if they have submitted under fear of his authority, they are exempt. To marry an absconded female, flying from justice, is prohibited. To take forcibly as a wife a freeman's daughter, subjects the offender to death by strangulation. An officer of government, or the son of any high functionary with hereditary honours, who takes as his first or inferior wife a female comedian or musician, or any member of a disreputable class, is punished by sixty strokes of the bamboo. An equal punishment is inflicted on any priest who marries at all; and, in addition to this, he is expelled his order. If he delude a woman under false pretences, he incurs the penalty of the worst incest. Slaves and free persons are forbidden to intermarry. Any person, conniving at, or neglecting to

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denounce, such illegal contracts, are criminals before the law.

The union after the betrothal must be completed; but it may also be broken. Seven causes, according to the law, justify a man in repudiating his first wife. These are—barrenness, lasciviousness, disregard of her husband's parents, talkativeness, thievish propensities, an envious suspicious temper, and inveterate infirmity. If, however, any of the three legal reasons against divorce can be proved by the woman, she cannot be put away—first, that she has mourned three years for her husband's family; second, that the family has become rich after having been poor before and at the time of marriage; third, her having no father or mother living to receive her. She is thus protected, in some measure, from her husband's caprice. If she commit adultery, however, he dare not retain, but must dismiss her. If she abscond against his will, she may be severely flogged; if she commit bigamy, she is strangled. When a man leaves his home, his wife must remain in it three years before she can sue for a divorce, and then give notice of her intention before a public tribunal. It is forbidden, under peremptory enactments, to harbour a fugitive wife or female servant.

A man finding his wife in the act of adultery may kill her with her paramour, provided he does it immediately, but only on that condition. If the guilty wife adds to her crime by intriguing against her husband's life, she dies by a slow and painful execution. If even the adulterer slay her husband without her knowledge, she is strangled. The privilege of putting a wife to death is not allowed for any inferior offence. To strike a husband, is punishable by a hundred blows and divorce; to disable him, with strangulation. In all these circumstances the inferior wife is punished one degree more severely. Thus offences against them are less harshly, and offences by them more rigidly, chastised. In addition to these legal visitations the bamboo is at hand to preserve discipline among the women.

One of the laws of China exhibits a peculiar feature of depravity in the people. It is enacted, that whoever lends his wife or daughter upon hire is to be severely punished, and any one falsely bargaining away his wife or his sister is to be similarly dealt with. All persons consenting to the transaction share the penalty. Nor is this an obsolete enactment against an unknown crime. Instances do not unfrequently occur of poor men selling their wives as concubines to their wealthier neighbours. Others prostitute them for gain; but these instances of profligacy usually occur in the large and crowded cities. Sometimes the woman consents, but sometimes also opposes the infamous design.

In 1832 a woman was condemned to strangulation for killing her husband by accident, while resisting an adulterer whom he had introduced for her to prostitute herself to him. These incidents occur only in the lowest class. Some men are as jealous as Turks, and maintain eunuchs to guard their wives.

Under this system many restrictions are imposed on the women of China. They form no part of what is called society, enjoying little companionship, even with persons of their own sex. Those of the better class are instructed in embroidering and other graceful but useless accomplishments. They are seldom educated to any extent, though some instances have occurred of learned women and elegant poetesses, who have been praised and admired throughout the country. Fond of gay clothes, of gaudy furniture, and brilliant decoration, they love nothing so much as display; and though assuming a demure and timid air, cannot be highly praised on this account, for their bashfulness is, in such cases, more apparent than real. Still they are generally described as faithful partners. Religious services are performed for them in the temple, to which women are admitted. The wives of the poorer sort labour in the fields, and perform all the drudgery of the house, an occupation which is held as suited to their nature. "Let my daughter sweep your house" is the expression made use of in offering a wife. It should be mentioned, however, to relieve the darkness of this picture, that husbands often present offerings at the temples, with prayers to the gods for the recovery of their sick wives. The idea may indeed suggest itself, that this is with a view to economy, as girls are costly purchases; but no man is the greater philosopher for asserting that a whole nation exists without the commonest sentiments of human nature. Indeed, many instances occur even in China of husbands and wives living as dear friends together, especially when polygamy has not been adopted in the dwelling. The obedience to old habits is not to be confounded with characteristic harshness in the individual; nor does it seem impossible, when we examine the variety of manners in the world, to believe in a strong and tender attachment between a man and the woman whom, in adherence

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

COUNTIES.	Average Marriages for 10 years, from 1839-48.	Total Number committed for Bigamy.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed Annually in every 100,000 Marriages.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above. * ,, below.
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850				
Bedford	925	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	0·3	32	* 45·8
Berks	1,294	1	1	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	7	0·7	54	* 8·5
Bucks	960	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Cambridge	1,392	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	3	0·3	22	* 62·7
Chester	2,580	4	7	11	6	2	2	12	6	9	8	67	6·7	259	†338·9
Cornwall	2,447	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	0·2	8	* 86·4
Cumberland	1,036	2	..	1	3	2	2	..	1	2	..	13	1·3	125	† 11·2
Derby	1,826	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	6	0·6	33	* 44·1
Devon	4,339	1	..	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	..	14	1·4	32	* 45·8
Dorset	1,174	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	0·1	9	* 84·8
Durham	2,885	..	6	3	1	2	3	3	4	4	2	28	2·8	97	† 64·4
Essex	2,114	2	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	6	0·6	28	* 52·5
Gloucester	3,459	2	1	5	..	..	1	..	3	2	..	14	1·4	40	* 32·2
Hereford	634	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	4	0·4	63	† 6·8
Hertford	988	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Hunts	452	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0·2	44	* 25·4
Kent	4,047	2	5	3	2	2	3	2	..	1	1	21	2·1	52	* 11·9
Lancaster	17,034	13	11	35	19	20	27	29	19	19	20	212	21·2	124	†110·2
Leicester	1,730	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0·1	6	* 89·8
Lincoln	2,765	..	..	1	4	..	1	1	2	3	2	14	1·4	51	* 13·6
Middlesex	15,795	8	8	10	9	16	9	12	10	9	11	102	10·2	65	† 10·2
Monmouth	1,281	..	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	2	2	10	1·0	78	† 32·2
Norfolk	3,021	..	1	3	2	..	1	..	2	1	2	12	1·2	39	* 33·9
Northampton	1,597	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0·1	6	* 89·8
Northumberland	2,047	..	1	..	1	..	3	1	1	..	..	7	0·7	34	* 42·4
Nottingham	2,084	..	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	5	0·5	24	* 59·3
Oxford	1,158	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Rutland	158	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Salop	1,590	2	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	0·5	31	* 47·5
Somerset	3,113	1	2	1	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	9	0·9	29	* 50·9
Southampton	2,884	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	5	0·5	17	* 71·2
Stafford	4,146	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	4	19	1·9	46	* 22·0
Suffolk	2,369	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	0·2	8	* 86·4
Surrey	5,187	2	7	5	2	3	3	4	4	5	8	43	4·3	83	† 40·7
Sussex	2,134	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	4	0·4	19	* 67·8
Warwick	3,247	3	1	2	..	1	3	3	4	2	1	20	2·0	62	† 5·1
Westmorland	390	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	0·2	51	* 13·6
Wilts	1,618	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	0·2	12	* 79·7
Worcester	2,769	..	..	3	..	1	1	2	1	3	1	12	1·2	43	* 27·1
York	13,332	3	6	6	8	4	9	7	14	9	13	79	7·9	59	* ....
North Wales	2,582	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	2	1	1	8	0·8	31	* 47·5
South Wales	4,076	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2	..	7	0·7	17	* 71·2
Total for England and Wales	130,670	50	65	107	69	62	82	84	88	83	82	772	77·2	59	

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO BIGAMY, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 100,000 MARRIAGES.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Chester	259	York	59
Cumberland	125	Berks	54
Lancaster	124	Kent	52
Durham	97	Lincoln	51
Surrey	83	Westmorland	51
Monmouth	78	Stafford	46
Middlesex	65	Hunts	44
Hereford	63	Worcester	43
Warwick	62	Gloucester	40
		Norfolk	39
		Northumberland	34
		Derby	33
		Devon	32
		Bedford	32
		North Wales	31
		Salop	31
		Somerset	29
		Essex	28
		Nottingham	24
		Cambridge	22
		Sussex	19
		South Wales	17
		Southampton	17
		Wilts	12
		Dorset	9
		Cornwall	8
		Suffolk	8
		Leicester	6
		Northampton	6
		Bucks	0
		Hertford	0
		Oxford	0
		Rutland	0

Average for England and Wales 59

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Map No. XIII.

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR

BIGAMY

IN EVERY 100,000 MARRIAGES,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

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

The average for all England and Wales is 59 *in every* 100,000 *Marriages.*
„ „ *Chester (the highest)* 259 „

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Map No. XIV.

MAP

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED FOR

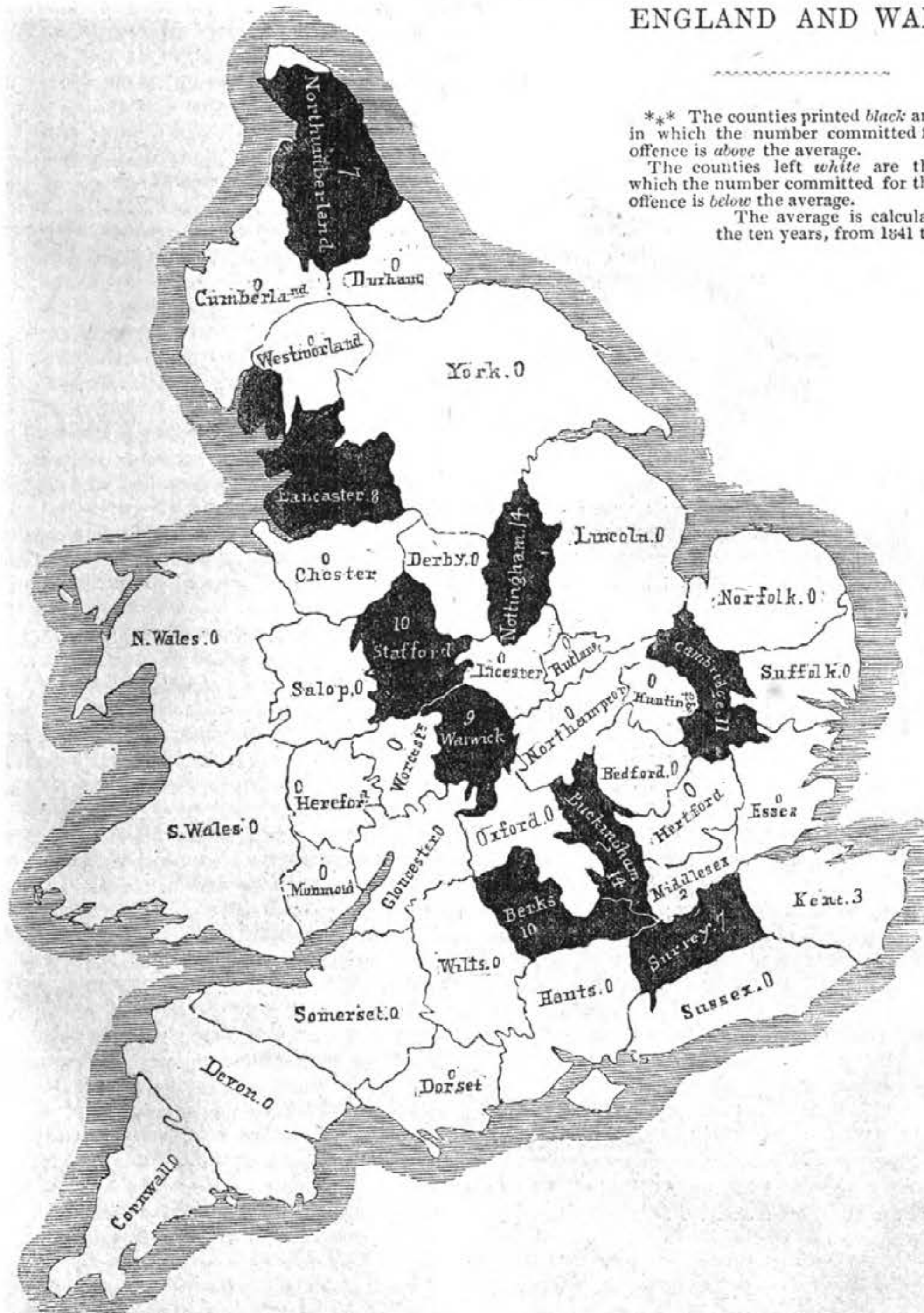
ABDUCTION

IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE MALE POPULATION,

IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF

ENGLAND AND WALES.

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



The Average for all England and Wales is .... 3 *in every* 10,000,000 *of the Male Population.*
,, ,, *Nottingham and Bucks* (*the highest*) 14 *each* ,, ,,

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

COUNTIES.	Average Male Population 1841-50.	Total Number committed for Abduction.										Total for 10 Years.	Annual Average.	No. committed Annually in every 10,000,000 Males.	Percentage above and below the Average. † denotes above, * ,, below.
		1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850				
Bedford	58,372	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Berks	97,055	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	·1	10	†233·3
Bucks	69,226	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	·1	14	†366·7
Cambridge	89,762	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	·1	11	†266·7
Chester	193,728	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Cornwall	168,854	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Cumberland	91,199	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Derby	124,224	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Devon	263,055	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Dorset	82,998	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Durham	183,956	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Essex	166,255	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Gloucester	192,960	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Hereford	48,985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Hertford	83,264	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Hunts	28,761	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Kent	291,219	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	·1	3	*....
Lancaster	917,922	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	·7	8	†166·7
Leicester	111,629	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Lincoln	189,768	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Middlesex	815,107	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	·2	2	* 33·3
Monmouth	85,564	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Norfolk	202,811	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Northampton	102,853	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Northumberland	139,028	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	·1	7	†133·3
Nottingham	138,413	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	·2	14	†366·7
Oxford	83,290	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Rutland	11,937	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Salop	121,316	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Somerset	216,177	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Southampton	186,661	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Stafford	294,120	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	3	·3	10	†233·3
Suffolk	159,561	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Surrey	303,083	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	·2	7	†133·3
Sussex	157,915	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Warwick	217,569	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	·2	9	†200·0
Westmorland	28,680	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Wilts	119,528	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Worcester	119,808	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
York	835,816	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
North Wales	196,664	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
South Wales	279,818	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*100·0
Total for England and Wales	8,270,087	3	7	..	4	..	1	2	2	..	4	23	2·3	3	

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY WITH REGARD TO ABDUCTION, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER COMMITTED FOR THIS OFFENCE IN EVERY 10,000,000 OF THE MALE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Nottingham	14	Kent	3
Bucks	14	Middlesex	2
Cambridge	11	Bedford	0
Stafford	10	Chester	0
Berks	10	Cornwall	0
Warwick	9	Cumberland	0
Lancaster	8	Derby	0
Northumberland	7	Devon	0
Surrey	7	Dorset	0
		Durham	0
		Essex	0
		Gloucester	0
		Hereford	0
		Hertford	0
		Hunts	0
		Leicester	0
		Lincoln	0
		Monmouth	0
		Norfolk	0
		Northampton	0
		Oxford	0
		Rutland	0
		Salop	0
		Somerset	0
		Southampton	0
		Suffolk	0
		Sussex	0
		Westmorland	0
		Wilts	0
		Worcester	0
		York	0
		North Wales	0
		South Wales	0

Average for England and Wales........ 3

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to ancient usage, he would not allow to eat at the same table with himself. A privilege belongs to the female sex here which it enjoys in no other barbarian country. A strong authority is recognised in the widow over her son. She is acknowledged to have the right to be supported by him, and it is a proverbial saying, that "a woman is thrice dependent—before marriage on her father, after marriage on her husband, when a widow on her son."

From this view of the condition of women, and the regulations of marriage, we proceed to an important part of the subject—the infanticide for which China has been so infamously celebrated. It is impossible to conceive a more contradictory confusion of statements, than we have seen put forward with reference to this question. Weighing the various authorities, however, we are inclined to adopt a moderate view, rejecting the extravagant pictures of one, and the broad denials of the other set of writers. Infanticide, it cannot be disputed, is practised in the country, and to a considerable extent; but it is, and always will be impossible, to acquire the exact statistics, or even an approximation to the precise truth.

Two causes appear to have operated in encouraging this practice—the poverty of the lower classes, and the severity of the law with respect to the illicit intercourse of the sexes. The former is the principal cause. There is a strong maternal feeling in the woman's breast, and children are only destroyed when the indigence of the parents allows no hope of rearing them well. It is invariably the female child which is, under these circumstances, slain; for the son can always, after a few years, earn his livelihood, and be an assistance, instead of a burden, to the family. The birth of a female child is regarded as a calamity, and brings mourning into the house. One of the national proverbs expresses this fact in a striking manner, exhibiting also the inferior estimation in which that sex is viewed. It says, that to a female infant a common tile may be given as a toy, while to a male a gem should be presented.

When it is determined to destroy the offspring thus born under the roof of poverty, a choice of method is open. It may be drowned in warm water; its throat may be pinched; it may be stifled by a wet cloth tied over its mouth; it may be choked by grains of rice. Another plan is to carry the child, immediately after its birth, and bury it alive. Captain Collins, of the *Plover* sloop-of-war, relates that some of his company, while visiting the coast of China, saw a boat full of men and women, with four infants. They landed and dug two pits, in which they were about to inter their living but feeble victims, when they were disturbed. They then made off rapidly, and passed round a headland, beyond which they, no doubt, accomplished their purpose without interruption. When the missionary Smith was in the suburbs of Canton, in 1844, he was presented by a native with a work written by a mandarin, and published gratuitously at the expense of government, to discourage the practice of infanticide. When questioned upon the actual prevalence of the custom, the native said that, taking a circle with a radius of ten miles from the spot they then occupied, the number of infanticides within the space thus included would not exceed five hundred in a year. It was confined to the very poor, and originated in the difficulty of rearing and providing for their female offspring. The rich never encouraged, and the poor were ashamed, of the practice. He knew men who had drowned their daughters, but would not confess the act, speaking of their children as though they had died of disease. In Fokien province, on the contrary, infanticides were numerous. At a place called Kea-King-Chow, about five days' journey from Canton, there were computed to be 500 or 600 cases in a month. The comparative immunity of Canton from the contagion of this crime was the government foundling-hospital established there. About 500 female children, born of parents in poverty and want, were annually received, to have temporary provision and sustenance. From time to time, the more wealthy merchants and gentry visit the institution to select some of the children, whom they take home to educate as concubines or servants. The hospital has accommodation for at least 1000 infants, each of which is usually removed after three months, either to the house of some voluntary guardian, or to wet nurses in other districts. This is the only important institution of the kind in the province. Infanticide is still, even by the most favourable accounts, lamentably prevalent. The foundling-hospitals, of which there is one in every great town, do certainly oppose a check to the practice. That at Shanghae receives annually about 200 infants.

The villagers in the neighbourhood of Amoy confessed that female infanticide was generally practised among them, and their statements were expressed in a manner which left no doubt that they considered it an innocent and proper expedient for lightening the evils of poverty. Two out

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of every four, they said, were destroyed; but rich people, who could afford to bring them up never resorted to, because they never needed, such a means of relief. Some killed three, four, or even five out of six; it depended entirely on the circumstances of the individual. The object was effected immediately after the infant's birth. If sons, however, were born in alternate succession, it was regarded as an omen of happy fortune for the parents, and the daughters were spared. None of the villagers denied to any of their questioners the generality of the custom, but few would confess personally to the actual fact. In some districts one-half was reported as the average destruction of the female population, and in the cities some declared the crime was equally prevalent, though we may take this as the exaggeration which always attends the loose statements of ignorant men, who, having little idea of figures, are required to furnish a number, and speak at random.

Infanticide, however, is not wholly confined to the poor. It is occasionally resorted to by the rich to conceal their illicit amours. In 1838 a proclamation against it was published, but the general perpetration of the crime rendered its repression impossible, with such machinery as the Emperor has at his command. Abeel calculated that throughout a large district, the average was 39 per cent. of the female children. It is evident, however, from all these facts, that under an improved government, the crime might be altogether extinguished, not by severe enactments or vigilant police, but by rendering infanticide unnecessary in the eyes of the people.

The second cause which induces parents to destroy their children is the stringency of the law against the illicit intercourse of unmarried people; its provisions are equally characteristic and severe. To render its enforcement easier, the separation of the sexes is rigidly insisted upon. Not only are servants, but even brothers and sisters, prohibited from mixing except under regulation. Intercourse by mutual consent is punished with 70 blows, while with married people the penalty varies from 80 to 100. Violation of a female, wedded or single, is punished by strangulation. An assault, with intent to ravish, by 100 strokes of the bambu and perpetual banishment to a remote spot. Intercourse with children under twelve years of age is treated as rape. Should a child be born from one of these unlawful intrigues, its support devolves on the father; but if the transaction be thus far concealed, this evidence of it is usually sunk in the river, or flung out by the wayside. An unmarried woman found pregnant is severely punished, whether her accomplice can be discovered or not. The illicit intercourse of slaves with their masters' wives or daughters is punished with death; while officers of government, civil and military, and the sons of those who hold hereditary rank, if found indulging in criminal intrigues with females under their jurisdiction, are subjected to unmerciful castigation with the stick.

One grace is accorded to the weaker sex in China. No woman is committed to prison, except in capital cases, or cases of adultery. In all others they remain, if married, in the custody of their husbands; if single, in that of their friends. No woman quick with child can be flogged, tortured, or executed, until a hundred days after her delivery.

Women, however, of the poorer orders, whose friends do not care, or are unable, to be responsible for them, are lodged under the care of female wardens, and in reference to this we may instance a curious fact illustrative of prison discipline in China. In 1805 one of the great officers of government made a report to the Emperor, that three female warders of the prison were in the habit of engaging with traders in an illicit and disgraceful intercourse with female servants, and hiring out the female prisoners, not yet sentenced or waiting for discharge, to gain money for them by prostitution.

Sensual as the Chinese are, the punishable breach of the moral law—the intercourse of unmarried persons—is checked by the system of early marriages. Children are often betrothed in the cradle. Men seldom pass the age of twenty, or girls that of fifteen, in celibacy. The Parsees, however, of all ages, are notorious for their abandoned mode of life.

Prostitution, however, prevails to a prodigious extent. There is throughout the country a regular traffic in females. "Seduction and adultery," says Williams, "are comparatively unfrequent; but brothels and their inmates occur everywhere on land and water. One danger attending young girls going alone is, that they will be stolen for incarceration in these gates of hell."

This is in allusion to a very extraordinary system prevalent in the great cities of China. In 1832 it was calculated there were between 8000 and 10,000 prostitutes having abodes in and about Canton. Of these the greater portion had been stolen while children, and compelled to

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adopt that course of life. Dressed gaily, taught to affect happiness. and trained in seductive manners, they were examples of their class in Europe. Many young girls were carried away, forcibly violated, and then consigned to a brothel.

Hundreds of kidnappers, chiefly women, swarmed in the city, gaining a livelihood by the traffic in young girls and children. Nor was this the only way in which such places were supplied. In times of general scarcity or individual want, parents have been seen leading their own daughters through the streets and offering them for sale. The selling of children, says Conyngham, one of the most recent visitors to Canton, is an every-day occurrence, and is on the whole a check upon infanticide. The little victims are seen constantly passing on their way to the habitations of their purchasers gaily dressed out as though for some great ceremony or happy festival. Of these, indeed, some are disposed of as concubines, but many also are deliberately sold to be brought up as prostitutes. It is looked upon as a simple mercantile transaction, the children being transferred at once to the brothels, whence they are hired out for the profit of their masters. Some of those who are deserted or exposed to perish are reserved by the agents for these places; but the principal supply is brought by kidnappers. Proclamation after proclamation has been issued to complain of them, but with little effect. The system appears rather on the increase than otherwise.

The children thus purchased or picked up in the streets are educated with care, taught to play on various kinds of instruments, to dance, to sing, to perform in comedies or pantomimes, and to excel in many graceful accomplishments, which render them agreeable. They are often richly clothed, and adorned in such a way as to render them most attractive to the *roués* of Canton and Peking.

They do not often compress their feet, as it is a hindrance to their movements, but may be seen in the streets occasionally—though not often—with painted faces, looking boldly at the strangers who pass along. Of the houses they frequent we have no particular description; but they probably resemble much similar places of resort in civilized countries. A peculiar feature of China, however, is displayed in the floating brothels, which are the chief habitations of the prostitutes. Licentious as the native of that empire is in the general turn of his ideas, he makes a public display of his indulgence in those pleasures which in Europe men affect, at least, to conceal from general view. The floating brothels of the Pearl River are moored in conspicuous situations, and distinguished from the other boats by the superior style of their structure and decorations. The surface of the stream, indeed, is studded with beautiful junks, which are the first objects to attract the traveller's eye as he approaches the provincial city of Canton. Comparatively few of the women parade the streets, except when they form part of a public procession, so that there is at least in the heart of the town an appearance of morality.

Many of these brothel junks are called Flower Boats, and are resorted to by numbers of the class. They form, indeed, whole streets in the floating city on the Pearl River, which is one of the most remarkable features of Canton. The prostitutes themselves, like all women of the same sisterhood, lead a life of reckless extravagance—plunging while they can into all the exciting pleasures which are offered by their particular mode of life, careless of the future, and eagerly snatching at anything which may release them from the change of dulness or time for reflection. Diseases are very prevalent among them, and cause much havoc among the men who frequent their boats or houses. They endeavour to cure themselves by means of drugs and medicinal draughts, and by this means concentrate the malady upon some secret vital part, whence it shoots through the frame, but does not manifest itself until the victim is all but destroyed. With the exception of an unusual paleness and a heated appearance in the eyes, the prostitutes do not wear the aspect of disease; but they, indeed, paint themselves inordinately to mask the ravages of time or the maladies which afflict them.

The prostitutes of Canton are usually congregated in companies or troops, each of which is under the government of a man who is answerable for their conduct—if they rob, or disturb the peace, or commit any gross offence against decency, or perpetrate any other offence. National delicacy, however, has little to do with the prohibitions which restrain them from entering certain parts of the city, and forbid young men of rank and influence to hold intercourse with them. The brothel junks, of lofty build, brightly painted, and glittering with gaudy variegated flags, float in squadrons on the water, are seen and known by all, and are resorted to by numbers of the citizens. Persons pass to and from them without an attempt at disguise or conceal-

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ment. Rich men, on festive occasions, make up a party of pleasure, embark in a gaily-decorated boat, send to one of the prostitute junks, engage as many of the women as they please, and spend the day in amusement with them. It is openly done, and no disgrace attaches to it. The junks themselves are fitted up in the interior—according to the class of prostitutes inhabiting them—with all the appurtenances of luxury, and on board them is a perpetual gala. It would be interesting to know how many of these boats are known to float on the Pearl River, with the average number of prostitutes in each.

But this is not the only, or the most offensive form which prostitution assumes in China. An incident which occurred at Shensee a few years ago illustrates another system, which is clandestine, though appaparently carried on to a considerable extent. A young widow resided there with her mother-in-law, supporting herself and her companion by the wages of prostitution. At length her occupation failed her; she was deserted by her associates, and could procure no more rice or money by the pursuit of her vicious calling. The elder woman, however, would not hear of these excuses, ordered her daughter-in-law to obtain her usual supplies from the man she had last cohabited with, and on her declaring her inability, began to flog her. The prostitute defended herself, and at last, taking up a sickle, struck her relative dead. She was seized, tried, and condemned to be cut in pieces for the crime; but as her mother-in-law had been guilty of an illegal act in forcing her to prostitute herself, the sentence was changed to decapitation.

It is to be regretted that our sources of information on this subject are not more copious. Travellers have had opportunities of communicating more, but have refrained from doing so. We wait for a separate and full account of prostitution in China *.

* Staunton, Tee Tsing Leu Lee, Code of Criminal Law; Davis, the Chinese; Guttzlaff's China Opened; Fortune's Wanderings in the North of China; Smith's Visits to the Consular Cities of China; Montgomery Martin's China; Forbes's Five Years in China; Williams's Survey of the Chinese Empire; Tradescant Lay's Chinese as they Are; Morrison's View of China; Meadow's Desultory Notes on China; The Chinese Repository; Hugh Murray's Description of China; Thornton's History of China; Abeel's Residence in China; Cunyngham's Recollections of Service; Abel's Embassy to China; Medhurst's State of China; Auguste Harpman, Revue des Deux Mondes; Langdon's China; De Guignes, Voyage à Peking.

Of Prostitution in Japan.

Among the innumerable islands scattered over the southern and eastern oceans there are none more curious in their social aspects than Japan. We find there a kind of native civilization, influenced indeed by former intercourse with Europeans, but now complete within itself, and isolated from all other systems in the world. The mountainous, rocky, and arid country, has been fertilized from the centre to the sea by the persevering industry of a hardy race; they found it poor, and they have made it one of the richest agricultural regions in the globe. This fact serves to illustrate the national character.

The Japanese, upon whose institutions much light has been thrown by the learned and laborious researches of Mr. Thomas Rundall, of the Hakluyt Society, may be described as a punctilious, haughty, vindictive, and licentious people; but there is nothing vulgar in their composition. Truth is held in reverence, hospitality is viewed as sacred, and the bonds of friendship are regarded with extraordinary earnestness. St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies, declared "the Japans" to be the delight of his heart. There is, perhaps, more to admire than to love in their character. They are certainly elevated far above many of the nations who surround them, as well in the arts as in the amenities of life. Virtue is a recognised principle, and this indicates a phase of true civilization.

The character of the male is reflected by the female sex. Intelligent and agreeable in their manners, affectionate in their family relations, and faithful to their marriage vows, the women of Japan breathe all the pride of virtue. The man who attempts the honour of a matron sometimes encounters death in his adventure.

In illustration of this characteristic, Mr. Rundall relates an interesting anecdote. A noble, going on a journey, left his wife at home, and another man of rank made infamous proposals to her. Her scorn and indignation only inflamed him to his purpose, which he effected in spite of her denial. When her husband returned she received him with much reserve, and when he asked why, bade him wait until the morrow, when a grand feast was to be given. Among the guests was the noble who had wronged her. They sat down on the terraced roof of the house, and the festival began. After the repast the woman rose, declared the injury she had

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suffered, and passionately entreated to be slain, as a creature unfit to live. The guests, the husband foremost, besought her to be calm; they strove to impress her with the idea that she had done no wrong, that she was an innocent victim, though the author of the outrage merited no less punishment than death. She thanked them all kindly; she wept on her husband's shoulder—she kissed him affectionately—then, suddenly escaping from his embraces, rushed precipitately to the edge of the terrace, and cast herself over the parapet. In the confusion that ensued, the author of the mischief, still unsuspected, for the hapless creature had not indicated the offender, made his way down the stairs. When the rest of the party arrived he was found weltering in his blood by the corse of his victim. He had expiated his crime by committing suicide in the national manner, by slashing himself across the abdomen with two slashes in the form of a cross."

The condition of women in Japan varies with different classes. Those of high rank have a separate suite of rooms assigned to them, beyond which they are seldom seen. Among the middle and lower orders they enjoy more liberty, though they are careful to seclude themselves, and are distinguished in general by extraordinary reserve. Men pay them a polite respect not common among semi-barbarians, as the Japanese will continue to be until they are forced to acknowledge the duty of intercourse with the rest of mankind.

The marriage laws of Japan are curious, and vary in different classes. Among the wealthy they are occasions of extravagant parade and long ceremonies, in which the minutest detail is regulated by a peremptory law. A full description of all the marriage ceremonial would fill a small volume. A man can only take one wife; he is united to her in the temple. In addition, however, he may take as many concubines as he chooses, who are not degraded by their position. He may separate from a woman when he pleases; but one who is known to have done so must pay a large sum for the daughter of any other person whom he may desire to have. Marriages are seldom contracted before the age of fifteen. The courtship and betrothal are conducted with much formality; but sufficient opportunity is allowed to the youth of the two sexes to become acquainted each with the other.

The Japanese are not so jealous as many other Asiatics: "Indeed," says Captain Golovnin, "they are not more so than, considering the frailty of the sex, is reasonable." Nevertheless, a man may put his wife to death for whispering to a stranger; while adultery is always capitally punished, sometimes by the hand of the injured husband.

In the northern parts, it is said, that in the beginning of the seventeenth century a curious custom prevailed. When a woman was convicted of infidelity, her head was shaved. Her paramour was exposed to an equally disgraceful, but more whimsical penalty. The friends of his victim, whenever they met him, might strip him naked, and deprive him of his property. But the modesty with which youth are inspired from the cradle tends much to protect female virtue. The intercourse of the sexes, it will thus be seen, is regulated by very natural laws; the condition of the sex is somewhat high. Its virtues are prized by the men, and consequently are generally faithfully preserved.

We have said, however, that the men of Japan are licentious; since, therefore, the wives and daughters of the respectable classes are difficult to corrupt, a numerous sisterhood of prostitutes is rendered necessary. Accordingly we find them from the earliest period associating with every rank of men. In one of William Adams's letters, published under the editorship of Mr. Rundall, we find the king coming on board our countryman's vessel, bringing with him a number of female comedians. These formed large companies, and travelled from place to place, with a great store of apparel for the several parts they played. They belonged to one man, who set a price upon their intercourse with others, above which he dared not charge under pain of death. It was left to his own discretion to set a value on a girl at first; but afterwards he could not raise, though he might abate his charge. All bargains were made with him, and the woman must go whither she was directed. Men of the highest rank, when travelling through the islands, and resting at houses of entertainment, sent, without shame, for companies of these prostitutes; but the pander was never received by them, however wealthy he might be; after death he was also consigned to infamy. Bridled with a rope of straw, he was dragged in the clothes he died in through the streets into the fields, and there cast upon a dung-hill for dogs and fowls to devour.

In Kœmpfer's account of the city of Nangasaki we find a curious description of the prostitute system. The part of the town inhabited by these women was called "the bawdy-house quarter," and consisted

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of two streets, with the handsomest houses in Japan, situated on a rising hill. At these places the poor people of the town sold their handsome daughters while very young, that is, from ten to twenty years of age. Every bawd kept as many as she was able in one house; some had seven, others 30, who were commodiously lodged, taught to dance, sing, play on musical instruments, and write letters. The elder ones taught the younger, who in return waited on them; the most docile and accomplished were most sumptuously treated. The price of these women was regulated by law; and one wretched creature, having passed through all the degrees of degradation, occupied a small room near the door, where she acted as watch all night, and sold herself for a miserable coin. Others were set to this task as a punishment for ill behaviour. The infamy of this vile profession attached justly, not so much to the unhappy women themselves, as to their parents who educated them to it. Many, as they grew up, changed their mode of life, and were received again among the reputable and chaste. Generally well educated and politely bred, they often procured husbands, and passed from a life of daily prostitution to one of unswerving fidelity. The pander and the tanner of leather occupied the same position in society; which shows that the prejudice of class, rather than the abhorrence of an infamous calling, ruled the Japanese.

The historian classes the temples and brothels together, and not without justice. Prostitution was greatly encouraged by the priests. In their public spectacles, representing the adventures of gods and goddesses, young prostitutes, richly attired, were engaged to act. Their performances resembled those of the European ballet—dress, gesture, and action expressing that which in a drama language would represent.

Such was the prostitute system in the great cities; throughout the country a similar system prevailed. The houses of entertainment lining the main highways, with the tea-booths of the villages, were frequented by innumerable girls. These usually spent the morning in painting and dressing themselves, and about noon made their appearance standing before the door of the house, or sitting on benches, whence, with smiling face and coy address, they solicited the passengers. In some places their chattering and laughter were heard above all other sounds; two villages, called Akasaki and Goy, were celebrated on this account, all the houses being brothels, each containing from three to seven prostitutes. The Japanese seldom passed one of these "great storehouses of whores" without holding intercourse with some of these women. Kœmpfer asserts, in contradiction to Caras, who married a native, that there was in his time scarcely one house of entertainment in the islands which was not a brothel. When one inn had too many customers, it borrowed some girls from a neighbour who had some to spare. This profligate system is said, in the Japanese traditions, to have taken its rise at a remote period, during the reign of a certain martial emperor. That monarch, who was perpetually marching his armies to and fro, feared lest his soldiers should become weary of separation from their wives; he therefore licensed public and private brothels, which multiplied to such an extent that Japan came to be known as "the bawdy-house of China." This was in allusion to a period when prostitution was made in that empire an unlawful calling, and suppressed by severe laws. The people, deprived of the resources they had formerly enjoyed at home, made Japan the place of resort; so that its prostitution system flourished far and wide.

These accounts appear extravagant, and doubtless are so in some degree; all writers, however, coincide in describing the prostitution system of Japan as very extensive and flagitious. The French historian, Charleroix, repeats the statement of Kœmpfer. We have before us extracts from the autograph "diary of occurrants" written by Captain Richard Cock, who was chief of the English factory at Firando, from the year 1613 to 1623. There are many passages corroborative of the representations we have given. Of these some examples follow, which are also interesting as illustrations of Japanese manners.

"A.D. 1616, Sept. 8th (at Edo).—We dyned or rather supped at a merchant's house called Neyem Dono, where he provided caboques, or women players, who danced and sung; and when we returned home he sent every of them to lie with them that would have them all night.

"October 24 (at Yuenda, between Edo and Firando.)—We went to bed, and paid 3500 gins; and to the servants, 300 gins; and to the children, 200 gins, or about 200*l.* This extraordinary charge was for that we had extraordinary good cheer, being brought hither by a merchant of Edo, our friend, called Neyemon Edo, and every one a wench sent to him that would have her. I gave one of them an ichebo, but would not have her company.

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"1617–18, January 27th (at Firando).—Skiezazon Dono set the masts of his junk this day, and made a feast in Japan fashion. 29th. Skiezazon Dono and his consorts had the feast of Baccus for their junk this day, dancing through the streets with caboques or women players, and entered into an English house in that order, most of their heads being heavier than their heels, that they could not find their way home without leading.

"March 29th (at Firando).—The kyng and the rest of the noblemen came to dyner (at the English house), and, as they said, were entertained to their own content, and had the dancing beares or caboques to fill their wine; Nifon Catanges, with a blind fiddler to sing, ditto.

"July 11th.—There came a company of players, or caboques, with apes and babons, sent from the tono, or king, to play at our house.

"December 6th (at Meaco).—Our host, Meaco's brother-in-law, invited us to dyner to a place of pleasure without the city, where the dancing girls or caboques were with a great feast; and there came an antick dance of satyrs or wild men of other Japons, until whom I gave 1000 gins (about 10*s.*), and a bar of plate to the good man of the house, value about 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* So the dancing girls were sent home after us."

As not altogether inapplicable to the subject, the following passage, which shows how the courtezans of Japan proceed towards such as would cheat them, may be cited: "The caboques took Tane, an interpreter, prisoner, for fifteen tares (about 3*l.* 15*s.*) he owed them for lichery, and, not having to pay, set his body for sale, no one having the money for him."

It would appear that in obtaining possession of a female of this class by clandestine means tragical consequences may ensue; while, if done fairly, considerable expense may be involved. Mr. Wickham, one of the English factors stationed at Mesco, writing on the 15th of April, 1616, to his chief, Captain Cock, gives an account of a soldier of high reputation who ran away with a prostitute, and, fearing she would be reclaimed, was seized with a fit of frenzy, during which he first cut the throat of the girl, and afterwards ripped himself up. The writer then communicates a piece of news:—"Micaonæcamo, the nobellman that gave me my cattan or sword, hath carried away a caboque, and hath payed her master 10,000 tares (2500*l.*). I would I had the money, and it makes no matter who hath the woman." Replying to this communication, Captain Cock quaintly observes on one point, "Yf some will be so foolish as to cut their bellies for love (or rather lust) of whores, the worst end of the staff will be their owne;" and on the other point he agrees with his correspondent that he "had rather have the money than the ware."

Vice of a more brutal kind is systematically practised by many of the Japanese nobility, as well as by the meanest orders; and houses are kept for this purpose similar to those inhabited by prostitutes.

Some parents apprentice out their daughters for a term of years to this abominable profession, and the girls then return to honourable life. The houses they frequent continually resound with music. At Jeddo, a later traveller was informed there was one brothel, or rather temple of prostitution, where 600 women were maintained. Notwithstanding this number, young men were nightly refused admittance, from the over-crowded state of the rooms. Passing through the streets of the brothel quarter Golovnin saw groups of girls standing about the doors; some of them were in the bloom of youth, and so handsome that they appeared fascinating even to the European eye.

Thus the system of professional prostitution flourishes more in Japan than in any other part of insular Asia; yet the women of other classes appear to hold a higher position, and to enjoy more respect from the men. It is remarked, however, by all writers, that the profligacy of the female sex is confined to those who are so by profession; but the male is generally licentious throughout the empire.

Of Prostitution in the Ultra-Gangetic Nations.

In this division we include what are commonly called the Hindu-Chinese nations, or the inhabitants of that immense tract lying between Hindustan and China. Geography makes several sections of them, and they present, it is true, some variety in laws, customs, and degrees of progress. But these are not more distinct than may be observed in every large country, whether called by one name or many. The same physical type is marked upon them all; and, speaking in general terms, their manners are uniform.

In one respect they are all similar. The condition of women is extremely low. A curious phenomenon is observable in relation to this subject. The Buddhists of the ultra-Gangetic countries, uninfluenced by the jealous spirit of the Hindu and Mo-

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hammedan codes, allow to the female sex great liberty; yet assign it less respect than it enjoys either in Hindustan or China, to both of which they are inferior in civilization. The freedom thus conceded to women fails to elevate them. They are held in contempt, they are taught to abase themselves in their own minds, and they employ their licence in degrading themselves still further. In few parts of the world is the effect of Asiatic despotism more plainly visible than in the countries lying between Hindustan and China. The peculiar system of government renders every one the king's serf. The men labour for the benefit of their master, having no opportunity to profit themselves by their own industry. Their support, therefore, naturally devolves on the women, who in Cochin China especially, plough, sow, reap, fell wood, build, and perform all the offices which civilization assigns to the abler sex.

The marriage contract is a mere bargain. A man buys his wife from her parents. The first is usually the chief, but he may have as many others as he chooses to purchase. A simple agreement before witnesses seals the union. The band thus easily formed is as easily dissolved. In Cochin China a pair of chopsticks or a porcupine quill is broken in two before a third person, and the divorce is complete. When only one desires a separation it is more difficult, but the law allows a man to sell his inferior wives.

The unmarried women of this region are proverbially and almost universally unchaste. They may prostitute themselves without incurring infamy or losing the chance of marriage. A father may yield his daughter to a visitor whom he desires specially to honour, or he may hire her out for a period to a stranger who may reside for a short time in his neighbourhood. The girl has no power to resist the consummation of this transaction, though she cannot be married without her own consent.

The wife, however, is considered sacred, but rather as the property of her husband than for the sake of virtue. A man's harem cannot be invaded, even by the king himself. This, at least, is the theory of the law; but absolutism never respects the high principles of a code which opposes its desires. Adultery is punished in Siam with a fine, in Cochin China with death. In Birmah, executions are very rare among females. "The sword," they say, "was not made for women." In all parts of the region, however, the bamboo is in requisition to discipline the women; and husbands are sometimes seen to fling their wives down in the open street, lay them on their faces, and flog them with a rattan.

It will thus be seen that, lying between two regions, in each of which a form of civilization has been introduced, the ultra-Gangetic, or Hindu-Chinese nations, differ from them both. Since no unmarried woman is required to be chaste, professional prostitutes do not form so large a class as might be expected. They do exist, however, and in considerable numbers. In Siam a common prostitute is incapable of giving evidence before a country justice, but this is by no means on account of her immorality. It is from other prejudices. The same disability attaches to braziers and blacksmiths*.

Of Prostitution in Egypt.

Egypt, as the seat of a civilization among the most ancient and remarkable that have flourished on the earth, calls for particular attention. The inquiries of the curious have in all ages been directed as well to its people as to its monuments. It has, indeed, been the subject of infinite investigation. Travellers innumerable have explored its beautiful valley; year after year adds to their number, and countless reports have been made to us of the ruins, the antiquities, the resources, the condition, the scenery, and the manners of Egypt. In all, consequently, except statistics, our knowledge is very considerable, though the inexhaustible interest of that celebrated country still leaves an open field for the romantic traveller. The dry hot climate is supposed to influence the character of the people. A remarkable system of politics also modifies the national features, so that we examine our subject, in reference to Egypt, with peculiar curiosity.

The population of Egypt is various, being composed of the four Mohammedan sects, of the Copts, the Greeks, the Armenians, Maronites, and Levantines. The mass, however, is formed of Arabs, while the general plan of manners has originated, in a great measure, from the spirit of the prophets' civil and religious code. Of the system with respect to the female sex this is more especially true; but the history of manners before Mohammed's age is too incomplete for us to know precisely how

* Craufurd's Embassy to Siam; Craufurd's Embassy to Avar; Tomkin's Journals and Letters; Finlayson's Mission; White's Journey; Latham's Natural History of the Varieties of Man.

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much was originated, and how much was adopted by him. Had his scheme opposed itself wholly to the previous habits of the East, it would never have been so universally or so readily accepted. It is one characteristic of Asiatic countries that women exercise less influence on manners than in Europe. The laws made by men would, in fact, isolate them within a sphere of their own; but agencies which are irresistible counteract this effort. The tendency of social legislation is to shut them out from a share in the government of society; but the tendency of nature is in the contrary direction.

The women of Egypt are naturally adapted for the position in which they are placed—unless we suppose that long discipline has subdued them to the level of their condition. They display every attraction for Mohammedans, with few of the characteristics which fascinate an European. In youth many of them are possessed of every charm—the bosom richly developed, the whole form gracefully rounded, the face full of bloom, and the eyes overflowing with brilliance; but all these beauties speedily fade, and nowhere is old age so unsightly. The figure approaches maturity at the ninth or tenth year, and at fifteen or sixteen has reached the perfection of the Oriental ideal. With rare exceptions they have passed the flower of their lives at 24, and in this short-lived loveliness we may find one cause of polygamy and frequent divorce, among a people with whom women are the mere unspiritual ministers to the senses of man. The Mohammedan peoples even his heaven with feminine creations destined for his animal gratification. When, therefore, we find religion itself thus impregnated with a gross element, we can only expect to find the female sex regarded in a degrading point of view. The opinion prevails with some Muslims, that Paradise has no place reserved for women; but this is by no means the universal idea among them.

Though by their tame spirits and submissive humility the women of Egypt appear moulded to suit the system in which they move, their character has not, on the whole, been entirely vitiated by the process. Modesty and virtue are frequent ornaments of the harem, and distinguish the sex throughout the valley. Even among the lower or labouring orders, though the maidens may sometimes be seen bathing in the Nile, or hurrying from hovel to hovel naked, and at all times with a light and scanty garment, a demure and retiring demeanour is general. Chastity is a very prevalent virtue, except in the cities, where a crowded population is immersed in that profligacy surely bred by despotism. With respect to their modesty, travellers appear to have been led astray by their prejudices. Many of them appear to carry among the necessaries for their journey an English measure of propriety, which they invariably apply to all nations with which they come in contact. Thus the remark is commonly made, that women in Egypt hide their faces in obedience to habit, but care not what other part of the person they expose. Consequently, it is inferred they are devoid of modesty. But this by no means follows. Custom, which is one of the most powerful among the laws which regulate society, has taught them that to display the features is disgraceful, but has made no regulation for more than that. Unless, therefore, we accept the doctrine of innate ideas—which meets a refutation in every quarter of the globe—we must not cite the women of Egypt before the tribunal of our own opinions, and condemn them on that charge. On the contrary, we must confess that they are naturally a virtuous race, though the influences of their government are sufficiently injurious. Any, indeed, but an excellent people would long ago have been irredeemably depraved.

There are, in Egypt, only two classes of females—those whose opulence allows them to be wholly indolent, and whose life is entirely dreamed away in the luxury of the harem; and those to whom poverty gives freedom, with the obligation of labour. To see the wife of a bey, to examine her tastes, her conduct, her private pleasures, and daily occupations, you have the beau ideal of a voluptuous woman literally cradled in one long childhood, with all the ease, the indulgence, and the trifling of infancy. Enter the habitation of a fellah or artizan, and the hardship of the man's lot is exceeded by that of his wife. She has to do all that he can do; but if he be personally kind, her situation is morally superior to that of the petted toy nursed on the cushions of the harem. The same weakness, however, is paramount over both. The indolent lady satisfies herself with rich Eastern silks and shawls, and gems of fine water; while the poor drudge of the field adds to her toil, and stints herself in food, to purchase decorations for her person.

The polygamy which is practised in Egypt has, more than in many other countries, tended to the degradation of the female sex. It seems to be encouraged in

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some degree by the rigid separation of the sexes before marriage. A man takes with less scruple a wife whom he has never seen when he knows that if she disappoint him he may take another. The law allows four wives, with an unrestricted number of concubines. The Prophet, his companions, and the most devout of his descendants, so indulged themselves; but the idea is vulgar which supposes that Mohammed introduced the practice. On the contrary, he found it universal, and was the first to put a check upon it. Some of the higher moralists contend, that as four wives are sufficient for one man, so are four concubines; but few of the rich men who can afford to keep more allow themselves to be influenced by this opinion.

The Muslim lawgiver was wiser than the priestly legislators of India; for he insulted nature with less peremptory prohibitions against the union of sects. A Mohammedan may marry a Jewish or a Christian woman, when he feels excessive love for her, or cannot procure a wife of the true faith; but she does not inherit his property or impart her religion to her offspring. The children of a Jewish woman, if they are not educated to the Mohammedan, must embrace the Christian creed, which is considered better than their own. In this we find a privilege reserved by the male sex to itself, for a woman of the Prophet's faith dare not marry an infidel, unless compelled so to do by actual force. This has given rise to many apostasies, which form the subject of numerous romances.

The degrees of consanguinity within which marriage is prohibited are strictly marked. A man may not marry his mother or any other relative in a direct ascending line; his daughter or any descendant; his sister, or half-sister; his aunt, his niece, or his foster-mother. The Hanafee code enacts that a man shall not take as his wife any woman from whose breast he has received a single drop of milk; but E. Shafæee allows it unless he has been suckled by her five times within the course of the first two years. Nature, in this respect, is the principal guardian of the law, for as women in Egypt age very quickly, the men endeavour to obtain more youthful brides. A man may not marry the mother, or daughter of his wife, or his father's or his son's wife; his wives must not be sisters, or his own unemancipated slaves—if he already have a free wife. Those women whom the Muslim is forbidden to marry it is lawful for him to see, but no others except his own wives or female servants.

The marriage engagement is merely a civil transaction. The man and woman having declared in the presence of two witnesses their mutual willingness, and part of the dowry being paid, their union is legal. The bride usually signifies her consent through a deputy. If, however, she be under the age of puberty, her assent is not necessary, and she is in the hands of her friends. A boy may also be thus disposed of; but he may divorce his wife if he be not contented with her. Usually, if rich, he neglects the first, and takes a second by way of solace after his disappointment.

In one feature of its manners, modern Egypt resembles the States of ancient Greece. The character of a bachelor is ridiculous, if not disreputable. As soon as a youth has attained a proper age, with sufficient means, his friends advise him to marry. His mother, or a professional match-maker, is usually left to choose the bride. When a girl has been fixed upon with his approval, some one goes to her father to effect an arrangement. The price is fixed, with the amount of dowry, and the future ceremonials depend on the resources of the two families. Sometimes a profusion of rites is insisted upon; sometimes the simplest agreement is all that is required, for the law exacts nothing but the plain convention we have before described. The giving of a dowry is, however, indispensable. With all who can afford it, also, the sanction of religion and the witness of the law add solemnity to the occasion. The rich choose it as an opportunity to display the pride of wealth, and the poor to indulge in a little show, with that idleness which is so essential to the happiness of most Asiatics.

The condition of wives in Egypt has been much misrepresented by some popular writers, to whom the imprisonment and slavery of women offer a fertile theme for declamation. The word harem, or *harim*, indeed, meaning *sacred* or *prohibited*, applies to the women as well as to the apartments in which they dwell; but considerable liberty is allowed them. Those of the upper classes are secluded, and go veiled in the streets. They are seldom seen on foot in public, and their costume is indicative of this detail in their manners. Though, however, they have a suite of apartments assigned to them, they are not prisoners. A few Turks, jealous to exaggeration, may immure the inmates of the harem, and shut them altogether from contact with the world; but, generally, they are allowed to go out, pay visits, and

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control the household. The theory of the Muslims is more rigid than their practice, which, were it consistent in all its features, would swathe the female sex with convention, as the ancient inhabitants used to swathe their mummies—until the form of humanity is lost amid the very devices which seek to preserve it. To such an extravagant height do some of them carry their ideas of the sanctity of the female sex, that their tombs are closed against strangers, while others will not permit a man and a woman to be buried in the same grave. Generally, however, husbands do not object to their wives mingling with the public throng so as they religiously veil their faces. The lower orders are, of course, the least restrained. Those of the wealthiest and proudest men are most strictly secluded; but the interchange of visits between the harems is constant. With this degree of freedom the Egyptian women are content. Time has trained them to their situation, until a relaxation in their discipline is viewed less as an indulgence than a right. The wife who is allowed too much liberty imagines she is neglected, and, if others are more narrowly watched, is jealous of the superior solicitude bestowed on them. Among the rich the harem supplies all the delights of life. Rose-water, perfumes, sherbet, coffee, and sweatmeats, constitute the supreme joys of existence, with precious silks, muslins, and jewels. Among the poor, though reduced to beasts of burden, their buoyant hearts are not depressed under the load, and they sing from infancy to old age. Nevertheless their lives are full of misery, but it is the misery of a class, not only of one sex.

The Muslim woman is *proud* of her husband, and *fond* of her children. Exceptions undoubtedly occur, in which the warmth of the Oriental temperament takes the form of refined and spiritual love; but these are rare. In their offspring they find the chief resource of their lives. They may become mothers at twelve years of age, and at fifteen commonly do so. They give proof of astonishing fecundity, bearing numbers of children, though ceasing at an earlier period than among Europeans. That is the critical occasion of their lives, but they who pass it safely often survive to an extreme old age. The manners of the country render it necessary that midwives only should attend at the accouchement, which is usually easy. When a physician is called in, he must feel his patient's pulse through the sleeve of her garment, while her face is almost invariably wrapped in a veil. The utmost kindness, even in the indulgence of their most trifling whims, is shown to pregnant women. The absence of that sentiment which, according to English notions, should attach a wife to her husband, is made up by the stronger bond which binds a mother to her child. Upon this all the wealth of her affection is bestowed, and in that precious charge all her soul is centred. This feeling—the most pure and true of any that grow in the human breast—stands to the woman of Egypt in place of every other. A proverbial saying expresses the national philosophy upon this subject: "A husband is a husband; if one is lost another is to be got; but who can give me back my child?" To be childless is regarded as a signal misfortune, and with those who happen to be barren many devices are employed to remove the curse. Among these, one of the most curious is—to wash the skin with the blood of an executed criminal. Her fecundity, with her parental care, might be expected to prove itself by a flourishing population; but the blind rapacity and profligate contempt of human life exhibited by the tyrants who, in succession, have ruled Egypt, have been more than enough to neutralise the liberality of nature.

The Mohammedan is essentially an Epicurean. In him the object of nature appears perverted. Instead of the animal being made subservient to the intellectual man, the mind is devoted to gratifying the sense. His life is divided between praying, bathing, smoking, lounging, drinking coffee, and the gratification of the various appetites. Voluptuary as he is, therefore, the opulent Egyptian does not rest content with the four wives allowed him by the law. He takes as many concubines as he can afford. They are all slaves, and are absolutely at the disposal of their master, who may handle, whip, or punish them otherwise as he pleases, and incurs very slight danger by killing one of them. The same regulations as to blood affinity apply to them as to free women. A man when he takes a female slave must wait three months before he can make her his concubine. If she bear him a child which he acknowledges to be his own, it is free. Otherwise it is the inheritor of its mother's bonds. She herself cannot afterwards be sold or given away, but is entitled to emancipation on the death of her lord. He is not, however, obliged to free her at once, though, if he have not already four wives, it is considered honourable to do so. A wife sometimes brings to the establishment

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a few handmaidens. Over these she has control, and need not, unless she pleases, allow them to appear unveiled in their master's presence; but occasionally we find a wife presenting her husband with a beautiful slave damsel, as Sarah presented her bondwoman Hagar to Abraham. Rich men often purchase handsome white girls. Those of the humbler class are usually brown Abyssinians, for the blacks are generally employed in menial offices. Neither the concubine nor the wife is permitted to eat with the lord of the house. On the contrary, they are required to wait on him, and frequently, but not always, to serve as domestics. In consequence of this system, a great gulf lies between man and wife. His presence is viewed as a restraint in the harem, which, from all we can learn, is mostly lively and loquacious. Nor is this surprising, when we consider that the harems of aged men are so frequently filled with young girls in the fresh bloom of life, who can never learn to be fond of their husbands. The Egyptian proverb in reference to this is peculiarly apt. It describes an ugly old Turk with some beautiful youthful wives as "A paradise in which hogs feed." Ibrahim Pasha introduced into his private apartments the amusement of billiards, which at once became a favourite recreation.

Though polygamy is not only licensed but esteemed, and concubinage unlimited, few Egyptians have more than one wife, or one female slave. Not more, indeed, than one in twenty, it is said, indulge in this kind of pluralism, and it is probable that concubinage might be almost altogether abolished by the suppression of the slave trade. At present the markets are continually supplied with girls kidnapped in various countries, and these are sometimes stripped and exposed naked to the purchaser's inspection.

Satisfied as he generally is with one wife, the Egyptian Mohammedan is not by any means remarkable for continence. He may content himself with a single woman, but he may change her as often as he pleases, a privilege which is continually abused. The facility of divorce has had a most demoralising effect upon Egyptian manners.

A man may twice put away his wife and take her back without ceremony. If, however, he divorces her a third time, or deliberately unites in one act the effect of three, he cannot take her again until she has been married and divorced by another husband. The manner of divorce is sufficiently simple. The husband says, "I divorce thee," and returns his wife about one-third of the dowry, with the effects which she brought at her marriage. He may do this through sheer caprice, without assigning or proving any reason; but when a woman desires to put away her husband, she must show herself to have suffered serious ill-treatment or neglect, lose the share of her dowry, and often go into a court of justice to prove her claim. With the man this is never required, as is indicated by the common proverb: "If my husband consents, why should the Kadi's consent be necessary?"

A widow must wait three months, and a divorced woman three months and ten days, or, if pregnant, until delivery, before marrying again. The latter, in this case, must also wait an additional forty days before she can receive her new husband. Meanwhile her former proprietor must support her, either in his own house or in that of her parents. If he divorce her before the actual consummation of the marriage, he must provide for her more liberally. In case, however, of a wife being rebellious, and refusing to recognise the lawful authority of her husband, he may prove her to have offended, before a Kadi, and procure a certificate exempting him from the obligation to clothe, lodge, or maintain her. Thus she is desolate and without resource, for she dare not go to another home; but if she formally promise to be obedient in future, her husband must support or divorce her. When a wife desires to be freed from any man's restraint and is unable to dissolve the union altogether, she may make a complaint and obtain a licence to go to her father's house. In that case he, through sheer spite, generally persists in refusing to divorce her. Sometimes a man with a disagreeable mother-in-law quartered upon him, puts away his wife in order to be rid of both.

The slightness of the marriage tie, and the ease with which it may be severed, leads, as we have said, to a profligate abuse of the power thus assumed by the male sex. Numbers of men have, in the course of their lives, 10, 20, 30, or even 40 wives. Women, also, have as many as a dozen partners in succession. Some profligates have been known to marry a woman almost every month. A man without property may pick up a handsome young widow, or divorced woman, for about 10*s.*, which he pays as dowry. He lives with her a few days or weeks, and then divorces her with the payment of about 20*s.*, to support her in the interval during which she is prohi-

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bited from marrying again. Such conduct, however, is regarded as disreputable, so that few respectable families will trust a girl with any man who has put away many wives. The crime of adultery is laid down by the law as worthy of severe punishment. Four eye-witnesses, however, are necessary to prove the fact, and the woman may then be stoned to death. From the secluded nature of their lives, and from the nature of the offence itself, it is rarely that such testimony is to be had. Cases, therefore, scarcely ever occur before the public courts. Heavy and ignominious penalties are denounced against witnesses who make these charges and fail in the proof. Unmarried persons convicted of fornication may be punished by the infliction of one hundred stripes, and, under the law acknowledged by the Sumrh sect, may be banished for a whole year.

Egypt has in all times been famous for its public dancing girls, who were all prostitutes. The superior classes of them formed a separate tribe or collection of tribes, known as the Ghawazee. A female of this community is called Ghazeeyeh, and a man Ghazee. The common dancing girls of the country are often erroneously confounded with the Almeh—Awalim in the singular—who are properly female singers; though, whatever some authoritative writers may assert, they certainly practise dancing, as well as prostitution, especially since the exile of the Ghawazee. They perform at private entertainments, and are sometimes munificently rewarded. The Ghawazee, on the other hand, were accustomed to put aside their veils and display their licentious movements in public, before the lowest audience. The evolutions with which they were accustomed to amuse their patrons were commonly the reverse of elegant. Commencing with decency enough, they soon degenerated into obscenity, the women contorting their bodies into the most libidinous postures. The dress was graceful, but exposed a large portion of the bosom, and was frequently half thrown aside. The Ghawazee sometimes performed in the court of a house or in the open street; but were not admitted into the harems of respectable families. A party of men often met in a house, and sent for the dancers to amuse them. Their performances, on such occasions, were more than usually licentious, and their dresses less decent. A chemise of transparent texture, which scarcely hid the skin, and a pair of full trousers, was frequently all that covered them. Drinking copious draughts of brandy or some other intoxicating liquor, they soon laid aside even the affectation of modesty, and scenes took place like those with which the priests defiled the temples of India. Many of the women who thus degrade themselves are exceedingly beautiful. As a class, indeed, they are described as the handsomest in Egypt. They are distinguished, by the peculiar caste of their countenances, from all other females in the country, and there can be little doubt that they spring from a distinct race. They boast themselves of the Barmecide descent, but this is impossible to be proved. It has been conjectured that they are the lineal, as well as the professional descendants of those licentious dancers who exhibited naked—as these sometimes do—before the Egyptians in the age of the Pharaohs. Some imagine that the dancers of Gade, or Cadiz, ridiculed by Juvenal, were the prototypes of the modern Ghawazee; but it has been supposed, with more reason, that the Phœnicians introduced the practice thither from the East, where profligacy flourished at the earliest period.

It has been the pride of the Ghawazee tribes to preserve themselves distinct from all other classes of the population, to intermarry, and thus to perpetuate their blood unmingled. A few have repented their mode of life, and married respectable Arabs; but this has not often occurred. They never among themselves took a husband until they had entered on a course of prostitution. To this venal calling they were all trained from childhood, though all were not taught to dance. In this community of harlots, it is singular to find that the husband was inferior to the wife; indeed he was subject to her, performing the double office of servant and procurer. If she was a dancer he was generally her musician, and sat by quietly tinkling upon a stringed instrument, while she, his wife, exposed her person in the most indecent attitudes, and by every voluptuous artifice endeavoured to seduce the spectator. Profligacy never assumed a more infamous form than that of the husband assisting at the daily adultery of his wife. Some of the men earned a livelihood as blacksmiths or tinkers. Many of them, however, were rich, and the women, especially, were possessed of costly dresses and ornaments.

The Ghawazee generally followed the kind of life led by our gipsies, whom some, indeed, have traced to an Egyptian origin. Many, but not all, of the wanderers of this nation in the Valley of the Nile, ascribe

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to themselves a descent from a branch of the same family from which the Ghawazee claim to have sprung; but both traditions rest on doubtful testimony. The ordinary language of the Ghawazee is similar to that in use among the rest of the Egyptian population; but like all other unsettled, wandering tribes, they have a peculiar dialect, a species of slang, only intelligible to themselves. Most of them profess the Mohammedan faith, and they were accustomed to follow in crowds the pilgrim caravans to the sacred shrine at Mecca.

Every considerable town in Egypt formerly harboured a large body of the Ghawazee, who occupied a distinct quarter, allotted entirely to prostitutes and their companions. Low huts, temporary sheds, or tents, formed their usual habitations, since they were in the habit of frequently transplanting themselves from one district to another. Others, however, occupied and furnished handsome houses, trading also in camels, asses, and grain; possessing numerous female slaves, upon whose prostitution they also realized much profit. They crowded the camps and attended the great religious festivals, and on these occasions the Ghawazee tents were always conspicuous. Some joined the accomplishment of singing with that of the dance.

The inferior Ghawazee women resembled in their attire the common prostitutes of other classes, which also swarmed in Egypt. Many of these also, who were not Ghawazees, took the name, in order to increase the gains of their calling.

The system of marriage, to which we have slightly alluded, is worthy of more particular notice. The man who married a Ghazeeyeh was a low and despised creature. The saying is proverbial in Egypt, that "the husband of a harlot is a base wretch by his own testimony." The law among the Ghawazee was, that a girl as soon as marriageable must prostitute herself to a stranger and then take a husband. He is constantly employed in looking for persons to bring to her, himself cohabiting with her only by stealth, for she would be exposed to shame and made the object of ridicule were it known that she had admitted her own husband to her embraces. Polygamy is unknown among the Ghawazee. In that community, indeed, as it existed previously to the edict of 1835, we find a system exactly the reverse of that in the midst of which it existed. The birth of a male child was looked upon as a misfortune, since he was of no value to the tribe. Women, on the contrary, were precious, because they were sought after by nearly the whole male population of Egypt. The Ghazeeyeh made it a rule never to refuse the offer of a person who could pay anything. The fashionable dancer, therefore, at country fairs, though glittering with golden ornaments, and arrayed in all the beauties of the eastern loom, would admit the visit of any rough and ragged peasant for a sum not exceeding twopence. In this manner, by seizing whatever was offered to them, they often accumulated wealth, dressed in superb attire, rich embroidery of gold, with chains of golden coins, and solid bracelets of the same costly metal. In many instances, when the Ghazeeyeh had lost or divorced her former husband, and become opulent upon the profits of her venal calling, she married some village Sheikh, who was proud of his acquisition. A virgin Ghazeeyeh was never induced to forsake her hereditary profession; but when she formed such an alliance, she made a solemn vow on the tomb of some saint, to be true to her new partner, sacrificed a sheep, and was generally faithful to her sacred engagement.

It was not only in the more populous cities and districts of Lower Egypt that the Ghawazee pursued their double calling of dancer and prostitute. Those in the Upper country were equally addicted to that immoral calling, and were, in proportion, equally encouraged. Even in the small villages a company of them was usually to be found, glittering in finery of gaudy colours, unveiled, and clothed only in those light transparent garments in which the members of the same sisterhood are represented on the monuments—a loose chemise of gauze, a scarf negligently hung about the loins, and loose trousers of the most delicate texture. Their dances were exhibitions of unrestrained indecency,—attitude, look, and movement being equally lascivious. They also sang and played on the viol, lute, tambour, lyre, or castanet. The common prostitutes of the meaner class excelled them, at least in the affectation of modesty. Many of the Ghawazee, however, appear sensible of the degradation to which they are consigned.

The dance of the Ghawazee was, to the Egyptians, what an opera ballet is in England—the representation of some episode, generally of love. Formerly there was, near Cairo, a little village called Shaarah, the Eleusis of modern Egypt, where the mystical rites of Athor were, until recently, celebrated. It was a collection of small mud huts, distinguished from those of the common people by superior cleanliness and comfort. Numbers of the Ghawa-

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zee dwelt here, and when Mr. J. A. St. John visited their abode, came out to meet him, dressed in elegant attire, with a profusion of ornaments. All were young —none were more than twenty, many not more than ten years of age. Some were exceedingly handsome, while others, to an European judge, appeared quite the reverse. In this village lived a considerable number of the Ghawazee. The greater part of their lives was passed in the coffee-house, where they lounged all day on cushions, sipping coffee, singing, and indulging in licentious conversation. In the great room a hundred might assemble, and here they were visited by the profligates of Cairo, to whom the village of Shaarah was a regular place of resort. In the towns they frequented the common coffee-houses, and in the smaller hamlets up the valley, they wandered all day among the dwellings, or reclined on benches in the open air until a boat with travellers appeared on the Nile, when they immediately hurried down to the shore and commenced their lascivious songs. The Arabs have the reputation of being extremely profligate, and when on their journeys never visited a city or village without paying a visit to the Ghawazee quarter. Indeed, the manners of the population have been debased under every vicious influence. A despotic government, an epicurean religion, and the spirit of indolence thus engendered, have encouraged among the men every species of crime against nature. The corruption which brought a curse on the Cities of the Plain is emulated in the cities of Egypt.

When Burckhardt wrote, about 1830, the number of males and females of the Ghawazee nation in Egypt was estimated at from 6000 to 8000. Their principal settlements were in the towns of the Delta in Lower Egypt, and, in the upper country, at Kenneh, where a colony of at least 300 generally resided. The scattered companies generally formed a great concourse at Tanta, in the Delta, at the three annual festivals, when a vast multitude was collected from all parts of the valley. Six hundred Ghawazee have on such occasions pitched their tents near the town. During the reign of the Memlooks, the influence of these women was, in the open country, very considerable. Many respectable persons courted their favour. They were accustomed to dwell in the towns until the brutality of the soldiers—who sometimes killed one in a fit of jealousy—drove them into the rural parts. At each of their chief places of sojourn one was invested with the title of Emir, or chief of the settlement. She was entitled to no authority over the rest, yet exercised much influence by virtue of her dignity. In Cairo itself their number was small, and they inhabited a spacious Khan, or hotel, overlooked by the castle. "In a city," says Burckhardt, "where among women of every rank chastity is so rare as at Cairo, it could not be expected that public prostitution should thrive." This is a harsh judgment on the character of the Caireen females, and, according to the accounts of most travellers, it is unjust.

Before Mohammed Ali, instigated by the priests, made his awkward crusade against the Ghawazee tribes, the public prostitutes were put under the jurisdiction of a magistrate—an aga, or captain of the dancing girls. He kept a list of them, and exacted from each a sum of money by way of tax. He also acted as a censor on the general morality of the people. One of these agas took upon himself an extension of his jurisdiction, and whenever he found a woman, no matter of what class, who had been guilty of a single act of incontinence, he added her name to the list of common prostitutes, and extorted the tax from her, unless she could offer him a sufficient bribe, and thus escape the infamy. Nor was this all. To gratify private revenge, he sometimes inserted in his list the names of respectable ladies; but was at length detected and punished with death. Whenever a party of Ghawazee was engaged, they had to pay to their chief a sum of money and procure his permission to dance. This practice was pursued by persons who farmed the tax, until Mohammed Ali was smitten by a sudden reverence for morals, and made an attempt, characteristic of his vulgar genius, to abolish the profligacy of Egypt. In June, 1834, a law was published compelling the Ghawazee throughout the country to retire from their profession. It is said that the Moolahs, or Muslim bishops, objected to them, not on account of the impurities they practised, but because it was a scandal that women belonging to the race of true believers should expose their faces to infidels for hire. An agitation was raised on the subject; a storm of sacerdotal rage assailed the palace; and the viceroy, priest-ridden, banished all the dancers to Esneh, 500 miles up the Nile. There they were herded together, with a small stipend from government to keep them from starvation. The effect of this truly barbarian device was just what might have been expected. The profligacy, which had been chiefly confined to them, broke out in other classes, and

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demoralization advanced several steps further. It is said that the Moolahs repent their policy, since some additional burdens have been laid on them to make up for the loss of revenue.

Under the old system, when all the known prostitutes paid a tax, the amount contributed by those of Cairo alone was 800 purses, or 4000*l*., which was a tenth of the income-tax on the whole population. This will suggest an idea of the numbers in which they existed. The Ghawazee formed the chief element in this system of prostitution, and Mohammed Ali imagined that with one stroke of the pen he could obliterate this blot on the social aspect of Egypt—he who had so worn himself out with licentious pleasures that his physicians had to persuade him to disband an army of concubines which he had kept at the expense of his miserable people. At once prostitution was denounced as a crime. The Ghazeeyeh daring to infringe the new law was condemned to fifty stripes for the first, and imprisonment with severe labour for the second, offence. The punishments of these and of all other women were illegal, according to the code of the Prophet. It has, however, been a blessing to the Mohammedan population of the East that their great lawgiver left his frame of legislation, for, invested with the authority of religion, it has been some check on the caprice of tyrants.

The men, also, who were detected encouraging the Ghawazee were made liable to the punishment of the bastinado. Legal enactments, however, cannot purify the morals of a whole community. Prostitution was abolished by law, but remained in practice as flagrant as ever. The Egyptians borrowed a device from the Persians. When a man desires to have intercourse with a woman of the prostitute class, he marries her in the evening and divorces her in the morning. The dowry he pays her is no more than she would receive were this transaction not to take place. She dare not apply for the usual stipend to maintain her afterwards. Even these connections are often kept entirely secret. The dancing has been more successfully suppressed, for many of the performances were public; but the Europeans, as well as the rich natives, frequently indulge by stealth in the prohibited amusement.

The Almehs, at least since the banishment of the Ghawazee, dance, and prostitute themselves, as well as sing—though their name implies neither practice, meaning simply "learned or accomplished women." When an entertainment of the kind is given, it is usual to choose for the scene a lonely house in the outskirts of the city, surrounded by a garden with a high wall. There, with the windows veiled, parties meet, and the dancers are introduced. Women with children at the breast come sometimes to take part in these abominable orgies; but do not usually, unless excited by the men, develop all their powers of licentious expression. Occasionally a party of soldiers breaks in on the forbidden revel, and the girls are carried off to prison, where stripes, or, perhaps, sentences of banishment, await them.

There are, however, in Egypt considerable classes of women solely devoted to prostitution, who practise none of the accomplishments in which the Almeh and Ghawazee excel. Among them is a peculiar tribe called the Halekye, whose husbands are tinkers or horse and ass doctors. They wander about the country like gipsies, and most of the women engage in prostitution. Prostitutes of the common order swarm in all the cities and towns of the valley. In and about Cairo they are particularly numerous, whole quarters being inhabited exclusively by them. Legislation is powerless to suppress their calling. Their dress differs from that of the other sorts of women only in being more gay and less disguising. Some even wear the veil and affect all the airs of modesty. Many are divorced women, or widows, or wives of men whose business has obliged them to go abroad. The wives of many of the Arabs, if neglected for a short time, slide easily into prostitution. When Ibrahim Pasha was away on the expedition to Syria, it was said that on his return the soldiers would find all their wives courtezans; but this, of course, was a satire.

Numbers of the common prostitutes in Cairo have been accustomed to sell pigeons and other birds in the different bazaars. Hence has arisen a proverb, that a person who marries in the bird-market must divorce his wife next morning. We find in these popular sayings many indications of the features which mark the system in Egypt. We have some in allusion to the shouts and disorderly conduct of persons issuing from the brothels in the morning, and others describing the career of the prostitutes themselves. "The public woman who is liberal of her favours does not wish for a procuress." "If a harlot repent she becomes a procuress."

One reason assigned for the practice of early marriages is, the proneness of the young men to be seduced by prostitutes. It is only just, however, to observe, that in

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TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE AMOUNT OF FEMALE AND MALE CRIMINALITY IN THE SEVERAL COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

† denotes above the average, * below it.

Counties.	Average Female Population, 1841–50.	Number of Female Criminals in each year. 1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	Total Female Criminals in Ten Years.	Average No. of Female Criminals per year, 1841–50.	Average No. of Male Criminals[a] per year, 1841–50.	No. of Female Criminals in every 100,000 of Female Population.	No. of Male Criminals in every 100,000 of Male Population.	Percentage above and below the Average of Female Criminals.	Percentage above and below the Average of Male Criminals.	No. of Female Criminals to every 100 Male Criminals.	Percentage above and below the Average of Female to Male Criminals.
Bedford	62,711	11	36	22	20	15	20	21	22	17	19	203	20·3	166	32	284	*48·4	† 4·4	11	*52·2
Berks	97,708	45	55	43	44	42	37	55	43	52	39	455	45·5	268	47	276	*24·2	† 1·5	17	*26·1
Bucks	71,732	20	23	31	17	25	21	22	21	27	16	223	22·3	266	31	384	*50·0	†41·2	8	*65·2
Cambridge	90,985	29	28	33	42	34	20	44	32	34	44	340	34·0	232	37	258	*40·3	* 5·2	14	*39·1
Chester	202,190	195	171	170	147	139	183	197	209	169	184	1764	176·4	722	87	373	†40·3	†37·1	23	* —
Cornwall	181,137	61	67	75	56	62	67	78	68	69	46	649	64·9	217	35	128	*43·6	*52·9	27	†17·4
Cumberland	95,563	39	39	38	40	37	36	37	34	36	43	379	37·9	95	40	104	*35·5	*61·8	38	†65·2
Derby	126,025	21	26	34	33	28	47	24	25	27	25	290	29·0	235	23	189	*62·9	*30·5	12	*47·8
Devon	291,683	171	194	177	151	184	184	206	226	224	193	1910	191·0	596	31	227	*50·0	*16·5	14	*39·1
Dorset	89,738	46	34	42	41	33	35	51	53	61	38	434	43·4	210	48	253	*22·6	* 7·0	19	*17·4
Durham	184,931	46	57	58	65	40	55	61	72	45	82	581	58·1	232	31	126	*50·0	*53·7	25	† 8·7
Essex	166,108	82	85	99	89	75	89	65	75	64	64	787	78·7	559	48	336	*22·6	†23·5	14	*39·1
Gloucester	214,544	193	221	224	198	178	190	204	188	188	148	1932	193·2	875	90	453	†45·2	†66·6	20	*13·0
Hereford	48,828	64	49	45	38	39	34	52	52	44	45	462	46·2	187	94	382	†51·6	†40·4	24	† 4·4
Hertford	84,914	35	34	24	27	30	21	28	30	29	23	281	28·1	267	33	321	*46·8	†18·0	10	*56·5
Hunts	29,181	7	8	10	15	19	14	12	18	15	10	128	12·8	69	45	240	*27·4	*11·8	19	*17·4
Kent	294,029	161	183	147	156	151	161	171	182	200	167	1679	167·9	792	57	272	* 8·1	* —	21	* 8·7
Lancaster	963,338	927	947	847	689	698	826	882	902	819	950	8487	848·7	2635	88	287	†41·9	† 5·5	31	†34·8
Leicester	115,991	56	69	55	56	30	61	49	37	38	41	492	49·2	342	42	306	*32·3	†12·5	14	*39·1
Lincoln	188,477	74	100	86	92	71	78	106	87	91	72	857	85·7	398	46	210	*25·8	*22·8	22	* 4·4
Middlesex	926,007	869	989	980	948	1102	1118	1176	1223	945	882	10232	1023·2	3244	110	398	†77·4	†46·3	28	†21·7
Monmouth	78,528	63	51	53	77	41	46	67	64	78	97	637	63·7	232	81	271	†30·6	* 0·4	30	†30·4
Norfolk	216,652	112	127	117	127	101	120	143	78	100	89	1114	111·4	607	51	299	*17·7	† 9·9	17	*26·1
Northampton	103,642	45	38	25	34	47	41	32	38	24	38	362	36·2	259	35	252	*43·6	* 7·4	14	*39·1
Northumb.	145,749	54	52	66	77	46	43	50	44	64	83	579	57·9	177	40	127	*35·5	*53·3	31	†34·8
Nottingham	144,171	38	49	43	51	42	45	64	33	37	34	436	43·6	289	31	209	*50·0	*23·2	15	*34·8
Oxford	82,461	46	48	52	37	44	43	41	35	34	31	411	41·1	256	50	307	*19·4	†12·9	16	*30·4
Rutland	11,774	6	4	7	3	3	4	7	10	4	2	50	5·0	28	42	235	*32·3	*13·6	18	*21·7
Salop	122,035	80	75	89	84	73	48	62	65	61	59	696	69·6	293	57	242	* 8·1	*11·0	24	† 4·4
Somerset	236,337	172	166	136	160	143	150	141	145	159	134	1506	150·6	751	64	347	† 3·2	†27·6	18	*21·7
Southampton	190,379	102	127	124	93	115	94	137	115	120	120	1147	114·7	555	60	297	* 3·2	† 9·2	20	*13·0
Stafford	285,566	179	190	197	175	161	188	221	176	189	193	1869	186·9	851	65	289	† 4·8	† 6·2	22	* 4·4
Suffolk	165,775	77	80	68	92	66	77	82	57	76	74	749	74·9	436	45	273	*27·4	† 0·4	16	*30·4
Surrey	332,838	212	236	177	194	215	200	316	278	275	237	2340	234·0	806	70	266	†12·9	* 2·2	26	†13·0
Sussex	163,028	61	81	83	69	86	93	83	92	101	83	832	83·2	409	52	259	*16·1	* 4·8	20	*13·0
Warwick	226,989	168	157	177	119	144	163	179	199	142	162	1610	161·0	799	71	367	†14·5	†34·9	19	*17·4
Westmorland	28,814	9	9	10	6	7	8	4	6	9	8	76	7·6	39	28	136	*54·9	*50·0	21	* 8·7
Wilts	122,359	65	57	65	57	52	60	86	59	78	47	626	62·6	394	51	330	*17·7	†21·3	15	*34·8
Worcester	124,766	75	102	104	87	121	105	128	116	112	109	1059	105·9	506	85	422	†37·1	†55·1	20	*13·0
York	850,625	331	380	375	323	290	294	351	344	347	321	3356	335·6	1587	40	190	*35·5	*30·1	21	* 8·7
North Wales	200,096	60	56	48	45	49	47	68	65	63	62	563	56·3	233	28	119	*54·9	*56·3	13	*43·5
South Wales	288,612	93	79	84	117	84	91	127	145	134	151	1105	110·5	368	38	132	*38·7	*51·5	29	†26·1
Total for England & Wales	8,648,371	5200	5569	5340	4993	4962	5257	5930	5763	5401	5265	53680	5368·0	22474	62	272			23	

[a] The average number of Male Criminals has been arrived at in the same manner as that for Female Criminals, but the table itself is reserved for another place.

LIST OF COUNTIES, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CRIMINALITY AMONGST FEMALES, AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER OF FEMALE CRIMINALS IN EVERY 100,000 OF THE FEMALE POPULATION.

Counties above the Average.		*Counties below the Average.*	
Middlesex	110	Southamp.	60
Hereford	94	Kent	57
Gloucester	90	Salop	57
Lancaster	88	Sussex	52
Chester	87	Norfolk	51
Worcester	85	Wilts	51
Monmouth	81	Oxford	50
Warwick	71	Essex	48
Surrey	70	Dorset	48
Stafford	65	Berks	47
Somerset	64	Lincoln	46
		Suffolk	45
		Hunts	45
		Leicester	42
		Rutland	42
		York	40
		Northumb.	40
		Cumberland	40
		S. Wales	38
		Cambridge	37
		Cornwall	35
		Northamp.	35
		Hertford	33
		Bedford	32
		Devon	31
		Durham	31
		Nottingham	31
		Bucks	31
		N. Wales	28
		Westmor.	28
		Derby	23

Average for England and Wales 62

Map No. XV.

MAP
SHOWING
THE CRIMINALITY OF FEMALES
IN EVERY 100,000 OF THE FEMALE POPULATION,
IN EACH COUNTY OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.

The Average for all England and Wales is 62 *in every* 100,000 *of the Female Population.*

,,	,,	*Middlesex (the highest)*	110	,,	,,
,,	,,	*Derby (the lowest)*	23	,,	,,

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CHINESE WOMAN (PROSTITUTE),

ACCUSED OF DISORDERLY CONDUCT BEFORE A JUDGE.

(*From* ALEXANDER'S *Illustrations of China*.)

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Alexandria, though it is considered the *refugium peccatorum* of the Mediterranean, the European community has preserved itself to an unusual degree uncontaminated by the general corruption of the male population.

The women of Egypt, as we have already observed, are, in point of morals, far superior to the men. They are generally silly and childish, because they are treated as soulless creatures and children; but, on the whole, their character is not so degraded by unnatural vices as that of their male rulers. These generally are coarse voluptuaries, in whom little except the animal appetite is developed.

We perceive in Egypt the illustration of some signal truths. We find there the proper fruits of Oriental despotism; we see the results of a vulgar barbarian attempt to reform public morals. We witness also the influence of its position upon the character of the female sex. Women in Egypt have been made by their social laws what the originator of those laws considered them to be—the mere servitors of man. In the prostitute system of the country we discover some singular features, which contribute to render modern Egypt, in relation to our actual subject, one of the most interesting regions in the East. The Christian population we do not notice, because it is composed of fragments of races which will be noticed in their proper countries *.

Of Prostitution among the States of Northern Africa.

A very brief notice is all that is required by the other States of northern Africa. They are distinguished from the barbarous communities of that region by having assumed the forms of regular society, which places them under a separate head, but, in relation to our subject, they present little that is characteristic. In describing the condition and morality of the female sex in other Mohammedan countries we shall meet with nearly all the features offered by Algiers, Barca, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli. Nevertheless, on account of the extraordinary mixture of the population, some curious details are observed. Turks, Christians, Arabs, Jews, Berbers, and Moors mingle in the cities of those States. The last, however, form the mass, and it is to them our remarks must apply.

The Moors of northern Africa possess all the vices, and scarcely any of the virtues, of the Mohammedans of the East. They are proud, ignorant, sensual, and depraved, without any of that high spirit of honour which often, in the oriental Muslim, half redeems his character.

The treatment of women among the Moors answers exactly to this view. They are regarded as the mere material instruments of man's gratification. Accordingly their whole education is modelled so as to render them fit to serve the lust of a gross sensualist. Among the more elevated nations of Asia, men sometimes tire of their wives' company, because they are simple beauties, without animation of mind, seeking the society of educated courtezans, more for their wit and vivacity than for their meaner and more material accomplishments. But, with the Moors, the animal appetite is all that they seek to satisfy. A woman with daughters does not train them in seductive arts; she *feeds* them into a seductive appearance — as pigeons and doves are fed in certain parts of Italy. They are made to swallow daily a number of balls of paste, dipped in oil, and the rod enforces their compliance. This practice is adopted as well by the inmate of the rich man's harem as by the courtezan; for to be plump, sleek, and fair, are the objects of their common ambition. A girl who is a camel's load is the perfection of Moorish beauty. Thus intellect and sentiment are not the possessions to recommend her, but fat.

It is strange that the woman's character does not correspond altogether with her mode of life. Heavy, corpulent, and sensual, she is, nevertheless, alive to the keenest feeling. Hot impulses, untameable in their outbreak, characterize her sex. Rivarol once said, that in Paris the veins of the women were full of milk; but in Berlin, of pure blood. Pananti says that in the Moorish woman fire is the circulating fluid. Fiery hearts, indeed, are general among the women of the East; and are as remarkable in Egypt as in Morocco, where Oriental passions seem to spring from African soil.

Immured as the wives of rich men are

* Lane's Modern Egyptians; Poole's Englishwoman in Egypt; Yates's Egypt; St. John's Egypt and Mohammed Ali; St. John's Egypt and Nubia; St. John's Oriental Album; Cadalvene and Breuvery, l'Égypte; Mugin's Histoire de l'Égypte; Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs; Expédition Française à l'Égypte; Niebuhr's Travels in Egypt, &c.; Thackeray's From Cornhill to Cairo; Warburton's Crescent and the Cross; Bayle St. John's Levantine Family; Henniker's Travels; Minutoli's Recollections of Egypt; Boaz's Modern Egypt; Clot Bey's Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte; Pueckler Muskau's Egypt and Mehemet Ali.

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in splendid harems, and rigidly excluded from intercourse with the other sex, they seek their whole enjoyment in the gratification of their passions or their senses. Their time is spent at home, or at the bath, lounging on cushions, sipping coffee, smoking, gossiping, or multiplying the devices of the toilette.

The Moors are extravagantly jealous. Some have been known to slay their women before proceeding on a long journey; others have forbidden them to name even an animal of the masculine gender. They are, therefore, entirely shut up within the walls of the harem; muffled under mountains of ungraceful black drapery as they move along the streets; or secluded from the sight of the world in the impenetrable recesses of the bath. There they exhaust all the ingenuity they can command in the perfuming and decoration of their persons.

Many have wondered why women thus prevented from displaying themselves should be so untiring in the offices of vanity. The reason, however, is clear. In the Moorish harem all that a wife or concubine has to look to is the favour of her lord. If she succeed in charming him, her lot is far more happy than under any other circumstances. Besides, it is not only to please him that she labours. The mortification of her rivals is an additional source of triumph, for in the narrow sphere of the harem, where the nobler qualities of the mind have no room for development, the meanest naturally flourish most profusely.

The marriage laws of Mohammedan countries in general prevail in the Barbary States, with slight modifications. The husband has more absolute control over the wife. Few take more than one, though polygamy is universally allowed. Opulent men, however, sometimes indulge in the full complement of four, besides a number of concubines. Though the betrothal usually takes place at an extremely early age, the actual union seldom takes place until the bride is twelve or thirteen, when, as a poet of Barbary expresses it, "The rose-bud expands to imbibe the vivifying rays of love."

An extensive system of professional prostitution prevails in all the cities of these States. In Algiers and Morocco they are particularly numerous. The low drinking shops are crowded with men, and the loose characters of the town have each a companion who is a harlot. The public dancers all belong to this sisterhood. They exist in large numbers and are very much encouraged by both sexes. The women in the baths, after steeping their bodies in warm water until every nerve is relaxed, and all their limbs are softened into a voluptuous languor, lie on cushions and sip coffee, while dancers, attired in a slight costume, display their licentious arts, and Almeh sing songs equally lascivious. These prostitutes are of various classes, from the low vulgar wretches, encouraged by the French soldiers in Algiers, to the wealthy courtezans who live amid luxury and splendour.

A late traveller was introduced by a friend to "a Moorish lady." She occupied a fine house, situated, however, in a narrow and retired street. Its architecture was rich, and on the door being opened, signs of wealth became everywhere apparent. The visitor was ushered into a spacious apartment, roofed with graceful arches, and hung with rich-coloured silks. A lamp burning amid piles of freshly-gathered flowers, stood on the table. Reclining on a luxurious divan, with a tiger-skin spread at her feet, was a woman of extreme loveliness, attired in a superb costume. Though of a fair and brilliant complexion, her hair was jet black, braided with curious art and bound up with strings of pearl. Its heavy tresses were partly concealed by a tiara of crimson, figured with gold. Diamond drops hung from her ears; corals and gems sparkled round her neck.

A garment, of a fabric almost transparent, was folded over her bosom, and fastened with a golden ornament. A loose pelisse of blue brocade, confined at the waist with a cymar of embroidered silk, displayed the contour of her figure, and full trousers of muslin were furled about her limbs. Her cheek was tattooed with a blue star, and her nails were stained pink with henna. She was waited upon by a negro girl wearing a white muslin turban ornamented with a rose, the leaves and stem of which were gilded. Elegant in her manners, easy in her mode of address, this woman appeared to the uninitiated traveller the model of feminine grace. When he took his leave, however, his friend undeceived him, with an apology, and he discovered that he had been conversing with a Moorish prostitute.

This sketch of a woman, belonging to the class, may serve to show the extent to which some of them are encouraged. Indeed the society of the dancers, who are all prostitutes, is a favourite recreation with the Moors of all classes. The women, as we have said, belong to various grades, from those who debase themselves by their obscene postures in the low coffee-houses, to those who display their more elegant

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licentiousness to amuse the wealthy. A man, entertaining a party of friends, sends for a company of dancers to enliven them in his kiosk or pavilion. There, amid the fumes of tobacco, and sometimes of strong liquors (for the precepts of the Koran are often disregarded), these unhappy women descend from ordinary immodesty to the most degrading obscenity, until the orgies become such as no pen could describe. When the master of the feast is particularly delighted with the beauty or the dexterity of any girl, he performs a favourite act of gallantry by dropping a few golden coins into her bosom. The whole company is liberally rewarded *.

Of Prostitution in Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor.

In whatever countries the Mohammedan religion has been established, to describe the condition of women would be generally to repeat the accounts already given. Their character varies in different populations, but everywhere the laws to which they are subject are substantially the same.

In Syria and Asia Minor the marriage code is, among the Muslims, precisely similar to that of Egypt and Turkey, and so also in Arabia. In Natolia, especially, the influence of the Prophet's law is powerful, and the comparative simplicity of its inhabitants leads them to respect the boundaries laid down to their indulgences. Possessing within their own country all the materials of prosperity, they might, with virtue and industry, become once more a powerful and wealthy race; but misgovernment adds yearly to the mass of their corruption, and they perish in misery and servitude.

In such countries ambition sees no path but that of reckless crime, and mental activity only stimulates to sensual pursuits. Accordingly profligacy flourishes in the cities of Asia Minor, though in the thinly-peopled tracts there is perhaps more purity of manners than in any other Mohammedan country, except Arabia. Polygamy, permitted as it is by the law, is far from being generally adopted. In 1830, the extensive city of Brussa contained only a single man who had more than one wife. Women are secluded to some extent, but enjoy great freedom. Loved and indulged they are, but not respected; and, consequently, their morals are inferior to those of the Bedouin wives.

The Christians, who are so freely tolerated among the Mohammedan population of Asia Minor, preserve very much the customs of Europe, except in the lesser details of their life. In the rich provinces of Syria, Arabs, Greeks, and Ottomans have mingled, bringing each some characteristic habits to modify the general social scheme. The pastoral and the Christian tribes are by far the most moral.

Among the Maronites of Lebanon, who hold our faith, a rigid code exists, with purity of manners; but, as among the ancient Germans, the severe law is only the moral influence in action. The law, without the feeling which upholds it, would be powerful; which constitutes the difference between a community which frames its own code according to its own spirit, and that which receives decrees from the caprice of a ruler. If a man among the Maronites seduce a girl, he must marry her; should he refuse, fasts, imprisonments, and even blows are employed, which force him to submit. The illicit intercourse of the sexes, married or unmarried, is reprobated by the sense of the community, and the profession of prostitution is unknown. On the whole, this may be described as a simple and comparatively innocent race, removed above the profligacy which ferments around them.

The Druses, also, are distinguished by the same characteristics; they do not permit polygamy, and marry very young. A man may divorce his wife, however, by only saying, "Go;" or if she ask permission to visit her relatives, and he concede it, without enjoining her to return, she must consider herself put away. In spite of this facility such separations scarcely ever occur. An adulteress is mercilessly put to death by the hands of her friends. One who commits fornication suffers a similar punishment, but in this case the father may pardon her if he choose. The tenderness of the parent sometimes induces him to spare his child, though her guilt may stain the honour of his house; but brothers, it is said, never relent, visiting the sin of their sister with unsparing sternness.

Prostitutes and dancing girls are common in all the cities and towns of Syria, but they are never met with among any of the pastoral or nomade tribes. In Asia Minor and Palestine the same circumstance is to be observed.

There is little to remark upon in the habits or characteristics of the class, which is similar to others of the same sisterhood

* See Kennedy's Algeria and Tunis in 1845; Russel's Barbary States; Jackson's Account; St. Marie's Visit to Algeria; Pananti's Narrative; Beechey, Blaquière, &c.

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in Egypt, Turkey, and other parts of the East*. Since, therefore, little could be gained by dwelling at length upon these countries, we quit them, and pass to a region which, if the spirit of romance still remains on earth, may be described as its chosen home.

In Arabia we find a system of manners at once unique and beautiful. In saying this, however, we allude to the Bedouins, or representatives of the true Arab race, who preserve their original simplicity in the rainless plains of their ancient country. In the cities of the coast, and wherever the fertility of the soil has attracted a crowded population, vice has introduced itself, and the graces of the shepherd state have quickly disappeared. In surveying the civilization of Arabia this distinction must always be held in view.

Many natural circumstances combine to influence the natural character of the Arabs in their native region. A country whose sunny and sandy plains alternate with tracts of hills and valleys of the richest bloom, has been their home. In the mountains of Yemen wet and dry seasons alternate, but over the desert hangs a sky of perpetual blue,—bright, dry, and warm; while, during the summer solstice, a sun almost vertical floods the waste of rock and sand with insufferable light, parching the face of all nature.

In this extraordinary region the Arabs live; some, as we have said, in cities or villages, some in separate families, under tents. An independent patriarchal form of government has been preserved in complete unity with their simple system of manners. Their religion is that of Mohammed, though various interpretations of his law have divided them into numerous sects. Differing, as they do, in their scheme of education from Europeans, it is difficult for us to understand their character. The boy grows up until five years old under his mother's care; then, without a graduation, he is taken to his father's side. From the companionship of women and children he passes at once into the society of men.

The Arabs hold the female sex in high estimation. They exclude women, indeed, from all public assemblies, preclude them from the use of strong liquors, and hold them from infancy to womanhood under tutelage; but they restrain themselves as well, and their general demeanour is modest, sober, and grave. Those in the fertile province of Yemen are more vivacious than those of the sterile plains. Nevertheless the men love society. Every village has its coffee-house full of gossipers, and every camp its place of rendezvous.

The women of the family occupy the interior of the house or tent; they are secluded to some extent, but not in the extravagant degree described by some writers. A man will not salute one in public, or fix his eyes upon her. Strangers, in general, are not allowed to converse with them, and they are expected to pay great deference to the ruling sex, but they are neither disguised nor immured. Veils they wear, but do not hide their faces with that religious care considered indispensable in some countries. Among many of the tent-dwellers, women drink coffee with strangers; and in some of the communities towards the south they are allowed to entertain a guest in their husband's absence. Indeed it may be said, that they are in Arabia more free than anywhere else in Islam, and proverbially abstemious in the gratification of all their appetites. All the household duties are performed by them. They fetch water, drive flocks, and wait on the men; but they are loved and respected, notwithstanding, and no claim is held so sacred as that by which a mother exacts duty from her son. There is, indeed, something admirable in the simplicity of these desert tribes, where the wife sits within her husband's tent, weaving her own garments from the wool of his flocks.

Where several families are congregated, the females visit each other, assemble together, and exchange every pleasant service. They meet in the evening to sing to the young men of the tribe, and many romantic assignations are kept in the little secluded valleys in which Arabia abounds. The well is the favourite spot of rendezvous.

The dances of the Arab girls, who perform before the men, are not only decent but elegant and romantic—totally in contrast to those of the Ghawazee. These amusements are as much for their own gratification as that of the other sex, for sometimes no males are present. Nor are they forced to exhibit when disinclined. Sometimes when the young men have offended the maidens of a tribe, they assemble night after night, but no damsels appear to dance or sing. All this indicates considerable purity of manners. The Mohammedan marriage law prevails among all the Arabs of the peninsula, though its details are modified by their system of manners. A man is

* The most valuable body of information on the Turkish Empire ever published was collected by the Rev. Robert Walpole, whose acquirements as a scholar are equalled by his accomplishments as a writer and a preacher.

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expected, though not compelled, to take the widow of his deceased brother. A man has an exclusive right to the hand of his cousin, but is not compelled to marry her. He, however, must finally renounce his claim before she can be taken by any one else. Each may have four wives and as many concubines as he pleases. Two sisters may not be had at once; but one being divorced, the other may be taken.

The disparity between the sexes in point of number, which has been asserted by some travellers, does not appear to exist. Polygamy, a privilege of the rich, is seldom practised even by them. Many wealthy Bedouins, who could well maintain a harem, declare they could not be happy with more than one companion. The law obliges a man to pass at least one night in every week with each of his wives, and this has assisted in checking the practice.

The Mohammedans of Arabia are accused of selling their daughters; but they do not often bargain them away for profit. They naturally prefer a wealthy before a poor son-in-law, and receive a bounty from him; but they richly portion out the bride. She is further endowed by her husband. The contract drawn up before the Kadi stipulates not only what she is to receive upon her marriage, but what she may claim in case of a divorce. In many cases a sheikh of substantial fortune takes a poor son-in-law, gives him the sum necessary to be paid before the judge, and exacts from him in return only a pledge of such an amount, in the event of repudiation, that it can never take place. The wife, not being compelled to vest all her property in him, is, in some measure, free from his authority. She is, indeed, more supreme in the household than in most countries, and is even more happy, because she can insist upon a divorce if ill-used. Some men, indeed, take two wives, and some even three, but these instances are so few that, though the sexes are numerically equal, almost every man may have a wife. In the towns, soldiers and domestics are more frequently married than in Europe. No insult wounds an Arab woman more than to compare her to a fruitless tree. In this way the evils of polygamy, in the cities, are counteracted. A maiden past the marriageable age is ashamed of her virginity, and a widow without children is miserable until she finds a new partner. There are no retreats whither celibacy may fly for refuge from the taunts of the world. Every woman, consequently, is desirous to marry; but those who are taken by pluralists bear fewer children than those who have no rival under the roof. In the house of a polygamist, each woman, feeling she has to contend for favour, seeks by unnatural means to increase her own attractions, to seem more voluptuous than she is, and thus injures her natural powers. Concubinage is more common than polygamy. The sheriff of Mecca has numerous female slaves, and his high example is followed by many wealthy men in the luxurious and corrupt populations of the cities. In the desert it is more rare, and, indeed, scarcely ever practised, except where a father presents his son with a beautiful bondmaid, that he may be satisfied with her, and not enter the towns in search of prostitutes.

In Mecca, the sacred city of the Mohammedan faith, nearly all the wealthy men maintain concubines, but, if they bear children, must, unless their complement of four wives be already complete, marry them or incur public reproach. Some of these voluptuaries, who look on women only as a means to gratify their animal appetites, marry none but Abyssinian wives, because they are more servile, obsequious, and voluptuous than those of pure Arabian blood. Foreigners arriving at that city with the caravan bargain for a female slave, intending to sell her at their departure, unless she bear offspring, in which case she is elevated to the position of a wife. Under any circumstances, to sell a concubine slave, is by the respectable part of the community, regarded as disreputable. Speculators, however, sometimes buy young girls, indulge their sensuality upon them, train them up, educate them, and sell them at a profit. No distinction is made among the children, of whichever class of mothers they are born.

It is one sign of pure manners among the simple communities of Arabia, that chastity is highly prized. When the young Arab marries a girl, he sometimes stipulates in the contract that she must be a virgin. Of this he desires to assure himself by examination. If the outward signs are wanting, the bride's father has to prove the circumstance accidental; should he fail in this, the fame of her innocence may be destroyed, and she may be driven from home overwhelmed with shame. In many of the nomade communities it is the invariable rule to put away a bride immediately after the discovery of any suspicious sign, and in the hills of Yemen the laws are equally severe. The man who marries a woman disgraced by incontinence shares her infamy unless he send her back to her father.

The dwellers in towns, estimating less

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highly the worth of feminine virtue, laugh at a man who dishonours his family on account of such a circumstance. A man finding that his bride is not a virgin demands compensation from her father, keeps her a short time, and then puts her away privily, as Joseph was minded to do with the mother of Jesus. Many also understand that nature has refused the sign to some females, and that it is unjust to condemn a woman on the strength of a circumstance which a hundred accidents may have caused. If adultery be committed by the wife, the law condemns her to have her throat cut by the hand of her brother or father; but in general humanity prevails against the written code, and this horrible punishment is seldom inflicted. The usual manner of visiting such an offence is by summary divorce, which is indeed easily to be obtained for trivial causes, or for no cause at all. In towns an agreement before the Kadi, in the desert a lamb slaughtered before the door of the tent, is all the ceremony needed. The simple pronunciation of the word "Go" is, in many parts, sufficient. Men of violent passions abuse this privilege, and it is said that some, not more than 40 years of age, have had as many as 50 wives; but it is utterly untrue to say that such instances are frequent. The existence of the pure and true sentiment of love, which is so rare in Mohammedan countries, is admitted to prevail in Arabia; the natural jealousy of the male sex, the superior wisdom of their regulations respecting the intercourse of the sexes prior to marriage, the independence of the women, and the lofty system of morals distinguishing the Bedouins of the desert, are totally incompatible with such a flagrant profligacy in the use of divorce. Were it the case, the complete confusion of society would ensue; whereas no region in the world presents spectacles of happier homes than the plains of Arabia, with their tents and wandering tribes. Women are comparatively free, being tolerated even in religious differences, which implies a high estimate of their intellectual qualities. The republican spirit of the desert assigns them, indeed, their natural position, and, though much is required from them as modest women, little is exacted from them as an inferior sex.

Some of the peculiar customs among the various communities of Arabia are curious enough to require notice. Before the Wahaby Conquest it was customary among the Deyr Arabs for a man to take his daughter, when marriageable, to the market-place—where all such engagements were formed—and proclaim her for disposal, crying aloud, "Who will buy the virgin?" The Bedouins of Mount Sinai still adhere to their singular practices. A man desiring matrimony makes a bargain with some one who has an unmarried daughter, and if able to settle it, sticks in his turban a sprig of green, which signifies that he is wedded to a virgin. The bride's inclinations are not beforehand consulted. She must go home with her husband, and submit for one night to his embraces. If she be not pleased, however, she may in the morning go home, when the contract is dissolved. Among the wealthier tribes of the East, no price is paid, and every girl is free to choose a partner. Modesty, with them, is regarded as the finest grace of the sex. It is genuine and unassailable. The bride even is sometimes so coy, that her husband is obliged to tie her up and whip her before she will yield to him. A widow's marriage is disreputable, and assailed with every demonstration of disrespect. This proves that divorce among them is unfrequent. Among the Nazyene, a tribe on the peninsula of Sinai, a girl, when given in marriage, flies and takes refuge among the hills, where she is supplied with food by her relations. The bridegroom goes in search, and when he finds his bride, must pass the night with her in the open air. She may repeat the flight several times, and indeed is not expected to live with her husband until a whole year has elapsed or she has become pregnant. Various other customs characterise different tribes; but in every feature of Arabian manners we discover a simplicity and purity as admirable as it is rare. Conjugal infidelity is rare in the desert. Fornication scarcely ever happens, and common prostitutes are unknown. In the crowded towns on the coast, however, there are numbers of professional prostitutes, licensed to carry on their calling, who pay considerable sums to the magistrates for the enjoyment of their privileges. In Mecca they are extremely numerous, and for the most part inhabit the poorest quarter of the city. In Dhyrdda, also, they are extremely numerous, but the population of that place is almost exclusively foreign. These women bear scarcely any children. When, during the early years of their vocation, they are capable of producing offspring, they employ artificial means to ensure abortion. The seeds of the tree whence is obtained the balm of Mecca, are used for that purpose.

In the mosques of the sacred city, pros-

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titutes collect in great numbers, and are largely encouraged by the Moolah or priestly class, who find them a source of profit. Those of the more indigent description inhabit a particular quarter, but the others are dispersed amid the general mass of the population. They are more decent in their outward demeanour than the same class in the East and in Europe, and it requires a practised eye to detect, amid the throng of veiled women circulating in the streets and bazaars, those of the venal sisterhood. Contrary, however, to the rule which prevails in England, they are almost the only females who frequent places of worship, which is on account not of their devotion, but of their effrontery, the prejudices of Mohammedans being against it. The Bedouins near cities sometimes frequent the brothels in their neighbourhood; but these belong to the class the manners of which have been vitiated by intercourse with strangers.

In what numbers the prostitutes of the Arabian cities are found we know not, nor do we discover anything remarkable in their manners or modes of life. It would, consequently, be unprofitable to dwell on them. We have to notice, however, in connection with Arabia, two remarkable customs, one of which exhibits to us a class of male prostitutes, if such a term may be allowed, and the other a species of hospitality, now very rare, except among the grossest communities.

In the Arabian province of Hedjaz no unmarried woman may pass within the boundary or enter the mosque. As, however, many rich old widows and persons whose husbands have died by the way arrive with every pilgrim caravan, some device is necessary to procure them admission without breaking the law. A number of men, therefore, live in the frontier towns, who, upon the arrival of every concourse, hire themselves out to the women, marry them, live with them while they pass through the sacred territory, receive a munificent sum for their services, and are then divorced. If one of these individuals chooses to insist on keeping the wife he has procured, she cannot help it; but such an act would be attended with great discredit and the loss of a very profitable occupation. Eight hundred men are sometimes employed as temporary husbands, and a number of boys are continually trained that they may inherit the calling. On the various roads to the shrine of Mecca congregate a number of women, with somewhat of a sacred character attached to them. They are prostitutes, but not indiscriminate in their connections, since they offer to bear to wealthy pilgrims children, who are considered as born under a fortunate auspice.

Among the Merehedes, on the frontiers of Yemen, a custom far more revolting has existed from ancient time, and still prevails. A stranger arriving as a guest is compelled to pass the night with the wife of his host, whatever her age or condition. Should he succeed in pleasing her he is honourably treated. If not, she cuts off a piece of his garment, turns him out into the village, and leaves him to be driven away in disgrace. When the Wahabis conquered the Merehedes, they forced them to abandon this odious practice; but some misfortunes ensuing to the tribe, they were all imputed to this sacrilegious infringement of an ancient law. The custom was therefore restored. Some other female of the family, may, however, be substituted for the wife, but young virgins are never sacrificed to this barbarous hospitality *.

OF PROSTITUTION IN TURKEY.

THERE is one general system of manners pervading the Mohammedan world. In examining, therefore, the moral aspects of the various countries in which the religion of the Prophet is established, we find little in each to distinguish it from the rest. In Turkey exists the same civilization as in Egypt, though its population is more corrupt. 25,000,000 souls inhabit a region which would support twice as many, and yearly the work of decay is going on.

The Osmanlis, a race of Scythian extraction, have held Turkey during 400 years, receiving, however, large infusions of Persian and Mongolian blood. The wealthier people their harems with the beauties of Georgia and Circassia; the humbler intermarry with Servians, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Greeks, so that the original physical characteristics of the race have been greatly modified. Their moral nature has changed also, but in a less degree. Proud, sensual, and depraved in their tastes, they are too indolent to acquire even the means of gratifying their most powerful cravings. Their pride is satisfied with the recollection of

* Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie; Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia; Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins, &c.; Chesney's Euphrates Expedition; Farren's Letters to Lord Lindsay; Perrier's Syrie sous Mehemet Ali; Skinner's Overland Journey; Kinnear's Cairo, Petra, and Damascus; Kelly's Syria and the Holy Land; Walpole's Memoirs; Poujolat's Voyage en Orient; Ainsworth's Travels in Asia Minor; Blondel's Deux Ans en Syrie.

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former glories; their lust looks forward to the enjoyments of paradise, crowded, as they believe, with celestial creatures devoted to the delight of their senses. Immersed in an atmosphere of epicurean speculation, the Turk whom poverty does not compel to labour for his bread passes the day in lounging on cushions, smoking, sipping coffee, winking with half-closed eyes on the landscape, dreamily indifferent to all external objects. Even the poor indulge in this idleness. They measure out the amount of labour sufficient to keep them from want, and spend the rest of their lives drowsily awaiting the sensual bliss promised them by their prophet in heaven. During this lethargy passions more violent than are known to Europeans sleep in their breasts, and when these are excited, the Turk cannot be surpassed for brutal fury. All his ideas are gross. He is able to imagine no authority not armed with whip or sword. Moral power is to him an incomprehensible idea. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the Osmanlis have conquered so much, and possessed so little talent for governing what they acquired.

This notice of the Turkish character is necessary, because it corresponds exactly with their estimation of the female sex. The person alone is loved. Intellect in a Turkish woman is a quality rarely developed, because never prized. It is no part of her education to learn to read or write. To adorn herself, to dress in charming attire, to beautify her face, to perfume her hair, and soften her limbs in the bath or with fine ointments, is the object to which she applies her mind; and when, thus decorated, she lounges on a pile of cushions in the full splendour of her costume, her delight is some spectacle which will stimulate her passions and intoxicate her with excitement. Turkey is thus the empire of the senses.

Polygamy, authorized by the Prophet's code, is not now so frequently resorted to as formerly. It is growing into disrepute, and the female sex, upon which the laws relating to property have conferred much independence, are generally averse to it. Men marrying wives equal in rank to themselves frequently engage in their first marriage contract not to form a second, and the breach of this agreement is viewed as a profligate abuse of manners. The practice of polygamy was once, however, very prevalent among the higher orders, and contributed much to corrupt as well as to diminish the population. In the families of those Mohammedans who indulge in a plurality of wives, the children are fewer than in those of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, to whom polygamy is not permitted.

The offspring of married women, also, in the middle ranks of life is more numerous than in the wealthier harems. Indeed, the sex in Turkey is naturally prolific; but the growth of the nation has been checked by this among other causes. To account for the origin of the practice in Turkey many ingenious theories have been framed. It appears easy, however, to find its origin. The men are naturally sensual, and have never been accustomed to respect the female sex. When, therefore, an individual's wealth allowed him, he naturally made use of it to multiply the sources of that animal enjoyment, dearer to him than any other earthly pleasure. Some have supposed that polygamy was necessitated by the numerical disparity of the sexes; but this does not seem the case. In those cities and towns where the women are in greater numbers than the men, we find that they are purchased in large numbers from the neighbouring villages or in the markets, to furnish the harems of the opulent.

The social code of Turkey requires a woman to preserve herself in strict seclusion. The privacy of her apartments is so great that, unless on very rare occasions, no male is allowed to enter them except the master of the house. There are only certain days of the year in which a brother, an uncle, or a father-in-law can be admitted, or on festive occasions, such as a birthday or ceremony of circumcision.

The usages of the country do not even permit a man to see his wife before marriage. In this respect the Turks are more jealous than their written law, for the Prophet advised his friend to obtain a glimpse of the woman whom he designed to receive into his bed. She may gratify her curiosity by seeing him, but such an occurrence is not frequent. This severe separation of the sexes has given employment to a class of professional matchmakers, who, as in China, make considerable profits by their calling, and often gain money under fraudulent pretences. The beauty and temper of the woman are exaggerated to the man, who, on the other hand, is described to the lady as possessed of every heroic qualification. They are mutually deceived; they rush into a marriage, and perhaps in a few days a divorce is required. Children of three or four years are sometimes betrothed, and married when they are fourteen. This interference of the parents leads often to evil results, for the youth, who is forced to accept his father's choice, sometimes hates his bride

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before he sees her, and resolves to take a concubine as soon as circumstances permit.

Each family deputes an agent to promote the satisfactory settlement of the transaction, while the girl herself, under her cloudy veil, sits in her harem to await her fate. To expose her face to a strange man's gaze would be regarded as a species of prostitution. Her fortune is, therefore, decided for her. The terms of the contract are laid down in a document, which is signed by witnesses, and the woman is then called "a wife by writing." This is concluded some days before the actual rite of wedding; but the whole interval is occupied with ceremonies, rejoicing, and liberal displays of hospitality. A man in Constantinople usually reckons on spending a year's income on the occasion of his marriage.* The average of this, in the middle ranks, is from 2000 to 2500 piastres.

On the appointed day the union, which is a mere civil contract, though blessed by religious rites, is concluded. The bridegroom is conducted by an Imaum, or priest, to the entrance of the bride's chamber, and there a prayer is uttered, to which all his friends make response. He is then left alone, standing outside the door. He knocks three times. A slave-maid admits him, going out herself to fetch a table with a tray of viands. While she is gone the husband endeavours to uncover his wife's face, in which, after the usual coy resistance prescribed by custom, he, of course, succeeds. Meanwhile the damsel returns, and they eat together. The meal is very quickly dispatched, and a bridal couch is spread on the floor. Then the bride is taken into a neighbouring room, where she is undressed by her mother and her friends, after which the newly-married pair are left alone. Among the most popular stories connected with Ottoman manners, is that of the sultan throwing his handkerchief to the woman he chooses as the companion of his pillow, and the imitation of this practice by great men in their harems. This, however, is a fanciful invention, repeated by some travellers who desired the world to suppose they were intimate with the secrets of the seraglio. When the sultan chooses any one of his women to pass the night with, he sends an eunuch with a present to inform her of the intended honour. She is taken to a bath, perfumed, attired in beautiful garments, and then placed in bed. The story of her creeping in at the foot of the couch is also a fable. The first chosen is the chief in rank.

The first of these fanciful accounts was probably suggested by a custom still practised among some of the Bosnian communities in western Turkey, where manners are more simple than in the eastern provinces. The young Muslim girls are there permitted to walk about in the daytime with uncovered faces. A man inclined to matrimony who happens to be pleased with the appearance of one of these maidens throws an embroidered handkerchief, or some part of his dress, over her head or neck. She then returns to her home, considers herself betrothed, and never again exposes her features in public. This is the usual preliminary to marriage; but it is probable that the lover has more than one look at his mistress before he makes the sign.

Even the sultan's concubines are purchased slaves, since no free Turkish woman can occupy that position. Occasionally he gives one away to a favourite pasha, who looks with pride upon the acquisition, and glories in the refuse of a palace. Little girls, about seven years of age, are much prized as slaves, and are often sold for upwards of a hundred guineas.

Life in the harems of Constantinople is similar to that in those of Cairo. It is a round of sensual enjoyment, in which vanity is almost the only relief to the grosser appetites of humanity. The bath is the favourite place of resort. Lady Wortley Montague has left a celebrated description of one of these palaces of indolence. The ladies, perfectly naked, walked up and down, or reclined in various attitudes on heaps of cushions, attended by pretty slaves, who handed them coffee or sherbet. They delighted in the voluptuous movements of the female dancers, of which the public class in Turkey, as in Egypt, is composed of prostitutes. It struck them with surprise and disappointment that Lady Mary did not take off her clothes as they did; but she showed them how she was cased up in her stays, so that she could not strip, which they imagined was an ingenious device of her jealous husband.

The morals of the Turkish women in general are described by most writers as very loose. The veils which were invented to preserve their virtue, favour their intrigues to dispose of it. The most watchful husband may pass his wife in the street without knowing her. Thus they live in perpetual masquerade. The places of assignment are usually at Jews' shops, where they meet their paramours, though very seldom letting them know who they are. "You may easily imagine," said Lady

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Montague, "the number of faithful wives to be very small in a country where they have nothing to fear from a lover's indiscretion." This may be taken, however, as an exaggerated view, for her ladyship was accustomed to breathe the impure moral atmosphere of courts, and cared little for the character of her sex in any part of the world.

The wife in Turkey holds this check upon the caprice of her husband—her property belongs to herself, and if she be divorced she may take it away. The widow, also, is inviolable in her harem, not only against private intrusion, but against the officers of the law. If a woman's husband neglect her, that is, if he fail to visit her once a week, she may sue for a separation, which may be easily effected before a Kadi. If she commit adultery, he may also sue; but if the divorce takes place by mutual consent no formality whatever is required. As in Egypt, a man may marry a woman twice after divorcing her; but the third time he must not take her again, until she has been had and put away by another person.

Women, in Turkey, regard as an object more pitiable than any other the childless wife. With them to be barren after marriage is viewed as more disgraceful than with us to be fruitful before. All sorts of quackeries are resorted to by them to prolong and increase their powers of child-bearing, so that many kill themselves by the dangerous devices they employ. It is common to see a woman who has borne thirteen or fourteen children; some in the middle ranks bear from 25 to 30. They pray for the birth of twins, and are usually good mothers, though some have expressed themselves indifferent whether all their children lived or half of them were swept off by the plague. The single instance of superior refinement observable in Egypt is also remarkable here. Midwives only attend the bed of child-birth. There are no accoucheurs. Female practitioners also cure diseases; though an European physician is sometimes admitted to feel a pulse or even to see a patient's face.

Among the humbler classes the condition of the women resembles very nearly that of our own country. Their morality is generally superior to that of those wealthier inmates of the harems whose indolence seduces them into vice.

The dancing girls of the public class of Turkey resemble, in all respects, those of Egypt. They are prostitutes by profession; but they do not appear to be so numerous in that country as formerly. Their performances, however, are prized by all classes, and they dance as lasciviously in the harem before women, as in the Kiosk before a party of convivial men. Those who perform in public indulge in every obscenity, and vie with each other in their indecent exhibitions. Their costume is exceedingly rich both in colour and in material. Frequenting the coffee-houses by day, they pick up companions, whom they entertain with songs, or tales, or caresses until nightfall, when preliminary orgies take place, and they disperse, with their patrons, to houses in various parts of the city, generally in the more narrow, tortuous, and remote streets. The outsides of these habitations are usually of a forbidding, cheerless, dirty aspect, but the interior of those belonging to the wealthier chiefs of the dancing girls are fitted up with every appurtenance of luxury.

One of the most extraordinary features in the social institutions of Turkey is the temporary union, or marriage of convenience, which is adopted by many. It is, indeed, strictly speaking, simple prostitution. A man going on a journey, and leaving his wife behind, arrives in a strange city, where he desires to make some stay. He immediately bargains for a girl to live with him while he remains in the neighbourhood; a regular agreement is drawn up, and he supports her, and pays her friends, while he has her in his possession. The Moolahs declare this to be one valuable privilege of the male sex in Turkey; but the engagement does not appear to be valid before the law, if contracted expressly as a temporary union. But this is not necessary. The facility of divorce renders all such precaution useless. The man, therefore, takes the girl, nominally as his wife, but virtually as his mistress, until he is tired of her, or wishes to depart, when she returns to her friends and waits the occasion of a new engagement.

Such is, in outline, the social system of Turkey with reference to the female sex*.

Of Prostitution in Circassia.

A peculiar interest attaches to the nation inhabiting that isthmus, with its stupend-

* Walpole's Memoirs of Turkey; Deux Années à Constantinople; Walpole's Travels; Sketches of Turkey by an American; Castellan's Mœurs des Ottomanes; Macfarlane's Constantinople in 1828; Porter's Philosophical Transactions; Lady M. W. Montague's Letters; St. John's Notes; Thornton; Walsh; Slade's Travels; Marshall; Marmont's Turkey; Arvieux's Voyages; Russel's Aleppo, &c.

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ous mountains, which forms the natural barrier between Asia and Europe; and is, perhaps, still the least known region in the ancient world. The Western Caucasus comprehends an immense district commencing at the middle Kuban, and terminating with Georgia. It is peopled by various tribes, claiming a common descent, and governed by princes, elders, and nobles. The Circassians are a brave and civilized, hospitable and courteous, race, resembling the ancient Swiss; and they present a singular system of manners varying considerably with the different tribes.

There is a race, known as the Abassians, which is considered the aboriginal nation of the Caucasus,—described by Strabo as a predatory people,—pirates at sea, robbers on land; characteristics which they have to this day preserved. They are, however, in other respects, virtuous, dwelling in fixed habitations, strangers to the worst vices of civilized life, and humble in their desires. Their religion, a compound of Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism, permits polygamy; but, as a wife is expensive, they are usually contented with one, who is more the companion than the menial of her husband. The women are exceedingly industrious; employing themselves in a variety of pursuits, and tasking themselves far more than is essentially necessary in order to procure ornamental clothes. To reward them for this they are allowed full liberty, are free in their social intercourse, and, if they wear a veil, wear it only to screen their complexions from the sun. Their costume is highly elegant, and their state is indicated by the colour of their trowsers—white being that for the virgin, red for the wife, and blue for the widow.

The laws these people have made to protect their own morals, have, in some degree, answered their purpose. Illegitimate children have no claim to a share of the patrimony, and can legally claim no relationship with any one. Should they be sold as slaves there is no one bound to ransom; should they be assassinated there is no relative expected to avenge their death. Nevertheless the inherent kindness of the Abassians mitigates the effect of these harsh laws. Illegitimate children are rarely treated ill, and their legitimate brothers often make with them a voluntary partition of property.

But when a man marries a barren woman, he is allowed to take a concubine, whose children inherit no disability on this account.

When a man dies, be his rank what it may, the social law confers on his wife the superintendence of the household, and she administers the property without division until her death, when it is divided among the sons. Should any of the daughters remain unmarried, their eldest brother is bound to support them until a suitor appears, when he may make as good a bargain as he can.

Severe laws have been enacted against immorality. The man detected in illicit intercourse with a married or unmarried woman is tried before the elders of the community, who rarely fail to punish him, either by a fine or by perpetual banishment. The dishonoured wife is returned to her parents, as well as the girl, and sold as a slave. The dowry which her husband had given for her is returned to him. If the guilt have happened in the family of a prince, it can only be washed out by the blood of one, if not both, of the criminals. So bitter, indeed, is the shame which such an occurrence brings upon a house, that they who have been so disgraced often retire to some desolate part of the Caucasus, there to hide themselves from the obloquy which ever afterwards attaches to their name.

When a man desires to divorce his wife, he must declare before a council of elders the reasons for such a step; and if these be not perfectly satisfactory he is obliged to pay the parents of the women a sufficient amount to recompense them for the burden thus thrown upon their hands. Should the woman, however, marry again before two years have expired, this sum is returned. Frequently a maiden having formed some romantic attachment, and hating the man chosen as her husband by her parents, flies alone into the woods, and hides until her friends proclaim themselves willing to concede her desires. Occasionally, also, two warriors select the same girl to marry, and in this case a duel is fought —sometimes with fire-arms—the victor carrying off the prize. Similar laws and usages prevail among the Circassians, except that the wealthier men among them seclude their wives, and are altogether more Turkish in their manners. On the whole, however, the patriarchal institutions of this singular and romantic people are admirable for the effect they produce, since the Circassians and Abassians are exceedingly pure in their morality.

Among the Circassians themselves, with the exception of the prouder nobles, women are not secluded. The wives and daughters of a house are often introduced to the traveller, and unmarried girls are frequently seen at public assemblies. One

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singular custom, however, is observed, which is that the husband never appears abroad with his wife, and scarcely ever sees her during the day. This is not from neglect or scorn, but in accordance with ancient habits, and a desire to prolong the first sentiments with which the bridegroom approaches his bride.

All Circassian women wear, until they are married, a tight corset of leather, which makes their complexion sallow, and hurts the figure, as all unnatural compression does. The consequence is that the young wives are infinitely more beautiful than the maidens; and the charms of the women of this race are celebrated throughout the world. The reason assigned for this strange custom is, that it is shameful for a virgin to have a full bosom. When a girl has been chosen and purchased, her future husband comes to the house, places her on horseback, gallops away, and conveys her home. Then, when all the people are supposed to be asleep, the bridegroom first unlooses the abominable ligatures which confine the bosom of his bride. He does not, until some time has passed, live with her openly.

An idea prevails among the vulgar in Europe, that the Circassians sell their daughters as slaves to any Turk or Persian who may desire to buy them. This is not correct. They are particularly careful as to the position and birth of the individual who desires to intermarry with them, and the sale is no more than takes place among their own people, as well as among all the nations inhabiting the Caucasus. Great precautions are taken to secure the happiness of the girls, and long negotiations frequently produce no bargain. It is true that in the bazaars of Constantinople, and the principal towns of Asia Minor and Persia, numerous girls are sold under the name of Circassians, but they are mostly Abassians, or the children of Circassian peasants, or children ravished from the neighbouring Cossacks, or slaves procured from those base Circassian traders who have given in their adhesion to Russia. Many of the girls, being trained to such ideas from childhood, prefer the Turkish harem to the life they follow among their native hills. Some come back after having obtained their liberty, and bring accounts, in the most fluent language, of the voluptuous joys they have indulged in in their luxurious prisons; but generally the race is dearly attached to its freedom.

Throughout the Caucasus we have found a high scale of manners. Prostitution, as a profession, is unknown. In one of the simple tribes, still under patriarchal rule, a girl who took up such a calling would be so shunned and abhorred by the rest of her country-women, that she would speedily be compelled to fly beyond the bounds of their territory, that is, if she escaped being sold as a slave or put to death by her indignant friends. The parental authority, more moral than legal, is a great check upon profligacy, since a man of whatever age, if he have a father living, pays obedience to him, and fears to incur his reproof. It is therefore delightful to point out a country surrounded by gross and profligate nations, where simplicity of manners still prevails, and where the female sex is as happy and as highly esteemed as it is modest, chaste, and virtuous *.

Of Prostitution among the Tartar Races.

The immense region of Central Asia, little known and seldom visited, has been the cradle of great nations, which have exercised a mighty influence on the fortunes of the world, and may again become conspicuous in history. It is, therefore, interesting, as well as important, to inquire into the characteristics of the populations which still cling to its soil. They are divided under many names, and among the most remarkable are the hordes of Kirghiz Kazaks, who wander between the borders of the Caspian Sea on the west, and the fortified line which forms the southern frontier of the Russian Empire. On the east it is divided by a similar chain of posts from the Chinese dominions, but towards the south the limits of their wanderings are unknown. Over this vast steppe a various climate prevails; but the whole is particularly marked by extremes of heat and cold, while the soil is composed of alternate deserts of sand and pasture, where rain during the greater part of the year is exceedingly scanty. A short and delicious spring, a burning and dry summer, a short and miserable autumn, which speedily darkens into a long, bitter, and gloomy winter—such are the influences to which these hordes are subject. Forests, patches of green, salt lakes, springs and rivers of fresh water, a few rich valleys, and some rocky hills, vary the aspect of the wilderness which is their

* Spenser's Western Caucasus; Klaproth's Voyages dans le Caucase; Spenser's Travels in Circassia; Wilbraham's Travels; Marigny's Three Voyages.

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home; but generally it is a blank and monotonous waste. All these circumstances are enumerated, as they may be supposed to have formed, or at least to have modified, the character of the Kirghiz Kazaks. They are divided into three principal hordes—the Great, the Lesser, and the Little—amounting altogether to from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 souls. Engaged perpetually in wandering from place to place, they have nevertheless certain spots, belonging by prescriptive rights to particular tribes, where they encamp for the coldest months of the winter. Their manners afford a faithful picture of the ancient patriarchal life, not, indeed, the poetical life of Arcadia and the pastures of Israel, but that of the Scythians, as represented by Herodotus, or the Bedouins in their original simplicity. Forming a nation of shepherds, they appear to live only on and for their flocks, accustoming themselves little to the use of arms, and, though perpetually on horseback, seldom engaging in the chase. They dwell in huts or temporary habitations of strong wickerwork, covered in with fleeces; and in the interior of these singular habitations much comfort, elegance, and even sumptuous luxury may often be found. Nevertheless they are a robust, hardy race, possessing very indistinct ideas of property, and, though addicted to sensual enjoyments, long lived, and seldom visited by epidemic diseases, except when the small-pox is brought among them from Siberia.

Their manners with respect to the character and treatment of the female sex are simple, but, in comparison with other pastoral races, somewhat coarse. In costume the woman differs little from the man. Both men and women adorn themselves with ornaments of silver, gold, or coral, or even pearls and other gems, and in this reciprocal display of vanity we discover a token of equality between the sexes. It is difficult to ascertain the religion of these hordes, but it is apparently a crude mixture of Mohammedanism and Paganism. The Muslims have attempted to disseminate their doctrines widely, but few of the Prophet's laws have been accepted so readily as that which allows a plurality of wives—which the Kirghiz indulge in whenever they can afford the amount to be paid for a bride according to the usages of their nation.

The Kirghiz are immoderately addicted to voluptuous pleasures, and are extremely idle. It is curious to remark, however, that while the men are distinguished by their indolence, the women are fond of exertion, occupying themselves, as much from inclination as from necessity, with the affairs of the household, with attendance on the flocks, and with the manufacture of garments. Their recompense is to be treated as servitors by masters who are sometimes proud and harsh; but the labour of the women is not compulsory, nor are they shut up in harems, or forbidden to mix with the other sex. The seclusion of females, indeed, is not a custom. Their manner of living exposes them to every temptation; jealousy has little power to watch, and the wife's virtue is, for the most part, left to guard itself.

Though, as we have said, the Kirghiz, when they are rich enough, eagerly avail themselves of the privilege of polygamy, few possess wealth enough to enable them to marry more than one wife. This circumstance prevents them from indulging in that pride which impels a man to shut up the partner of his pillow from every eye but his own. They who have seraglios must follow a steady and uniform course of life. The Tartar's tent offers few obstacles to curiosity or intrigue. Turks and Persians who keep a harem usually possess slaves also, whose labour permits their mistresses to lounge idly on silken cushions; but as the Kirghiz loves to be indolent, he is constrained to let his wife be as active as she pleases, and is never so happy as when she saves him the trouble of moving from his couch, by going everywhere and doing everything herself. But on horseback he is proud of motion, which accounts partly for the migratory habits of the hordes, though the nature of their country is the chief cause of their nomade manner of life. Women consequently enjoy their liberty, and to their love of industry they join a goodness of heart and a warmth of affection which extort praises from many travellers.

The great check upon polygamy is, as we have noticed, the cost of the *Kalyms*, which is to be paid for every woman. This price varies in amount, from five or six sheep, and occasionally less among the poor, to 200 or 500 or even 1000 horses among the rich. To these are added different household effects, with, on rare occasions, a few slaves, male or female. Out of these payments a considerable share goes to the Mohammedan Moolahs who frequent the steppes, and who are attracted thither no less by their profitable occupation of marrying the people than by religious zeal. The Kalym increases with the number of wives. The second costs more than the first, and the third than the second, and so

forth, which enables none but a very wealthy man to keep a harem. The khan of the Little Horde, who was lord over nearly 1,000,000 men, had sixteen or seventeen wives, besides fifteen concubines, whose offspring, however, were all on an equality. This patriarch had 42 sons and about 34 daughters. Young men usually take their first wife not according to their own choice, but under their father's direction. As to girls they are always under their parents' control, and many are affianced during infancy.

The first arrangement made when a marriage is in contemplation is to fix the amount of the *kalym*, and the date on which it is to be paid. These preliminaries concluded, the Moolah consecrates the transaction by asking three times of the parents of the bride and those of the bridegroom, "Do you consent to the union of your children?" and reading prayers for the happiness of the married couple. Witnesses and arbitrators are then chosen, who may decide future disputes, should any such arise, and the nuptials are terminated by a feast and various kinds of merry-making. The man then begins to pay a kalym, or else his father does this on his behalf; and the parents of the girl occupy themselves with getting ready a trousseau for their daughter—among the articles of which it is essentially requisite to include the tent which the bride is to occupy when she is finally delivered over to her husband. While the kalym remains unpaid the marriage is suspended; though the bridegroom may pay visits to the maiden he has chosen, and even live with her, provided he engages not to take away her chastity.

Among some tribes these preliminary meetings are conducted with much ceremony; in all they are often the first interviews which the husband has with the woman who is to be his wife. When once, however, a part of the required amount is paid, neither can retract without disgrace. Ruptures, indeed, rarely, if ever, take place; partly because no young girl dare to assert a will of her own, and partly because the man does not care to rebel against a union which he is free to break when he desires.

Frequently, however, the bride and bridegroom, during their preliminary visits, anticipate the final nuptial ceremony; in which case this is usually hastened, though the whole amount of kalym may not have been paid. They are led, richly clothed if possible, into a tent, where various rites are performed. The husband then departs, but immediately comes again on horseback and demands his wife. Her parents refuse to yield her, when he enters, bears her off by force, places her across his saddle, and gallops away to his tent, which during many hours after is sacred against all intruders. This custom, however, is not universal.

If a man finds his wife not to be a virgin, he may disgrace her, send her home, and demand from her father the restitution of the kalym, or one of his other daughters who happens to be chaste, without payment.

As every woman brings with her dowry a new tent, so each wife, when a man has more than one, dwells in a separate habitation. The first is styled the "rich wife," and exercises superior authority over all the rest. Though she may have disgusted her husband, he is bound to distinguish her by respect; while the others, entirely equal among themselves, remain always in a certain dependence on her. Prudent husbands divide even the flocks belonging to the different women, that the children of each may justly inherit her property. The chief wife may quit her husband, if she can show any grave cause for separation, and return to her parents, but the others have not that privilege.

The manners of the Kirghiz women are in general simple and courteous; and the conduct of the men towards them, though often rude, gross, and contemptuous, is frequently also polite and deferential. The love songs of the desert are some of them exceedingly poetical; and the pictures drawn by Tartar improvisatoris of their mistresses are full of passion and adulation.

A man may kill his wife if he find her actually committing adultery, but not otherwise. A fine is the usual punishment of the adulterer; while the woman may be divorced, or chastised in various ways.

Generally the morals of the Kirghiz Kazaks are good. Chastity in their women is highly prized—its loss entailing disgrace; but as numbers of the men are extremely sensual, many prostitutes may usually be found in each camp, though not so many as some appear to imagine. They live usually in companies, resembling the class of suttlers in European armies; though some of superior fortune inhabit separate tents, and live in ease and plenty.

Among the Nogay Tartars, who are also nomades, the custom prevails of a man serving his father-in-law for a certain number of years. With them the weaker is absolutely the property of the stronger

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sex, and all contracts are transactions of sale. The father sells his daughter, the brother his sister, and girls are considered part of an inheritance as much as flocks and herds, and are equally divided among the sons. The value of a woman is measured in cows; five being the cost of an inferior, and thirty of a superior one. The man, however, though obliged to buy, is not allowed to sell his wife. If she transgress beyond his patience he turns her out of the dwelling, and she returns to her parents, who seldom fail to receive her kindly. Divorce is permitted, but is so costly that few resort to it. When a wife leaves her husband against his consent he may demand her back; but if she meanwhile commit adultery or theft, her parents must restore the kalym which was originally paid for her, and she becomes so infamous that only the poorest man will buy her.

The rich are polygamists; and as the sexes are about equal in point of numbers, many of the poor cannot get a wife of any kind. The woman is not allowed to eat with her husband; and if she expect paradise, it is with the understanding that she is to dwell there as a servitor. Marriages are not fruitful, and the population is regularly decreasing.

The Russians have introduced into the country certain virulent diseases, which aid rapidly to thin the people, who themselves have lost much in morality. Wherever they have large encampments, and settle for the winter, numbers of prostitutes spring up among them, not indeed entirely addicted and altogether destined to that calling, but employing it as a means of gain, and living on its wages for a shorter or a longer period.

Prostitution, which is unknown among the pastoral tribes of Arabia, is, in fact, very prevalent among some of the shepherd communities inhabiting the Tartar steppes. There are two classes of women who betake themselves to it—widows and divorced women—who, having no independent means of subsistence, hire out their persons under a sort of necessity, and linger through a miserable remnant of life, in dirt, rags, and contempt; and a few who addict themselves to prostitution simply under the impulse of a profligate disposition. On the whole, however, the morality of Tartars is of a superior character *.

* Levchine's Les Kirghiz Kazaks; Spencer's Travels; Klaproth's Travels, &c., &c.

OF THE MIXED NORTHERN NATIONS.

Introductory.

Pursuing our inquiries among the northern races, to the very extreme of Polar cold, we discover many interesting peculiarities. Perhaps, however, the most important result of our research is the establishment of the fact, that the popular idea is in great measure erroneous, of hot countries having the most licentious population. Climate, indeed, may by fine degrees influence the temperament of men; but the conspicuous truth evolved from all our investigations has been that the manners of nations are regulated by their moral education, and not by the thermometer.

In Egypt, India, Persia, and the other hot regions of the African and Asiatic continents, there prevails a voluptuous spirit; but in Russia, in Siberia, among the Greenlanders, and the tribes of the snowy deserts in the utmost north, equal sensuality is to be discovered. In the warm and happy plains of Arabia, in the sultry champagnes of various parts of the East, we find shepherd communities with manners most pure and simple, and we find the same among many roving nations in the cold of Tartary and Siberia. The languor and indolence engendered by a fervent climate may, indeed, induce a thirst for exciting pleasure; but the rigour and inclemency of the north appear equally to dispose men to take refuge in sensual gratification. Ispahan was never more licentious than St. Petersburgh 50 years ago; nor are the debauchees in the burning atmosphere of Africa more gross and indiscriminate in their pursuit of animal delights than many tribes of Esquimaux, buried though they be among the frosts of an eternal winter.

Thus climate appears to exert, at least, far less influence than is popularly imagined. The horrible orgies of the Areois, in the voluptuous islands of the Pacific, were rivalled and surpassed by the Physical

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Societies of Moscow; nor are the revels of Southern India more profligate than those enacted among the snowy solitudes of Siberia. Indeed, among the Hindus, we have never found perpetrated, even by the lowest class, depravities more vile than those we have discovered among tribes in Kamschatka and other parts of the Arctic regions.

One circumstance, however, appears to be undeniable. The temperament of Asiatics is more easily inflamed than that of northern races. Their mind is more active, their fancy more busy, their imagination more creative. They give even to their vices a picturesque colour, quality, and configuration, whereas the voluptuaries of cold countries are dull and drowsy sensualists, without a tinge of poetry in their composition. For this reason the ardent passions of the East have been celebrated in romance and history, while the slothful sensuality of the North has been neglected and forgotten. The world consequently has heard much of the one, and little or nothing of the other; and in course of time, by a very natural process, has imagined that the burning climates of Asia represent the passions of its inhabitants, while the snows of the opposite regions of Polar cold are characteristic of their purity and freedom from the dross of vice.

This idea, which we confess we once shared with the rest of the public, has been dissipated in our minds by the inquiries we have made. The sensuality of the East is more striking, more conspicuous, more celebrated, because it has been dressed by history and fable in more attractive forms, while that of the North is forgotten, because it has presented no theme for declamation or romance. But the people of the one resemble very much the people of the other; and even in the South, among the old and decaying nations of Europe, the same truth is discovered. Spain and Italy are supposed to be the cradles of voluptuous sentiment; but history shows how they have, in the manners of their people, passed from gradation to gradation, from variety to variety, while their climate has remained perpetually the same. Nature alters in nothing, but civilization is in continual change; and Rome, which was the sanctuary of female virtue in the heroic times of the Republic, is now, like Babylon, a city where adultery is licensed, and profligacy has the encouragement of the law.

Manners in Russia appear also to have passed through a considerable change since the days of the Empress Catherine. When it becomes civilized, it will, probably, improve still further. Its manners are now gross and profligate in the extreme, which in servile populations is invariably the case; but they have undergone considerable ameliorations since the close of the last century. In the neighbouring and kindred regions of Siberia, alterations appear only in those parts where a congregation of tribes has taken place, and the ruder are giving way to the more refined forms of society. Throughout the North, indeed, as much variety appears as in the East, and communities dwelling under the same temperature, present a perfect contrast in their morals and customs.

In Finland a very extraordinary state of manners still prevails. A recent traveller affords a curious illustration of this, showing how the ideas of decency in various countries are modified by habit. He went to a bath, and when conducted into a private chamber, found to his astonishment a tall handsome girl ready to attend him. She exhibited the utmost coolness and indifference, stripped off all his clothes, and rubbed him with herbs from head to foot as though he had been a mere log of wood, bathed him, laid him on his face, scourged him with a bundle of twigs, until he broke out into copious perspiration, dried him with towels, and all the while appeared utterly unconscious that her task was inconsistent with modesty or decent manners. In many parts of the North it is customary, as in some places in the East, and in the heroic ages in Greece, for the maidens of the house to attend a guest to his bedchamber, and assist in disposing him in comfort for the night. These practices do not in all countries, and at all times, illustrate the same national characteristics. They belong on the contrary to two extremes of social development. They indicate either a perfect simplicity or a total corruption of manners. It was genuine purity of mind and unsuspecting innocence of character that is represented in the virgin who attended Ulysses to the bath; but it was the vilest sensuality and brutality of manners that allowed the Roman Emperor of later days to be bathed and dressed by women.

Consequently in passing from the semi-civilized nations, through the races of the North, to the educated communities of Christendom, we proceed without the theory of measuring a country's manners by its geographical position. If it be civilized, it will be moral; but civilization is a false name when it is applied to a corrupt and enervated society. Art and luxury are not its highest evidences; but virtue

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and obedience to the exalted maxims of ethical philosophy.

Of Prostitution in Russia.

Russia, included by courtesy among civilized states, retains strong traces of its original barbarism. Resembling China in its system of government, it resembles it also in manners. What is admirable in its social characteristics arises from the natural good qualities of the people, who, notwithstanding a despotism which has wanted no feature to degrade them, please the traveller by a display of many signs of good disposition.

Russia resembles Asia in the indolence and apathy of its population. In the one region nations appear to have been enervated by heat, in the other benumbed by cold into a torpid submission to power. This is evident from the state of public manners. In Russia the inquiry is not what is essentially wrong, but what is wrong according to the police; and nothing else is condemned. Abject towards their rulers, they assume towards others the arrogance of slaves, so that a succession of tyrants may be said to exist from the emperor who tramples down sixty millions, to the peasant who oppresses his serving-boy.

No more striking proof could be mentioned of the fact that the condition and character of women form an infallible measure of civilization, than the state of the sex in Russia. It is true that our knowledge is very incomplete. Most travellers who have written on that country complain how difficult it is to describe it well, and they have generally verified their remark; still we learn enough from various authorities to enable us to judge in a general way of its characteristics.

Among the higher classes women affect and study a polish and refinement of manners, but this relates chiefly to the formalities of life. They dare not, under their own social code, make an inelegant salutation, transgress a point of etiquette, ride in an unfashionable equipage, or converse in a vulgar tone; but they may break the most sacred moral laws, may speak openly of indecent subjects, and may act and talk in a way which a modest English lady would blush to think of. The position they hold in society is in accordance with this view. Formerly marriage was little more than a bond between master and slave; but the relation has been, in that respect, improved. Women are to a certain degree independent, but it is the independence of neglect. They lead, in a word, a life very nearly resembling that of fashionable persons in our own metropolis, but their morals are not to be compared.

Little need be said of the marriage contract in Russia, since it is under the laws of the Christian church. It is, however, necessary to mention that few engagements occur between persons mutually united by affection. Interest is the usual tie; and frequently a girl is taken to the altar, where her appointed husband stands before her, all but an utter stranger. The ceremony is so theatrical that it wears no solemnity whatever. It is a drawing-room scene, directed by priests; so that the very seal of matrimony is of such a kind as to impress the woman with no idea of a holy union. The wives of the Russian nobles have accordingly little reputation for fidelity to their husbands; a characteristic observed by Clarke, long ago, as he travelled, and confirmed by Mr. Thompson, who wrote a year or two since, as well as by many other writers. Immorality and intrigue are of universal prevalence, from the palace to the private house. In a social sense they are scarcely looked upon as offences. The husband and wife, united by a bond, not of affection but of policy, look on each other from the first with coldness and indifference. Gradually each withdraws in a separate circle of life, and at length one looks without much care upon the guilt of the other. Before marriage the sexes are divided by etiquette, after marriage by mutual repulsion. The women, inferior in personal attractions, but superior in manner and acquirements to the men, receive from them little respect; and thus society, poisoned in its very springs, becomes yearly more dissolute and melancholy.

None will require to be reminded that numerous exceptions occur; that pure and strong family attachments exist in Russia; that young persons marry sometimes influenced by reciprocal feelings of affection; but from the accounts of all the writers we know who have described Russia, no other picture of its society could fairly be drawn. There is in that state licence for every crime which does not offend the government; and the more the nation is absorbed in its sensual enjoyments, the less will it be disposed to weary of servitude.

Among the peasantry sensuality is equally prevalent. They generally marry very young, but it is by no means essential that the bride should be a virgin. On

the contrary, numbers of women never marry until they have had an intrigue with some other lover.

St. Petersburgh, it is said, is a city of men, there being, in a population of about 500,000, 100,000 more males than females. The native Russians are less handsome and sooner faded than the women of Germany, Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland —countries which supply the state with prostitutes. Such are the manners of the city that no woman may walk out unless accompanied by a man, not even on the great promenades, in the broad light of day.

In ten years, from 1821 to 1831, the deaths in St. Petersburgh were 61,616, being 24,229 more than the births; and during the same period there were 11,429 marriages. The native Russian women are remarkable for the ease with which they bring forth children, while the foreigners in that country are precisely the reverse. Of the former, 15 in 1000; and of the latter, 25 is the average of those who die in childbed. The average of 20 years gives 6 still-born infants out of every 1000.

The foundling hospitals of Russia, magnificent as they are, cannot but be regarded as a premium upon immorality. Those of St. Petersburgh alone cost from 600,000,000 to 700,000,000 of rubles annually; supporting from 25,000 to 30,000 children, who are received at the rate of 7000 or 8000 a year. They are called "houses of education," because a prejudice attaches to their proper name. They are not, however, intended for infants who are picked up in the streets. There is never a case of such exposure. Women who have children of which they desire to be rid, bring them usually in the twilight, and they are taken in without any questions being asked. No one can tell whether they are legitimate or illegitimate—whether the offspring of poverty, adultery, or prostitution. In cases where fear or shame might in other countries induce a woman to murder or abandon her child, the mothers bring them to the hospital, and impenetrable obscurity remains over the previous part of the transaction. It is questionable whether the crimes thus prevented would make up an amount of evil equal to that caused by the profligacy to which the licence of impunity and encouragement is thus afforded.

Violence committed on a woman, married or single, is, in Russia, punishable by the knout; but this is almost the only check which the law, written or social, imposes on immorality. It is said that judges sometimes compound with a female criminal who happens to possess beauty, and pardon her at the price of her virtue.

When a French writer, many years ago, astonished the civilized countries of Europe by the description of a private institution in Russia known as the Physical Club, his report was rejected by the majority of persons as one of those travellers' tales which had their origin in a man's impudence or credulity. Lyall, however, made extensive inquiries upon the subject, and found that there did actually exist at Moscow a society called the Physical Club, the object of which exhibited, perhaps, more depravity of manners than could be found in any other part of the world, except among the Areois of the Pacific.

This club was originated by eight men and women of high rank, who agreed to hold common intercourse with each other, and for that purpose established a society. Its members all belonged to the nobility, and they sought to exclude all but beautiful women with the bloom of youth still upon them. Admittance was very difficult to be procured. A person before being initiated was sworn to secrecy, so that the names of the members remained unknown.

At stated intervals the members of the club assembled at a large house, where, in a magnificent saloon, brilliantly lighted up, they indulged in every kind of licentious amusements, inflaming themselves with strong potations, and preparing for the hideous orgies which were to follow. Suddenly all the candles were put out, each man chose a companion, and a scene of indescribable debauch ensued. On other occasions tickets were drawn by lot, and the company paired off to bedchambers prepared for this libidinous festival. This horrible institution, transferring its pestilential influence through every circle of society in Moscow, was abolished by Catherine the Second, who hated to see the reflection of her own vices—for it is matter of history that she was a vulgar prostitute herself.

Of the prostitute system in Russia our accounts are the most scanty possible. They exist in large numbers in every city and almost in every village; and a traveller remarks that they have the character of demanding to be paid beforehand, and refusing afterwards to remain with their companion. They do not form so distinct and conspicuous a class as in some countries, for the virtue of married women and young girls in the various ranks of life is not so inaccessible as to distinguish the professional prostitute so broadly from the

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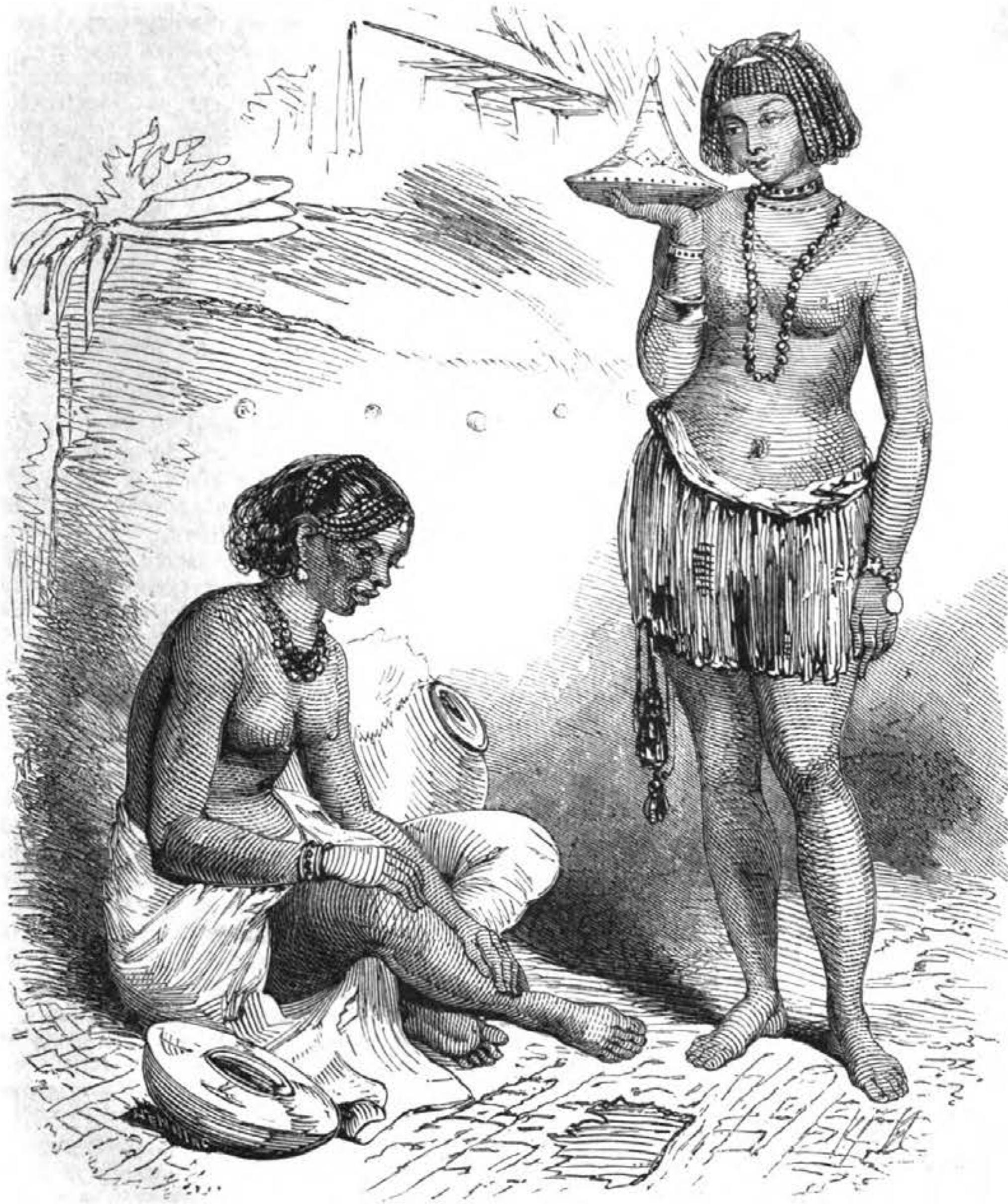

GIRLS OF NUBIA (MAKING POTTERY).

[*From* ST. JOHN'S *Oriental Album.*]

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other classes, as in a society whose manners are less corrupt. They are, in the cities, under the perpetual surveillance of the police. In the rural districts numbers of young women, belonging to the village populations, addict themselves to prostitution for gain—some permanently, others only until they have a chance of marriage.

There is apparently no check upon this calling, unless the women become afflicted by disease. When this is discovered the prostitute is forced to discontinue for awhile her dissolute course of life, and remain in a hospital until cured. When, as very frequently happens, the wife of a soldier takes to this occupation, and becomes tainted, she is delivered to her husband, who is obliged to sign a bond, engaging for the future to restrain her from profligacy. The wives of serfs are also delivered up to their husbands, who must pay the expenses of their cure at the hospitals. If they refuse to do this, and to answer for the future conduct of their partners, the women are sent, without further ceremony, to Siberia.

Another peculiarity in the civilization of Russia is exhibited in the market of wives, which is annually held in St. Petersburgh. It is one of those things which many persons exercise their philosophy by refusing to believe; but its existence is undoubted. It is still practised, even among the upper orders, while among the humbler classes it is extremely popular. Every year, on the twenty-sixth day of May, numbers of young women assemble in a particular part of the City Summer Garden, where they are exhibited in a formal "*bride*-show." Decked with an Oriental profusion of ornaments, all the marriageable girls are arranged in lines along the shady alleys, while some friends and professional match-makers stand in attendance on each group. The men who are inclined to matrimony visit the garden, pass along the rows of maidens, inspect them leisurely, enter into conversation, and, if pleased, enter into a preliminary, but conditional, contract. Numerous matches are thus formed; but very frequently the engagement here concluded, has long, between the youthful couple, been a matter of contemplation. Those who do not possess sufficient beauty or fascination are sometimes loaded with the signs of property to induce men to take them. A mother once, desiring to match her daughter to a man of substance, hung about her neck a massive chain of gold, to which was attached six dozen silver-gilt tea-spoons, and three dozen table-spoons, besides two heavy punch-ladles of the same metal, which soon attracted the attention of the young men. In the towns, indeed, we are told that marriages among all classes are generally settled by interest. In the rural parts this is also the case, but in a less degree. There it is the custom—among the peasantry—for the bride and bridegroom to enter the church door side by side, which they take care to do with the utmost regularity, since the superstitious idea prevails, that the one who plants a foot first inside the threshold of the edifice, will be supreme over the other, and become a tyrant in the family. The serfs cannot marry without the consent of their masters. In all parts of Russia the marriage of a felon is dissolved by the sentence which condemns him; but if he be pardoned before his wife has married again, he can recover her.

It will, from this account, be seen that the manners and morals of the Russians are dissolute in an extraordinary degree. There is, perhaps, no part of Europe where the people, as a race, are so profligate. This does not imply that the society of St. Petersburgh or Moscow is not distinguished by many virtuous families; but, on the whole, all travellers concur in showing the facts upon which we have based our estimate of the national character with respect to morality *.

Of Prostitution in Siberia.

From Russia the transition is natural to the contiguous and kindred region of Siberia. Thence we may, without any apology, extend our inquiries to the remotest north—for the Arctic countries do not present themselves with sufficient prominence to occupy a separate account, and to none could they be added as a supplement more fitly than to the snowy wilderness which spreads on one side to the shores of the Frozen Sea, and on the other to the frontiers of the Chinese Empire. It may appear anomalous to include any of these tracts under the head of civilized countries; but we place them as an appendage of Russia, to which, indeed, they form an appropriate companion.

The state of manners at which the po-

* Kohl's Russia and the Russians; La Russie en 1844—par un Homme d'État; Russia under Nicolas I.; Clarke's Travels; Lyall's Character of the Russians; Voyages des Deux Français; Granville's Travels; Golovine's Russia under the Autocrat; Venables' Domestic Manners of the Russians; Bourke's St. Petersburgh and Moscow; Thompson's Life in Russia; Jesse's Notes by a Half-Pay; Erman's Travels.

pulation of these snowy tracts have arrived is extremely low. Nature has taught them many rude arts; but their civilization has not advanced far beyond its crudest elements. The severe rigours to which they are exposed have produced pressing wants, which they have ingenuity enough to satisfy, and further than this their education does not appear to go. They are rude, ignorant, and gross. Some remain with none but the faintest idea of a Deity; others preserve the ancient heathen belief of the Shamans; others have accepted a form of Christianity; but in few of them has a variation in their religious ideas resulted in a change of manners. In fact, the form, and not the spirit of our creed has been introduced among them.

Throughout the immense tracts of Siberia we find numerous tribes, and even nations, classed under various denominations; but all, in their general manners, very much resembling each other. The condition and character of the female sex among them is low; but it is not treated with that harshness or contumely which it experiences in some savage races. Although the rude Ostyak, for instance, considers his wife as no more than a domestic drudge, seldom thinks of giving her a cordial word, and loads her with tasks, he does not use her with positive severity. Among the Samoyedes, women are much less happy and more harshly treated. In the perpetual migrations of the tribes they are charged with the principal burdens, and drag after the men like a train of slaves. The wife is viewed as a necessary but almost disgusting appendage to a man's household. She is regarded as unclean under many circumstances—especially childbirth, after which her husband will not approach her for two months. When about to be delivered she experiences, instead of the kind, considerate usage which some, even of the wildest savages pay to their women in such situations, a scorn and indignity to which, by long custom, she has thoroughly learned to bend.

In many parts of Siberia, however, a better prospect is presented, and the sexes appear more on an equality. Towards the centre, away from the sea on one hand, and Russia on the other, the tribes enjoy a very independent existence, being, indeed, the most free among the subjects of the Czar. In the winter time, when the rivers are completely frozen, the young girls assemble on their snowy borders, taking care to deck themselves out with every sort of finery they can procure. Their friends also congregate, forming groups, gossip, and enjoy themselves, while the youths mix with the maidens—each selecting the partner he likes the best. It is at this time of the year that the principal matches are arranged. In all parts it is customary to pay a certain amount to the girl's parents to buy the privilege of marrying her. Should a man not be rich enough to offer the sum required, he hires himself to her father, who tasks him sometimes very heavily, and continues in servitude for three, five, seven, or ten years, according to the agreement made beforehand. At the end of that period he takes his bride, is redeemed from his servile condition, and enters the family with all the dignities and rights of a son-in-law.

Among the Ostyaks it is regarded as very disgraceful to marry a brother's widow, a mother-in-law, or, indeed, any person connected in an ascending or descending line with the wife; but it is reckoned honourable to marry several sisters. The sister of a deceased wife is considered a particular acquisition, and, indeed, is attended with a solid advantage, for a man taking the second daughter of a house pays to her father a sum only equal to half of that which he paid for the first. No one can marry a person of the same family name; but this seems to apply to men alone, for a woman under this description who enters another household, and bears a daughter, may bestow her upon her brother. In a word, every union is lawful provided the father of the bridegroom and the father of the bride are of different families—though custom makes other distinctions, which are generally observed with as much strictness as those marked by the traditionary law.

When an Ostyak desires to marry he selects from among his companions or relatives a mediator. He then goes with a train of friends, as numerous as his influence enables him to collect, and stands before the door of the house in which the girl whom he has fixed upon resides. Her father easily guesses, on the arrival of such a cavalcade, what the object of it is, and consequently asks no questions, but invites the company in and welcomes them with a feast. Then, retiring with the mediator into another hut, he enters into a negotiation about the amount which he is to receive for his daughter. These things are quietly arranged, though the spirit of bargaining is generally active on both sides. It is not necessary to pay down the whole amount at once, but this must be done before the nuptials can take place. Sometimes, however, a man snatches away

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his bride before he has fully discharged his debt. In that case her father waits for an opportunity to seize her, carries her home, and keeps her in pledge until the amount be faithfully paid.

Similar customs prevail among the Samoyedes, who are polygamists, though they prefer the changing one wife for another, according to the changes in their inclination, to having two or three at once. The Tungueses, however, often keep as many as five, but even among them the majority of men marry no more than one at a time. They enter into matrimony at a very early age. It is common to see a husband fifteen years old, and a wife, or even a widow, of twelve. There is with them no feast or ceremony of any kind. The bargain is made and ratified, and the young couple proceed forthwith to their nuptial couch.

The Bulwattes, who are also polygamists, treat their women well. Among them one curious observance is,—that the consummation of every marriage must take place in a newly-built hut, where, as they say, no impure things can have been. This is, at any rate, a poetical and a somewhat refined idea. Certain feasts are essential before the union is contracted.

The Tchoutkas, beyond Nigri Kolinsk, have been baptized in large numbers. Their Christianity, however, does not incline them to remove polygamy, for they have in most cases a plurality of wives, whom they marry for a certain period—long or short, as circumstances may determine. It sometimes happens in one of these households that the wife obtains sufficient ascendancy over her husband to bind him to her, and a convention, intended from the first to be only temporary, becomes permanent. The woman who accomplishes this achievement is honoured by the rest of her sex, and is thenceforward supreme in the family. Generally speaking the women of this tribe are more happy and free than in any other part of Siberia.

Among the Tschuwasses it is customary on the occasion of a betrothal to offer a sacrifice of bread and honey to the sun, that he may look down with favour on the union. On the appointed day, while the guests are assembling, the bride hides herself behind a screen. Then she walks round the room three times, followed by a train of virgins bearing honey and bread. The bridegroom entering, snatches over her veil, kisses her, and exchanges rings. She then distributes refreshments to her friends, who salute her as "the betrothed girl," after which she is led behind the screen to put on a matron's cap. One of the concluding rites performed is that of the bride pulling off her new husband's boots—a ceremony to symbolise her promise of obedience to him. When, however, he on his part takes the cap from her head, she is divorced, and goes home to her parents.

Still more degrading is the custom of the Tchemerisses. A man, representing the girl's father, presents to her husband a whip, which he is allowed freely to use. There is only one occasion during the year when men permit their wives to eat with them. The Morduans betroth their children while very young; but the youth does not know his bride until he marries her. She is then brought to him, placed on a mat, and consigned to his charge with these words, "Here, wolf, take thy lamb." Still more singular is the custom of the Wotyahe tribes. With them it is usual for the young wife, a few days after the wedding, to go back to her father's house, resume her virgin costume, and remain sometimes during a whole year. At the end of that period the husband goes to fetch her, when she feigns reluctance, and exhibits every sign of bashfulness and modesty. The women of this community are habitually chaste and decorous in their behaviour.

The usual occupations of the men in Siberia are hunting, fishing, smoking, drinking, and bartering with the Russian traders. Those of the women are far more numerous and wearisome. They build the huts, they tend the cattle, they prepare the sledges, they harness the reindeer when their husbands are away, and drive them also occasionally; they weave mats, baskets, and cloth; they dye worsted for embroidery; they tan hides, make garments, cook the food, and, in some tribes, assist in catching fish. While they perform these varied and harassing offices without a murmur, as they usually do, their life is one of peace; but if they repine they are sure to be harshly reproved, if not severely punished. In some communities the husband is permitted the free use of his whip; but in others, as that of the Ostyaks, a husband dare not flog his wife without the consent of her father, and on account of some grievous fault. If he does she has the privilege of flying home, when her dowry must be restored, and she has her liberty complete.

Jealousy is a sentiment little known among the Ostyaks, or, indeed, any of the Siberian races. Sometimes the women wear veils, but not with that strictness observable with some nations, and more to save

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their eyes from the effect of the snow glare than from any other motive. Modesty, indeed, is by no means one of their characteristics. Nor is chastity very highly prized. When a Samoyede woman is about to be delivered, she is obliged to confess, in presence of her husband and a midwife, whether she has engaged in any criminal intrigue. If she tell an untruth, the national superstition is that death will assail her amid the pangs of childbirth. Should she declare herself guilty, the husband contents himself with going to the person whom her confession has accused, and exacting from him a small fine by way of compensation—for having, "without permission," carried on intercourse with a stranger's wife.

The barbarous manners of Siberia do not allow us, indeed, to expect any refined modesty among its women. Wrangell was introduced into the family of a rich and influential man—the head of a tribe. Within a low-roofed but spacious habitation he found five or six women—wives and daughters, of various ages, all completely naked. They roared with laughter when their visitor entered, and appeared excessively amused at being discovered in that condition. The dancing women of these tribes wear clothing while they display their skill, but otherwise they are as indecent as possible. Obscene and degrading postures, indeed, make up the chief merit of their performances. A late traveller, hearing of these dancers, desired some women to perform, but they appeared so modest, bashful, and diffident, that he feared to urge them. However, after considerable solicitation they consented, when he was disgusted at seeing them fling themselves with marvellous rapidity into a hundred disgraceful attitudes.

Infanticide is not practised in Siberia, except on those children who are born with deformities. These are, it is said, invariably destroyed. There is, in fact, little inducement to the crime, for the whole region is but scantily peopled, and marriages are not at all prolific.

The morals of the Siberian races are universally low. A licentious intercourse is carried on between the sexes long before marriage, early as this takes place. In the great city of Yehaterinbourgh, where religious dissensions are extremely bitter, profligacy is still more powerful, and women, from sheer lust, prostitute themselves to men of all sects, with whom, however, they would rigidly refuse to eat or drink. In all the towns numbers of prostitutes reside. They are scarcely, if at all, reprobrated by the other classes of the population, and the young men who do not wish to marry, or cannot afford to procure a wife, as well as widowers, resort to them continually. The process, in fact, which educates a Siberian prostitute to her calling, appears to be this. A young girl, in a community where general licentiousness of manners prevails, is brought up from her mother's breast with the most loose ideas. She is not taught to prize her chastity, though told that marriage is the destiny to which she must look, and warned that her husband will require her to be faithful to him. Meanwhile, however, there is little in her own mind, or in the care of her friends, to protect her virtue. She forms acquaintances, and is seduced, first by one, and then by another, until her profligacy becomes so flagrant and so public that no one will purchase her as a wife. Accordingly she follows as a means of livelihood that which she has hitherto resorted to only as a means of indulging her vicious appetite. Thousands of prostitutes are thus made, especially amid the crowded communities. In some of the small wandering tribes, the women are comparatively chaste; but on the whole the refined sentiments of virtue are unknown, and prostitution extremely prevalent. This appears strange to those who are accustomed to believe that a warm climate is essential to form a sensual race. It seems, on the contrary, that one extreme of temperature is accompanied with influences as demoralising as another, for it is certain that nations dwelling in the temperate zone are more moderate in their passions, and more abstemious in the gratification of them.

For the races inhabiting the Arctic regions, the Esquimaux may be taken as a proper type. As a race, they are dirty, poor, and immoral, but not so grovelling as the tribes of Western Africa. Though their ideas of beauty and grace are totally at variance with ours, it is wrong to suppose that they have none, for the Esquimaux woman, who tattooes her skin to charm a lover, exhibits undeniably one of those characteristics in human nature which allow opportunities to civilize individuals and nations. They are an ingenious industrious people, understanding well how to make use of those conveniences and appliances of life which have been placed by nature at their disposal; and they who make themselves comfortable and happy in the coldest and most desolate parts of the earth, must possess a certain amount of that genius which,

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properly developed, flourishes in civilization.

The estimation in which women are held among the Esquimaux is somewhat greater than is usual among savages. They are by no means abject drudges, those cares only being assigned to them which are purely domestic, and which are apportioned to the females among the humbler classes in all European countries. The wife makes and tends the fire, cooks the food, watches the children, is sempstress to the whole family, and orders all the household arrangements, while her husband is labouring abroad for her subsistence. When a journey is to be performed, they, it is true, bear a considerable share of the burdens, but not more than among many of the poor fishing populations of civilized countries in Europe, in some of which the man's occupation ceases when his boat touches the shore. It is a division of labour, not so much imposed as shared, and the toil is not by any means hateful to them. During the stationary residence in the winter, the life led by the women is in fact one of ease, indolence, and pleasure, for they sit at home, cross-legged on their couches, almost all the day, enjoying themselves as they please, with a fire to warm the habitation, which it is a pleasant task to attend.

The Esquimaux women are not very prolific, few bearing more than three or four children. They generally suckle them themselves, but it is not uncommon for one woman to nurse at her breast the infant of another who may be closely occupied at the time. They are more desirous of bearing male than female offspring, for parents look to their sons in old age as a means of support.

The Esquimaux are permitted by their social and hereditary law to have two wives, but the custom is by no means general. Parry describes a tribe of 219—69 being men, 77 women, and the rest children—among whom there were only twelve men who had two wives, while a few were doubly betrothed. Two instances occurred of a father and son being married to sisters. Children are usually plighted during infancy—that is, from three to seven years of age, and the boy sometimes plays with his future bride, calling her wife. When a man has two wives, there is usually a difference of six or seven years between their ages, and the senior being mistress, takes her station by the principal fire, which she entirely superintends. Her position is in every respect one of superiority; but this is seldom asserted, as the two generally live in the most perfect harmony. The marriage contract has nothing of a sacred character about it, being merely a social arrangement which may be with great facility dissolved. A man can without any ceremony repudiate his wife, to punish her for a real or supposed offence, but this is rarely done. The husband, who is usually older by many years than his partner, chastises her himself when she irritates him, though caring comparatively little for her fidelity. Absolute in his authority, according to the laws of the Esquimaux, he is sometimes, nevertheless, ruled by the women. Usually, however, he upholds his prerogative, and punishes any infringement of it in a very summary manner; but the utmost harshness commonly employed is to make the delinquent lead her master's reindeer while he rides comfortably in his sledge. Women are very careful of their husbands, partly no doubt from natural sentiments of affection, but partly also, we may believe, from knowledge of the fact that widows are not half so happy as wives, being dirty and ragged, unless they have friends willing to support them, or sufficient attractions to enable them to gain a livelihood by regular prostitution.

Respecting the virtue of the Esquimaux women and the morality of the men, little of a favourable nature is to be said. Husbands have continually offered their wives to strangers for a knife or a jacket. Some of the young men told Parry, that when two of them were about to be absent for any length of time on whaling expeditions, they often exchanged wives as a matter of temporary convenience. Instances of which have been noticed by the voyager—in some cases merely because one woman was pregnant and unable to bear the hardship of a journey. The same writer affirms that in no country is prostitution carried to a greater length. The behaviour of most of the women while the men are absent, causes a total disregard of connubial fidelity. Their departure, in fact, is usually a signal to cast aside all restraint, and, as the last excess of profligacy, children are sent out by their mothers to keep watch lest the husband should return while his habitation is occupied by a stranger*.

* Wrangell's Nord de la Siberie; Cottrell's Recollections of Siberia; Dobell's Travels; Hollman's Travels; Erman's Travels; Parry's Three Voyages; Bache's Narrative; Bache's Land Expedition; King's Journey to the Arctic Ocean;

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Iceland and Greenland.

Iceland and Greenland, differing in their people, their fortunes and their civilization, may, nevertheless, be classed together, for both belong geographically to the western world, while both present intimate relations with Europe. Iceland, a lonely, gloomy, and extensive country, is inhabited by a serious, humble, and quiet people, numbering about 55,000. Isolated from the rest of the world by dreary and tempestuous seas spreading far around it on every side, its inhabitants remain to this day almost in their primitive condition. Nine centuries have produced little change in their language, costume, or modes of life. Formerly, indeed, they were heathens, and have now been converted to Christianity. Modifications have also occurred in their manners. At one period, for instance, the law allowed the exposure of such children as their parents desired to be rid of, and the unnatural sacrifice was common. It originated with the men, and the women appear never to have become reconciled with the usage, which has now been entirely abolished, though infants perish in large numbers from insufficient and unskilful nursing. On the whole, however, the original manners of the Icelanders remain unchanged. We refer, of course, to a period since what has been termed the heroic age, when a system of society prevailed, which has been entirely swept away by a new and victorious civilization. In those ancient times, when Iceland was a republic, with institutions of a most remarkable nature, the treatment of the female sex there, and among the Scandinavian nations generally, was unequalled by any other heathen communities, except the polished state of Greece. Polygamy, though not forbidden by their religious code, was exceedingly rare. Their manners, indeed, are, in several other respects, superior to their enacted laws. Fathers, or other near male relatives, possessed unlimited power to dispose of the young girls as best suited their convenience or caprice, but seldom or ever exercised this invidious prerogative, leaving them rather to their own choice. With mild advice, indeed, they persuaded them to prudent unions, but with no harsh, inconsiderate authority. The daughter received, on her marriage, a dowry from her parents besides a present from her husband. These acquisitions formed a property which remained absolutely her own, and constituted her provision in the event of a divorce. This could take place whenever she chose to express before certain prescribed witnesses her desire for such separation. A harsh word, any ill-usage, or a hasty blow, might be pleaded as sufficient reason for her resolve; and by a liberal use of this prerogative the wives of Iceland obtained high authority over their husbands. They occasionally accompanied them to the public assemblies, which were convened in conformity with their popular institutions, and were always present at the great festivals. Sometimes they assembled in rooms assigned exclusively to them, and made merry among themselves; sometimes they mingled with the general company. With the exception of a few, whom the fearful superstition of that age condemned to death as witches, no women suffered very severe punishment. The warriors of the island delighted to celebrate their praises, and terms expressing the high qualities of the female sex were abundant in the Icelandic language, and profusely employed in its literature. At present the condition of the sexes is somewhat equal. The men of the humbler classes divide their labours with the women, but do not oppress them with any of the taskmaster's tyranny. Both are alike filthy and coarse in their habits. Among the wealthy, as well as in the middle orders, it is customary for ladies to wait at table when strangers are present; but this is considered as an employment by no means menial. The hospitality of the Icelanders, indeed, assumes some very singular forms. Their women often salute the stranger with a cordial embrace, from which on account of their uncleanliness he is generally desirous to escape as quickly as possible. When Henderson, the missionary, resided there, he visited, during his travels, the house of a respectable man, where he was liberally treated. At night, when he retired to his bedroom, the eldest daughter of the family attended him, and assisted him to undress by pulling off his stockings and pantaloons. He was unwilling to accept such services, to which he was wholly unaccustomed; but she imputed his refusal to politeness, and insisted on performing the office, declaring it was the invariable custom of her country. It is the task of the women, almost always, to unloose the sandals or latchets of their husband's shoes.

The intercourse of the sexes in Iceland is regulated by few absolute laws; but Christianity has abolished polygamy, while public opinion holds a strong check upon

Fisher's Voyage of Discovery; Barrow's Voyage; Shillinglau's Arctic Discoveries; Snow's Arctic Regions; Scoresby's Arctic Countries, &c., &c.

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illicit communication. With the exception of those seaport populations, which have been corrupted by an influx of Danes and other foreigners, generally of disreputable character, they are, as a nation, moral. These exceptions contribute very considerably to the number of bastard children. In 1801, the population was 46,607 —; 21,476 males and 25,131 females, or in the proportion of thirteen to fifteen of men to women. The average marriages during a period of ten years, were 250, or one out of 188 of the population; the births 1350, or one in 35, and the deaths 1250. One child out of nine was illegitimate. In 1821 one out of seven was illegitimate, and in 1833 the proportion remained the same. Men usually marry between the ages of 25 and 32, women between those of nineteen and 30.

If, however, we give credit to a scandalous anecdote related by Lord Kames, in his "Sketches of Man," we must impute to the Icelanders, of a century and a half ago, a very profligate disposition. In 1707, it is said, a contagious distemper having cut off nearly all the people, the King of Denmark fell on an ingenious device to repeople the country. He caused a law to be promulgated that every young woman in Iceland might bear as many as six illegitimate children without injuring her reputation; but, says the gossipping philosopher, the young women were so zealous to repeople the country, that after a few years it was found necessary to abrogate the law. Little dependance is to be placed on such stories, though the number of illegitimate children born does certainly contradict the panegyrics on the pure morality of the Icelanders, in which some writers are fond of indulging. About one person in seven is married; but it is the custom among the poor for persons of both sexes to sleep promiscuously in small close cabins, which cannot but corrupt their manners. In the fishing towns, especially, where numerous foreigners have congregated, there are many prostitutes, who usually gain only part of their livelihood by that profession. What their numbers are it is impossible to tell; but it seems that the crews of the fishing-vessels, as well as the traders who frequent the ports from time to time, generally resort to the company of prostitutes, who present themselves in any numbers that may be required.

Extending our observations to the remote and desolate coast of Greenland, we find a population partly composed of European colonists and partly of Esquimaux, who have, however, a system of manners not identical with that of the tribes we have already noticed. They are a vain and indolent, but not a very sensual, people. What virtue they possess consists rather in the negation of active vice, than in any positive good qualities. Their women occupy an inferior, yet not a degraded, position. They take charge, indeed, of all domestic concerns, make clothes, tools and tents, build huts and canoes, prepare leather, carry home the game, clean and dry the garments, and cook the food, while their husbands catch seals; but the men often assist their wives in these occupations. Marriage is essentially a contract for mutual convenience, to be dissolved when it ceases to be agreeable to both. The woman looks out for a skilful hunter, the man for an industrious housewife. She brings him little dowry, possessing usually no more than a kettle, a lamp, some needles, a knife, and a few clothes. Parents seldom interfere with the matches of their children. It is considered proper for a girl, when a man comes to request her in marriage, to fly away and hide among the hills, whence she is dragged, with a show of violence, by her suitor. He takes her home, and if her aversion be real, she runs away again and again, until he is weary of pursuit. Formerly, it was the custom to make incisions in the soles of a bride's feet, as some tribes in Siberia and Borneo are accustomed to do to the captives, to prevent their escaping. When a woman is courted by a man whom she detests, she cuts off her hair, which is a sign of great horror and grief, and usually rids her of her suitor. Among the heathen tribes polygamy is allowed, though seldom practised. Divorces sometimes take place. All the man has to do is to assume a stern expression of countenance, and quit the home for a few days without saying when he intends to return. The woman takes the hint, packs up her few effects, and goes with her children to the house of her parents or some friend. Generally, however, they lead a reputable life, the women being docile, and the men indulgent.

Considering themselves, as they do, the only civilised people in the world, the Greenlanders feel a pride in observing the outward shows of decorum. They do not allow marriages within three degrees of affinity. It is not considered reputable for persons, though not related, who have been educated in the same house, to marry. Sometimes a man takes two sisters, or a mother and her daughter, but this is viewed with general reprobation. The

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marriage contract is, on the whole, very strictly observed, few divorces taking place, except between the young. "The most detestable crime of polygamy," as a Danish writer terms it, produced, where it was practised, little of that jealousy which might be expected among the wives, until the arrival of the missionaries, who preached against it, and speedily won the female sex to support their doctrine.

There was formerly in Greenland a society resembling very closely the Physical Club of Moscow, but still more obscene in its practices. This, however, has disappeared. Prostitution, nevertheless, prevails to a considerable degree, widows and divorced women almost invariably adopting it, as the only means of life, indeed, to which they can resort. There are numerous habitations in the larger communities, which can only be described as brothels; but the profession entails the worst odium on those who follow it *.

Of Prostitution in Lapland and Sweden.

A notice of the Scandinavian populations would be incomplete, unless we touched particularly on the Laplanders; especially as they contrast very strongly with their neighbours the Swedes, notwithstanding that these are far more inflated with the pride of civilization. Forming a nomade race, known in their own region as Finns, they occupy a country little favoured by the prodigality of nature. Nevertheless, where they have settled into fixed communities, we find them adopting many forms of luxury, polishing their manners, and pursuing wealth with eagerness. But these scarcely belong to the body of the Laplanders, and it is only necessary to say of them that they are a happy, virtuous people, distinguished by the affection and harmony existing between men and women.

The genuine Laplander, among his free rocks and snows, lives partly in a tent, partly in a hut; but, whichever tenement he inhabits, he is content with the most simple economy. During the summer he wanders, and is equally industrious and frugal; during the winter he remains in one place, enjoying the fruits of his labour in ease and idleness. This is a peculiar mode of life, and has much influence on the manners of the people; for, during their leisure months, they invent many pleasures, few of which are indulged in by one sex apart from the other.

The Lapland families are generally small;—three or four children being the largest number habitually seen; but what they do bring forth, the women bring forth easily; scarcely ever requiring help, and speedily leaving their couch to fulfil their usual tasks.

The general character of the Lapland race is good. From whatever cause the circumstance proceeds, it is certain that their morals are strict and virtuous. Few strong passions of any kind prevail among them, and they are more especially distinguished by their continence.

The priest of a large parish assured one traveller that there had been but one instance of an illegitimate birth during twenty years, and that illicit intercourse between the sexes was almost unknown.

Old travellers have amused their readers with accounts of the conjugal infidelity common in Lapland, and asserted that the men are in the habit of offering their wives to strangers: this appears to be wholly untrue. So far from truth is it, indeed, that adultery is a crime almost unknown among them; they are, in fact, rather jealous than otherwise of their women. The intercourse of the sexes, nevertheless, is free and agreeable; their marriages are contracted, sometimes according to the choice of the young people, sometimes by that of their parents. Prostitution is unknown among them, except in the fishing towns, where a few wretched women have taken to that mode of life; but, on the whole, they are a chaste and virtuous race.

The great difference between the institutions of Norway and those of Sweden consist in this—that in the former, manners influence the law; while in the latter, law attempts to regulate every detail of public manners.

Men, says the public law of Sweden, attain their majority at the age of 21 years, but women remain in tutelage during the whole period of their lives, unless the king grants a privilege of exemption: widows, however, are excepted. Men cannot legally marry before the age of 21. Even to this rule there is an exception, for among the peasants of the north it is lawful for a youth of eighteen to take a wife—a device adopted to increase the population of those thinly-inhabited provinces. Women may marry immediately after their

* Henderson's Residence in Iceland; Trail's Letters on Iceland; Kames' Sketches of Man; Gaimard's Voyages en Islande; Hooker's Tour in Iceland; Crantz's History of Greenland; Account of Greenland, Iceland, &c.; Dillon's Winter in Greenland; Barrow's Visit to Iceland; Egede's Descriptions of Greenland; Graah's Voyage to Greenland.

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confirmation, which never takes place before fourteen. The nuptials are recognised by law, and are celebrated in the presence of a priest, by the gift of a ring. A man desiring to take his sister-in-law to wife, must have permission from the king. A few years ago an ordinance was abolished which required a similar formality to be gone through previous to the marriage of cousins. A man may marry without the consent of any one; but a woman must obtain the sanction of her parent or guardian. To render binding the contract, which stipulates for the rights of each with respect to property, it must be presented to the magistrates of the place, and signed by the priest, before the celebration of the wedding.

In default of such an agreement a division takes place, under rules which differ in the country and in the town. In the former, two-thirds of the property belong to the man, and one-third to the woman; in the latter, half is apportioned to each.

Marriage, when fully consummated, is not indissoluble. Divorce may be pronounced by the public tribunals of justice. First, for adultery on the part of the husband or of the wife; second, on the condemnation of one or the other, on account of a felonious crime, to loss of honour and liberty for ten years; thirdly, in cases of insanity; fourthly, for desertion, neglect, or the continued absence, without intelligence, of husband or wife. When a married person complains of having been abandoned, the magistrate fixes a certain interval during which the other may make answer; a notice is inserted in the gazette and the newspapers. If, at the expiration of this period, no reply is heard, the divorce is pronounced. The length of absence necessary to justify such a separation is left to the discretion of the judge. Fifthly, when one person is palmed off for another; sixthly, for ill-treatment; seventhly, for apostasy; eighthly, for incurable epilepsy. After the sentence of the civil tribunal, the divorce is held good in an ecclesiastical court.

A man is bound to support his natural children, and inquiries in cases of affiliation are frequent. When a girl accuses a man before a public tribunal, of being the father of her child, he may deny it upon oath, when her allegation is dismissed, unless she can prove by witnesses, or by any other evidence, that her claim is absolutely just. As such a proof is difficult to obtain, there are abundance of false oaths made at Stockholm. A girl sometimes accuses a peasant of being the parent of her child, demanding, perhaps, a sum of money equal to a sovereign of our coinage, by way of compensation. The man refuses to pay it, and offers to swear that he is not the child's father. The magistrate then seeks by persuasion to induce him to confess the truth; but he persists in his refusal until the woman modifies her claim. He continues all the while to threaten her with the oath of repudiation, unless she is contented with his offer. If she accepts a miserable trifle, he acknowledges the debt; if not, he perjures himself, and the law allows him to escape, though morally convinced, beyond all question, of his profligacy and falsehood.

The illegitimate child has no claim on the property of its father, or even on that of its mother; but if the parents marry, however short a time before the child's birth, it is saved from the stigma of bastardy. A legitimate child cannot be disinherited by its parents, unless for marrying against their consent, or being condemned for felony to a heavy and disgraceful punishment.

Death is the penalty attached to infanticide, but is almost invariably commuted to detention for a longer or shorter period, with hard labour in prison. In 1832 the House of Correction for females in Stockholm, which served for all Sweden, contained 290 women, of which 45 were condemned to hard labour for life; of these, 30 had murdered their children.

The punishments denounced against adultery endeavour to mark a distinction between particular degrees of the crime. Incest and bestiality are, however, punished only with a moderate fine. When a married man indulges in guilty intercourse with a married woman, they both suffer death by decapitation. When it is committed by a married man with a girl betrothed and pregnant by her lover, he receives 120 blows with a stick, and she 90 lashes with a whip. Punishments of this sort continually take place in a public square at Stockholm. At present, in whipping the girls on their naked persons, care is taken to protect their bosoms and their abdomens with plates of copper. Formerly, however, when this precaution was not adopted, the lash frequently lacerated the bosom and tore open the flesh, so as to expose the bowels. When adultery is committed by a married man with an affianced girl, or the reverse, a simple fine is exacted; in default of which, imprisonment on bread and water, or a public flogging, is inflicted. When one of the criminals only is married, and the other is

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entirely free, an inferior money penalty is adjudged.

An unmarried woman becoming a mother pays to the church penance money, to a certain amount. So also does every man: that is to say, the law enacts it; but it is, perhaps, needless to add that the priests get, in this respect, much less than is legally their due.

In 1836 prostitution was forbidden by law throughout Sweden. The public woman, being convicted, was imprisoned in a house of correction, until she had time to reclaim herself, and some one was willing to take her into service. The same, indeed, was done to any poor woman, whatever her character, who could not describe her occupation. Many little girls, some not more than eleven years old, were confined as a punishment for being without a regular avocation. Professional and open prostitution being thus severally prohibited by the law, there were, at that period, no regular brothels in Sweden; but the women of the lower orders were so corrupt, that prostitution was as common as possible. "Every servant girl," says the advocate Angelot, who wrote in 1836, "may be considered as a public prostitute, and every house of public entertainment may be described as a brothel."

So far the laws describe the manners of Sweden; that is, they indicate the profligacy they are unable to cure. The country is, perhaps, one of the most demoralized in Europe. During many years it continued to decline in population, prosperity, and character; and if during the last quarter of a century it has improved in these respects, it is because the old system of institutions is gradually wearing away.

Superficial travellers, who gather their ideas of other countries by no other light than that of the chandelier, and in no other society than that of fops and flirts, describe Sweden as a paradise of good breeding and elegance. Society is there often gay and lively, which satisfies the inquiries of such tourists. The ladies of that nation also possess many fascinations, with an apparent frankness and sincerity, which never fail to please. The women of the humbler orders wear, in the streets, the airs of modesty, and never shock the eye by exhibitions of wantonness or indecency. The intercourse of the sexes is extremely free; and therefore there are fewer signs of intrigue, because this is not necessary; but to infer from such circumstances that Sweden is a moral country, is to fall into a grievous error.

Sweden is immoral, and Stockholm is the most immoral place in Sweden. For many years it absolutely decayed under the moral disease which afflicted it. In 1830 it contained nearly 81,000 inhabitants; this number decreased in a year or two to 77,000, and the deaths during a period of ten years exceeded the births by an average of 895. Yet it is in a healthy situation; the people are well lodged; everything, indeed, is there to render it pure and salubrious; but the moral atmosphere is tainted by a continual epidemic of depravity.

The whole nation numbers about 3,000,000; but it is in the capital that the excess of profligacy is displayed. Three or four years ago the proportion of illegitimate children was as one to two and three-tenths, that is to say, one person out of every three was a bastard. Taking all Sweden, we find the proportion of the ten years, from 1800 to 1810, was one in sixteen; from 1810 to 1820, one in fourteen; from 1820 to 1830, one in fourteen and six-tenths. It was thus the town population which was to be charged with the immoral result of depravity. In Stockholm, however, statistics could not fully exhibit the general demoralization. Laing asserts his deliberate belief that the offspring of adultery and children saved from illegitimacy by the late marriage of their parents were there exceedingly numerous; and it is probable that the law forbidding young men to marry before they were 21 years of age had, in this respect, a very evil influence, as similar checks have undoubtedly had in Norway.

In 1837 the government of Sweden, finding that to prohibit prostitution was not to prevent it, and that the vice they sought to check increased in spite of their efforts, ran, at one impulse, to a contrary extreme. Formerly no public women were allowed, now they were created as a class; formerly no brothels were permitted to be kept by private individuals, now a huge brothel was instituted by the authorities. A large hotel was hired, was fitted up for the purpose, and opened to all the city. A number of unfortunate women were expected to inhabit this licensed resort of infamy, and it speedily overflowed. A code of regulations was framed for the government of the place; but the barbarity of this discipline prevented the scheme from succeeding. Prostitution, however, had been recognised by law. Therefore, though the government brothel was abandoned, others were multiplied in its place; and vice, which had rioted under a mask, appeared in her proper form, among the citizens of Stockholm. Nevertheless, numbers of the restaurants and houses of public

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entertainment still retain their original character as the secret resorts of prostitutes and their companions. One great cause of the immorality prevalent in Stockholm was, that no woman who could afford to do otherwise, or had any of the wretched pride of respectability, would suckle her own child. Wet nurses, therefore, were in great request. Unmarried girls were absolutely preferred, because the family was not troubled with their husbands. Their own offspring were meanwhile transferred to the foundling hospital, which remains another licence to immorality. There are in Stockholm two of these institutions, where the children are educated, on payment of a premium varying from five to ten pounds sterling of English coinage. In 1819 there were born in Sweden 14,000 illegitimate children, being nearly a seventh of the births. M. Alexandre Daumont says, that there was in Woesend, a canton of Finland, a special law which, granting to women equal rights of property with the men, improved the character of their morals. But no institutions will improve the manners of a country like Sweden, until the national sentiments are purified, for the example of the court and the nobility, says Mr. Laing, have instructed the people so far, that it is only a moral revolution which can reclaim them.

There is in Stockholm a separate hospital for the treatment of syphilis. It received in one year 701 patients, 148 being from the country and the rest from the city itself. In that year (1832) the number of unmarried persons, of both sexes, above the age of fifteen, was 33,581. Consequently, 1 person out of every 61 was afflicted by the venereal disease.

The condition of women in Sweden is low in comparison with the other countries of Europe, and offers a strong contrast with that which we discover in Norway. Tasks are assigned among the humble orders to the female sex against which true civilization would revolt. They carry sacks, row boats, sift lime, and bear other heavy labours. Among the middle classes they hold an inferior situation; but among the higher, though little respected, they are comparatively free*.

* Angelot's Legislation des États du Nord; Capel Brookes's Winter in Lapland and Sweden; Reichard's Guide des Voyageurs; Bramsen's Letters of a Prussian Traveller; Laing's Tour in Sweden; Tryzell's History of Sweden; Frankland's Visits to Courts of Russia and Sweden.

Of Prostitution in Norway.

Living under ancient laws and social arrangements distinct in their principles no less than in their forms from those which discipline society in the feudal countries of Europe, the people of Norway are among the most singular and interesting in the world. Their peculiar institutions, which never admitted of an hereditary nobility, have distributed property among all, so that nowhere is there less poverty, or more abundance of the necessaries of life. These circumstances have exerted a powerful influence on the moral character of the Norwegians. It is consequently important to inquire into their manners, since the solution of many social problems may, by such an investigation, be assisted.

There are in Norway two classes of checks upon the rapid increase of population—one arising from their public economy, the other artificial, and under the influence of law. In all countries where the poor possess the land, provident marriages prevent the growth of a pauper population, and this is the case in Norway. So far the results produced are wholly beneficial; but here other restraints are imposed, which, being somewhat extravagant, miss their object, and exert bad effects on the moral tone of the community.

A marriage in Norway is an occasion, not only of long and formal ceremonies, but of considerable expense. This circumstance has two opposite tendencies on the character of the people. It is not considered respectable to marry unless some grand display takes place, with a liberal festival, the distribution of presents, a long holiday, and other means of expenditure, which create a provident spirit and prudent habit, which stimulate industry, and contribute to the general happiness and prosperity. Spending on their wedding-day what would support them during twelve months, many young couples do, indeed, commit acts of injurious extravagance in emulation of their neighbours; but in accumulating what they thus lavish, they have acquired the custom of saving, the necessity for which puts off the period of marriage. The Lutheran church also holds another strong check upon improvident and ill-considered marriages. It compels all within its communion to observe two separate ceremonies—one the betrothal, the other the wedding. The first must precede the second by several months at least, and generally does by one, two, three, or even four or five years. This in-

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terposes a seasonable pause between the first engagement, which may have sprung out of a temporary passion, and its irrevocable ratification, which may be the prelude to a life of misery. It has been calculated that the practical result of this interval between the period when a girl becomes naturally, and that when she becomes legally marriageable, checks the growth of the population by four or five per cent. Maintained within just limits such social laws are found to act beneficially, and tend in every way to improve the condition, manners, habits, and morals of the people.

In Norway, however, they have been pushed beyond the frontiers of moderation, and in many cases cause more evils than they cure. For it is found impossible to put a bridle on human nature. Powerful impulses attract the sexes to intercourse, and it frequently occurs that the betrothed girl becomes a mother before she becomes a wife. Up among the high districts of the interior, it is said that the peasant girl rarely marries until she has borne a child. Throughout Norway, indeed, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is about one to five, and in some parishes, where the restraint upon marriage is greatest, the average lies far more towards the side of immorality. In one of these districts, where there are no other obvious causes of profligacy, such as the resort of shipping, the cantonment of troops, the neighbourhood of a great manufactory, or any other of the usual demoralizing influences, the proportion of illegitimate children is nearly one to three.

This by no means implies, however, a profligate disposition in the Norwegians—male or female. The woman who bears offspring by a lover is almost invariably married to him afterwards; it is impatience of the restraint put upon them by the law which impels them to this illicit communication. The evils of illegitimacy are also, in a great measure, counteracted by liberal and wise regulations. Subsequent marriage of the parents removes the stigma of bastardy from their children. A man, even, who feels inclined to marry another woman, when his first friend has died or become indifferent to him, may legitimatize his former children, by a particular legal instrument. This, in such cases, which are rare, is commonly done, and all, consequently, share alike in their father's inheritance. Some neglect to perform this act of justice, but instances seldom or never occur of a man leaving his offspring desolate when he has any means or opportunity of providing for them, which in Norway almost every person has. Women in Norway occupy a position of superior honour. They have, perhaps, more to do with the real business of life, and more share in those occupations which require the exertion of intellect and study, than in England. They enjoy less compliment, but more respect, which all the sensible members of their sex would infinitely prefer. She, indeed, who provides for a household, under the peculiar domestic arrangements of the country, and presides over its economy, is held in high estimation. Women, in fact, hold a very just position in the society of Norway, having that influence and participation in its affairs which develope their mental and cultivate their moral qualities. Yet it is far from true that they occupy themselves entirely with the sober business, paying no attention to the elegant arts of life. Many of them adorn themselves also in those lighter accomplishments which gracefully amuse a leisure hour; but they certainly do not exhaust on song or dance, or the embroidery frame, the most valuable powers they possess. The able and observant traveller, Laing, supplies a true picture of their character and position, observing that among the wealthier merchants the state of the female sex is less natural and less to be admired than among the humble classes, which compose the general mass of society. Generally speaking, therefore, women nowhere play a more important part in the affairs of social life than in that remote and romantic part of Europe. Among the poor the division of labour between the sexes is excellent: all the indoor work is assigned to the women, all the outdoor labour to the men.

Travellers, among whom Mary Wolstonecroft is one, have nevertheless complained direly of the situation women hold in Norway. One gentleman condemns the national character, because the ladies in respectable houses often wait at their own tables; but this is a national peculiarity, hereditary among the Norwegians. It is a voluntary office; no compulsion is used to impose this or any other task upon them. All that we can infer from such a custom is, the dissimilarity of ideas on points of propriety which prevail with different nations. The English pity the women of Norway, because they sometimes wait at their own tables; the Norwegians accuse the men in England of ill-breeding, because they do not take off their hats whenever a female appears in sight, and because they dismiss the ladies after dinner.

With respect to the actual morals of

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Norway, we may assign them the highest rank. The number of illegitimate births can scarcely be described, under the circumstances we have noticed, as indicating an immoral disposition in the people. Nowhere is adultery less frequent. The matrons are almost universally above suspicion, while street-walking and professional prostitution are almost unknown. The most profligate class of females appears to be the domestic servants *.

Of Prostitution in Denmark.

In the laws of Denmark in 1834 the position of the sexes, the regulations of the marriage contracts, and the restrictions on public immorality were sought to be fixed, with every distinction of detail. A man was declared under tutelage until the age of eighteen, and under a modified authority until twenty-five, after which he attained independence in all the acts of his life as a citizen. The woman was declared to remain under tutelage all her life. Even the widow must place herself under a guardian, without whose consent she can do nothing; but this person she may choose herself. She may place herself under the direction of one or many, and even distribute authority among them, but is never allowed to assert an independent existence.

To contract marriage a man must be at least twenty years old, and the woman not under sixteen. The system of legal and binding betrothments was abandoned in 1799; but previous to that period the ceremony of affiancing the bridegroom to the bride was important and almost as absolute as the last ceremony itself.

To contract a legal marriage, it is essential that both persons shall be free from the ties of any other legal engagements. Persons who are related to each other in an ascending or descending line are prohibited from marrying. Brother and sister, says the code, may not marry; but brother-in-law and sister-in-law, uncle and niece, may. A man who desires to marry his mother's or father's sister must obtain a special permission from the government.

* Laing's Residences in Norway; Wittich's Western Coast of Norway; Two Summers in Norway; Latham's Norway and the Norwegians; Elliot's Letters from the North; Mathew Jones's Travels; Clarke's Travels; Count Bjornstyere's Moral State of Norway; Buch's Travels in Norway; Price's Wild Scenes in Norway; Ross's Yacht Voyage to Norway; Kraft's Topographisk, Statistisk, Bestrifelse-iber Kongeriget Norge, Christiania, 1820, 5 vols. 8vo.

It is necessary before marriage to procure the consent of the parents or guardians or guardians of both parties; but if they refuse, their refusal may be complained of, and the judge, reproving them, may order the union to take place in spite of their opposition. At twenty-five years of age the man is released from this authority.

According to an ordonnance passed in 1734, promises of marriage may be written or verbal; a promise of marriage by written agreement must bear the handwriting, seal, and signature of him who makes it. It must be certified by two witnesses, respectable men, before there is any communication between the man and the woman. The verbal promise must also be spoken aloud in the presence of two respectable men, before any intercourse is allowed. Such engagements are binding, and the man who breaks one may be prosecuted at law.

There are, however, certain descriptions of persons whom the law does not allow to invoke the faith of such promises. Widows, who desire to act against their guardians' consent, and women of bad reputation, are in this manner excluded. A servant cannot plead a promise of marriage against her master, her master's son, or any person dwelling in the same house. A man may also repudiate, by a formal oath, the accusation of a pregnant woman who pretends he has promised her marriage, and that he is the father of the child she bears in her womb, unless she can prove her allegation by sufficient testimony.

Divorce is permitted, and may be pronounced immediately when legal cause is proved against one or other of a married pair. It may be demanded in the case of simple abandonment during seven years, or malicious intentional desertion for three years, in the case of condemnation to perpetual hard labour, of impotence existing previously to marriage, of the venereal disease contracted previously to marriage, of insanity supervening upon marriage, and of adultery. Divorce may also take place, without any judgment from the public tribunal, when both parties equally desire it.

In this case, after the married persons have declared their intention, they must be entirely separated in bed and at table during three years; when, if they persevere in their desires, the separation is legally complete. If, however, at the expiration of that period, one of them refuse to abide by the agreement, the administrative college may order it to be fulfilled, notwithstanding all such opposition. Lastly, the king may always allow a divorce to take

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place, for any or no cause, according to his royal pleasure.

Inquiries into the maternity or paternity of children are permitted. If a girl accuses a man of having been the father of an infant to her, he can only rebut the charge by taking a solemn oath that he had intercourse with her at the period presumed to be the date of her conception. She may then prove, if she can, by any means whatever, that he is swearing falsely; but such evidence being difficult to complete, so as to produce legal conviction, many individuals escape the burden which justly attaches to them.

He who acknowledges or is proved the father of a natural child is bound, until it attains its tenth year, to maintain it according to his rank in life. Should he refuse to pay what he has promised, he may be imprisoned on bread and water. Every twenty-four hours thus spent acquit him of about half-a-crown of his liability.

Illegitimate children have no claim upon the inheritance of their father's property; but to that of their mother, or even of their mother's parents, they are absolutely entitled. A natural child may be adopted or legitimatized by subsequent marriage, in which case it loses all the disability which attached to its former condition. In 1831 the proportion of illegitimate children in Denmark was one in nine and three-fifths. In Copenhagen, however, the frighful proportion was exhibited of one to three and a half.

The law adjudges to the child killer death without mercy. She is decapitated, and her head fixed upon a spike. The woman who does not take proper precautions before the delivery of her offspring is accounted guilty of infanticide should the infant die.

Notwithstanding the severity of the law infanticide is a very common crime in Denmark, although it contains foundling hospitals, at least in Copenhagen. Angelot saw in one of the prisons of that city a man, who, after having flung his four children into the water, went immediately before a magistrate, declaring that he could not provide them with sustenance, and had consequently thought it better to send them to God. Another of these murderers was a woman, who had cut the throats of two of her children, and was engaged in attempting to kill the third, when she was arrested. Superstition and misery, combined with the looseness of morals in the capital of Denmark, were the chief causes of these fearful crimes against nature. The criminals are condemned to the death we have mentioned, but their sentence is usually commuted to imprisonment for life in a house of correction.

The punishment denounced against unnatural crimes was formerly that of burning alive; but it is now softened to that of perpetual exile or forced labour.

The husband may be prosecuted for adultery, as well as the wife, and it is an offence which, says the code, may be punished by law; but authority seldom interferes. The ancient Danes visited the crime with death, and that at a period when murderers were only condemned to pay a fine. At present the penalty is fixed, for the first offence, at confiscation of a tenth part of the guilty person's property; for the second, banishment. For the third repetition of the crime the adulterer may be tied up in a sack and drowned. The law, however, has now become obsolete through long disuse.

Women may take to public prostitution if they receive permission from the authorities. They are not troubled afterwards unless they offend against peace or decency, or bear more children than may legally be born. The code declares that any unmarried woman who becomes the mother of two children may be prosecuted, fined, and committed to prison. Custom, however, in this, as in many other instances, is more considerate than the law, and no woman is troubled who has not born three children by three different men; even then a permission of a special character is necessary before the prosecution can be carried on. No doubt these restrictions encourage women to procure abortion, or destroy their offspring when born. Prostitutes are very numerous, and the vexatious restraints upon marriage appear to produce much immorality. In Copenhagen, however, the corruption of society cannot be altogether, or even chiefly, traced to that cause; for the manners of the city are, in a general sense, profligate.

The appearance of the women belonging to the lower classes in Copenhagen, as in Stockholm, is remarkably modest and unpresuming. Neat and tasteful in their costume, they preserve in their own homes a freshness and a comfort which indicate that they enjoy a position of some honour; for where women are not well treated, they never have a pride in keeping their clothes, habitations, or persons clean and elegant.

It seems that the condition as well as the morality of the sex has improved since the laws of the country have become more polished by civilization. The code we have

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described belonged to a period several years back. Since then a new constitution has been established; the nation has become more free; the penal laws, especially, have been very considerably modified; the relations of the sexes have lost some of the rudeness which characterized them before; and though civilization still remains at a low ebb, public manners have certainly undergone great improvement.

The prostitutes of Copenhagen live, some in a kind of hotel, where they take part in mixed entertainments, to which the dissolute persons of the city congregate; some in a sort of boarding-houses; others in private dwellings of their own; for they lodge in small rooms, and go with their companions to houses where temporary accommodation may be had at various charges. Their numbers would appear to be considerable; and their habits do not differ in any peculiar manner from those of the same class in other cities of the Continent, which afford materials for a more complete description*.

* Angelot's Legislations des États du Nord; Bremner's Excursions in Denmark; Feldborg's Denmark Delineated, &c.; &c.

OF PROSTITUTION IN CIVILIZED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

We have inquired into the history of the female sex under the social laws of antiquity, under the rude codes of barbarian races, and under the Mohammedan and Hindu systems. It will now be interesting to trace it through the dusky period of modern civilization from the rise of Christianity to the middle ages. Many writers afford the materials for a view of the prostitute systems of Europe during that era, and M. Rabuteaux especially has combined their researches in one wide and broad view.

The Christian Emperors of Rome endeavoured to suppress prostitution, but with little success. Constantine, Constantius, Theodosius the Younger, Valentian, and Justinian took up the task by turns, denounced penalties against offenders—those who debauched others, and those who prostituted themselves; but though the world changed its aspect, it did not change its vices. Among the northern barbarians, indeed, austere principles ruled over the people, and women occupied a higher place than is accorded them now. They were companions of the men, not toys for their pleasure, or bagatelles for their amusement. Called, at a later age, to the functions of maternity, they previously learned the use of reason, and succeeded from a virtuous maidenhood to the dignity of matron. The chastity which Tacitus describes among the barbarians of Germany continued long to be their characteristic; but their penal customs became milder as they received better maxims of social policy. A woman who debauched herself was expelled from the city—a sufficient punishment. She had no more any family. Even the ties of paternity were broken. Gradually, however, the barbarian conquerors of Europe bent to the attractions of a corrupted society, and though the laws of the Visigoths forbade prostitution, men were found to encourage and females to pursue this infamous occupation.

The free woman who prostituted herself was, for the first offence, punished with 300 strokes, and for the second reduced to slavery, given to some poor man, and prohibited from entering a town. Parents who connived at the vice of their children were flogged. If the offender was already in bonds, she was whipped, shorn of her hair, and returned to her master. Should he himself be the accomplice of her sin, he lost her, and suffered an equal penalty of the rod. Prostitutes who walked the streets and fields were flung into prison, scourged, and fined. A decree of Theodoric, king of the Goths, declared death against all who gave an asylum or any encouragement to infamous persons.

The epithet of "lost woman" applied to one of honest character was an insult punishable by law—generally by fines. A maiden or a widow was especially protected against such imputation. In France the female who accused another of infamous habits was condemned to pay five sous, or to walk in penance, only clothed in a light shift, while a matron followed, and thrust a fine-pointed instrument above her thighs, more as a humiliation than an injury. The Spanish code also recognised

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this offence, as well as that of general defamation.

The church was the universal censor of public manners in the middle ages. No sin was more severely denounced by the Christian law than that of licentiousness; yet it inculcated no savage persecution of the fallen. Good men could never forget, that a courtezan had washed the feet of Christ, and accordingly a humanizing spirit presided over the social code of the early fathers. They received into their communion any woman who renounced her evil life, married, and was faithful to her husband, or remained single without prostituting herself again.

Everywhere, indeed, Christianity tolerated prostitution. It was impossible to eradicate vice, and it was better one class should make a profession of it than that all should follow it as a secret occupation. Suppress courtezans, said St. Augustine, and you confuse all society by the caprice of the passions. Nevertheless, efforts were made to check the evil, though the principal rules of this "police of manners" were applied to confine the prostitutes of every town in a separate quarter, and to force on them an uniform apparel, that their shame might not be concealed, and that other women might be safe from the address of brutal libertines.

But while the woman who lost herself was forgiven by the civil and religious law, no toleration was extended to the wretch who made her such—the pander who seduced young girls and sold them for profit. The Council of Elvira refused pardon, even on his deathbed, to the wretch who was guilty of leading the innocent to prostitution. "Miserable wretch; brand of hell!" exclaimed Merot to one of these, "dost thou believe that when thy accursed soul is lost in eternal pains, God will be content? No; he will augment thy punishment;" and he added, that the young females he had ruined should inflict his tortures. All the rigour of the law, every form of public infamy, every device of humiliation, was called in to brand with additional opprobrium the depraved trader in prostitution.

In France the punishment was in general arbitrary, according to the circumstances of each case. Nevertheless law and usage regulated the degree of it. In Paris an edict was published in 1367 forbidding persons to procure girls for prostitution on pain of being exposed in the pillory, marked with a hot iron, and expelled from the city. It was renewed in 1415, and we find an instance of its application in the next year, for in the public accounts Cassin La Botte is described as receiving money for the expenses of an execution of this kind, in which some wretches were led into a public place, branded, mutilated by the ears, and set in the pillory. Sometimes the procuress was mounted on an ass, with her face towards its tail, a straw hat on her head, and an inscription on her back. In this state she was paraded through the streets, whipped, and sent to prison, or exiled. These circumstances appear to have frequently occurred as lately as 1756. We find it applied in a provincial town to some prostitutes who had infringed the local rules:—"They were led through the place, with a drum beating before them, and exposed." In England similar occurrences were common, and were accompanied by some peculiar details. The cart in which the culprit sat was preceded by two men playing music, while a crowd followed and showered filth and mud upon the offenders.

Sometimes, when the penalty was aggravated in severity, the culprit's hair was burnt. Thus, in 1399, at Paris, several men and women suffered this punishment, being pilloried and deprived of all their possessions. At Toulouse, a prostitute was conducted to the town hall, where the executioner tied her hands, stripped her naked, placed a cap, made in the form of a sugar-loaf, ornamented with feathers, on her head, hung an inscription on her back, and then took her out to a rock in the middle of the river. There she was compelled to enter an iron cage, which was plunged three times into the water, while nearly the whole population was assembled to witness the scene. Afterwards she was led to the hospital, where she remained labouring for the rest of her days. A similar custom existed at Bourdeaux. Everywhere, indeed, the same rude devices were employed to terrify the people from profligacy.

The laws of Naples were extremely severe. Before the thirteenth century we find every procuress endeavouring to corrupt innocent females punished, like an adultress, by the mutilation of her nose. The mother who prostituted her daughter suffered this punishment, until King Frederic absolved such women as trafficked with their children under the pressure of want. The same prince, however, decreed against all who were found guilty of preparing drugs or inflammatory liquors—to aid in their designs upon virtuous females—death in case of injury resulting, and imprisonment when no serious harm was

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effected. These laws, however, proved insufficient for their purpose, and towards the end of the fifteenth century profligacy ran riot in Naples. *Ruffiani* multiplied in its streets, procuring by force or by corruption multitudes of victims to fill the taverns and brothels of the city. Penalties of extreme severity were proclaimed against them. The *Ruffiani* were ordered to quit the kingdom, and the prostitutes were prohibited from harbouring such persons among them. Any woman who disobeyed was condemned to be burnt on the forehead with a hot iron, whipped in the most humiliating manner, and exiled.

The code of Alphonso IX., King of Castile, which belonged to the second half of the twelfth century, included procurers among infamous persons, which condemned them to "civil death." Five classes of these were enumerated :—I. Men who trafficked in debauch: these were expelled the country. II. Speculators who hired their houses to abandoned women for the exercise of their vocation: their houses were confiscated, and they were fined. III. Men or women who kept brothels and hired out prostitutes: if the females they sold were slaves, the law gave them liberty; if they were free, their corrupter was under pain of death, forced to endow and place them in a situation to marry. IV. Death was denounced against the husband who connived at the dishonour of his wife, and against every one who seduced an honest woman to infamy. V. Girls who supported *Ruffiani* were publicly whipped, and deprived of the clothes they wore when arrested. The men themselves were, for the first offence, flogged; for the second, expelled from the city; and for the third, sent to the galleys. Between 1552 and 1566 additional terrors were devised against this crime, and the *Ruffiani* once convicted were sentenced to ten years chained at the oar, while for a repetition of the offence they received two hundred blows, and were condemned for life to the galleys.

The incitement to vice has, indeed, been everywhere considered a crime deserving of the heaviest punishment; but prostitution itself has not been tolerated without interference. In France, especially, efforts were early made for its suppression. The laws, however, failed, on account of the number of offenders it would have been necessary to condemn, and a few examples only were made, to show that no licence was extended to debauch. The first edict published was an absolute prohibition by Charlemagne. He commanded strict search to be made throughout his dominions, in every habitation and place of resort, that every public woman, and all persons without known occupations or means of livelihood, might be exposed. Men who were found harbouring prostitutes were compelled to carry them on their shoulders to the place where they were to be whipped with rods. In case of refusal they suffered this infliction themselves. It is singular to find, that among the ancient Parisians no disgrace was equal to that of bearing on the back a debauched woman.

During three centuries and a half after Charlemagne, public immorality flowed in a tide over the country. Prostitutes multiplied in every town, and in the eleventh century Paris was as one general brothel. Everywhere harlots thronged the streets, soliciting the men who passed, dragging them by the arms into their dens, and if they resisted, abusing them in unmeasured terms. In the same house might be found a school on the upper floor and a brothel below. In 1254 an effort was made for the reformation of manners; but the only effect was, that vice dissimulated instead of bearing its title on its face. Clandestine succeeded to public debauch. At length, however, some real good resulted from a succession of rigorous edicts. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the scourge of society had been lightened, but there broke out wars and troubles which gave new licence to immorality. A hundred years revived the pestilence in all its virulent shapes; and in 1503 a council was assembled at Paris to deliberate on the best means of abolishing the brothels which were crowded around them. Laws were passed, which we cannot describe in detail, especially as they are of no value to the legislators of this age, for in spite of them the moral malady of France extended, and public custom recognised what authority refused to allow.

In Paris the prostitutes resorted to places known as *clapiers*, or mole-holes, in allusion to the brutal subterranean life they led. They did not live in the houses where they received their temporary companions; there were localities common to many, where they assembled during the day, and which the magistrates ordered to be opened and closed at stated hours. They were not permitted to carry on their orgies at night, to prostitute themselves in their own homes, or publicly to shock the decent population; but they rebelled against all discipline, and evaded where they did not openly contradict the law. In 1307 an edict was published, assigning to prostitutes certain streets as places of abode—

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Rue de l'Abreuvorix Macon, la Boucherie, la Rue Froidmantel, de Glatigny, la Cour Robert de Paris, les rues Baillohé, Tyron, Charon, and Champ Fleury. It is remarkable that the infamy of these neighbourhoods has been hereditary; for after the lapse of 500 years, after all the alterations in the city of Paris which have been effected, after all the vicissitudes of its domestic history, the same places still exhibit the same spectacles, and are inhabited by the same population. The complaint of two neighbours was enough to cause a prosecution against the keeper of a brothel. Notwithstanding every exertion which the inefficient law and police of those ages enabled rulers to make, prostitution increased, spread into prohibited streets, and throughout France was a characteristic feature of society. Nor were the palaces whence issued decrees for the reformation of public manners, superior in many instances to the brothels they denounced.

In the eleventh century a brothel and a church stood side by side at Rome; and 500 years after, under the pontificate of Paul II., prostitutes were numerous. Numerous statutes were enacted, and many precautions taken, which prove the grossness of manners at that epoch. One convicted of selling a girl to infamy was heavily fined, and if he did not pay within ten days had one foot cut off. The nobility and common people indulged habitually in all kinds of excess. Tortures, flogging, branding, banishment, were inflicted in vain on some to terrify the others, but with very incomplete success. To carry off and detain a prostitute against her will was punishable by amputation of the right hand, imprisonment, flogging, or exile. The rich, however, invariably bought immunity for themselves. In Spain, although violence offered to a public woman was an offence, few women dared to complain of having been seduced. In Naples, also, under King Roger, such a charge was never taken; but William, the successor of that prince, punished with death the crime of rape; but the victim must prove that she shrieked aloud, and prefer her complaint within eight days, or show that she was detained by force. When once a woman had prostituted herself, however, she had no right to refuse to yield her person to any one. This legislation extended to the extreme north, and obtained in Sleswig.

Among the most extraordinary acts of legislation on this subject was the bull of Clement II., who desired to endow the church with the surplus gains of the brothel. Every person guilty of prostitution was forced, when disposing of her property, either at death or during life, to assign half of it to a convent. This regulation was easily eluded and utterly inefficacious. A tribunal was also established, having jurisdiction over brothels, upon which a tax was laid continuing in existence until the middle of the sixteenth century. Efforts were made to confine this class of dwellings to a particular quarter, but without success. In Naples the same failure attended the attempt. Prostitutes, in spite of the law, established themselves in the most beautiful streets of the city, in palatial buildings, and there, with incessant clamour, congregated a horde of thieves, profligates, and vagabonds of every kind, until the chief quarter became uninhabitable. In 1577 they were ordered to quit the street of Catalana within eight days, under pain of the scourge for the women, and the galleys for such of the proprietors as were commoners, while simple banishment was threatened against "nobles."

One example of good legislation was the pragmatic law of 1470 to protect the unfortunates against the cupidity, the extortion, and the fraud of tavern keepers and others, who grew rich upon their infamy. Men went into their places of entertainment with some single girls, contracted a heavy debt, and then left their victims to pay. These were then given the choice of a disgraceful whipping or an engagement in the house. They often consented, and usually spent the remainder of their lives in dependence on their creditor, without ability to liberate themselves. By the new law masters of taverns were forbidden to give credit to prostitutes for more than a certain sum, and this only to supply her with food and clothing absolutely necessary. If he exceeded this amount he had no legal means of recovering it.

The most remarkable feature in the Neapolitan legislation on this subject was, the establishment, at an unknown but early date, of the Court of Prostitutes. This tribunal, which sat at Naples, had its peculiar constitution, and had jurisdiction over all cases connected with prostitution, blasphemy, and some other infamous offences. Towards the end of the sixteenth century it had risen to extraordinary power and was full of abuses. It practised all kinds of exaction and violence, every species of partiality and injustice, and even presumed to publish edicts of its own. The judges flung into prison numbers of young

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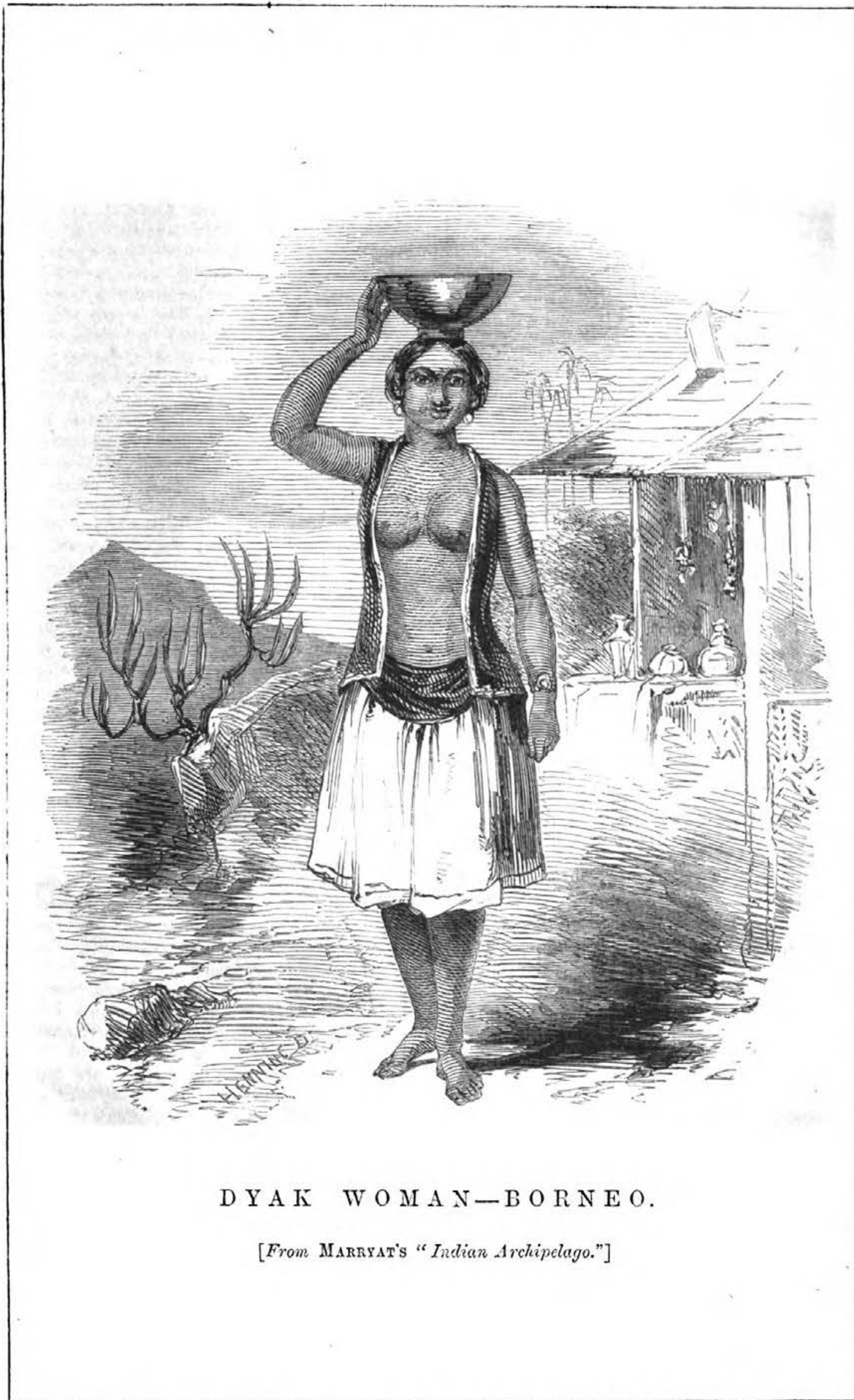

DYAK WOMAN—BORNEO.

[*From* MARRYAT'S "*Indian Archipelago.*"]

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girls, whom they compelled to buy their liberty with money, and sometimes dared to seize women who, though of lax conduct, could not be included in the professional class. This was discovered, and led in 1589 to a reform of the court. Its powers were strictly defined, and its form of procedure placed under regulation, while the avenues to corruption were narrowed. The institution itself existed for nearly a hundred years after that period—until 1768, when a royal edict declared the ruler's resolution to abolish the infamous calling altogether. Vice, however, when widely spread in a nation, does not vanish at the breath of authority. Denounced by the law, prostitution continued to flourish and society to feel its influence.

Passing from the south to regions with a less voluptuous climate, we find Strasburgh as overflowing with vice as perhaps any other city in the world. Prostitutes were in the fifteenth century so numerous there that, though a distinct quarter was assigned for their residences, they invaded every locality, and swarmed in the finest streets. Speculators were accustomed to travel abroad and bring home unfortunate girls, whom they kidnapped and reduced to a state of slavery. Officers were appointed to visit the brothels and collect the tax imposed on them. More than fifty-seven of these places existed in six streets only. One contained nineteen, while other neighbourhoods were infested in an equal degree. At the commencement of the sixteenth century, so far were public manners demoralized that prostitutes horded in the clock towers and aisles of the great cathedral as well as in several smaller churches. In 1521 an ordinance appeared directing the "cathedral girls," who were called "swallows," to quit the sacred places of their retreat within fifteen days. To those who persevered in their libertine mode of life, various residences were assigned—in the suburbs. Strasburgh was now in the depth of demoralization; but the Reformation soon visited the city, awakened its people from sensual pleasures to an intellectual battle, and a speedy change was apparent. In 1536 there were only two brothels there. In 1540 public prostitution was effectually suppressed. Ten years after it was proposed to establish a house of legal debauch; but the attempt was resisted, though renewed in the third and fourth year after this.

It was little matter to the prostitutes to inhabit houses especially dedicated to their vile traffic. They cared not to wait passively at home for visitors. Wherever men congregated for pleasure or for the business of life, wherever there was any chance of provoking their desires, they thronged, sometimes impelled by the love of excitement, sometimes by the pains of hunger. They thus transformed into so many brothels wine houses, barber's shops, and students' rooms, and the perseverance of government against them was by no means equalled by their own tenacity. An edict of 1420 forbade prostitutes to enter the cabarets; another of 1558 prohibited tavern-keepers from entertaining them. Another denounced gambling, and prostitutes were only allowed when desirous of refreshment to stand without and drink what was handed to them from within. In England similar regulations was established, and barbers especially were made the object of very severe restrictions. Sempstresses and butchers were forbidden to employ any females of bad character, and others were restrained by similar laws.

All these efforts, however, to render the sisterhood of prostitutes a homeless, desolate, hopeless class—to deprive them of shelter, of comforts, and the honest means of life—failed in purifying the manners of the age. The baths became a regular resort of women belonging to this order—in Paris, in Geneva, in Venice, in Rome, in Naples, in Milan, in Ferrara, in Bologna, in Lucca, and in every other city of the Peninsula—so that there was scarcely the keeper of a bath who was not at the same time a brothel keeper, employing numbers of *Ruffiani* to procure attendance at his house. There were other cities in which baths were publicly tolerated and recognised as places of prostitution. Among these were Avignon and London. A statute of the Church of Avignon, dated 1441, interdicted the use of certain baths, known to be brothels, to the priests and clergy. An offence committed by day was not punished half so severely as one committed by night. There is only one other instance of a punishment inflicted during that age on men who violated the public law of morals. It was that of certain citizens of Anvers in Flanders, who were condemned to make a pilgrimage to expiate an offence of this kind. On one occasion, indeed, of which the date is lost, the magistrates of Bourdeaux caused a man to be hanged for forcibly violating a prostitute.

In Avignon, however, the licence of prostitution was shortly taken away. The residence of the popes in that city had attracted a concourse of strangers from all parts of the globe, and brothels sprung up in profusion in the neighbourhood of churches, at

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the door of the Papal palace, and side by side with prelatical residences—a display of libertinism so gross that the public acts of encouragement at once ceased, and an edict drove all the prostitutes out of the city.

In London, as we have said, as at Avignon, prostitution took refuge in the public baths—a practice of very ancient date. These places were situated in the borough of Southwark, which was not included in the city until 1550. It was a miserable quarter, full of inhabited ruins, to which some public gardens, dedicated to dog and bear baiting, alone attracted the people of the neighbourhood. In this general preliminary sketch it is not necessary to say more of London.

In various parts of Europe a continual stream of edicts was poured out against the system of prostitution; but it was only persecuting the victims, instead of eradicating the causes. In some States, as in Lombardy, men were forbidden to give them an asylum; they were prohibited from appearing among honest citizens; they were prevented from purchasing food or clothes, or borrowing money by the hire of their persons; in fact, fines, prisons, whips, still continued to attempt the reform of morals.

Hitherto, however, we have seen prostitution in some places protected, but in all restrained, though everywhere freely exercised by those persons who would brave its perils and its disgrace. It was now sought, by the direct and continuous intervention of the law, to transform it into a public institution, organized, watched, disciplined, by particular officers, and subjected to special authority. In France, and especially in Languedoc, these principles were, during the middle ages, firmly established. Louis XI. proclaimed, that from the remotest antiquity it was the custom in Languedoc to have a house and asylum for public women. The most celebrated of these were at Toulouse and Montpellier. That at Toulouse was known to exist during the twelfth century, and by an abuse of terms, not uncommon at that period, was called the Great Abbey. The Commune and the University divided the expense, and were proprietors of the building, and a good revenue was derived from it for municipal purposes. But in 1424 the receipts diminished considerably, to the great regret of the governors. The turbulent youth of Toulouse behaved to the poor girls, whom they sacrificed to their lust, with the utmost violence and brutality—beating them and their children, breaking up the furniture, and wrenching off even the doors of the house. Many attempts were made to repress these outbreaks, but the prostitutes were at length compelled to take refuge in the interior of the city. Severe regulations were imposed upon them. All who were diseased were compelled to live in solitude until cured, and some were whipped for disobedience. On one occasion, when a famine prevented the inhabitants from indulging in their ordinary pleasures, the prostitutes emigrated, but returned to their post in 1560. The magistrates, shamed by public outcry, which accused them of purchasing their robes from the tax on debauched women, abandoned the money, at this time, to the hospitals; but the administrators of these afterwards made them some compensation. In 1566 a council was called to deliberate on the best means of ridding the city from the profligacy and wickedness which had grown up through the immense licensed brothels it contained. To increase the scandal, four prostitutes were discovered in a monastery of Augustine friars. Three of these unhappy girls were hung. Shortly afterwards three others were found in a convent, and they also were sent to the gallows.

It appears that in 1587 prostitution was almost eradicated from Toulouse, though it flourished in the rural districts around. Many of the girls were forced to labour at cleansing the streets as a punishment. Two decrees of Louis XI. and Charles VIII. indicate the history of prostitution at Montpellier in the fifteenth century. A man named Panais possessed and governed the place devoted to this purpose, and dying, left a dynasty of brothel keepers—two sons, who associated with a banker. They embellished the edifice, furnished it luxuriously, constructed beautiful baths, and obtained a legal monopoly in their infamous traffic, by engaging to pay a certain tax. However, in 1458, another individual was permitted to establish himself, which he did with *éclat*, and the women deserted their old quarters for the new "hotel." A public cause was made of the quarrel, and it was decided that the original promoters should continue to enjoy their privilege. The two brothel keepers, who gained the titles of "Friends and faithful Councillors of the King of France," grew wealthy, and their trade of prostitution became one of the most important branches of enterprise in the city.

The city of Rhodes appears to have been another city of Europe where a chartered brothel existed, for the bishop, in 1307,

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forbade the inhabitants to receive any of the public prostitutes into their houses, which supposes that some particular retreat was open to them. There was one also at Lisbon; but it was not until 1394 that the magistrates deliberated on the propriety of erecting a building at the public expense, expressly as a brothel. Ten years later we find the inhabitants lamenting that their wives and daughters were endangered by the want of such a place, and in 1424 it was established. A tax was levied on the women to assist in defraying the cost, and fines were imposed for misconduct.

In Italy licensed brothels were very numerous. There was one at Mantua, and Venice was the very sink of prostitution. In 1421 the government enlisted women to this service to guard the virtue of the other classes. A matron was placed over them, who governed them, received their gains, and made a monthly division of profits. The names of several women, the most notorious and beautiful of the Venetian courtezans, are preserved by Nicolo Daglioni. A very small sum was paid to them by their patrons.

In Valencia a public brothel, on a colossal scale, existed towards the end of the fifteenth century. It resembled a little town surrounded with walls, and had a single gate; in front of this stood a gibbet for criminals. Near this was an office, where a man stood who addressed all who entered, and said, that if they would deposit what valuables they had with him, he would return them safely as they came out; but if they refused and were robbed within, he was not responsible. The wall inclosed four or five streets of little houses, inhabited by girls dressed in brilliant habiliments of velvet and silk. Three or four hundred of them were usually in attendance. They received only a small sum for their favours. Whether this system was then general in Spain we know not, but it is certain that common prostitutes abounded. Servants appear to have been hired for this purpose, for Philippe II., in 1575, in order to check the ravages of immorality, ordered that no female domestics under forty years of age should be hired by men. A decree of 1623 required that in all cities throughout the kingdom public brothels should be abolished.

In Geneva there was a "Queen of the Prostitutes," elected by the civic magistrates, who took an oath of office, and undertook to govern all the women engaged in her occupation. At Schelstadt a man was commissioned to a similar duty, and very strict rules were imposed on the population.

We have seen that in many places prostitution became a source of revenue, and might enlarge our details and multiply our examples; but it would be tedious to cite the laws of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany on the subject. They varied much in different times, but offer little interest.

The legislator, however, has not contented himself at all times with dividing the prostitute class from other classes of females, with shutting them up in separate quarters, or even confining them in houses of which he kept the key. In some cases he obliged them to assume a peculiar costume, or at least a conspicuous badge of infamy. They always endeavoured to resist or elude the restrictions laid upon them, and, feeling deeply the humiliation of such compulsion, sought by all means to evade it. The first regulation of this kind for the city of Paris is mentioned by the chronicler Geoffrey. He says, that the Queen of Louis VII. going one day to church, met a woman gorgeously attired, and, deceived by her appearance, gave her, "according to custom," the kiss of peace. She was a court prostitute; and when the royal lady heard this, she complained to her husband, who ordered that no mantles should in future be worn by prostitutes. From time to time new edicts on this subject appeared. One of 1360 forbade them to wear any embroidery, any gold or silver buttons, any pearls, or any trimmings of gray fur. In 1415 and 1419 golden and gilded zones were prohibited to them, as well as silver buckles to their shoes. The very fashion of their dress was afterwards regulated. These devices to distinguish prostitutes from respectable females were speedily imitated. An *aiguillette* of a certain colour, hung from the shoulder, was most generally adopted in France. In some towns silk was prohibited to them.

The Bishop of Rhodes, in 1307, forbade them to wear mantles, veils, amber necklaces, or rings of gold, while the popes of Rome followed the example. The laws of Mantua obliged prostitutes when they appeared in the streets to cover the rest of their clothes with a short white cloak, and wear a badge on their breasts. At Bergamo the cloak was yellow; in Parma, white; in Milan, at first, black woollen, and then black silk. If disobedient, they might be fined, and, in case of a second offence, publicly exposed, and whipped. Any one might strip the garments off any girl he met in the streets illegally attired. In London a

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similar distinction was imposed on them, and at Strasburgh a sugar-loaf bonnet was invented for their use. In Spain, besides prohibitions concerning dress, they were forbidden the use of coaches and litters, as well as prayer-carpets or cushions in the churches; even a hackney-carriage was not allowed to be hired by them.

The acts of legislation in France were almost exclusively police regulations. Forced to tolerate the prostitute class, the law endeavoured, by watching, restraining, shaming, and insulting it, to render its occupation so infamous as to terrify persons from seeking it as a means of livelihood. It does not seem that in France, during the middle ages, legislation ever passed this limit or went beyond the action of police. In Italy, however, and in Spain, this was not the case. The Roman law had left many vestiges, which have never, in reality, disappeared; the ecclesiastical prerogative was powerful, and disposed to be active. Local statutes existed in great abundance, and the combination of these authorities gave rise to a jurisdiction full of details: profuse, sometimes strange, always subtle, in parts inconsistent, and laboriously commented upon by a numerous school of jurists—a jurisprudence which elevated itself above simple measures of security and municipal rules, and instituted for prostitutes a civil and social statute of their own.

Ulpian says that a woman is a prostitute not only when she frequents regular brothels, but when she visits cabarets, or any other places, where she is careless of her honour. She is a prostitute who yields herself for base purposes to all men; but she who has connection only with one or two is not. Octavenus, however, thinks, more justly, that she is a prostitute who gives up her person in common, whether she receive money or not.

The lawgivers of the middle ages were not accustomed to insist on perfect or precise definitions. They liked to subtilize over terms. Some held Ulpian's limited view to be correct; others, with Octavenus, declared that any woman yielding to the solicitations of several men, even without being paid, was a prostitute. The Roman law defined prostitution to be the reception of numerous libertines. But how many? inquired St. Jerome. This threw divisions among the theorists. Some declared 40 men to be enough, some insisted on 60, others on 70; while a few, carrying extravagance to its utmost limits, asserted that no woman was a prostitute who had not delivered up her person to at least 3000 persons. While these ridiculous disputes engaged attention, the corruption of manners went on.

It is just to the wisdom of that age, however, to remark, that these discussions of the casuists appeared no less ridiculous to contemporary statesmen than to us; while the general public idea of prostitution was habitual debauch for vile purposes, whether mercenary or otherwise.

Some theorists, nevertheless, insisted that the nature of a hireling was inseparable from that of a prostitute. On this account the name *meretrix* had by the Latins been given to a woman of this class; but this view led to consequences which the wise legislator would not accept. If any female accepting a reward for her dishonour was to be publicly enumerated among professional harlots, many, from a single offence, must, under compulsion, follow a life of systematic vice. Others argued that two or three repetitions of this infamous sale would justify the title being applied; but this is a point on which writers have never agreed. Consequently, a long controversy arose upon the three conditions in dispute: what amount of publicity—what number of vicious connections—what kind of venality—was sufficient to stamp a woman with the name and character of a common prostitute.

Rabuteaux describes her as one who, under constraint, or by her own will, abandons herself, without choice, without passion, without even the impulse of the grossest lust, to an unchaste course of life. By want of choice he means the absence of a preference for the individual, by which, he adds, a forbearing judgment extenuates the offence of immorality. If, he insists, there be any choice of persons, there may be libertinism, there may be debauch, there may be scandal, there may be vice, but there is not prostitution in the true sense of the word. It applies to "sacred prostitution," whether gratuitous or venal, which was an unblushing and indiscriminate sacrifice of chastity; to that which the barbarous hospitality of savages, whether on the rivers of Lapland or in the deserts of Africa, gave up a woman to every guest; and to that legal kind in civilized countries which sold itself promiscuously for hire.

Such is M. Rabuteaux's idea. We differ from him. Prostitution appears to us the application to a vile purpose of that which was designed for honourable uses; and the mere satisfaction of animal lust is in itself the vilest object. There may exist in a woman's mind, even when most debauched,

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a preference for some, an aversion to others; but she is no less a prostitute, if she abandon herself viciously, whether to one or many.

While these theories divided the opinions of lawgivers, legislation on the subject was extremely difficult. They were forced to be contented with what they thought imperfect proof; and, to fix the infamy of a woman, accepted evidence from witnesses, even those accomplices in sin who, of all others, have lost the right to accuse. A female who chose the night for the period of her orgies; who, as a wanderer, without a companion to protect her, entered house after house; who waited on revellers in a place of entertainment; might be registered among common prostitutes. A legitimate suspicion, also, attached to her who received the visits of many young men; and, above all, who, in light or darkness, frequented a public school.

These women, when once consigned legally to the prostitute class, gained, in the middle ages, a right which they could not otherwise assert. The Roman laws adopted by the jurisprudence of that period allowed her to have a legal claim to payment when she prostituted her body, and the reason assigned was founded on a strange and subtle distinction of terms. "The courtesan's vocation," said Ulpian, "is infamous, but the wages of it are not; the act is shameful, but not the reward which is in prospect when the act is committed."

The Spanish law was still more favourable to her. When a man paid in advance, and she refused to submit according to her promise, he could not demand his money back. On one side she received a legitimate emolument; on the other, he was guilty of immoral turpitude which the law would not recognise. The code of Alphonso also permitted this interpretation; some commentators, however, allowing that the woman had a right to revoke the promise of yielding her person, but was bound to restore the amount of hire she had received. Long and vigorous controversies arose among the theologians when this was referred to them. It was also disputed in France, whether the prostitute could enforce payment when she had sold herself and an avaricious person refused to reward her. An imposing list of authorities is arrayed on either side.

Another question long debated was the use to which such gains could lawfully be applied. Alphonso the Wise, on the authority of Isaiah, forbade priests to receive offerings from such a source. Baldæus and others insisted that the church could not accept taxes from public women; but this by many was repudiated, as contrary to the principle that the wages of prostitution were lawfully acquired. The Spanish law allowed money of this kind to be given in alms, and the public opinion recognised the right to dispose of it by testament, though several popes attempted to decree a contrary usage. If, then, they could dispose of their gains as they pleased, could they inherit property? They could, but under limitations. In Savoy it appears that legacies to prostitutes made by soldiers who had not quitted service more than a year were null and void. In Spain no woman of this class could inherit to the disadvantage of the testator's relatives in a direct or collateral line. Many authorities only admitted the brother of the deceased to this right; but an exception was made when it was a daughter who succeeded to such property, or when the woman was herself married. A mother, however, could disinherit her daughter for leading a vicious life, but lost this privilege if she had been the accomplice of her immorality. The father had equal authority, but with one curious limitation. When, said the law, a father has sought to marry his daughter, and endowed her sufficiently, if she, against his will, refuses to marry and becomes a prostitute, he may cut her off; but if he have opposed her marriage until she reached the age of 25, and become a libertine, he cannot refuse to bequeath her his property. In the duchy of Asota, in Piedmont, a similar regulation was established; but the age was fixed at 29, and the woman, on every opportunity to marry, was bound to present herself before her father and demand his consent. If he refused it, he was not allowed to punish her when, at 30, she became a harlot.

The church, in those ages, made it a pious act to marry a prostitute, and absolved from their sins all who did so. In France a woman of this class might, at a very ancient period, save a criminal from death, by inducing him to espouse her, and Farnacius relates an anecdote which shows this custom to have existed in Spain. In a city, which he does not name, a young man mounted on an ass was being conducted to the scaffold. A courtezan was struck by his beauty, offered him his life if he would become her husband. He refused. The temptation was not strong enough to induce him to accept such a wife. He merely answered, "Let us move on," and reached the place of execution. Meanwhile, however, an account of the incident had reached the king, and he, admiring the youth's courage, pardoned him.

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From this we may learn that though the church consecrated such a marriage with peculiar grace, public opinion considered it infamous.

The jurisprudence of the middle ages introduced new principles, and these unions became more rare. Many doctors of law announced that they were contrary to the sacred code.

In Spain, where concubinage was legally recognised, men of rank were forbidden to take as concubines slaves, whether born in actual bondage or emancipated, dancers, servants of taverns, go-betweens, or prostitutes. It was disputed whether the children of these women could be legitimatized by subsequent marriage. It was decided that they could, though with more difficulty than others, and their mothers became amenable to the laws against adultery.

Persecution in all barbarous ages and countries has endeavoured to perform the task of teaching and reclaiming mankind. The members of the venal sisterhood have, more than any others, experienced the harsh effects of this species of legislation. The law sought to withdraw them from vice by shutting from them every approach to virtue, to reform their minds by forbidding them the society of honest persons, to elevate them from their degradation by adding to their infamy. It refused to receive them as witnesses, even when violence was done upon their persons; though more liberal jurists cried out amid the clamour of intolerant bigotry, that the protection of justice should attend even the vilest prostitutes in the vilest dens of her resort; but the spirit of the times was vindictive, and because society was corrupt and base, it was most unsparing in its cruelty towards the victims of debasement and corruption.

In spite of every one of these rude devices of a rude society to banish immorality to habitations of its own, by badges, quarters, distinct costumes, and even separate laws, prostitutes swarmed in every city of Europe, and still more in its innumerable camps. Armies were then undisciplined bands of adventurers, and pillage was the soldier's chief purpose. Xenophon tells that the nations of Persia, Asia Minor, and India, were accompanied on their marches by their women and their children, to defend whom they fought with more courage; and Athenæus describes Chareas, causing a band of beautiful courtezans to dance before his phalanxes to the tune of flutes and psalteries. Two thousand prostitutes were .driven from the camp of Scipio Africanus; and so, in the middle ages, every army drew in its train numbers of public women. Three hundred were with the army which laid siege to St. Jean d'Acre in 1189, and during the whole of the crusades the Christian armies were followed by them. Many times the leaders endeavoured to check this debauchery. Some of the girls were flogged. Sometimes the man who was found with one of them was obliged to allow her to strip him to his shirt, and lead him with a rope through the camp. On the plains of Perretola, after the defeat of the Florentines, in 1325, public dances were executed by prostitutes for the amusement of the army. In all parts of Europe similar profligacy distinguished the camp; and long after we find Jeanne d'Arc, when reviewing the army, chastised with her sword several prostitutes whom she detected among the ranks. Marshal Strozzi, with a ferocity worthy of that period, drowned 800 of them in the Loire. When the Duke of Alva invaded Flanders, there accompanied his army "400 courtezans on horseback, beautiful and grand as princesses, and 800 others on foot." These were for the pleasure of 10,000 men, all veterans.

Prostitution was authorized and disciplined, not only in the camps but in the palaces of those days. From the eleventh century to that of Francis I., a regular community of public women was attached to the court.

We have already noticed the Queen of Louis VII. kissing one of them on her way to church; and we find Charlemagne ordering his palace to be cleared of them. At the Council of Nantes, in 660, it was complained that the concubines of the nobility, instead of remaining at home, thronged to public assemblies; but the seraglios of these lords, in the ninth century, were places of prostitution. The German law imposed a fine of six sous on a man who committed violence on a female in the principal or royal "gynecées," but only three in any other. It was formerly the custom to send to one of these retreats a woman convicted of adultery; but this was at length forbidden, lest it should simply allow her an opportunity to repeat the offence. Sometimes they were only the harems of the proprietor, sometimes brothels. William IX., of Poitou, established in the eleventh century an abbey for prostitutes, where he added to his profligacy the crime of sacrilege, giving the harlots the titles of abbess and prioress, and parodying every sacred rite. The orgies of his palace, and indeed of all others of that age, are indescribable.

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The title of King of the Prostitutes was given to the officer who presided over the royal brothels. In Paris, in Normandy, and in Burgundy, we find this functionary. Under the kings of France he enjoyed a high rank and many privileges; and associated with him was a woman who governed the prostitutes, and punished them with whipping when they offended. In England, also, the palace and the mansions of the nobles contained small brothels. In Henry VIII.'s palace was a room, with an inscription over the door, "Chamber of the King's Prostitutes."

Thus, throughout the world, there was, in the middle ages, profligacy and corruption, which rose to its height at the period which preceded the Reformation. From their chief places of resort in royal palaces prostitutes spread over the whole of society, invading the church, the hearth, following the camp, dividing the privileges of the wife, and ever debauching both sexes by their companionship. Rods, prisons, gallows, chains, pillories, tortures, served in no way to prevent or even to discourage them; badges and restrictions proved equally futile; but it is agreeable to find some relief to this dark spectacle of demoralization. In the age of primitive Christianity religious men endeavoured to reclaim from vice those whom they found making a trade of it. We cannot stay to dwell on the sincere apostleship which laboured, especially in the East, and was followed by fathers and hermits from the desert. Stories of conversions of this kind fill the legends of the time, and earnest attempts were made to offer an asylum to the unhappy women who had abandoned themselves to profligacy. We have noticed Theodora, the imperial harlot of Rome, collecting 500 prostitutes in a palace on the Bosphorus; but her impure hand could not perform well the offices of charity, and she applied force to fill her asylum. Many of the girls, therefore, who were shut up in her magnificent and luxurious prison, found their confinement insupportable, and committed suicide to escape it. In 1198 two Parisian priests established a nunnery for repentant women, and thirty years afterwards the House of the "Daughters of God" was instituted, and these efforts were rewarded with much genuine success. Two centuries passed without many enterprises of the sort being undertaken; but in the fifteenth century an association of public women was formed to exchange their base gains for those of piety and virtue.

In 1489 all the prostitutes of Amiens, animated by a sudden awaking of remorse, applied for a place of retreat, where they might bury their shame, and renew their honesty. This was granted, and several others were established, the inmates of which wore white garments.

In several other parts of France, and generally in Europe, the religious orders made attempts to recall some of the abandoned class of females, to redeem the virtue of their sex, and, as they laboured with sincerity, many of their enterprises were successful. But, on the whole, prostitution still increased, and, the Reformation broke over a state of society demoralized to the very core *.

Of Prostitution in Spain.

Few nations have been described in more various ways and in more contradictory terms than the Spaniards. In the pages of one writer, we find them represented as in all things a great example of virtue, morality, and uncorrupted manners; in another, they are pictured as the very embodiment of vice and degradation. We have been at much pains to deduce from the history, from the achievements, and from the actual state of Spain, as these are set forth by innumerable authorities, a just opinion of its national characteristics, and the sketch we shall offer is the result.

In that country we have to divide class from class before we can fairly view its manners. On the one hand we have a peasantry ill-taught, and educated to servility; then a trading body, with another employed in professions; and thirdly, a large order of nobles, degenerated altogether from its ancient splendour, but preserving nevertheless all the pride, all the indolence, all the sensuality, which characterized it in the age of extended conquest and prosperous commerce. Upon all these classes time has left traces, and the influence of their history has been remarkably strong. A rich soil, a warm climate, an abundance of precious minerals—these circumstances have been by no means without their effect. The Roman Catholic religion, an army of priests, an arbitrary government, and the habit of respecting persons more than principles—these have a still more distinct impression on the national character. A literature once illustrious but now dead, an empire once splendid but now perished, a commerce once magnificent but now decayed, a

* Rabuteaux, ex Lascher, La Chaus, Layard, Knight, Dulaure, Chaussard, Jacob, Saint Hilaire, Hugues, Faumin, Sabatier, Beraud, &c., &c.

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wealth once gorgeous and now turned to poverty, arts once noble and now degraded —in these we find an index to the Spanish national character. There is nothing virgin in the country, there is nothing progressive, there is nothing with hope: all the glory of Spain belongs to the past. The present is a wreck, and the future is a blank.

The manners of Spain present none of that simple purity which we find in Switzerland. Every influence to which the people are subject tends to corrupt them. Young women who stand at their windows, and see with delight the flagellants go by, lashing themselves until the blood splashes under their whips, cannot possess much dignity of mind. Yet such are the spectacles which in Spain have been made familiar and favourite to the populace. There is throughout Spanish society an effort to appear better than they are, which in itself is an unfailing indication of impurity. Men dare not when in company take any improper liberties with women, even those whom they might be able privately to seduce. On the stage they hoot a piece, which in France, or even England, would not be regarded as in the slightest degree indelicate. Nevertheless, in their retired rooms, ladies who are thus prudish before the world, will suffer approaches gross enough, will amuse themselves with obscene pictures, will pardon readily equivocal jokes, and listen to songs of the worst indecency. Nor will they object to behold the fandango danced, though, whatever some tolerant travellers may say, it is proverbially obscene.

In many parts of the country, and especially in Seville, the ancient national customs are still preserved, and young girls are always when in the street accompanied by a duenna. In Madrid, where manners have undergone a change, this is no longer the case; but in the more primitive cities it is more prevalent. The guardianship of such a companion, however, by no means implies absolutely a respectable character, for common prostitutes, when they do walk abroad, are often accompanied by old women who attract notice to them, and frequently engage visitors to their places of resort.

The actual intercourse of the sexes in public is reserved, except with respect to conversation. The gossip at a Tertullia, described by some tourists as delightful, is characterized by English ladies not at all inclined to satirize Spanish manners as very far from that which women in good society among us are accustomed to hear. Children who appear fresh from the nursery indulge in remarks which to many appear positively obscene. The intellectual standard among them is low. Ladies have been known who, with all the pride of an hereditary title, could scarcely write their own names.

Good wives and good mothers are nevertheless very abundant in Spain. It has produced heroines of every kind, from the intriguers of the Camarilla to the defenders of a city. When "in love," the Spanish woman is exceedingly full of passion, and, carrying a knife, she occasionally employs it to revenge a slight. These essential characteristics of female manners are, however, gradually yielding under what we may term the common law of society in Europe. Madrid is assimilating itself to Paris, and Paris to London; so that as time progresses the peculiar features wear off, and statistics alone may at some future period form the measure of a people's morality.

In the rural parts women share with men the heaviest labours of the field. They may be observed as you pass along the highways, staggering under the weight of enormous burdens; but this is a circumstance attaching to poverty in all parts of the world, not to any nation in particular. It is among the upper and middle classes in Spain, though in many other countries the contrary is true, that women wear most strongly a national characteristic appearance. In Madrid and the other fashionable cities you are surprised by the vast number of women who crowd the streets. They have no domestic occupations; they trouble themselves little with the nurture or education of their children; they devolve on hirelings the management of their household affairs; and they relieve themselves from ennui by sauntering through the public places, dressed with the minutest elegance, carrying their fans, and bargaining on it, by every possible species of coquetry, for admiration from the passers by.

A Spanish woman is a natural coquette, and when married cannot abandon the habit familiarly known as flirtation. This gives rise to jealousy on the husband's part, which produces infinite misery.

Marriage is held in law a solemn and irrevocable contract. It is under many legal regulations, and subject to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. In the hands of the clergy, indeed, there is vested a prodigious arbitrary power, which they are careful to exercise, lest it should become obsolete by disuse. They may

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In compliance with the request of many Subscribers, the outer pages of this periodical will, in future, be used as a wrapper, intended to be cut off in binding. This will not only keep the work from being soiled, but enable Mr. Mayhew to answer the inquiries of his several Correspondents.

Concerning the order in which the several divisions of "London Labour and the London Poor" will make their appearance. Mr. Mayhew begs to state that the first six Monthly Parts will be devoted to an exposition of the condition and earnings of the several varieties of the London Street-folk. A Title,' Preface, and Index will then be issued, so that the whole of the Numbers on that subject may be bound up into a Volume, in which it is hoped, will be found a full and minute account of the numbers, income, experience, habits, and tastes of every class of person getting his or her living in the public thoroughfares; whether Street-seller, Street-buyer, Street-finder, Street-performer, Street-artizan, or Street-labourer; including accounts of the Street-Irish, Street-Jews, Street-Italians, Street Blind and Maimed, Street Mechanics, Pedlars, Costermongers, and Gipsies,—and thus constituting Vol. I. of the first real History of the People that has ever been attempted in any country whatsoever.

This done, Mr. Mayhew purposes directing his attention to the Producers; beginning with the Workers in Silk, Cotton, Wool, Worsted, Hair, Flax, Hemp, and Coir, as well as the Workers in Skin, Gut, and Feathers, comprising both the Manufacturers and Makers-up of these Materials. Under these two heads will be

I. WORKERS IN SILK, COTTON, WOOL, WORSTED, HAIR, FLAX, HEMPEN OR OTHER MATERIALS.

1. *Manufacturers of Materials.*

Silk, ribbon and lace manufacturers.
Lace menders.
Gauze makers.
Braid makers.
Gimp spinners and weavers.
Fringe manufacturers.
Tassel makers.
Trimming makers.
Coach-lace makers.
Gold-lace weavers.
Cotton manufacturers.
Wadding makers.
Factory workers.
Spinners.
Weavers.
Knitters.
Candle and lamp-wick makers.
Stocking makers.
Woollen and cloth manufacturers.
Cloth pressers.
Shawl makers.
Crape makers.
Felt manufacturers.
Flock manufacturers.
Mop makers.
Worsted manufacturers.
Carpet and rug manufacturers.
Hair manufacturers.
Wig makers.
Hair dressers.
Artists in hair.
Brush and broom makers.
Flax and linen manufacturers.
Thread makers.
Lint makers.
Tape makers.
Hemp dressers and manufacturers.
Canvass weavers.
Rope and cord spinners.
Net makers.
Mat makers.
Sail and sailcloth makers.
Tarpaulin makers.
Ship's caulkers.
Tilt makers.
Sack and bag makers and weavers.

2. *"Makers up" of Materials.*

Tailors and breeches makers.
Slop workers.
Accoutrement makers.
Sempstresses.
Shirt makers.
Baby-linen makers.
Dress makers and milliners.
Robe makers.
Satin and silk workers.
Embroiderers.
Berlin wool makers.
Stay and corset makers.
Belt makers.
Stock makers.
Umbrella and parasol stitchers.
Purse makers.
Quilters.
Bed and mattress makers.
Hatters.
Bonnet makers.
Cap makers.
Cloth-cap makers.
Artificial-flower makers.

II. WORKERS IN SKIN, GUT, AND FEATHERS.

1. *Manufacturers of Materials.*

Skinner and skin dressers.
Parchment makers and dealers.
Tanners.
Curriers and leather sellers.
Strop makers.
Furriers.
Catgut makers.
Gut blowers and spinners.
Musical string makers.
Bow-string makers.
Goldbeater's-skin makers.
Feather manufacturers.
Pen makers and dealers.
Quill dressers.

2. *"Makers up" of Materials.*

Boot and shoe makers.
List shoe makers.
Ball makers.
Leather case makers.
Leather pipe makers.
Cap peak makers.
Glove makers.
Saddlers.
Harness and collar makers.
Whip makers.
Coach trimmers.

*** *Answers to Letters received will be given in the next Number.*

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several anonymous communications have been received, some of them evidently curious and (if duly authenticated) valuable, but it is impossible to attend to any statement unless means are afforded of testing its accuracy by the names and addresses of the parties forwarding the information being communicated in confidence.

J. T.—Acknowledgments and thanks are due for the receipt of the valuable pamphlet of "Who pays the Taxes?" and for other matters, all of which will receive my earnest attention.

THE SOCIETY OF CABINET MAKERS.—The request of J. S. shall be complied with.

THE REV. J. E. H. will be written to immediately.

"THE BRISTOL TAILOR," &c.—It is to be hoped that those who can advocate the cause so well will not allow it to drop.

"THE DISEASE AND THE REMEDY," a valuable Essay, has been received. It is heartily wished that the example of Mr. E. Edwards's industry and research in collecting statistics and other information concerning the printing trade may be followed by the secretaries of other trade societies.

G. J. H., BRUNSWICK-ROW.—The address of the tailor has been received. He will be communicated with at the fitting time.

J. P.'s letter shall be attended to.

BRISTOL.—The statistics will be welcome.

PIMLICO SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS.—The Report has come to hand, for which many thanks.

T. F. A.—It would hardly be becoming to act in the way intimated.

JOURNAL OF INDUSTRY.—Many thanks are given for the recommendations and remarks of the able editor.

TWO POOR NEEDLEWOMEN.—Agnes M—— and Jane W——, who, in my inquiries among the needlewomen, had become known to me as persons of good character, have written to me stating: "Our circumstances are very bad, we have only earnt a few shillings for the last twelve weeks." MR. MAYHEW can vouch for the worthiness and for the poverty of those two poor women. Toiling from morning till night, they have had but twopence-halfpenny a day to live upon for several years, after paying their rent. This Mr. MAYHEW proved in the *Chronicle*, by extracts from their account-books.

J. I. G.—This correspondent's suggestions shall be heeded when the matter in question is treated of.

T. R., MILK-STREET.—The application shall be borne in mind.

A PURCHASER, &c. is referred to the article concerning the "Coster Girl." Where it is proper and practicable, the mode of procedure he points out will be adopted; but as the communications are confidential, the procedure is not always proper or practicable.

PENSION SOCIETY OF CLICKERS, &c. are thanked for the Report forwarded.

CAROLINE G., the widow of a railway-guard, writes to describe her extremely distressed condition.

A. B. C., LOCK'S-FIELDS, is requested to send his name and address (of course in confidence).

D. P. M., ARLINGTON-STREET, has been written to.

P. C., BREWER-STREET, NORTH.—The information proffered will be gladly received when the mechanical calling of which P. C. writes is treated of.

PUBLIC BATHS, &c.—Thanks are due for the ticket and documents. The establishment will be noticed in due course.

IMPORTATION INTO HULL, &c.—Received with thanks.

F. W. is thanked for the useful book he has forwarded.

C. B., ANN-STREET, &c.—Similar statements have frequently been received, and will be made available when the poor so suffering are described.

J. R., LIVERPOOL, has sent many valuable accounts of the tailors, all of which will be made useful.

T. D., DALSTON.—Thanks for the pamphlet.

THE LOOKER-ON.—Received, with thanks.

E. J. B., DRURY-LANE.—Received.

THE SWANSEA HERALD, DUBLIN COMMERCIAL JOURNAL, STOCKPORT ADVERTISER, and other papers, containing notices of "London Labour and the London Poor," have been received.

THE PROFILIST is thanked, and will be communicated with.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

An account has been given among the notices to correspondents of the several occupations which will be treated of in this work, on the completion of the volume concerning the street-folk. In the meantime, the several operatives, trade societies, and employers, will do the Author, and it is hoped themselves and the public, a considerable service by forwarding such *facts* connected with their trade, as may have come under their own *personal* experience.

Mr. Mayhew would feel obliged by the name and address of the writers being added to all communications—not with a view to publication, but as a guarantee of respectability and good faith. Mr. Mayhew (for obvious reasons) never prints the names of those from whom he receives his information, but leaves the public to look to him alone as the person responsible for the truth of the statements here published; it is therefore necessary for his own credit sake, that he should be furnished with the means of ascertaining the credibility of his informants, before pledging himself to the authenticity of any facts with which they may supply him. All anonymous communications will henceforth be unattended to.

The statistical information that Mr. Mayhew desires is of three kinds—First, concerning the earnings of individuals—Secondly, the income and expenditure, objects and government of trade societies—and Thirdly, the *kind* of cheap labour by which the "cutting" masters in the several trades are enabled to undersell the more liberal employers.

1st. The earnings of individual operatives should be proved by the account-books of the employers or employed, both of which will be highly valuable, especially if extending over a series of years. Each of the account-books of the operatives, however, should be accompanied by a statement as to whether it represents the earnings of a person who is *fully*, *partially*, or only *casually*, employed; also, whether the workman is a *quick*, *average*, or *slow* hand. Of course all such books (or statistical documents of any kind indeed) as may be entrusted to Mr. Mayhew for the purposes of this work, will be carefully preserved, and when done with faithfully returned.

2nd. The trade society statistics that Mr. Mayhew would be thankful for, are statements of the number of members in and out of society for a series of years—the wages of society men during the same time, specifying the cause of any rise or fall—the subscriptions paid by members, and how much of these is devoted to trade purposes, and how much to "philanthropic" (if any)—the income and expenditure of the society for each year as far back as possible—the sums paid annually to the unemployed, as well as the yearly number of unemployed members—the amount given every year to the sick, (specifying if possible the prevailing diseases of the trade)—the sums disbursed to the superannuated, as well as the gross amount paid at death of the members, setting forth the number of individuals in each case—the sums paid for insurance of tools, if any—the amount disbursed to tramps—the number of employers who pay society prices, and if possible the number of those who do not (the last items especially, should be given for as long a period as possible, so that an estimate may be formed as to the prospects of the trade). Mr. Mayhew would also be glad to know what are the trade regulations concerning apprentices—the term of apprenticeship—the number usually taken—the premium paid—and the remuneration of the apprentice. The hours of labour recognised by the Society, and the duration of the brisk and slack seasons, would likewise be useful, as well as whether the men are paid day-work or piece-work. It would further be desirable to know the cost and causes of any strikes that may have taken place, and the opinion of the more intelligent members of the trade thereupon. Mr. Mayhew wishes moreover to be furnished with facts as to whether the late reduction in the price of food has been followed by a commensurate reduction in the rate of wages, and whether at the time of the imposition of the income or any other tax, the wages of the operatives were reduced to an equal extent. Mr. Mayhew is aware that such has been the case in many trades, but he is desirous of ascertaining whether the reduction has been general, and if not, of learning the nature of the exceptions.

3rd. As to the nature of the cheap labour by which the cutting masters in the different trades are enabled to undersell the more liberal employers. Mr. Mayhew wishes to know; first, whether the cheap labourers employed belong to the less skilful portion of the trade—as boys, "improvers,"—old men, &c.; or to the less respectable—as the drunken, the idle, and the dishonest; or the less expensive—that is to say, those who will put up with a coarser diet, as foreigners, Irishmen, &c., and those who have their subsistence found them, either by the State, as paupers and criminals, or by their connections and relations, as wives and children. Also whether there are any "aids to wages" among the cheaper labourers in the several trades, as "allotments," "relief," &c. &c. Moreover, it would be advisable to make known whether the cheap workers are obliged to find security, and if so, to what extent—whether they are bound to provide any and what articles that it is usual for the more liberal employers in the trade to find for their workpeople—whether they are bound to buy their materials, tools, or food, of their employers, and if so, the prices charged by them compared with others. If they are boarded or lodged by their employers, the quality and quantity of provisions, and style of accommodation found them. If there are fines, the nature of the offences for which they are imposed, and the amount exacted. If middlemen are customary, then should be stated the sum paid *to* such middlemen by the employer, and the sum paid *by* them to the employed; if, on the other hand, there be a large number of small working masters in the trade, it would be desirable to know the lowest sum required by an operative to commence manufacturing on his own account—the usual hours of labour among the small masters—the rate of working, that is to say, the quantity of work done by them in a given time—the number who work on the Sunday—the time lost in finding a market for the goods when finished—the advantages taken of their necessities by the tradesmen to whom they sell—the kind of assistants the small masters employ, and the wages they pay.

Statistical information on the above points, in connection with any of the trades (specified in No. 5), or indeed in connection with any other trade, will be of the utmost value. Such information need not concern London alone, but the provinces as well, for it is Mr. Mayhew's intention not to confine the work to the artizans and labourers of the Metropolis solely.

Mr. Mayhew would further be thankful for accounts as to the individual expenditure of operatives. These would be of the greatest service, as the means of arriving at the number of ounces of solid food consumed by working men in particular trades, so that the quantity may be contrasted with other trades, as well as with the dietaries of paupers and prisoners. A statement of the sum spent in intoxicating liquors would do good in tending to check a most pernicious custom.

In conclusion, Mr. Mayhew begs to state, that he would likewise be glad to be furnished with a brief account of the experience, privations, and struggles of those working men whose lives have been unusually chequered, and the publication of which is likely to prove interesting or useful to their fellow-workmen, or the public generally.

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4.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. L.—The subject will be a matter of investigation in a few months.

W. B., Chelsea.—The trouble taken by W. B. demands acknowledgment, but a statement, merely ex parte, and hardly relevant—although W. B. might make it so—to the subject of street-life, cannot be attended to.

A Bootmaker for eighteen years is thanked for his communication.

An Investigator.—The information was official, and, there can be no doubt, as correct as possible under the circumstances.

Mr. W. H. Forman writes to point out "a slight error respecting the number of people that can be accommodated in the Gallery of the Victoria Theatre," in the first number of this work. Mr. Forman states that 1,000 is (what is termed among the fraternity) "a fizzer," but 900 is the full number the gallery will hold, the other hundred hang about the beams, &c., as described in the first number. Mr. Forman is thanked for his correction, and for his concluding remarks.

E. B., Portland Town.—See p. 219 of M'Culloch's "Dictionary of Commerce" (1844). The orthography used is that of the leading fruit brokers—though there are certainly doubts on the subject — but in such matters custom is often the only recognized authority.

Cautus.—The suggestion is hardly capable of realisation.

T.—No such inquiries can be answered.

A Greengrocer is thanked for the information forwarded.

B. H. R. W.—Received.

E. C. M. is thanked for his suggestions, and is requested to send, in confidence, his address.

P's application has been attended to.

L. A.—The number cited was on the authority of a government table. L. A.'s censures, though complimentary, collaterally, to the importance of such a work as "London Labour and the London Poor," are hardly borne out by the facts.

J. R., Liverpool, has again forwarded valuable information. He will shortly see a publication on the subject.

W. P.—This communication accidentally escaped notice last week, and it is worthy of every attention.

T. R. suggests a Grand National Labour League.

F. R. S.—The amount might be somewhat understated, but it was mentioned that a (probable) understatement was resorted to in the absence of positive information.

T. W. R. cannot be answered, with any precision, at present.

T. W. P. is thanked for his letter and for his calculations. His recommendations will not be lost sight of.

W. T., Somers Town, should be at once assisted were there funds for such a purpose.

A Plain Speaker.—It would be improper to do as requested.

P. P.—The information will be found in No. 3.

A. R. and other *anonymous* communications cannot, as before stated, be attended to.

M. N. L.—On the authority of a Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners.

Mentor.—The fulness of a Parliamentary Inquiry, by a Select Committee, can hardly be questioned.

Anonymous Communications have been received but they cannot—it seems again necessary to announce it—command any attention.

To Correspondents.—Letters received later than Saturday morning cannot be attended to in the Number published on the following Wednesday.

Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work,—This correspondent has, no doubt inadvertently, omitted sending his name and address, so that no reply can be forwarded to him.

Rectus in Curia.—The information may be found in any of the Cyclopædias.

L. L. A.—No such table has been received.

R. F.—It will be sufficient to say that the communication was made in consequence.

A Bootmaker is thanked.

B. B.—The Plumber's trade was not the subject of any Metropolitan Letter on Labour and Poor in the *Morning Chronicle.*

A. Z.—The answer to B. B. applies to this querist also.

L. M. N.—It is usual to do so. The facts can be made serviceable, but the letter, for obvious reasons, cannot appear in its present form. Any further statement will command immediate attention,

An Admirer.—The question of democracy and aristocracy cannot be discussed in "London Labour and the London Poor," in the way which "An Admirer" recommends.

A Gardener.—Of such things the costermongers know and care nothing. The tariff of 1842 reduced the duty on foreign pears to 6*d.* per bushel (3*d.* from British possessions); it was formerly 7*s.* 6*d.*

T. P. is thanked for his information. The address of the party had been previously obtained to be available when wanted.

T. W. P.—The letter has been received and the matter will be carefully attended to.

P. P.—A prospectus will be forwarded if P. P. will state to what address.

R. S. A.—It is not possible to enter into explanations, concerning abstruse questions in the necessarily circumscribed limits of these "Answers."

D.—The "Penny Gaff" alluded to has been suppressed. It is said not to have been one of the worst.

"Laudator Temporis Acti."—The statement is correct. See the Acts—50 Geo. III. c. 41, and 6 Geo. IV. c. 80. Further information on the subject will be given.

Wholesale Dealer.—Certainly not.

"A former Sufferer."—The topic is not one in accordance with the inquiry into "Street-Life" now being prosecuted.

E. L.—Poor Needlewomen.—A letter has been received, from which the following is an extract, the name and address being given, and to be learnt at the Office, 69, Fleet-street.—"I am an employer of female labour in the ill-paid trade of shirt making, and also in the Berlin brace trade. In your last Number I perceive an account of two poor needlewomen; my object in writing is to offer them work, which is continual, winter and summer, and also to lay before you my scale of wages. I have an opening for ten or twelve good hands in either of the above trades. My system is a division of labour. I pay 4*s.* per dozen for stitching, 3*s.* 2*d.* for the plain work, and 6*s.* for the fitting, which I fix myself, thereby relieving the hands of the most difficult part of the trade. I have the whole of the latter part done upon the premises, under my own inspection, paying every attention to the comfort of the work-people. They have an airy work-room, with fire and candles, cotton is found, and a comfortable tea provided; so that their earnings are free from deductions. I am also in want of a good button-hole worker, wages 3*d.* a dozen button-holes. I have not been able to see your letters in the *Morning Chronicle*, but am anxiously waiting their appearing in your weekly paper. I am told there are thousands making shirts at 2½*d.* each; if this is really the case, I think it must be in consequence of their being extremely inferior hands. The great fault appears to be, that poor girls are not properly instructed in the use of the needle, very few make really quick and clever needlewomen; while the many are so very inferior, that they are compelled to accept any wages that may be offered. The above wages are far less than I should like to be able to pay, but the very utmost I can afford under present circumstances, leaving but a very trifling profit for my own labour and superintendence."

F. S.—The question will be treated in due course, and F. S. shall be communicated with. The subject was very briefly alluded to in the *Morning Chronicle* about a twelvemonth ago.

Law Writers' Apprentices.—Such communications are of great value, and may prove of great usefulness, as many abuses cannot possibly be corrected, for they have never been exposed. The correspondent in question—it is better not even to give his initials—will be written to when the condition of the Clerks, Assistants, &c. of London is, the important subject of inquiry.

M. & M.—Received.

A. B. C.'s communication has been received.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"L. C. F. presents her compliments to Mr. MAYHEW, and begs to enclose half a sovereign, to be disposed of as he may think proper, to any of the distressed persons mentioned in his account of the "LONDON POOR." She heartily wishes that she could make it more, but her circumstances do not admit of it at present, though she trusts ere long to be able to send another donation; and will also when possible, subscribe to the 'Friendly Association of Costermongers,' as described in Mr. MAYHEW's work. Should the two Young Flower Girls, or the little Cress Girl, mentioned by Mr. MAYHEW, be still in distress, her own sympathies go first with the *young* in sorrow. So much sin as well as misery may be prevented, by timely aid in supplying them with stock to pursue their honest trading, that one might hope whilst assisting them in their means of support, to be also aiding (however humbly), in 'saving souls alive.' But Mr. MAYHEW will be, of course, the best judge where so sadly small a sum can be made of the most avail."

[Mr. MAYHEW has handed over the half-sovereign, kindly forwarded by L. C. F. to his Publisher, Mr. JOHN HOWDEN. Mr. MAYHEW has, in his dealings with the poorer classes, seen too many instances of the evils of promiscuous charity, to consent to become the dispenser of alms. The most dangerous lesson that can possibly be taught to any body of people whatsoever is, that there are other means of obtaining money than by working for it. Benevolence, however kind in its intentions, does oftentimes more harm than even the opposite principle. To bestow alms upon a struggling, striving man, is to destroy his independence, and to make a beggar of one who *would* work for his living. It is to teach such an one to trust to others for his subsistence, rather than to convince him that he himself contains within his own frame the means of providing for his own sustenance—indeed, it is to change the self-supporting animal into the mere vegetable; for the main distinction between animal and vegetable life is, that the one seeks its own food and the other has it brought to it. Mr. MAYHEW, while he wishes to arouse the public to the social necessity of enabling every person throughout the kingdom to live in comfort by his labour, has no wish to teach the humbler classes that they can possibly obtain a livelihood by any other means. All that the better part of the working-classes desire is, to live by their industry; and those who desire to live by the industry of others, form no portion of the honest independent race of workmen in this country whom Mr. MAYHEW wishes to befriend. The deserving poor are really those who *cannot* live by their labour, whether from under-payment, want of employment, or physical or mental incapacity; and these Mr. MAYHEW wishes, and will most cheerfully do all he can, at any time and in any way, to assist. If the poverty arise from unfair payment, we should demand from the employers a fair living price for the work. If, on the other hand, it arise from want of employment, then we should seek to obtain work for those who cannot themselves procure it; and if from disability, we should use our influence to get them admission to some asylum specially devoted to the alleviation of their particular sufferings; or, if there be no such asylum, then we should endeavour to found some one of the kind wanted.

Mr. MAYHEW has been thus explicit as to the principles which guide him, because he wishes it to be known that, for several reasons, he has no desire to fill the post of dispenser of alms. In the first place, it is necessary that, for the honour of the office he has taken upon himself, he should be placed beyond even the remotest suspicion. He has therefore determined to accept no place of pecuniary trust whatsoever; and in accordance with this resolve, he has handed over such money as has been forwarded to him for distribution among the poor, to Mr. JOHN HOWDEN, with the view of making it the nucleus of an institution that he is most anxious to see established, viz., a "Loan-Office for the Poor," where small advances may be obtained on approved security, at a moderate rate of interest. This appears to Mr. MAYHEW not only to overcome all the objections to almsgiving, but to afford the same pecuniary assistance to those who stand in need of it, without degrading them into beggars. Such an institution would also go far to put a stop to the exorbitant rates of interest now charged by those who trade upon the necessities and destitution of the indigent,—such as the dolly-shops, pawnbrokers, stock-money lenders, tally-shops, and many like iniquities. Those gentlemen and ladies who would not object to serve upon the committee of such an institution, are requested to forward their names to the Office, 69, Fleet-street, and those who think sufficiently well of its objects to contribute towards its capital, will oblige by making their post-office orders payable to Mr. JOHN HOWDEN, who has kindly consented to act as Honorary Secretary for the time being. It is proposed to pay three, or, if possible, four per cent. interest for all contributions made to the institution, the sums contributed by the subscribers being lent out at five per cent., and the difference devoted to the expenses of the institution.]

LUCY L., of Bedford-square, sends the subjoined:—"Sir,—I am a governess, anxious to provide for my old age, and save all I can for that purpose. The difficulty is, how to invest these savings—the savings'-banks give such a small interest. In No. 6 of your admirable work on LONDON LABOUR AND THE POOR, I see an advertisement of the 'Mutual Investment Society,' wherein they proffer 5 per cent. for money deposited with them. I hope you will excuse the liberty of my inquiring whether you know anything of the Managers of the Society, and would you advise my depositing my savings there? my apology for this intrusion is, that I look upon myself as one of the Labourers of London. A notice in your next Number will greatly oblige, your sincere admirer, LUCY L."

[The lady is informed that Mr. HENRY MAYHEW himself has no connection whatever with the Institution referred to; his brother, Mr. Horace Mayhew, is, however one of the Directors. The "Mutual Investment Society" appears to be a very valuable Institution.]

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6.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The London coal-whippers have forwarded a Prospectus of a new journal which is about to be published by some members of their own body. These labouring men have long been celebrated for the many classical scholars included among their ranks; but curious as classical scholarship may be when found among such a class, still intelligence in a periodical will prove of much greater value. It is hoped therefore that the coal-whippers will not be so anxious to display their learning as their sense. If they will but avoid a perhaps pardonable demonstration of their scholastic acquirements, and determine to deal with the labour question judicially rather than emotionally, eschewing all that may savour of the platform—if they will but adhere to plain matters of fact, collecting and making known the statistics of labour, and so contributing their mite of truth to the general knowledge fund on this difficult question, they may be the me[ans] of doing incalculable good, not only to their own people, but to the great body of labouring men throughout the country. Let them rest assured that the labourer is to be benefitted solely by truth. No revolution in any country whatsoever can ever make two and two anything but four. If the working men are wronged, then let them demonstrate how the treatment they receive violates the laws of right, and depend upon it there are enough people wishing right to prevail, ultimately to put an end to the wrong. The process may seem a slow one, but there is no hastening it *by force*—conviction alone can work the change. Mr. Mayhew himself believes that the working men of England are grossly wronged by capitalists. All production is according to the very first principles of political economy —a partnership between the man of money and the man of muscles, in which the monied man agrees to advance to the working man his share of the produce in the form of wages. Look at the labour question in whatever light we may, these are the very elements of it. It may offer some violence to the pride of the capitalist to be told that his labourers are partners in his business, but common sense and justice admit of no other view being taken of the transaction. That this fundamental contract is violated, and that the labourer does *not get his fair share of the produce at the present day, none can doubt*—the padlock, to quote a solitary instance, which is made for a halfpenny, is sold for a shilling. In place of the original compact a new law has been instituted, by which the *necessities* of the working man—instead of equity—are made to determine the value of his labour. This is what is called the law of supply and demand, which taking no heed of the result (that is to say, whether the value of the materials on which the workman has exercised his skill has been doubled or increased even a hundredfold by the operation), says, that the proportion of the wealth which is to come to the labourer is to be regulated by no other principle than what the capitalist can induce or force him (by starvation or chicanery) to accept. Now this to Mr. Mayhew appears to be the very reverse of justice, and contrary to the fundamental principles of the very science of which it is said to be a part. Unfortunately, however, the law of supply and demand has got to be recognised by the rulers of the land, and to be considered almost as a part of the commercial creed of the country—the last "new commandment," as it were — against which it is political blasphemy to raise one's voice. Until the injustice of this principle is exposed and made generally known, there is no hope for the labouring man; for a necessary corollary (and certainly a most convenient one to all employers) of the law of supply and demand is the dogma of free labour, which asserts that in any way to restrict the liberty of the capitalist to buy his labour in the cheapest market and sell it (of course) in the dearest, is to interfere with the "rights of commerce." This, however, would seem to perpetrate an even greater iniquity than the present wage-law—and that solely for the benefit of the capitalist—at *the expense, moreover, of both producer and consumer*, giving rise at once to underpaid workmen and overcharged purchasers—to cheap labour and dear commodities *for the mere aggrandisement of the middleman.* To buy labour at the cheapest possible rate, without any regard to the value of the produce, is to defraud the producer, and to sell it at the dearest possible rate (without any regard to the prime cost of the commodity), is to swindle the purchaser. Surely this was the principle of trade which guided the dealings of Ikey Solomons, the Jew fence, and yet he was tried at the Old Bailey and transported for putting it in practice. In the case of the receiver of stolen goods, the main iniquity consists in not paying a fair price for the labour of the article purchased; and indeed it is often this buying of articles far below their equitable value that constitutes the chief evidence as to the guilty knowledge of the receiver. If no restriction whatever is to be placed upon the dealings of capitalists, and they are to have full liberty to buy in the cheapest market—despite the principles of justice—then why in the name of common sense prosecute the receiver or the thief, when their whole crime consists in not paying a proper price for the labour of the commodities they obtain? Under these circumstances it behoves the great body of working men to protest loudly—but calmly and resolutely—against the iniquity of the law of supply and demand, and against the doctrine of free labour which seeks to make the remuneration of workmen depend on the greed of commercial men rather than the principles of justice. There are no men who can make this apparent better than the coal-whippers —no men who have had greater experience of the atrocities that can be perpetrated under the *free labour* principle, and none who if they will but tell all they know, and all they have seen, and tell it dispassionately—appealing to the consciences rather than the passions of their fellow-creatures—can do more to bring about that state of right and truth which all good men desire. This is the sole object Mr. Mayhew has in view—all he wishes is to make the public aware of the infamies that can be practised upon the labourer when the trader is allowed to use him as his own brutalizing love of gain may dictate; he hopes by showing these things to induce some change in our social state (though at present he hardly knows *what* change) by which the workman may ensure *his fair share of the produce.* There are many means proposed to obtain this end. Protection Chartism, Co-operative Societies, Socialism, Communism, and many other social and political panacea; but with these, Mr. Mayhew has in his present vocation nothing to do, and he wishes it to be distinctly known and understood—without reservation or cavil—that he is in no way connected with any social or political party or sect whatever. Mr. Mayhew is neither Chartist, Protectionist, Socialist, Communist, nor Co-operationist; but a mere collector of facts, endeavouring to discover the several phenomena of labour with a view of arriving ultimately at the laws and circumstances affecting, and controlling the operation and rewards of the labourer, as well as of showing the importance of the poor and the working classes as members of the State.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following has been forwarded by the Rev. Robert Montgomery:—

"61, Torrington-square, Thursday.

"**My** dear Sir,—The sacred cause of Christian philanthropy is vastly indebted to the noble efforts you are now making to enlighten the *polished* darkness in which the upper classes are veiled from a real and adequate acquaintance with the dismal realities of the poor man's life around them. *Personally*, I have to thank you for admonishing my own selfishness, and expanding my own sympathies, by your deeply-moving details in your LONDON LABOUR AND POOR. It is not likely that you have ever heard of, much less read, my last volume, 'GOD AND MAN.' Nor do I refer to it as having intellectual claims on your attention. But there is *one essay* in it, which, I believe, in point of subject, stands ALONE in our literature. It is entitled, 'The benefits THE POOR *confer on the rich*'—the reverse side of the question as generally discussed. Of this, I say, I beg you to accept the enclosed extract: do me the honour TO READ IT: and, if it can be of the remotest use to your sublime cause, it will gladden the heart of, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"ROBERT MONTGOMERY.

"N.B.—This is a *public* letter, and at your discretion can be used. Is it *possible* to get some of these people to hear the *Word of God?* if so, pray command my labours."

From J. C. (M.D.) the following has been received:—"In Dr. Carpenter's 'Prize Essay on Intoxicating Liquors,' he has quoted some statements from the 'Inquiries by the Commissioner of the *Morning Chronicle*,' (see Appendix A. and B.), which, so far as I can make out, seem to imply that a man may carry up as many as sixty tons of coals on his back, from a ship's hold sixteen feet deep, in the course of a day. 'I have *backed* as many as sixty tons in a day since I took the pledge.' 'Many teetotallers have backed coals out of the hold, and I have heard them say over and over again, that they did this work with more comfort and ease than they did when they drank intoxicating drinks. Coal-backing is the hardest work that it is possible for a man to do. Going up a ladder sixteen feet high, with 238 lbs. weight upon a man's back, is sufficient to kill any one.' May I beg you will have the kindness to say in the notices to correspondents in 'London Labour,' &c. whether I am right in my conjecture. It has been supposed that the work performed by the South American miners of carrying up loads of 200 lbs., from a depth of eighty yards, twelve times a day, was about the greatest amount of labour which a man could undergo; but this would far surpass it. My object is to investigate the amount of muscular power which a man is capable of exercising, and I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken of thus encroaching upon time which is so much and so usefully occupied." Speaking from memory, the passages above quoted are correctly given. There was, however, together with the weight carried, a statement as to the aggregate height to which the substances were lifted in the course of the day's labour, which J. C. must be well aware is an important element in the calculation. The copies of the *Chronicle* in which the Letters on the London Coal-whippers were originally printed not being at hand it is impossible to refer J. C. to the precise date of their appearance; but Mr. MAYHEW believes it was at the beginning of last year. The impression left on Mr. MAYHEW's mind by the investigation was, that stimulating drinks were *in no way necessary* for the performance of the severest labour. Mr. MAYHEW was the more particular in his inquiries upon this subject, because he knew there existed a deeply-rooted conviction in the minds of the industrious classes that hard work could be performed only with the assistance of some kind of fermented liquor, and the result of the investigation most assuredly was that such a belief was in no way founded upon truth. Mr. MAYHEW (being no teetotaller) investigated the subject purely as a question intimately connected with the welfare of the working classes, and without reference to any preconceived opinion whatsoever. As Mr. MAYHEW takes great interest in the subject to which J. C. is directing his attention, he would be happy at all times to afford him any information within his power, and be equally glad to be made acquainted with the results at which J. C. may arrive. When it is remembered that to the *muscles* of men we owe so many of the comforts and necessaries of our lives, surely the subject of muscular energy, irritability, and durative power must rank among the most important of studies, and the more so because the physical causes of crime, vagabondism, industry, and a host of other virtues and vices, which must be *in some measure* due to the bodily conformation of the individuals, have been hitherto wholly unexplored by *impartial* scientific men. The phrenologists alone have looked into the subject; but unfortunately they are theorists with a disposition to warp rather than discover facts. Ethnologists have done little or nothing towards increasing our knowledge of the physical conformation of the predatory and vagabond races of the world. Nor have the revelations of Drs. Marshall Hall, and Carpenter, concerning the automatic, consensual and voluntary actions of men been as yet attempted to be applied to the enigmas of moral or social philosophy. Dr. Hall's theory of fatigue appears to throw a flood of light on the causes of industrial and idle habits. When *will* the physician be considered as necessary a functionary in our gaols and unions as the clergyman? for when he is, we may hope for some more useful knowledge than we are at present vouchsafed, concerning the causes and treatment of criminals and paupers. At present our prison reports, and our gaol and poor-house discipline are as unphilosophic as the "wise-saws" of our old nurses.

"I have noticed in the seventh Number of your Journal," writes a lady without a name, "a statement that 'lavender,' in common with other flowers, is sometimes sold for 'immoral purposes.' With the curiosity so natural to a daughter of Eve, I feel very inquisitive to know what purpose, or purposes, it can be 'immorally' applied to? Flowers have always been associated in my mind with ideas of rural happiness, and as emblems of purity and simplicity, and therefore your announcement has startled me very much, leaving me after all my cogitations in a labyrinth of doubt and conjecture. If you will have the courtesy to solve this query for me, in one of your future Numbers, you will confer a great favour."—[The subject is not exactly feminine—but the immoral purposes are the same as those for the sale of flowers in the streets; by young girls, frequently used as a cloak.]

The following petition has been handed to MR. MAYHEW by the poor half-witted and very persecuted harp-player, so well known in the streets of London; and as he can vouch for the worthiness of the petitioner, as well as his inability to obtain his living by labour, MR. MAYHEW gives publicity to it here in the hope of enlisting the sympathies of some of his readers in behalf of the poor musician.

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—Your humble Partitionar as been obtaining a lively hood the last 4 years by playing an harp in the streets and is desirous of doing so but from the delapedated condition of my present instrument I only produce ridicule instead of a living Trusting you will be kind anough to *asist* me in getting another I beg to remain your humble Partitionar,

"FOSTER.'

"L. Wallington (Gray's-inn-terrace), 1*s.*; Mr. Briggs, 1*s.*; T. L., 1*s.*; Jno. Ballantyne, 1*s.*; A friend, 1*s.*; T. N., 4*d.*; J. Hughes, 6*d.*; Mrs. Ganston, 6*d.*; Dubois, 1*s.*; J. Ellis, 6*d.*; Mrs. Bridges, 6*d.*; Mrs. Hosleham, 1*s.*; H. M., 5*s.*"

Two pounds ten shillings will be sufficient to obtain such an instrument as is required. Subscriptions may be forwarded to Mr. JOHN HOWDEN, 69, Fleet-street.

GINGER-BEER SELLER.—ODD FELLOWS.—It was stated, in No. 9, that 1,200 ginger-beer sellers had, at one time, attached to their stalls a label, or ticket, showing that they belonged to the Society of "Odd Fellows." It should be of "Old Friends," a society then well known.

B. P. M. is thanked, but the class is finished.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. M. H.—The letter has been received.

F. F., on a little consideration, must perceive that his request, without a direct contravention of the rules observed in conducting this work, cannot be complied with.

ANONYMOUS LETTERS.—It is to be regretted that letters, without name or address, continue to be occasionally sent to this office, notwithstanding repeated notices that they are valueless for any purpose.

AN UNWORTHY PROTECTIONIST.—A political controversy is inadmissible in any form.

R.—No such communication has been received.

L. L.—In 1829.

AN OBSERVER, WHITECHAPEL.—The year assigned was the correct date.

H. W. H.—The statement may be looked upon as at least semi-official.

P. L., MANCHESTER.—Such a communication should be addressed to the Government Commissioners.

B. T. L. is thanked for his curious information.

LECTOR.—The likeliest course will be a search in the British Museum.

M. F., LIVERPOOL, is thanked for his letter.

F. R.—The matter will not be lost sight of.

L. A. P.—There appears no good reason for following such a course.

M. H. W.—The class of men referred to could only, by a very forced and violent construction, be included among patterers.

PETER.—The question seems entirely theological, and is not within the scope of this work.

A FISH FACTOR.—No further intelligence can be given of the precise derivation of the word "Bummaree." In Mr. Knights "Cyclopædia of Political, Constitutional, Statistical, and Forensic Knowledge," (referred to by a Fish-factor), it is stated: "Bottomry, Bottomaree, or Bummaree, is a term derived into the English maritime law from the Dutch or Low German. In Dutch, the term is Bomerie or Bodemery, and in German, Bodmerei. It is said to be originally derived from Boden or Bodem, which in Low German and Dutch, formerly signified the bottom or keel of a ship; and according to a common process in language, the part being applied to the whole, also denoted the ship itself. The expression *bottom* having been commonly used to signify a ship, previous to the 17th century." In this statement we have most probably the word. How it became possessed of its present signification at Billingsgate, seems never to have been ascertained.

B. Y. R., SHEFFIELD.—The classification suggested is very good, and will be borne in mind when the subject is treated of.

L. A. R., MARYLEBONE.—It would hardly be proper to publish those addresses in the way suggested.

B. B., NEWCASTLE.—It is impossible that the Editor of this work can interfere in such a matter.

L. O., NORTON FOLGATE, is thanked.

W. R., received.

P. S. R., WESTMINSTER, will find the information he is solicitous to acquire in the present number.

A PARENT.—See No. 3.

L. L., GREENWICH.—Any letter sent to the office, 69, Fleet-street, on the subject will receive due attention.

A WESLEYAN.—It was the City Missionaries who were alluded to on the occasion in question.

R. F. A.—In 1837.

H. G.—This communication came to hand too late to be more than acknowledged in the present number, but the "respected friend" who has addressed it to the Office, shall be written to.

E. B.—Received, in postage-stamps, 5*s*. for Foster.

ALMA MATER.—It can hardly be expected that the editor of any periodical can devote time to answer such elaborate questions.

QUESTOR.—The following information—at this correspondent's request, and in acknowledgment of the trouble he has taken—is derived from the "Standard Library of Political Knowledge":—"The laws relating to vagrants continued substantially upon the footing of the statutes of 39 Eliz. and 7 Jac. I. for more than a century, until, in 1714, they were reconsidered and remodelled by the statute of 17 Geo. II., c. 5. This was the first legislative measure which distributed vagrants into the three classes of idle and disorderly persons, rogues, and vagabonds, and incorrigible rogues. Although this statute is now wholly repealed, it continued in force nearly a century, until 1822, when a temporary Act, Stat. 3 Geo IV., c. 40 passed, repealing all former laws, and re-enacting most of the provisions of the stat. 17 Geo. II., c. 5, with many additions and modifications. The provisions of the stat. 3 Geo. IV., c. 40, was, however, entirely superseded by the 5 Geo. IV., c. 83, which now (1846) constitutes the law respecting vagrants. This Act was amended by the 1 Vic. c. 38 (1838). The third section of the statute Geo. IV. declares what persons are idle and disorderly persons, and may be committed to hard labour in the House of Correction for any time not exceeding one month."

BLANDFORD.—There will be no delay on the subject, but it is essential to proceed in due course.

T. L., BATH.—The intelligence shall not be overlooked at the proper period.

R., READING.—In any of the Encyclopædias.

LONG SONG SELLERS.—The sum stated as expended in long songs, in the streets of London, should be 120*l*. instead of 180*l*.

A. M. and J. M.—A letter has been received from these parties containing thanks for the receipt of 5*s*., "kindly brought by a gentleman," after perusing a recent number of London Labour and the London Poor.

J. W., of Egerton-street, Liverpool, is thanked sincerely for his kind offers and expressions. He has been written to privately.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following valuable communication has come to **hand. It is given entire, to show the use of** some such **institution as was advocated in a previous Number:—**
"Sir,—I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject of the Loan Fund, advised by you in your 'Labour and the Poor,' for the relief of our suffering brethren of the streets. It is not for me to *advise* you; but I think, sir, if you could combine a savings'-bank and sick-fund with it, you would add materially to its benefits. I know, from my experience of my order, that such of us as can save money from our weekly earnings would far rather place it in the hands of our friends than in those of any Government—who, say many, 'would, in any period of political commotion, probably make of our money arms to crush us.' Besides, we want the spirit of mutual assistance, which is but enlightened self-help, more largely among us: and would rather that our money went to help the struggling than be employed we know not how. In this building we in August last established a little sick-fund, and, as soon as we got a pound or two, talked of depositing it in a Government savings'-bank; but one or two of our members said, 'No—let us loan it out to such of our number as may require it.' We did so at 1*l.* at a time, payable in twenty-*one* weeks at 1*s.* per week, placing the profit in the sick fund. We soon found the applications for loans more numerous than we expected. To meet them, I proposed a savings' bank to receive deposits from 6*d.* upwards, bearing interest at 5 per cent. per annum as soon as they should reach 5*s.* Thus we shall receive 15 per cent. per annum for money lent, while we are paying 5 for that deposited; but, as the money is re-lent as fast as it comes in from the loans, the profits, in the course of twelve months, will be a great deal more; and as all will go to increase the sick-fund, relieve cases of sudden distress, or assist a poor member compelled by cessation of employ to leave us (as our rents are 4*s.*, 5*s.*, 6*s.*, or 7*s.* weekly), every one is interested in the matter, being a *bonâ fide* partner. The whole of our expenses, for box, lock, two keys, and books, have been under 4*s.*, as our members have furnished them, charging only for materials. I would not trouble you, sir, but out of this matter perhaps you may pick some hint to assist your good intentions. I should feel very proud to see a savings'-bank formed for the working-classes, the stock of which would be loaned out to assist others not so fortunate; and if the ladies and gentlemen who correspond with you would guarantee the repayment of deposits, it would work well. I believe they would never be called upon for a shilling, and you would make the assistance of the working-classes the work of their own order, bringing their two extremes together, and binding all in one bond of brotherhood. And if a rather higher rate of interest was required, and the profits of it passed into the sick-fund (after paying necessary expenses)—to which, if fixed at a low rate (ours is 2*d.* per week), many would gladly subscribe—it would do a great deal to make those who are improvident careful, and be a blessing to all who knew it. I am, Sir, faithfully, yours to command, B. B. Feb 19, 1851.

"P.S.—If in any of your future Numbers you intend to describe model-houses, which are now becoming a feature in London life, I will endeavour, if you please, to procure you correct information respecting this establishment from its commencement to the time of publication."

C. B. sends "Three shillings worth of stamps for Foster," saying, "if the subscription be filled, then apply the money to some other deserving object." The inclosure has been handed over to Mr. Howden, and will be paid by him to Foster, whose receipt will be visible at the office. At present only 8*s.* have been received for the poor fellow.

A communication has been received from the "Association for the Relief of the Poor of the City of London and parts adjacent, Office, 43, Bow-lane, Cheapside. Instituted, 1798," familiarly known as the "City Kitchen;" where, during the first season, as much as 2,614*l.* were expended in providing relief to near 20,000 poor. [Mr. Mayhew has no faith in soup-kitchens—they make life too easy.]

R. T. (of Edinburgh), makes the following suggestion, which shall be considered. It was in contemplation to give a Daguerreotype View of London, from the top of St. Paul's, as a frontispiece to the First Volume. "In the course of perusal of your very interesting work London Labour, &c., an idea has struck me, which I think would enhance the value of it, and be of great service to many of your readers, more particularly the provincial ones, which is to publish with your work a *Plan of London*; the cause of this suggestion is the repeated mention made of the various streets that are frequented by the street-traders, also it might be the means of increasing the sale, inasmuch as that parties intending to visit London at the Great Exhibition, would find the plan very useful; many I have no doubt will be curious enough to see some of the more noted street characters mentioned. I find that in a great measure the Edinburgh costers are subject to the same treatment as in London, all or nearly all the stands or stalls have been removed from the streets, and those using barrows are compelled to keep moving on. Yours, R. T. Edinburgh." [Will R. T. favour Mr. Mayhew with some further information about the Edinburgh street-sellers, if he have the means of obtaining it.]

A. S. E., of Redland, Bristol, makes the following correction of a quotation from Mr. M'Culloch; where there are so many facts to collect, of course it is impossible to prevent the occurrence of such errors in the hurry of a first publication. "Sir, in page 129, last sentence, you state that 'Mr. M'Culloch estimates the average consumption of butter, in London, at 6,250,000 lbs. per annum, or 5 oz., weekly, each individual.' There must be a mistake either in Mr. M'Culloch or your quotation, as this would make the population of London, only 384,615. If we assume the annual consumption correct, and the population 2,000,000, we should have the weekly individual consumption not quite 102. If we assume the weekly consumption of each individual to be 5 ozs., and the population to be 2,000,000, the annual total of consumption would be 32,500,000 lbs. Which is correct? With due respect, A. J. E."

The following has been received from "C. P.—Sir, seeing in your prospectus of London Labour, that you intend giving an account of the London shopmen, and having been a shopman for some years at a linen-draper's, as I have now left the trade, I shall be happy to give you the results of my experience, on condition no names are mentioned in your periodical; should you think this worthy of attention, and hint the same in your correspondents' page, I will then put all down on paper I consider worth telling, and forward it to you; or if you prefer it, I will call on you and 'put you up' to some of the most amusing 'tricks of trade.'" [Mr. Mayhew will be glad to receive the promised communication. The London shopmen will be treated of at the earliest opportunity. The distribution of wealth, and consequently the distributors, may be said to be almost as important as the production and producers of it. Strictly speaking, the street-sellers now treated of belong to the class of distributors.]

J. W., of James-street, Gray's-inn-road, a bricklayer's labourer, sends a long and valuable communication touching the condition and earnings of the workmen in his trade. Among other things, he states that a great many of the constant hands have been reduced from 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* per day to 2*s.* 8*d.* *since the repeal of the Corn Laws.* Mr. Mayhew will be happy to hear again from J. W., should he have any fresh facts to communicate.

F. B. B., who writes in reply to Mr. Mayhew's observations on Profits and Wages in a recent Number, shall be attended to at the earliest convenience.

J. L., Johnson's-court, Fleet-street, is thanked for his valuable communications on tramps.

Tancred is informed that no letters by Mr. Mayhew on the subject of Railway Labourers have appeared in the *Morning Chronicle.*

C. R. M. (who writes about the muffin-sellers) is thanked for the correction.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

F. B. B., of Alfred-street, Bedford-square, sends a letter in answer to certain observations printed among the Notices to Correspondents in Number 10. It is impossible to give the entire document, but the following extracts are sufficient to show the spirit and arguments of the writer. Mr. MAYHEW's comments are given between brackets.

"Sir,—Allow me to say, that I think your observations on labour and capital, in No. 10 of 'London Labour,' very erroneous and mischievous, and calculated to mislead the working classes. I may observe, by the way, that I am no capitalist or employer of labour. You assert that 'the working men of England are grossly wronged by capitalists;' and 'that the labourer does not get his fair share of the produce at the present day,' you add, 'none can doubt.' Now I beg to say that I, in common with many thousand others, very much 'doubt,' nay, distinctly 'deny,' the truth of your assertion. Political economists consider that the wages of the labourer are his share of the produce;" [the halfpenny out of the shilling padlock] "and they believe this share is necessarily regulated by the law of supply and demand." [A share is a portion regulated by equity, and not by a scramble.] "If wages are not to be thus regulated, I desire to know by what other standard can they be regulated? To talk of 'conscience' and 'justice,' is to use vague terms of no definite meaning." (!) "The dictates of 'conscience' depend upon organization and education; what one man's conscience teaches, another man's denies." [Does truth depend on the same circumstances? To what organizations and in what schools does 2 + 2 = 5? So of moral truth.] "There is no definite and invariable standard of right." [So that Rush and Greenacre were condemned to death for not conforming to the fashion of the time.] "The same is true of 'justice.' The law of supply and demand is evidently a law of nature" [though justice and right are not], "and to interfere with it would introduce endless confusion and mischief. Would you compel a capitalist to give a certain amount of wages, irrespective of all risks and losses, and the profits which he calculates necessary to repay him for capital, knowledge, and superintendence? Surely this would be gross injustice, if it were practicable!" [The returns of the capitalist then are to be regulated by the principle of justice, while the remuneration of the working man is to be left to a scramble, or the law of supply and demand. What Mr. Mayhew desires is, that the amount coming to both parties should be regulated by the eternal principles of equity (if F. B. B. can understand such things)—the same as all partnerships are. If the labourer and capitalist are not partners, then, of course, the equitable principle does not hold; but as this partnership is the fundamental axiom of political economy, why surely the principle which is used to determine the 'rights' (the word is quoted, in obedience to the prejudices of F. B. B.) of partners should be applied to settle what is due to the labourer as well as the capitalist.] "You and others, who declaim on this subject, never consider the population question—the overcrowding of the labour market. This, I am convinced, is the chief source of our social evils. The fault of low wages is not in the capitalists, but in the labourers, who overcrowd the labour market, and compete with each other. If the working classes have no prudence, no self-denial, they ought surely to bear the consequences of their deficiency in this respect—not the capitalist. If they will recklessly increase the population of their own class, they must take the natural consequences in the lowering of wages. Other classes practise self-denial in this respect" [the highest personage in the realm, for instance; but capitalists never are family men, of course.] "It might be hoped, that if the working classes were duly informed on the subject, and were better educated, and this may be expected from national education, they would at length learn wisdom and prudence; which will never be the case, so long as they are put upon a false scent, and are taught, by unreflecting sentimentalists, that they are entirely blameless, and that all the fault and wrongs is with the capitalist and the Government. It is very easy and very cheap benevolence to indulge in vague generalities and high-sounding declamation about 'conscience' and 'justice'—'injustice,' 'wrong,' and 'oppression;' but not so easy to prove where the 'wrong' and 'injustice.'" [Because, according to F. B. B., wrong and injustice are mere conventional phantasms—things of organization and education.] "From the style of your writing, you appear to belong to the class of impulsive sentimentalists (see *Edinburgh Review*, on 'English Socialism'), who are too apt to suffer their feelings to overbear their reason and judgment—a more dangerous class to take up any 'cause' I cannot conceive, or one more likely to do injury to those whose interests they advocate."

[Excepting *those*, be it observed, who allow their reason and judgment to overpower their feelings, a class of which, it may be added, the Devil himself is the apt and sublime archetype. Mr. MAYHEW has printed the above letter—abuse and all—because he thinks it may be taken as a fair sample of the present fashionable economical creed—a creed which does not hesitate to tell us that "justice," "right," and "conscience" are matters of "organization" and "education," mere whimsies of the stomach, or bugbears of the nerves, or dogmata of the schools; for the propounders of such doctrines, being unable to perceive that conscience is the exercise of the judgment on moral propositions, and justice the perception of moral equality or equity, are likewise unable to perceive that to deny the existence of the conscience is to deny that there is any such faculty as judgment in man, while to make equity and other moral truths mere conventions is to reduce the most fundamental truths of all, viz., those which depend on a perception of equality, to matters of pure fashion. The population question, in which F. B. B. goes "the whole hog," like Stuart Mill—declaring that there is no hope for the workmen of this country until they imitate the Catholic priests and register vows in heaven of perpetual celibacy—is one of which Mr. MAYHEW purposes exposing the fallacy in its due place. Suffice it, for the present, that he believes the superabundance of labourers in this kingdom to be due to the creation of 600,000,000 of steam men (which is the estimated power of the aggregate machinery of England) within the last hundred years—a fact of which economists and populationists never condescend to take the least notice—though where the difference can be between a steam-engine performing all the functions of the labourer, and oftentimes of the artizan, and a human machine doing simply what the thing of brass and iron does—it is beyond common-sense to discover. The entire number of human operatives in England and Wales are not more than 4,000,000—the steam operatives are at the least 150 times as many, or 600,000,000—and when it is remembered that these competing steam labourers are things that can work night and day without any sense of fatigue—without cravings or desires—without children to feed and educate, or wives to support and clothe—it surely must be evident to all at what fearful odds the mere creature of flesh and blood—of stomach, brain and (though F. B. B. and his school object, still it must be added,) *heart*—must enter the field against them. And yet, knowing the enormous rate at which the steam population has been increasing in this country during the last century—at the rate of no less than 6,000,000 of steam labourers per annum—Mr. Stuart Mill and others, when writing about remedies for low wages, do not hesitate to tell us that there is no hope for the working man until he is taught to restrain his passions—stigmatizing all who object to their "preventives" and "checks" as sentimentalists, who suffer impulse and feeling to overbear reason and judgment. Verily, as Coleridge declared, the heart often reasons much sounder and clearer than the head. Moreover, the extraordinary anomaly with these writers is, that while crying out loudly for the non-increase of human labourers, they say not one word against the propagation of the steam ones; for, with a lop-sidedness peculiar to such logicians, they attribute

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almost every evil in the land to the fact of there being 4,000,000 workmen to supply nearly 20,000,000 of individuals with food, clothing, shelter, warmth, light, and, indeed, every necessary and luxury that human nature can either demand or desire—declaring that one-fifth of the population are far too many to create the wealth required for the sustenance and enjoyment of the whole, and a good part of the world besides: and that, consequently, the labour market of the country is overstocked to such a degree that distress and want must be the necessary portion of a considerable number; but (mark the absurdity) never even so much as hinting the while that the 600,000,000 of steam rival operatives which have been created within the last century have in any way tended to induce the overstocking of the said labour market, nor venturing to propose that *capitalists* should be taught to restrain *their* passions (for wealth) and made to refrain from annually bringing so many steam labourers into existence. That there are too many steam-engines and mechanical labourers is proved by the repeated gluts in the Manchester and other markets—such gluts being admitted on all hands to be the necessary consequences of over-production. Manchester manufacturers, however, while they admit the over-production, attribute the glut rather to under-consumption, saying that it is impossible there can be too much calico till every man and woman in the kingdom has a superabundance of under-clothing. But how is it possible for working men and women to avail themselves of the superabundance of materials for shirts, shifts, and petticoats, when the only thing they have to give in exchange for such articles is their labour? and of this, by the invention of machinery, the division of labour, and the large system of production, we are daily depriving them—or in others seeking how to produce more wealth with fewer labourers. When the economy of labour is the ruling principle of the science of manufacture, how can we wonder at the superabundance of labourers? Or, knowing these things, how can we, without laughing in our sleeve the while, seek to prove that such superabundance of labourers is due solely to the unrestrained sensuality of the working classes? With 600,000,000 of steam men to help to do the work of the nation, no wonder that a considerable portion of the 4,000,000 of human creatures can get little or no work to do! But we are told steam-engines create work for the human machines. There must be, it is said, some man or child to tend them; whereas human machines are pure social incumbrances, causing no addition whatsoever to the aggregate demand for labour. Every fresh pair of feet that come into the world do not create a demand for an extra pair of shoes —nor each new back want clothing—nor another head require additional shelter—nor another stomach additional food to be produced. Certainly not. The steam man is the greatest of national blessings—our fellow-man the greatest of national curses.

But in order that the natural additions to the aggregate demand for labour, created by each new workman who is brought into existence, should have free play, it is necessary that there be a corresponding demand for the workman's own labour. If he be not employed, of course he cannot employ others to make his shoes—his coats, grow his bread, or build his house; for if deprived of work by his steam competitor, then he must go barefoot, barebacked, empty-bellied, and houseless,—the fate of thousands in this country, as witness the handloom-weavers, the sawyers, &c. Even to reduce the workman's wages, is to decrease the aggregate amount of work to be done in the kingdom. The national income, which is estimated at 300,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, may be said to consist of three equal parts: 100,000,000*l.* going to replace capital; 100,000,000*l.* being the gross amount of profits accruing to the capitalists; and 100,000,000*l.* the gross amount of wages received by the labourers. The latter, or wage fund, constitutes the great purchasing fund of the country, for the whole of this is (with the most trifling exceptions) consumed; whereas the profit fund is mainly (perhaps more than half) saved with a view of increasing the capital of the capitalists. Hence, to decrease the wage fund is consequently to decrease the purchasing fund of the community. F. B. B. should not venture to write on subjects to which he has evidently paid but little attention, and to which he can contribute no new ideas. This magpie mania for mere chattering is one of the worst signs of the times. Mr. MAYHEW must decline replying to all similar communications for the future.

The following letter has been received from "An Employer," in answer to some statements made among the Notices to Correspondents in a recent Number of this Work. It is printed here in full, because it is desirable that the arguments against any proposed measure should at all times be patiently attended to:—

"Sir,—In the correspondence published in No. 9 of LONDON LABOUR AND LONDON POOR, you notice a proposed Act of Parliament intended to prohibit the stoppage of any part of a workman's wages under any pretence whatever, and proceed to enumerate some instances in which you state the 'system' produces injustice; I am not prepared to deny injustice is done to the Workpeople in the cases you mention, but were the 'system' carried out as proposed, the Master Manufacturers would in some cases, at least, be the victims of injustice. I allude more especially to the Owners of stocking-frames in the Midland Counties—to prevent the payment of rent for which would be the object of such an Act as you mention, and is, I presume, the intention of the 'Universal Anti-Truck Society,' over which your correspondent, Mr. Briggs, presides.

"You are probably aware, Sir, that in the generality of cases the Manufacturers of hosiery goods in the Midland Counties are the owners of numbers of stocking-frames, which are let, in some cases, to middle hands, in others directly to the workman, at certain fixed rents, in most instances to be worked at the house of the hirer, for the benefit of the Manufacturer, he of course supplying the material, and paying the wages of the workman, less the rent of the frame.

"The effect of the Bill proposed by your correspondent will be to prevent the Manufacturer, who has been at considerable expense in constructing the machines, from receiving the fair return of his outlay; in other words, it will compel him to supply tools to the workman at his own expense, which may or may not be used for his benefit.

"The injustice of this will be obvious, but it will be still more so in cases, and I believe there are many, where 'frames' are held by trustees of deceased Manufacturers, as so much ordinary property, for the benefit of their widows or children, who rely perhaps solely for their maintenance upon the rents obtained for the use—they not being in any other manner connected with trade. In those cases whole families would be deprived of the means of maintaining themselves in their proper station in society by the operation of the Act.

"Without entering into the question of the right of any legisture to interfere in contracts between master and workman, or the expediency of its so doing, I merely wish to draw your attention to the above circumstances, to show the great danger that persons, however well-intentioned, though unacquainted with the minutiæ of the questions they wish to legislate upon, may incur, and the great injustice they may do by endeavouring to pass such Acts as the one proposed, without first fully and calmly hearing both sides of the question, and from the habit of forming general conclusions hastily from particular circumstances.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

"AN EMPLOYER."

Mr. Mayhew not yet having had occasion personally to investigate the condition of the "stockingers," and knowing nothing of the system of "frame rents" but by common report, he considered it best to forward the Employer's letter to Mr. Briggs (the President of the Universal Anti-Truck Association), so that he, who had devoted much time and attention specially to the study of the circumstances of the case, might deny or admit the truth or justice of the several statements above given. Subjoined is Mr. Brigg's reply:—

"23, Iron Gate, Derby, 14th February, 1851.

"Dear Sir,—As regards labour and work, why should there be any difference between the 'printer,' the 'weaver,' or the 'stocking-maker?' They have each and all to get their living by labour, and they

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each and all are employed in machinery belonging to the employer. The stocking-frame is not worth more than from 5*l*. to 10*l*., while the printing-press is worth from 30*l*. to 100*l*.; yet, because a printer employs a man to work at his press, at so much a day, or so much per token, who ever heard that the printer charges the workman a rent for the press, and deducts it from his wages? The 'Employer,' at Loughborough, knows very well where is the trick—in plain English, the robbery. If it be *idem per idem*, one and the same thing, why does the 'Employer' want to make stoppages at all? Why not give his workman so much less per dozen, and pay him for every dozen he makes? The 'Employer's' reason is obvious,—because, if he did so, he could not, when he had no work, in slack times, to give the man, get paid for his unemployed frames out of his workman's future earnings in the brisk season. The 'Employer's' object is, to keep the man under his thumb, and always ground down and beggared.

"'Employer' first says, that if you prevent the manufacturer from stopping the rent from the workman's wages, you hinder him from receiving the fair return of his outlay. Now, this is untrue; nor is there a word of sense in the assertion. If an employer lays out money in machinery, what has the value of that to do with the workman's wages? If he cannot pay the man for his labour, he ought not to employ the man. The object of the universal anti-truck law is, that he should not nurse up his property with the man's labour.

"He secondly says, that it will compel the employer to supply tools to the workman at his own expense. This is again as untrue as absurd. The Act will prevent an employer from stopping the rent of tools from his man's wages; it will not prevent his finding a man tools, if he likes. He is not, and will not then, be bound to find him tools or machinery, unless he choose; but if any employer will find his workman tools or machinery, then the Act declares simply, he shall pay the man for his labour. What has the poor man to do with his master's property? It is nothing but employment he wants, and nothing but labour has he to give. If a man cannot get work without tools, there are plenty of men to lend them to him, or to set him up with them, independent of his master; but if his master will not employ him, unless he can stop the rent for them out of his wages, it prevents workmen getting employment and wages for their labour.

"I know hundreds of poor men now, with frames and tools of their own, that cannot get employment unless they will take frames of their master, and submit to have a fixed rent stopped from their uncertain wages, whether they earn as much or not.

"It is a monstrous untruth to say, that the 'Act preventing employers from stopping from their workmen's wages a rent for the frame,' can deprive the owners of frames, or their widows and families, of the means of maintenance. Owners of frames have nothing to do with employers, nor will the Act have anything to do with one man letting a frame to another, if he does not employ him. That rent is got by law. The Act is simply to prevent employers stopping such rent from wages. The Act will better the widow's property, as, if employers cannot stop rent from wages, it will give better scope to her to let it. The Loughborough 'Employer' might as well say, because a master cannot stop from the wages of his workman the rent of a house which he lives in, and of which the master is the landlord, it would injure the rent of houses—on the contrary, it would not only better that property, but would leave the workman free to rent a house where he liked, instead of his employment being dependent on his consenting to take a house of his employer, and have the rent stopped from his wages. The stoppage system is the ruin of all labour; it must be put an end to.

"I send you my short account of the laws relating to working men and their wages, with a *verbatim* copy of the present Anti-Truck Act; you will please notice it as you like. Nothing short of the principle of universal anti-truck can ever better the condition of the working man. This must be enacted into a positive law. It is after the most mature reflection and consideration in my mind thus:

"That the entire amount of the wages, the earnings of labour, shall be actually and positively paid in the current coin of the realm, without any deduction or stoppage of any kind whatever.

"I am, dear Sir,
"Yours respectfully,
"JEREMIAH BRIGGS."

[The above reply appears to Mr. Mayhew fully to controvert every one of the assertions of the "Employer." The system of stoppages is so crying an injustice of the present time, that, acting upon the law as given in Mr. Brigg's valuable treatise on the enactments concerning the wages of working men, Mr. Mayhew has made up his mind to try the question in London, by bringing either Messrs. Nicol, Messrs. Moses, Hyams, or their "sweaters" to account for their iniquities before some metropolitan police magistrate. It is high time that some one took the bull by the horns, and since public opinion has made but little impression on the worthies above named, it will be advisable to see whether fine or imprisonment will have any terrors for them. At least, if by their chicanery they are able at present to keep clear of the law (which Mr. Brigg's excellent pamphlet—a work indispensable to all Trade Societies, and which, indeed, should be possessed by every one who wishes to see justice done to those to whom we owe so many comforts), the very publicity given to the proceedings, and the glaring iniquity of the dealings of these employers, will force upon all parties the necessity of some such alteration of the law as Mr. Briggs and the Universal Anti-Truck Association desire. Mr. Mayhew would suggest that in the proposed Act a clause be inserted forbidding the payment of wages in public-houses. This is as great an evil as the direct stoppage of wages. In the case of the lumpers, the men are tricked three nights a week into the tap-room of their employer, and there induced (not forced) to guzzle away that which should be devoted to the maintenance of their wives and children. Indeed, the villanous tricks practised by dishonest employers upon working men are beyond number, and cry aloud for instant redress. The Government have promised to bring in a Bill this Session to remedy the evils of the ballast-heavers; and Sir George Grey assured Mr. Mayhew some months back they would give their support to any measure that bid fair to put a stop to all similar wrongs practised on working men. With but a dozen earnest workers in this direction, it is incalculable the good that might be done.

"HENRY" will be answered in the next Number.

W. F. P. sends, "for the relief of poor Foster, the harp-player," half-a-crown in postage-stamps. They have been handed over to Mr. HOWDEN for the person alluded to, whose receipt may be seen at the Office.—The autograph shall be forwarded.

Mr. MAYHEW will communicate with the street-seller, E. R.

The suggestion of C. B. T., who sends no name, will be acted upon.

J. N., of Bermondsey-street, is informed that the first volume of LONDON LABOUR will be completed about July; the price, bound in cloth, will be about 6*s*. or 7*s*. In the present position of the undertaking it is impossible to state the exact price. It is Mr. MAYHEW'S intention to make the volume devoted to the Street-folk as full and perfect in its detail as possible. He also hopes to be able to give a comparative view of the state of the Street-folk in other large towns.

W. A. C. &c.—Received.

F. B.—It seems a matter rather private, than characteristic of a class.

SUB ROSA.—Nothing can be advanced on such a subject in this work at present. It is altogether alien to the subject in hand.

B. S.—Applications of this description should be addressed to the publisher, 69, Fleet-street.

WILLIAM R.—The information will no doubt be useful and available.

OXON.—It is impossible to state.

A. S., AN IRISHMAN, is thanked for his remarks in corroboration of the statement in question.

G. R., WHITECHAPEL, is thanked for his courteous intimation.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A gentleman who forwards some valuable information concerning benefit clubs, writes as follows on the subject of the wages of bricklayers' labourers:

"Seeing that a communication has been received from J. W., a bricklayer's labourer, in which, amongst other things, he says, that the wages of his class have been reduced from 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.*, since the repeal of the corn laws, I beg totally to deny that such is the case, and I do not wish you simply to put statement against statement, but if you think it worth your while, I think I can produce you the time-books of my father from thirty to forty years past, to prove that the rate of wages has been the same for that period, that is, 17*s.* per week in summer, and 16*s.* in winter, or 2*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.* 10*d.* per day; and my memory serves to remind me, that of all the branches of the building trade the wages of the bricklayers' labourer have been the most stationary, and never have we been asked for more, except at the time of the greatest activity in railroads, when occasionally 3*s.* per day might be asked by men who, from their past employment or superior strength, would more properly come under the denomination of navvies. Should you require any information which it may be in my power to give you, I shall feel happy in doing so."

Mr. MAYHEW is obliged for the above counter-statement, of whose truth there can be no doubt, as regards the firm to which the writer belongs. The original statement of J. W., the labourer, may however be true likewise. He might have been one of the men of "superior strength," who at the time of the "greatest activity in railroads," it is admitted received 3*s.* per diem, and who now get only 2*s.* 8*d.* The real difference between the two assertions appears to be, not as to the *fact* of the reduction, for this the last writer admits while seeking to disprove it, but as to its cause. The master bricklayer refers the decrease, or rather the increase, from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.* during the period of greatest activity in railroads, to the demand for labourers of "superior strength" at that time; whereas J. W. attributes the decrease in his wages since then to the cheapening of provisions. If the wages of bricklayers' labourers stood at 3*s.* a day during the "railway mania" only, and ceased when that ceased, then of course the master is right in his inference; but if the diminution was not made until the reduction in the price of food occurred, and that was the cause assigned by J. W.'s master at the time of making it, then it would appear that the labourer is correct in his statement. That such a diminution of wages has already commenced in many trades, owing to the cheapness of provisions, Mr. MAYHEW knows from his own personal investigations. During his inquiry into the condition of the labourers at the timber docks, he found that the wages of the men there had all been lowered. This was stated at the time in the account furnished by him to the *Chronicle;* but though the fact of the reduction was printed, every line referring to the cause of it was withheld from the public by the Editor (Mr. MAYHEW has the proofs now in his possession), for that journal being inveterately free-trade in its principles, of course would not allow any fact to appear in its columns which went to show that the minimum, or natural value of all labour, like the minimum or natural value of every other thing, was regulated by the cost of its production; and that, when the supply exceeded the demand, the same natural value was necessarily the point to which the price ultimately descended. But the *Chronicle* had been long theorizing in the contrary direction, and, consequently, could not be expected—even in an "impartial" inquiry—to stultify itself by publishing facts in opposition to its own preconceived opinions. It had asserted that wages in no way depended on the price of food, and it would, therefore, never have done for so impartial a journal to have been the means of *proving* that they did. Had the operatives, however, been steam-engines, instead of mere human machines, the economical school to which that journal belongs would have been the first to have declared that any reduction in the cost of producing the power (as, for instance, in the decrease of the price of coals to one-half their value), would necessarily, if the market were overstocked, be followed by a proportionate reduction in the sum charged, in the price of the goods, for the power employed in their manufacture. To all who will or can think without prejudice on the subject, it will be evident that as there are necessarily three kinds of value appertaining to all commodities—to wit, a natural value regulated by the cost of production—a market value, regulated by the relation of the supply to the demand—and a money value, regulated by the currency—so must labour partake of all these three characteristics; and, consequently, as the natural value or cost of production is that to which the market value of all things must necessarily descend whenever the market is glutted, it holds that to reduce the cost of production in articles of which there is a superabundance, is to reduce their market value in an equal ratio. This is the A B C of political economy, and those who say otherwise, either do not know the alphabet of that science, or have some interest in perverting it. Now that the labour market in this country is glutted, there cannot be a doubt, hence the market value of such labour has a tendency to sink to its natural value or cost of production. The cost of the production of human labour is precisely the same as the cost of the production of steam labour—viz., the market value of the substances required to produce it—together with the expense of the wear and tear of the machine, and interest for the capital sunk in it. Reduce any one of these items, and the labour can and will (provided, as we said before, there be a glut of the article) be correspondingly cheapened. What coals are to the engine, food is to the man—the source of power; what the wear and tear is to the thing of brass and iron, so is sickness and accident to the creature of flesh and blood; and what the capital sunk in its *con*struction is to the machine, so is the time and money expended in *in*struction to the workman. For each and all of these an equivalent should be given as the lowest compensation to the producer, and, in the case of the steam-engine, such an equivalent is generally yielded to the capitalist (for if not, he withdraws his capital, and leaves off producing); but in the case of the human engine, when wages are driven down to their ultimatum—as in hand-loom weaving, shirt-making, slop work, ballast heaving, making of soldiers' clothing, fancy cabinet-work, and the like—there is seldom any allowance made to the labourer for the wear and tear of the machinery of his frame; nor do his wages include any return for the capital and labour sunk in learning his business. The consequence is that the burden of the wear and tear of the human machine in the time of sickness or accident, is thrown upon the parish, who are left to remedy it as best they can and will. Moreover, as the manufacturer in the price he receives for the labour of his engine when *in* work, is paid for the interest of his capital when *out of* work, even so should the wages of the employed labourer be sufficient to keep him when unemployed; for otherwise the rate-payers will have to make up in charity to him, what his employer should have given him as a right. Cheap food *should* be the greatest of all blessings to the poor; but so long as the labour-market is overstocked, and wages are regulated by the principle of supply and demand, it is utterly impossible that a diminution in the price of provisions should not, sooner or later, be followed by a corresponding diminution in the price of labour. Wages, in such a condition of the labour-market, must necessarily tend towards the lowest possible subsistence point; and whatever may be the money value of the smallest quantity of food sufficient to support life, such will be the wages of the people in those trades where there is a superabundance of labourers. That this should not be, Mr. MAYHEW is most ready to admit; nor could it occur, if the remuneration of the workman depended, as it should in equity, upon the increased value such his labour gives to the materials upon which it is exercised. As was before stated, the proportion that the operative contributes towards the ultimate value of the produce, should be the determining principle of

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his amount of recompense. For instance, it is stated by M. de Villefosse, that in France the labour exercised upon 1*l.* worth of bar iron, in the manufacture of polished steel sword-handles, increases its value to 972*l.*, or very nearly a thousand-fold. The sum actually paid in wages to the workmen engaged in the production of these articles, M. Villefosse does not state; but supposing it to amount to 500*l.*, surely no one would assert that in such a case justice was done to the labourer; for why, in the name of equity, should the capitalist receive as *much* as 500*l.* for supplying 1*l.* worth of material, and the labourer receive as *little* as 500*l.*, when he, by his skill alone, makes the 1*l.* worth nearly 1,000*l.*? Nor would it be any justification to the capitalist to say, that many indigent men, having no material upon which to exercise their skill, would gladly have accepted the same, or even a smaller sum. The production is essentially a partnership or joint stock association, to which the man of money contributes 1*l.*, and the man of skill nearly 1,000*l.*; and these proportions alone should determine the relative amount of remuneration coming to each. The capitalist should undoubtedly receive a fair recompense for the use and risk of the material, which is as necessary to the result as even the labour itself; and this, together with a proper reward for all other services he may render to the work, should be expressed in the estimation of his share of the produce. But that he should be allowed, because he contributes a *portion*, to take advantage of the workman's necessities, and grasp nearly the *whole* of the produce, is as monstrous as it is contrary to the fundamental principles of political economy. If the padlock which in our own country is made for a halfpenny and sold for a shilling, is honestly worth that sum in the market, then it is plain, according to the principles of equity, the *workman* making it is defrauded—not receiving his fair share of the produce; and if a halfpenny be sufficient for the making of it, then it is equally plain, judged by the same standard, that the *purchaser* is defrauded—being called upon to pay more than a fair return for the capital and labour invested in the commodity. Let us, however, once admit the law of supply and demand as the guiding commercial principle, and, despite all equity, we must allow the transaction to be perfectly fair, saying that the manufacturer merely carried out the glorious policy of the enlightened commerce of the present time—buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. It is true, he underpaid the producer, and overcharged the consumer, while he enriched himself at their joint expense; but this, we are assured by our modern sages, is necessary for the good of the community,—a sentiment so extremely *liberal*, that, as "there is nothing like a good cry," the political propounders of it had better throw up their caps, and shout at once, "Success to Swindling."

MR. MAYHEW in saying thus much is anxious not to be misunderstood. He wishes capital to have every just reward and stimulus for its use. That the accumulator of labour should have his fair share of the produce to which the labour he has accumulated is so necessary an auxiliary, that he should be recompensed for the risk of his property, and that he should be paid for his superintendence of the manufacture—common honesty and common sense demand. But that the capitalist should be at liberty to pay for the labour he employs *without any regard to the increased value that such labour may give to the articles on which it is exercised*, appears to MR. MAYHEW to be one of the crying inquities of the present day. If a publisher were to give a needy author 10*l.* for writing a book, and that book were afterwards to produce a thousand clear profit, surely not even the most rabid "economist" would dream of maintaining that the transaction was a fair one; and if it be unfair it is so simply because the publisher took advantage of the author's poverty, and gave him a sum which bore no proportion to the ultimate value of his work. And herein lies the great injustice of the principle of supply and demand. It trades upon the workman's necessities, and pays him at a rate which has no relation to the increased value that he by his labour has given to the materials upon which he has operated, yielding him, instead of his fair share of the produce, barely sufficient to cover the cost of his subsistence.

The "equitable" wage-principle here advocated in contradistinction to that of the "law of supply and demand," is not entirely unknown in commerce. The mode of working the mines in Cornwall, by what are called "tribute," or payment for raising and dressing the ore by means of a certain part of its value when rendered merchantable, and which, as Mr. Babbage tells us in his "Economy of Manufactures," is found to produce "such admirable effects,"—the payment of the crew in whaling-ships—the profits arising from fishing with nets on the south coast of England—the "fourth penny" among the Irish weavers—are all instances of the equitable mode of payment or "tribute" rendered to working men. The establishment of M. Leclaire, the French house painter, is also well-known to be conducted on a similar plan, and perhaps to be the most just and practical illustration of the principle that is at present in existence—the capitalist being paid a fair interest for the use of his money, a return for his risk, and a salary for his superintendence, while the workmen (who receive a certain weekly wage) are allowed to participate with himself in the profits. The introduction of this "tribute" system into factories has been ably advocated by Mr. Babbage, who sums up its advantages in the following terms:—(1) Every person engaged in the business would have a direct interest in its prosperity. (2) Every person would have an immediate interest in preventing waste or mismanagement. (3) The talents of all would be directed to its improvement in every part. (4) None but workmen of high character and qualifications would be admitted into such establishments. (5) When any circumstance produced a glut in the market, more skill would be directed in diminishing the cost of production. (6) All real or imaginary causes for combinations of workmen against their employers would be totally removed.

The tribute, or equitable wage-principle, it is evident, is merely a mode of carrying out that *partnership* in the produce which the fundamental axioms of political economy acknowledge. In all production the capitalist supplies the past labour (accumulated in the form of materials, &c.), and the workmen the present labour. The union of the two constitute the produce, which, therefore, it is plain *the two should share in the proportion which they contribute towards the result.*

A correspondent, dating from the Athenæum Club, sends the subjoined epistle: "Sir,—In your Prospectus, it is mentioned that the class of unfortunates—Street-walkers—are to be written about; and I hope that, in some of the many true tales which you must have heard, you will point out for publication those that bear upon the cruel treatment which the frail fair one expects, and generally receives, from those who ought to be her best friends. On more than one occasion, *I know* that the frowns of the father, the upbraidings of the mother, the sisters' taunts and jeers, and the sulkiness of the brothers, have arrested all idea, all hope of returning to home; and this ought surely not to be. As a class, they are more 'sinned against than sinning;' and many would give their right hand to be rescued from a life of sin and shame. I think you can do much good in arousing families by *true* details, how wrong they are in stopping the least advance of these poor girls; and I hope that when you come to that portion of your valuable and original history, that you will use your powerful pen in their behalf; and although you may not have open thanks, still many will be grateful to you privately. If not giving you too much trouble, I should like to know whether you have received this note, and if your views coincide with my ideas. I am, Sir, yours very faithfully, PITY."

[MR. MAYHEW has no time at present to write an essay on prostitution, even if he were inclined to do so, nor to inquire into the matter. The subject *will* form a part of the present Work, though when it will be entered upon it is impossible now to say. MR. MAYHEW (speaking before investigation) has no doubt that *many* of the "unfortunates" are driven to lives of vice and crime by the harshness of parents and relations; but that the greater part of the prostitution of this country is so induced, he is in no way prepared to

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15

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. sends a long complimentary epistle requesting to be informed what are the remedies for low wages. To understand this we must first comprehend the circumstances by which wages are at present regulated. "Wages," says Mr. Mill—the best "economical" authority perhaps on the subject—"depend upon the demand and supply of labour; or, as is often expressed, on the proportion between population and capital,"—the term population here meaning, as he tells us, "the number only of the labouring class, or rather of those who work for hire," and the term capital referring solely to that which comes under the denomination of "circulating capital—and not even the whole of that, but the part which is expended in the direct purchase of labour." In plain English, we are informed this means, "the more money there is offered for labour, and the fewer labourers there are to ask for it, the greater will be the share of each."—"which of course," adds another gentleman, quoting the passage, "is self-evident." But is this partition of the wage-fund among the labourers quite as self-evident as is asserted? Let us see. Suppose the number of labourers belonging to a particular trade to be 1,000; that there is just enough work to keep them all fully employed; and that the wage-fund, or gross sum annually "expended in the direct purchase of their labour" amounts to 50,000*l.*; in such a case it is manifest each of the labourers would receive 50*l.* per annum, or say 1*l.* per week. Then suppose the number of labourers to be doubled, or increased to 2,000, while the quantity of work remains the same, or sufficient to employ only half he number—in this case would the wage fund be shared among the whole of the 2,000 labourers, and each receive 10*s.* a week for working half-time, according to the statement which is said to be "self-evident?" Or rather, is it not far more self-evident the real result would be, that the labourers being twice too many, the wages would be reduced one-half, and that, consequently, 1,000 of the men would be unemployed and get nothing at all, while the other 1,000 would get only 25,000*l.* or 10*s.* a week each for the same amount of work as before, while the remaining 25,000*l.* would, provided the market were *limited*, and the price of the commodities remained the *same* to the public, go to increase the profits of their employers: so that instead of the wage-fund being necessarily shared among the workmen, we see that in the same proportion as the supply of workmen increases beyond the demand for their work, so may the wage-fund be shared between the labourers and their employers—that is to say, the workmen in a given trade becoming half as many again as are required to do the work, and wages consequently being reduced one-half, the other half of the wage-fund *may be* apportioned among the capitalists. A reduction of price, it should be borne in mind, cannot, *in many cases*, be followed by an increase of demand. What cheapness could possibly make the public require a greater quantity of hearses? Again; if the price of doll's-eyes were reduced one-half, could there be more eyes got rid of than the demand for dolls allowed? So the demand for sawyers' work must be regulated by the demand for carpenters' work; and the demand for carpenters' work by the demand for builders' work. In such cases the market is necessarily *limited*, and *then* cheapness can benefit only the employer or the public *at the expense of the working-man.*

Let us now see whether wages do *really* depend upon the number of the labouring class, and the amount expended in the direct purchase of their labour, or, in other words, "upon the proportion between population and capital." The fallacy here lies in taking no notice of the *duration of the daily labour*, nor of the *rate of labouring*, both of which are manifestly as essential elements of the subject as even the *number of labourers* themselves. For let us suppose the operatives in a given trade to be twice too many to do the work required to be done—on the assumption, of course, that each labours twelve hours per diem—(for it is only by assuming *some term* of labour that we can reason on the matter at all); then let the hours of labour be reduced to six, and it is manifest that instead of one-half of the operatives being out of work, the whole of them would be fully employed. Or let us suppose the number of operatives to be just sufficient to do the work required to be done (provided each labours only twelve hours a day), and let the hours of labour be increased to eighteen, then it is *really* self-evident that there will be one-third too many labourers, and that only two-thirds of the trade will be fully employed. As it is with the duration of the daily labour, so it is with the rate of labouring. If there be just sufficient work to keep the whole of the operatives belonging to a given trade fully occupied, on the assumption that they each labour at a particular rate, or, in other words, get through so much work in a certain space of time, then let anything occur to induce or compel the men generally to double their rate of labouring, and so get through twice the quantity of work in the same space of time, it is manifest there will be full employment for only half the men, while the other half will have no work at all to do. Hence we see that wages depend, not only upon the proportion between the number of labourers and amount of money expended in the direct purchase of their labour, but also on—matters equally important for the right understanding of the subject, but as yet wholly omitted from all "economical" consideration—the duration of the daily labour as well as on the rate of labouring; and, consequently, that anything which tends to *increase* either the number of labourers—the duration of their labour—or the rate of labouring, tends in precisely the same proportion not only to *decrease* the amount of money coming to the operatives, but (provided the prices to consumers remain the same) likewise to *increase* the amount of profits accruing to their employers. *The Messrs. Nicol, of Regent-street, are said to have amassed 80,000l. each, in a few years, simply by reducing the wages of the 1,000 workmen they employ to one-third below that of the "honourable" trade.*

Let us now proceed to ascertain what are the circumstances that tend to affect the wages of operatives in the several modes above mentioned.

I. The circumstances which tend to increase the number of labourers in a trade appear to be as follows: (1) The labourers increase in a measure according to the ordinary rate of the population—trades generally descending from father to son. (2) They increase according to the demand for labour. (3) According to the number of apprentices taken, and consequently according to the number of "little masters" in the trade. (4) According to the demand for children's labour.

II. The circumstances tending to extend the hours of labour are (1) The "domestic system," or working at home—as enabling a man to labour as early or late as he pleases. (2) Piece-work—as giving the labourer a direct interest in increasing his amount of labour. (3) Time-work—or work required against a particular period. (4) Reduction of wages—as necessitating a greater quantity of labour in order to obtain the same amount of income.

III. The circumstances inducing a quicker rate of working are (1) Piece-work—for the same reason as that given above. (2) Reduction of wages—as inducing "scamped-work." (3) The "strapping system"—as in the joiners' trade, where men are required to get through a certain amount of work in a given time. (4) Increased supervision—as causing increased exertion. (5) Division of labour—as creating increased facility.

This contradiction to the theories of economists Mr. MAYHEW, on investigation, found to be due simply to a large number of the workmen having passed, since 1831, from the state of journeymen into that of little masters; and so not only toiling longer hours all the week, and Sunday too, as well as labouring at a far more rapid rate for themselves than they had been in the habit of doing for others, but, forcing the market with the goods they were obliged to sell as fast as made, whether there was a demand for them or not, and thus reducing the prices generally throughout the trade. The same facts and reasons were found to hold good in the turners' trade, which had also decreased in

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"hands" and increased in work, while wages had fallen—and that simply through the over-work and consequent cutting down of prices by the little masters.

But, besides the above circumstances affecting wages, there are others equally important, and which must be ascertained before any effective remedy for low wages can be devised. The matters spoken of as yet relate chiefly to the labourers—to the supply of the labour—as well as to the quantity of work *done* by the operatives. They in no way concern the *demand* for such labour—or, in other words, the quantity of work *to be done*. This, it is evident, is quite as essential a point to be evolved as any other; for to *decrease* the demand for labour is, of course, the same as to *increase* the supply; reduce the quantity of work to be done, and it is tantamount to lengthening the hours of labour or quickening the rate of working; in either case, the same number of labourers must be thrown out of employment. Let us, therefore, see now what regulates the quantity of work to be done.

That the wages do not depend, as "economists" would have us believe, *solely* upon the supply of labourers and the demand for their labour—that is to say, upon the number of workmen to do the work required to be done—is *proved by experience;* for the "hands" belonging to the cabinet trade decreased, between the years 1831 and 1841, no less than 15 per cent.; and though the quantity of work during that period increased considerably, wages were, nevertheless, in some instances, as much as 400 per cent. higher in 1831; so that here was *more* work to be done with *fewer* hands to do it, and yet *less* wages for the doing of it!

The circumstances tending to decrease the amount of work, or demand for labour, are (1) Increase of the price of the commodities to consumers. (2) Decrease of the purchasing fund, or amount annually expended upon such commodities. (3) Panics—as inducing an indisposition on the part of the public to expend money in the purchase of goods. (4) Decrease of the amount of capital—and so allowing a less sum to be expended in the purchase of labour. (5) Decrease of the quantity of materials to be made up; as failure of the cotton-crop, &c. (6) Over-production—as requiring no further labour until the stock accumulated has been consumed. (7) Machinery—as superseding manual labour, and so lessening the quantity of work for the labourers. (8) The seasons—as preventing the performance of certain kinds of labour at particular periods of the year. (9) Fashion—as superseding the demand for certain commodities.

Hence we perceive that anything which tends to *increase* the number of workers—to lengthen the hours of work—to quicken the rate of working—or to *decrease* the quantity of work, must necessarily, so long as the remuneration of the labourer continues to be regulated by the law of supply and demand, be followed by a *decrease* of wages; and, *vice versâ*, anything which tends to *decrease* the labourers—to shorten the hours of labour—to retard the rate of labouring—or to *increase* the quantity of work, must necessarily be accompanied by an *increase* of pay to the labourer.

The above law, however, it must be distinctly understood, holds good *only so long as the price of the commodities remains the same to the public;* for if that price be reduced in the same proportion as wages are reduced, then it is clear that the public, and not the employer, is benefited—but *at the expense of the working man*. For the same reason, machinery and the division of labour, which enable a greater quantity of commodities to be produced with the same or a less quantity of labour, tend in some cases to increase the demand for labour by cheapening the cost of production, and so lowering the price, and consequently increasing the demand for the commodities. But this is a result, it should be borne in mind, that can be attained only in connection with the production of those commodities, *the demand for which is infinitely extensible* (as, for instance, with the several articles of cotton manufacture); for where the market is necessarily *limited*, and the demand regulated by some concomitant circumstance—(as, for instance, in the sawing of wood, where the quantity of sawers' work depends, as was before stated, on the quantity of carpenters' and joiners' work, or in the threshing of corn, where the quantity of threshers' work depends on the quantity of corn grown; so that the increase of the one cannot take place without the previous increase of the other)—it is manifest, that under these circumstances, either to quicken the rate of working by the division of labour, or to reduce the amount of labour by machinery, *is to deprive a number of labourers of employment, and to lessen the wages of the remainder*. In such cases, the cheapness is likewise attained at the expense of the working man—that is to say, the capitalists are enriched and the labourers pauperised by it; for it admits almost of demonstration that cheapness, brought about by lessening the reward for labour, can never benefit any other portion of the community than the monied classes; since a given quantity of money will, of course, when prices are lowered, exchange for a greater quantity of commodities; but that *the labourer can be in any way benefited by a lowering of prices, when this same lowering has been effected solely by a reduction of the price of his own labour, is an absurdity of the most glaring description*. The only legitimate mode of cheapness to a community is that which is attained by increased facilities of production applied to the manufacture of those commodities the demand for which is *infinitely extensible*. If in such cases a labourer, by improved methods of manufacture, can be made to produce a greater quantity of commodities in a given time, with the same amount of labour on his part, and for that labour he receives the same amount of remuneration, then, of course, all parties will be benefited—the capitalist class and the working class—both then being able to obtain a greater quantity of commodities for the same quantity of money.

There is still another circumstance affecting the labourer's reward; viz., the mode of *distributing* the returns for the produce. But this, together with the usual means adopted to reduce wages, and the remedies for the same, will be considered in the next Number.

Mr. Mayhew, however, wishes it to be distinctly understood, that he in no way pledges himself to the principles here asserted from time to time. It should be remembered he is collecting facts, and merely avails himself of the *waste* pages of this periodical as a means of recording the opinions which are forced upon him in the course of his investigations (such opinions being at all times carefully excluded from the work itself). He reserves to himself therefore (as a person unconnected with party), the right of changing or modifying his sentiments as often as a more enlarged series of facts, may present new views to his mind. It is in this light that he wishes his speculations to be received—for speculations they are, though, perhaps based upon a greater number of phenomena than any economist has as yet personally obtained. For the present he can only declare his determination to follow the facts, whithersoever they may lead (for he has no object but the truth), and if he be open to the charge of generalising, before he has made himself acquainted with all the particulars, he at least has a greater right to do so than any economist of the present day—seeing that he is perhaps the first who has sought to evolve the truths of the Labour Question by personal investigation. As yet political economy has been a purely arm-chair science—gentlemen who troubled their heads about the matter have done *no more than* trouble their heads: they have sat beside a snug sea-coal fire and tried to excogitate, or think out the several matters affecting the working classes—even as Adam Smith, the great founder of the science retired for twelve years to an obscure village in Scotland to dream upon the laws concerning production and the producers. And yet it is upon the cobweb philosophy thus spun out that the whole of the legislation of the present day is made to depend!

Mr. Mayhew will at all times be glad to listen patiently to any *new* ideas, though he must object to a disgorging of the old ones, in opposition to the sentiments he here propounds; he will also be pleased to receive any additional facts from working men, whose greater experience may cause them to detect omissions and errors in the enumeration of circumstances given here or hereafter. A desire for the public good precludes party bigotry.

G. B.—Two shillings and sixpence for the poor harp-player, handed to Mr. Howden.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Rev. J. B. W. favours us with the subjoined curious etymology, from an equally curious source:—"Your readers being by this time familiar with the term 'patter,' may be glad to know its etymology, which I have just met with. To 'patter' is to say 'Paternosters,' in which sense the word is used by Tyndall, one of the exiles of Queen Mary's time. For this information I am indebted to no less grave an authority than the Rev. Dr. Pusey.—(Letter to Bishop of London, p. 78, ed. 3.)"

MR. MAYHEW has to acknowledge the receipt of a cheque from F. P. for 1*l.*, to be dispensed as a loan in equal proportions to the "reduced gentlewoman," and the "reduced tradesman," mentioned at p. 250; also 15*s.* in postage-stamps, from the Rev. J. S., to be applied as follows:—5*s.* for poor Foster, the harper; 5*s.* for the "reduced tradesman;" and 5*s.* for the "reduced gentlewoman,"—the two latter sums to be offered by way of loan—the money when re-paid to be lent to any similar applicant. The above-mentioned sums have been handed to Mr. Howden, who will see that the wishes of the gentlemen are duly carried out.

The following should have been answered in the last number:—"Sir,—Can you be so obliging as to inform me if I could obtain a living by tinselling pictures: if so, how and where am I to sell them? I am employed during the day, but that does not bring me in a sufficiency to make a living; so I want to do something in the evening on my own account (tinselling pictures, for instance,) so that I may be able to obtain a respectable and comfortable living. I hope you will pardon me for the liberty I have taken in addressing this to you; I should not have done so, had I not known your kind and liberal feelings towards the industrious. I remain, Sir, &c.—HENRY." [MR. MAYHEW is unacquainted with the practical part of the profession to which the writer refers. He would, however, object on principle to be connected in any way with what is known in "Political Economy" as an "aid to wages." He has, in the course of his inquiries, seen so many injurious effects proceeding from the subsistence of artizans being eked out by other employments, that he could not conscientiously give any advice on such a matter. If the wages of the present occupation of "Henry" are below subsistence point, then the best thing he can do is—if it be at all possible—to move into some other better-paid trade. But to seek to gain a competence by means of uniting another occupation with his present one, is only to enable employers still further to reduce his earnings. The prostitution which needlewomen, in many cases, are forced to resort to as an "aid to wages," is one of the causes of sempstresses being so badly paid. As before stated, the minimum value of labour is the smallest amount that the labourers can subsist upon. Those, therefore, who add prostitution to needlework as a means of living, can afford to undersell those who do not, and consequently become the means of ultimately reducing the more virtuous to the level of their own degradation.]

JUVENIS, of Camberwell, requests to be informed, "if it is intended to issue binding at a low price (as in most cheap publications), on the completion of the work?" [Most likely some arrangement will be entered into with a bookbinder, to supply covers at a fixed rate.]

C. B., of Portland Town, says:—"Being a subscriber to your useful work, LONDON LABOUR, I take it to the shop to read, for I am a journeyman tailor. The is a passage at page 89, that some of my shopmates find great fault with, and don't believe you are stating correct, when you say that cocoa-nuts are generally spelt 'coker.' They wish to know in what work of M'Culloch's they are spelt as such, and how long they have been entered as such at the Custom House; for they cannot find them spelt so in any work they have seen. You will please to answer this on the wrapper of LONDON LABOUR, and you will much oblige me, as I defend you as well as I am able." [The orthography is "coker" in M'Culloch's "Commercial Dictionary;" and they are certainly so written at the Customs, and by all fruit-brokers. Mr. Keeling (of the firm of Keeling and Hunt), was the first gentleman who made MR. MAYHEW acquainted with the commercial distinction.]

W. A., of Tower-street, says:—"At the foot of the first column of page 218 of LONDON LABOUR (No. 11), a paragraph appears which is utterly incomprehensible to me, and I should feel extremely obliged if you would afford me an explanation of its meaning in your next Number. Your informant states that, 'From the hasty glance he has taken at the patterers, any well-constructed mind may deduce the following inference: *because* a great amount of intelligence sometimes consists with a great want of principle, that no education, or mis-education, leaves man like a reed floating on the stream of time,' &c. Now, I want to know what is *the* inference any well-constructed mind may deduce? If you will favour me with a word in explanation in your next, I shall feel more indebted to you than ever." [The meaning of the sentence is, that an utter want of education, as well as a bad education, leaves man without any directive power. The passage is certainly misty.]

R. A., asks where the colours that the shops use in painting the scenes and characters in small theatres are to be had—"their colours," he says, "being so much clearer than the cakes one can buy in the shops?" Can any correspondent supply the information. MR. MAYHEW is profoundly ignorant of the subject.

A. E. L., of Shepherds Bush, says, "Pray give me an answer whether you do not think socialism is the remedy for all the misery of the working man?" MR. MAYHEW is not in a position at present to reply to the above question. He has merely a "book-knowledge" of the subject as yet, and to answer before investigation would be as injudicious as unjust. At some future time he purposes inquiring specially into the matter, and then he will not hesitate to publish the result of his inquiries. Concerning the other matter referred to in A. E. L.'s letter, it being not the most agreeable subject to have to touch upon, MR. MAYHEW must be excused making a reply. In such a case, the supply must necessarily be regulated by the demand.

A literary gentleman forwards the following observations—"It appears from your notice to correspondents that your illustrations of the conditions of LONDON LABOUR provoke various comments. May I venture to say how deeply interested I am in your revelations? In compiling an appendix sometime back to a Prize Essay on the working classes of Great Britain, I found your letters in the *Morning Chronicle* of invaluable service, and believe your present publication will be the means of great good to the classes you so ably befriend. *Is there anything to be done by men like myself* of humble literary pursuits, in alleviation of those evils. Would any movement, do you think, for the promotion of co-operative labour among the manufacturing poor, which the advocacy of the press might promote, tend in any measure to meet the wants of the case? I am sometimes troubled lest the frightful exposures of suffering and class wrong, should fail to give birth to commensurate effects for the cure of the evil. The conviction is growing among thinking men that capital has innumerable crimes to answer for, and that in the continuance of such a policy of competition as we have seen in modern times, there is no ultimate hope for the workman; but the vaguest ideas are afloat as to the true remedy. Public opinion waits to be taught and guided, and many men who have something to do with its formation, want to receive their cue from some master, who like yourself have made this subject in its million aspects a familiar thing. The artizans themselves are trying to solve the problem; but if the secret lies in the wild form of socialism we see in 'Co-operation Associations,' it is pity that their encouragement is left to a little band of comparatively obscure and feeble men." MR. MAYHEW has already given the only answer he can at present give the

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

above question. He is not in a position to speak fairly upon the subject, and therefore must decline speaking at all.

The following sums have been received and handed to Mr. Howden:—

Left at the Office by a Stranger, 2*s.* 6*d.* for Foster.

Five shillings in postage stamps has been received for Foster, from "An Old Harpist."

C. A., Exeter-change, 5*s.* for Wm. Price and Thos. Wicks, and 1*s*, for the Poet, mentioned in No. 14.

AN EDINBURGH STREET-SELLER, who adopts the signature of "Mac," proffers information as to the street-life of that city. He sends the following letter:

"I have been a constant purchaser of your valuable publication of LONDON LABOUR since its commencement, and to its truthfulness as regards 'travellers,' I can bear witness. Unfortunately for myself, I have travelled different parts of England, &c., in various occupations, and have seen 'every move on the board,' and been well acquainted with men who well knew both Captain M—— and Nicholas A——; and their exploits as mentioned by you are perfectly true, and many others I could tell, with which, I dare say, you are also acquainted. For upwards of three years past I have been a resident here, endeavouring to obtain a honest livelihood in various ways of street-trading (as I am not capable of doing bodily labour), and in a great measure, I may say, I have succeeded, having placed myself in a state of comparative comfort; but still the 'moral brand' of being on the streets is a 'sticking-plaster. The reason of my writing to you is, my having noticed an answer to 'R. T.,' requesting information as to the Edinburgh street-sellers, and not knowing whether he can or will supply you with any, I have taken the liberty of volunteering any information in my power. A complete crusade is declared against all street-sellers here: they are not even safe when moving along, even if they have only a tray hanging in front of them, for *if they only stop to sell a single halfpennyworth, they are liable to be summoned, and ultimately fined or imprisoned.* Cases in point I have known, and can give the names of the parties. Baillie Dick, one of the sitting magistrates, used the following words to a poor lad, who was summoned for standing in one of the markets with a board hanging in front of him, selling sweet-stuff—(the same lad had often been convicted of theft, but at length had determined to get a living honestly, and is still rigidly adhering to his resolution)—'We will let you go this time, but if ever you are brought here again for the same offence,' (looking at the 'offender' as if he were guilty of a most heinous crime), 'you will be fined and imprisoned.' Now, sir, was not that enough to make that lad return to his former vicious courses? The patterers, or 'speech criers,' as they are called here, are the only ones the police have not interfered with; but this street-trade is, I believe, also intended to be stopped—at all events, there is a talk about it. A great reformation has taken place here with these men within these two years; the majority of them are teetotallers, or act up to the same principle, and it is said by many that the Edinburgh criers are the most respectable they ever saw. This small outline will of course be of little or no service to you, but any information you may wish for, I shall be happy to oblige you with, if it lays in my power. Of course I do not wish to be known in the matter, as the opinions of many of the street-sellers here are much against you (but the most of them are very ignorant and bigoted), and if it were known amongst them that any party was giving any account of them, he would be sure of a 'ferricadouzer,' or 'mugging,' as we call it. I however send my name and residence in confidence, and you can either drop a line by post, stating what information you require (which mode, if agreeable to you, I should prefer), or answer at your convenience in your answers to correspondents."

MR. MAYHEW will communicate with "Mac" by letter. He is much obliged for his offer.

MR. MAYHEW prints the following letter from a showman of his acquaintance—a struggling, hard-working man:

"Pardon me for taking so great a liberty as to write to you. Sir, you are publishing a work in weekly numbers called LONDON LABOUR AND LONDON POOR; you took a memoir of my life a short time ago for that work. My life was a street-showman, from an early age having a crippled arm, and no other means of getting a living. I am still the same as I described to you, and a showman, but for the want of the sum of 1*l.* 10*s.* I am living a miserable and starving life. The loan of the required sum would be the means of saving me from entering a workhouse, which I do not desire to do if I can live honest by perseverance and industry. I have parted with all things I had to make money of, to bring forth, if possible, a novel and pleasing exhibition, being models made of glass and stone-work, representing large buildings of British and foreign views; also a mechanical representation of a cataract, or mountain torrent, with real water; but for the want of the required sum, I am completely at a loss. If I could get a person to be a friend to me in my present circumstances, I would give the sum of 5*s.* for the loan of the above-mentioned sum, and pay it up by instalments at 2*s.* per week, and give a security for the same, or leave the value of it as a security. If you doubt what is stated by me in the few lines written to you, you can come yourself and inquire into my character, or send a trust-worthy person to do the same. You can see, by instituting an inquiry, that there is no imposition."

Should any reader feel inclined to lend the amount above-named, MR. MAYHEW will see that proper security is given for the repayment of the money. Of course MR. MAYHEW could be no party to the premium of 5*s.* for the loan of 30*s.* The exhibition is at least a harmless one, and the man being crippled in his right arm, has not the power of working for his living—a circumstance which drives many hundreds to the streets.

G. P., of Manor-place, Edinburgh, sends the "Reports of the Edinburgh Lodging-house Association" with the following observations—"I do so to show you that the houses are equally bad with those you describe in London, and what progress has been made here in model dwelling-houses. There is also an association for building model lodging-houses, which has already commenced operations, and it is likely to prove a very profitable investment for the shareholders as well as being the means of conferring comfortable houses on the working-class. Your Edinburgh correspondent is right as to the removal of the stalls from the streets—*it has been productive of great injury in every respect to the class of stall-keepers, who were totally dependent on that for their living.* Should you wish any information about lodging-houses, charitable societies, street-sellers or poor in Edinburgh, or any of the towns in Scotland, I shall be glad to give you what I know, and also endeavour to obtain from other sources." MR. MAYHEW wishes to give at the conclusion of this account of the London Street Folk, a brief account of the numbers and earnings of the several classes of Street Folk in all the large towns throughout the kingdom, and will feel obliged to G. P. for any well-authenticated information. The classification of the London Street Folk will do for all towns. G. P. quotes the following passage from a work now in course of issue, and entitled "An Inquiry into Destitution, Prostitution, and Crime in Edinburgh"—as a proof of the evils caused by removing the street-sellers from their pitches in that city: "In this house, we found a family who had previously earned a scanty and precarious subsistence by keeping a barrow—as a sort of stall—on the street, in which they hawked whatever might be in season at the time,—fruit, fish, or confectionery, as the case might be. Now, however, thanks to the wisdom of our civic rulers, if they venture with their barrow on the public streets, fines and imprisonment are their certain fate. We cannot, for the life of us, conceive what has tempted the head of our police to proceed as he has done in his late system of, what we will venture to call, *ejectments;* for really we cannot find a word that appears to us more appropriate. It is possible enough that the absence of these stalls may make the streets look better and cleaner; but will it tend to the general cleanliness and morality of the city at large? In our opinion, quite the reverse; for what must be of necessity the effect of depriving some 200 families of the means of making a miserably poor,

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the Notices to Correspondents accompanying Number 16, Mr. Mayhew, in reply to a letter from one of his readers, proceeded to specify the several circumstances regulating wages which in the course of his inquiry among the London operatives had fallen under his notice. Four distinct kinds of circumstances were then enumerated, viz.:—1. The number of labourers; 2. The hours of labour; 3. The rate of labouring; 4. The quantity of work; and under each of these heads a large variety of particulars were shown to be comprised.

In Political Economy wages are made to depend solely upon the proportion between population and capital; that is to say, between the number of labourers and the amount of capital expended in the direct purchase of their labour. But it is very evident, since wages are but remuneration for labour, that the quantity of labour exacted for a certain amount of wages is an essential element of the subject. Among economists, however, all idea of work is discarded from the question, though it must be manifest even to childish comprehension, that wages remaining the same and work being doubled the remuneration for labour must be decreased one-half: hence it is impossible to come to a right understanding of the matter without allowing the quantity of labour to enter into the proposition. According to the inconsistencies of political economy, if the tailors respectively received one year thirty shillings for making two coats, and the next year only the same amount for making double that number, the remuneration for their labour would remain unaltered. But, surely, to increase the quantity of labour, while the "amount expended in the direct purchase of that labour" remains the same, is—according to Cocker—to decrease the wages in precisely the same proportion. To extend the quantum of work is plainly tantamount to augmenting the number of workers; for the wage-fund, or gross sum expended upon such work remaining unchanged, it follows that the individual remuneration for a given amount of labour must be identical in both cases.

The quantity of work, however, has, so to speak, a double or reverse action upon wages, and this is most essential to be borne in mind. According to the law of supply and demand, when work increases (without a corresponding increase in the number of labourers), and the demand for labour consequently increases, while the supply continues the same, wages must rise; but this is true only so long as the capital of the trade, or fund out of which the labourers are paid, admits of being augmented. The amount of the Wage-Fund must of course determine the amount given in exchange for the labour. If this fund be small, wages must necessarily be low; and if large, high wages will be the consequence. It is true, that in the several trades any increased demand for labour is *usually* followed by a rise of wages, because the capital of any one trade admits of being augmented by advances from the capital of others. But though this is true of any *one* trade, it is by no means, and, indeed, cannot possibly be true of *all* trades. For the gross Wage-Fund of the country not admitting of sudden extension, but being regulated by the sum saved or set aside out of the national income of the past year for the purposes of production during the present, it is impossible that this fund can be extended according as the amount of work or demand for labourers grows greater; hence it follows, that though in any *one* trade an increased demand for labour at a particular time may be attended with an increase of wages, this cannot be the case in *all*, and that, on the contrary, a greater amount of work throughout the nation must necessitate a decreased amount of remuneration for it; that is to say, there will be greater quantity of work to do for the same (or, as we shall see presently, even less) pay, which, of course, is equivalent to the same quantum of labour for less wages. Thus, during the railway mania, the pay of "labourers" was increased, not because the capital, or gross savings of the country had suddenly been augmented, but because a considerable sum at that time was withdrawn from other trades and invested in railroads. Consequently it appears that wages—so far from depending (as economists would have us believe) upon merely the supply and demand for labour, or, as others term it, the proportion between population and capital—are regulated rather by five distinct circumstances, every one of which exerts, according as it is either increased or decreased, a like increasing or decreasing influence upon the amount of remuneration coming to the labourers individually. These five circumstances are—

I. The numbers of labourers.
II. The hours of labour.
III. The rate of labouring.
IV. The quantity of work.
V. The amount of the Wage-Fund, or gross sum expended upon the purchase of the labour.

The next point for consideration therefore becomes, what regulates the amount of the Wage-Fund? This is the most important question of all, as this constitutes not only the standard by which the exchangeable or market value of the labour is estimated, but also the stock out of which it is remunerated; for though, so long as this stock remains unchanged in amount, wages will increase whenever the number of labourers, the hours of labour, the rate of labouring, or the quantity of work, are decreased, still, the other circumstances being unaltered, it follows that wages must depend upon the extent of the fund out of which they are paid; that is to say, if the Wage-Fund be doubled, then a given quantity of labour will exchange for twice the former quantity of wealth, and consequently that wages must rise as that fund becomes greater, and fall as it is diminished in amount. Hence, to ascertain what determines the extent of the Wage-Fund is a most essential point.

The extent of the Wage-Fund appears to depend, as before stated, in a great measure, upon the amount of capital, or sum set aside for production, in this or in any other country. But since the elements of production are of three distinct kinds, viz., (1) Labour, (2) Instruments (as tools, machines, shops, &c.), and (3) Materials, it follows that the wealth set aside for the purpose of production must be divisible into *three* distinct funds or sources, from which each of such elements can be supplied. There must be a Subsistence Fund for the maintenance of the labourers—a Sinking Fund for the purpose of providing tools, machines, buildings, &c., and a Material Fund, out of which the substances upon which the labour is to be exerted may be procured Now these three parts constitute the whole of the capital or stock set aside for future production. The sole office of capital is to provide such funds, and that only is capital which contributes to one or other of them—or rather, such is productive capital (of distributive capital, or that employed in distribution, and its influence on wages, I purpose speaking by-and-by). It is a question of arithmetic, therefore, that the increase of any one of the three parts must (if the whole remain the same) be followed by a proportionate decrease in the others; that is to say, if any of the funds set aside for the purpose of providing some one of the elements of production be augmented, such augmentation can only take place at the expense of either of the remaining funds. Now it is evident that the material fund, or that part of the national income saved with a view of providing the materials on which the labourer is to operate regulates the aggregate quantity of work to be done throughout the country, and that, if a greater quantity of materials are obtained, there must necessarily be a greater quantity of work to do. But a greater quantity of materials *can only* be obtained by an increase of the Material Fund, at the expense of either the Sinking or the Subsistence Fund, or both; but since the sinking fund, or that portion of capital which is annually sunk in tools, machines, factories, &c., is, in this country, manifestly being *increased*, rather than *decreased*, every year, it follows that the augmentation of the Material Fund can only be brought about by a corresponding diminution in the Wage-Fund, or sum devoted to the subsistence of the labourers; and that, consequently, any increase in the national quantity of work must necessarily be attended by a like decrease in the aggregate amount of remuneration received for it by the workers; or, in other words, the wage law is—*the more work there is to do, the less the workpeople will get for it.* This is a matter that admits of demonstration, and yet one which no political economist has as yet either discovered or, having discovered, thought fit to make known. But political economy is the science of money-making. Let me, however, so as to impress this necessary decrease of wages, as consequent on the increase of materials, the more strongly on the minds of working-men, and those who really wish them well—let me put the question arithmetically, thus:—Say that the sum annually expended on materials in this country equals 50,000,000*l.* sterling, and that the Wage-Fund, or sum paid for operating on those materials, equals 100,000,000*l.* sterling; in that case, it is clear that, for making up every one pound's worth of stuff, the labourers will receive two pounds. Then let us suppose the sum expended on materials to be doubled, or to equal 100,000,000*l.*, in this case it is evident there would be twice as much work to be done, and since the Material Fund could only have been doubled by decreasing the

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Wage-Fund to one-half, the sum consequently coming to the labourers would be reduced to 50,000,000*l*., or, in other words, there would be not only twice as much work to do, but half as little again to receive for it, for the labourers would get only 10*s*. instead of 2*l*. for every pound's worth of materials made up by them. Hence wages would be four times less than they were. Still further to exemplify the principle, let us now suppose the Material Fund to be increased to 125,000,000*l*., and the Wage-Fund consequently to be decreased to 25,000,000*l*.; then it is manifest that the quantity of work will be increased one-fifth more, while wages must decline again one-half; so that there will be twice and a half more material to be made up than at first, and only one-fourth the amount of wages to receive for so doing; or, in other words, the workman will be paid ten times less wages for the same quantity of labour. But it may be said that, twice and a half more materials being made up, commodities must be twice and a half more abundant, and therefore twice and a half cheaper; consequently, every shilling the workman receives will exchange for twice and a half as much as formerly, or be to that amount increased in value. But since the labourer receives ten times less, it is clear that, notwithstanding the increased value of money, he must be four times poorer by the alteration. The effect of the change, however, upon the moneyed classes and the capitalists in general is precisely the reverse. Every pound of their money is thus made twice and a half more valuable, that is to say, it will exchange for that extra quantity of commodities, while the employers' profits, depending upon the gross amount of capital devoted to the purposes of production, will be in no way reduced. It is of no consequence how the 150,000,000*l*. are apportioned; for whether five-sixths be spent upon materials and only the sixth upon wages, they get the same aggregate amount of profit as they would even if one-third only were devoted to materials and the remaining two-thirds to the subsistence of the labourers. The gross capital being the same in both cases, viz., 150,000,000*l*., it is self-evident the gross profits would also be the same. It may, however, be further urged that if profits are the same in either case, there is no reason why the employer should impoverish the labourer by expending the greater portion of his capital upon materials. The answer is, that though the gross profit fund of the country would be in no way extended, and the employers as a body, therefore, would be in no way benefited by so doing, still many of what are called enterprising tradesmen would individually be large gainers thereby—for, spending a greater quantity on materials, and, consequently, obtaining a larger amount of produce, those who were the first to make the alteration would be enabled to undersell the rest, and, consequently, to force their trade to a greater extent. Now that this increase of the quantity of materials to be made up, and consequent decrease in the remuneration for the labour employed upon them, is one of the great evils of the day, and one of the main causes why the operatives are daily becoming more and more overworked and underpaid, all my investigations go to prove. The cheapness which Political Economists cry up as such a boon to the Poor Man is here plainly shown to be a gain only to the Rich; such Cheapness is produced solely at the Operative's expense; that is to say, by making him do more work for less pay. I have before alluded to the Messrs. Nicoll, who, having reduced the wages of the 1000 workmen in their employ to one-third below the amount paid by the "honourable" part of the tailoring trade, or from 36*s*. to 24*s*. a week for the best hands, have been enabled to force their trade to an enormous extent, and to amass 160,000*l*. in a very few years. This is the effect of cheapness upon the employer: let us now see what effect it has upon the employed. The following are two instances (printed in the Morning Chronicle) of overwork and underpay taken from different trades.

A waistcoat hand, whom Mr. Mayhew visited during his investigations into the state of the tailoring trade in December, 1849, narrated the following facts.

"The effect that the continual reduction has had upon my earnings is this—before the year 1844 I could live comfortably and keep my wife and children (I had five in family) by my own labour. My wife then attended to her domestic and family duties, but since that time, owing to the reduction in prices, she has been compelled to resort to her needle as well as myself for her living." (On the table lay a bundle of crape and bombazine ready to be made up into a dress.) "I cannot afford now to let her remain idle—that is, if I wish to live, and keep my children out of the streets, and pay my way. She makes dresses. I never would teach her to make waistcoats, because I knew the introduction of female hands had been the ruin of my trade. *With the labour of myself and wife now I can earn 32s. a week, and six years ago I could make my 36s. by my own labour alone.* If I had a daughter I should be obliged to make her work as well, and then probably *with the labour of the three of us we could make up at the week's end as much money as up to 1844 I could get by my own single hands.*"

Here is the statement of a worker at the "fancy cabinet" trade (a trade, by the by, in which the number of hands have decreased, work increased, and yet wages fallen to an enormous extent):—

"The most of us has got large families. We put the children to work as soon as we can. My little girl began about six, but about eight or nine is the usual age. *'Oh, poor little things,' said the wife, 'they are obliged to begin the very minute they can use their fingers at all.'* The greater part of the cabinet makers of the East End have from five to six in family, and they are generally all at work for them. The small masters mostly marry when they are turned of twenty. You see our trade's coming to such a pass, that unless a man has children to help him he can't live at all. *'I've worked more than a month together,'* continued the wife, *'and the longest night's rest I've had has been an hour and a quarter; aye, and I've been up three nights a week besides.* I've had my children lying ill, and been obliged to wait on them into the bargain. You see, we couldn't live if it wasn't for the labour of our children, though it makes 'em—poor little things!—old people long afore they are growed up.

"'Why, I stood at this bench,' the wife went on, 'with my child, only ten years of age, from four o'clock on Friday morning till ten minutes past seven in the evening, without a bit to eat or drink. I never sat down a minute from the time I began till I finished my work, and then I went out to sell what I had done. I walked all the way from here (Shoreditch) down to the Lowther Arcade, to get rid of the articles.' *Here she burst into a violent flood of tears, saying, 'Oh, Sir! it is hard to be obliged to labour from morning till night as we do, all of us, little ones and all, and yet not be able to live by it either.'*"

F. C., of Waltham, will be written to.

D. sends 4*s*., and Comfrater 1*s*. (in postage stamps), for "the poor crippled seller of nutmeg graters." They have been handed over to Mr. Howden, who will see them profitably applied.

L. H. K. will be answered privately.

Olive Leaf will be written to.

C. is thanked for the Corrections. It is impossible to be faultless, especially where so much new matter has to be obtained in so short a time.

Mr. Mayhew has been favoured with the following from Messrs. Keeling and Hunt, gentlemen to whom he is indebted for much valuable information:—

"Monument Yard, London, 7th April, 1851.

"Sir,—Your correspondent, C. B., of Portland Town, has properly questioned the accuracy of the word "*Coker*," as applied to nuts sold under the generally known title of 'Cocoa,' the proper derivation being '*Cocos nucifera*,' one of the palm tribe and a native of India, first imported in 1690. From the researches we have made, we can only infer the word '*Coker*' is a corruption, or, more properly speaking, a Custom-house licence, to create a distinction in the mode of levying the duty on this description of fruit, and the kernels of a nut which is the produce of a different description of tree, and the decoction of which is used so generally for the purpose of beverage; for the term '*Coker*' we find, upon reference to the Customs Acts of Parliament, was classified many years back by Mr. Hume, the then Chairman of the Board of Customs, and has been retained accordingly.

"The correct word is '*Cacao*,' '*Coco*,' from whence the English adaptation '*Cocoa*,' is decidedly correct; but the word '*Coker*' and other anomalies are retained in order to discriminate between the duties levied upon articles bearing similar names, but different in use—in a similar way to *Prunes* (the French for Plums), which pay 7*s*. per cwt. duty, and Plums, commonly called French Plums, which pay 20*s*. per cwt. '*Coker*' nuts, commonly called '*Cocoa*,' are now free of duty; while Cocoa in husks and shells pay one penny per pound duty.

"Will you afford us this opportunity to bear testimony to the general good character and valuable assistance we derive from the 'Costermongers' engaged in the sale of our description of produce, and who have only to be treated kindly to render them as useful and as grateful a body of men as can be encouraged.

"We are, Sir,
"Your obedient servants,
"Keeling and Hunt."

"Henry Mayhew, Esq.,
"&c., &c."

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the last Number of this work Mr. Mayhew, in prosecution of his inquiry into the circumstances regulating Wages, proceeded to set forth the conditions which determined the amount of the Wage-Fund, or stock, out of which the labourers are paid. Productive Capital, or that portion of accumulated labour which is devoted to the purposes of production (in contradistinction to Distributive Capital, or the portion devoted to the distribution of the commodities produced), we have seen to consist of three distinct elements or funds—viz., the Material-Fund, or stock devoted to the supply of materials; the Sinking-Fund, or that devoted to the construction of tools, machines, factories, and other instruments of labour; and the Subsistence-Fund, or that devoted to the maintenance of the labourers. We have also seen that the Material-Fund regulates the gross quantity of work to be done, and the Wage-Fund the gross amount of remuneration to be received for such work; and, since the Material-Fund can only be increased at the expense of the Wage-Fund, that if a larger proportion of the Capital of the country be devoted to the purchase of a greater quantity of materials, there must necessarily be more work to be done, and less wages to receive for it. Facts, moreover, were cited to show that this increase of work and decrease of wages was going on in many of the trades of the present day, and that it constituted one of the main evils of our social economy.

But if the Material-Fund is so intimately connected with the Wage-Fund that the increase of the former must necessarily be followed by a corresponding decrease of the latter, in what way does an alteration in the quantity of Capital apportioned to the Sinking-Fund affect the amount devoted to the subsistence of the Labourers? That is the next point to be ascertained. To understand this, we must keep steadily in mind the fact that Productive Capital is wealth set aside for the purposes of future production, and that such Capital is necessarily of two distinct kinds, viz., that which is consumed after being once used, and which consequently requires to be continually reproduced, as materials and food; and that which is more permanent, admitting of being used more than once, and whose reproduction therefore is spread over a series of years, as tools, machines, factories, &c. The alkali and tallow which constitute the "materials" out of which soap is manufactured are, it has been truly said, destroyed after one application to the purpose for which the soap is made; and if there was not a fresh supply of such substances produced year after year, it is evident that the national stock of that commodity must ultimately come to an end; and in the same manner the quartern loaves which the agricultural labourer consumes during his work are, by that very work, reproduced: and thus the supply is kept up, so that we see that Capital invested in the subsistence of labourers, as well as in the materials upon which the labour is exercised, is continually being replaced, and that if it were otherwise, the country must necessarily be impoverished to precisely the amount which was consumed without being reproduced.

Now it is the peculiar quality of Capital sunk in instrumental labour, that is to say, in the construction of tools, machines, factories, &c., that it is not *immediately* reproductive, but requires a series of years before the advantages gained by the new instruments are sufficient to make good the amount of wealth consumed in their construction. The wealth sunk in a large factory is years before it is repaid, even as a steam-engine does not return the cost of its production for some considerable time. No one commodity alone pays for the construction of the tools used in its manufacture, but the expense of such tools is spread over as many commodities as they are capable of producing. The plough, the harrow, the horses, the waggons, the barn, the threshing machine, do not depend for their remuneration on a *single* harvest, but on a series; even as the loom is not paid for out of the first piece of cloth woven, but out of the thousand and odd that it is capable of weaving. There is scarcely any form of labour to which the returns may be said to be immediate, with the exception of that of the hunter and the fisherman, and almost every different kind of work differs in the period required for its remuneration. The wealth expended in the construction of a canal or a railroad is a long time before it can possibly be returned, whereas the food required to sustain the savage during his search after the spontaneous products of the earth must be made good almost immediately. The barbarian can hardly afford to wait a day for his remuneration, whereas the civilized man is often engaged in operations that require perhaps a century or more to be fully compensated. Now it is an essential quality of all production that every commodity must be paid for before it can possibly be produced. Nature gives no credit. We cannot obtain the least particle of wealth from her, without first expending a certain amount of wealth in procuring it. If it be merely the act of gathering wild fruit, the operation requires the destruction of a certain quantity of muscular tissue, without which no act can be performed, or in other words, so much strength accumulated in the limbs of the agent, by means of the food previously consumed, must be expended in the operation, and this, unless recompensed, must sooner or later end in that physical bankruptcy which we term starvation. But though Nature gives no credit, Man, as we have seen, is obliged to credit Nature to a large amount; and it is the long credit often given in the form of sunk capital, that is cause of so much distress to those who have nothing but their labour to live upon. We have before seen that according as one or other of the elements or funds essential to production is increased, the rest must be correspondingly decreased; that is to say, if an undue proportion of the Capital, or gross stock set aside for future production, be devoted to the purchase of materials, and besides this a considerable sum be sunk in the construction of tools, machines, or buildings, there can only be a small amount left for the subsistence or wages of the producers; for it is a mere question of arithmetic, that, assuming the entire Productive Fund to equal 9, if 3½ represent the amount devoted to one element, and 4 that apportioned to another, there can be but 1½ left for the third. We have already seen the operation of an undue increase of the Material-Fund upon the Wage-Fund, and it is here evident that the increase of the Sinking-Fund must be attended with precisely the same effect. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the productive capital of the kingdom equals 300,000,000*l.* sterling, and that one-third of this is sunk in machines and factories, while the other two-thirds are devoted to the supply of materials and the subsistence of the workpeople; then it is evident, since Capital invested in the instruments of labour is not immediately reproductive, but requires a certain term of years before the wealth expended is returned, that the next year the Productive Fund of the country must be diminished one-third (minus, say, a tenth—on the assumption that the sunk Capital will be replaced in ten years) below that of the previous year—or, in other words, that the country must be nearly one-third poorer—the Productive Fund being thus equal to 200,000,000*l.* instead of 300,000,000*l.* sterling as before. Then let us suppose that the next year the same proportion (one-third) of the Productive Fund is sunk in the same (immediately) unproductive manner—that is to say, that 70,000,000*l.* more are invested in machines and factories, and the remaining 140,000,000*l.* (instead of 200,000,000*l.*) devoted to materials and wages; in which case it is evident that the community, instead of being one-third, must now be (within a fraction) one-half, poorer than in the first instance. Assuming further, that the Productive Fund is thus reduced to 150,000,000*l.* in round numbers (allowing 10 per cent. per annum for the return on the sunk Capital), and that the same process of sinking one-third again goes on, it is evident that at the end of the next year the Productive Fund of the country must have decreased two-thirds, or from 300,000,000*l.* to 100,000,000*l.*, while the particular funds out of which the materials and food of the labourers are to be supplied must have decreased one-half. And assuming, for the mere sake of argument, that the Material and the Wage-Fund continued equal all this time, it is manifest that each of these funds must have declined one-half also, and, consequently, that the gross income of the labourers must be one-half less than it was three years previously. With the capitalists, however, the case will be very different—for since the aggregate amount of profits upon Capital depends solely upon the gross amount of Capital employed, without any regard to the mode in which it is partitioned among the several funds or elements of production, it follows that, though the labourers get one-half less, the gains of their employers will be in no way diminished; but rather by the increase of commodities the value of every pound sterling of their Capital will be considerably increased.

The enrichment of the Capitalist class and impoverishment of the working class, by the investment of the national savings in machinery and the several instruments of production, that is here advanced, is by no means a singular opinion, but is maintained by some of the more enlightened of the Political Economists. The following passage may be cited in corroboration of the the conclusion (even if corroboration be needed, to esta-

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

blish that which is a question of mere figures, viz., that $3\frac{1}{2}+4+1\frac{1}{2}=9$, even as $3+3+3=9$). Mr. Ricardo (the author of the "Theory of Rent") tells us, in his article on "Machinery," he had once thought "that the labouring class would, equally with the other classes, participate in the advantage, from the general cheapness of commodities arising from the use of machinery." He had since become convinced, however, "that the substitution of machinery for human labour is often very injurious to the interests of the class of labourers. *My mistake,*" he says, "*arose from the supposition, that whenever the net income of a society increased, its gross income would also increase. I now, however, see reason to be satisfied that the one fund from which landlords and capitalists derive their revenue may increase, while the other—that upon which the labouring class mainly depend—may diminish; and therefore it follows, if I am right, that the same cause which may increase the net revenue of the country may at the same time render the population redundant, and deteriorate the condition of the labourer.*" Amongst other deductions from his views he enumerates the position, "3rdly, that the opinion entertained by the labouring class, that the employment of machinery is frequently detrimental to their interests, is not founded on prejudice and error, but is conformable to the correct principles of political economy." Mr. Stewart Mill, too, is somewhat of the same opinion. "*I cannot assent to the argument,*" he says, at p. 116, "*which is relied on by most of those who contend that machinery can never be injurious to the labouring class*—namely, that by cheapening production it creates such an increased demand for the commodity as enables ere long a greater number of persons to find employment in producing it; the fact, though too broadly stated, is no doubt often true. The copyists, who were thrown out of employment by the invention of printing, were, doubtless, soon outnumbered by the compositors and pressmen who took their place: and the number of labouring persons now occupied in the cotton manufacture is many times greater than were so occupied previously to the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright, which shows that, besides the enormous fixed capital now embarked in the manufacture, it also employs a far greater circulating capital than at any former time. *But if this capital,*" continues Mr. Mill, "*was drawn from other employments; if the funds which took the place of the capital sunk in costly machinery were supplied—not by an additional saving consequent on the improvement—but by drafts on the general capital of the community, what better are the labouring classes for the mere transfer?* In what manner is the loss they sustained by the conversion of circulating into fixed capital made up to them by a mere shifting of part of the remainder of the circulating capital from its old employments to a new one. *All attempts,*" he adds, "*to make out that the labouring classes, as a body, cannot suffer by the introduction of machinery or by the sinking of capital in permanent improvements are, I conceive, necessarily fallacious.*"

Those, therefore, who tell us that it is a settled point in Political Economy that machinery tends to benefit the labourer as well as the capitalist, are either ignorant of the writings of the most eminent and thoughtful of the economists on the subject, or else it must be evident they have some intention to deceive. Since, then, it is admitted that the increase of the Sunk Capital of a country must necessarily be attended with a corresponding decrease in its Circulating Capital—that is to say, that the wealth devoted to the construction of tools, machines, factories, &c., must necessarily diminish the sum set aside for the supply of materials and the subsistence of the labourers; let us now take a cursory glance at the quantity of Capital that has been invested in the instruments of labour within a comparatively recent period. In one manufacturing town, we are told, there are 200 factories, and that each of these establishments requires an outlay of 100,000*l.* (see Dodd's Textile Manufactures); hence the Capital sunk in Manchester alone, within little more than the last half century, amounts to no less than 20,000,000*l.* of money. But, according to the latest report of the Factory Inspectors, the gross number of such establishments throughout the country amounts to 4330; and calculating the same amount to have been sunk in each of these, we have the enormous sum of 433,000,000*l.* thus expended, which is at the rate of 50,000,000*l.* of money sunk every year since about 1760, or 100,000,000*l.* per annum (a third of the national income), dating from the commencement of the present century. But that is not all: if to this we add 300,000,000*l.* sunk in turnpike-roads, canals, and railways (not to speak of mines), we shall then see good reason for that gradual impoverishment of the labouring classes and enrichment of their employers, which is the marked feature of the present age.

But though the most enlightened of the economists have been able to perceive that according as the fixed Capital of the country is increased, its Circulating Capital must be necessarily and correspondingly decreased, none, that I am aware of, has yet drawn attention to the fact that this Circulating Capital consists of two distinct and conflicting elements, viz., the Material-Fund and the Wage-Fund; and that according as either of these is extended, so must the other be proportionately diminished—a proposition more important to the labouring classes than perhaps any one yet propounded in Political Economy, and one which not only intimately concerns the welfare of the working man, but affords the sole explanation of the growing tendency to overwork and underpay; and which moreover helps us to perceive how it is possible (in direct opposition to the boasted law of supply and demand) for there to be more work to do and less wages to receive for it—as for instance in the Cabinet Makers' trade—where, since 1831, the hands have declined 33 per cent., the work increased enormously, and yet where wages 20 years ago were 400 per cent. better than they are now.

Still the great evil remains to be pointed out. The depreciation of labour is not so much due to the isolated agency of each of the above-mentioned causes, *but to the combined operation of the two.* If within the last century we have invested upwards of 400,000,000*l.* of Capital in the construction of machines and factories—the very construction of these instruments requires that they should be kept continually in action, for every moment that they are unoccupied the Capital invested in them is lying idle; hence, as Mr. Mill tells us, in quoting from Mr. Babbage, "the only profitable mode of employing machines is to keep them working through the twenty-four hours." The consequence is that they must necessitate a vast increase in the quantity of materials, and so give rise to an equally vast decrease in the remuneration of the workpeople. If, therefore, these machines be employed night and day in making up materials, they must also be employed night and day in reducing the subsistence of the Labourers. Now, another gentleman, in estimating the difference between the produce by hand and by machinery, assures us, "that in a cotton factory with a steam-engine of 100 horse power, there are 50,000 spindles, which are superintended by about 750 persons. The quantity of yarn produced by this mechanism in a day, would extend 62,500 miles in length—being as much as would require the labour of 200,000 persons with the common spinning wheel. We believe," adds the gentleman with an air of triumph, that betrays an utter want of thought on the social bearings of the question, "there are now upwards of 2000 such cotton-mills, giving motion to at least 20,000,000 of spindles, and the whole consequently doing the work of 400,000,000 of persons, if estimated by the power of hand labour."

But if these 20,000,000 and odd spindles are perpetually doing the work of 400,000,000 individuals, of course they must require to be supplied with 400,000,000 times as much materials as each of these individuals could work up; and, consequently, it is plain that the Material-Fund must, by the introduction of such an enormous power of machinery into one trade alone, be increased as much as the Sinking-Fund, out of which the machines were provided; and that the Subsistence-Fund, therefore, must be decreased in a double proportion—that is to say, the investment of a large portion of the productive Capital of the country in machines and factories, necessitates the apportionment of an equally large amount to obtain an increased quantity of materials. Hence, it is a matter of demonstration, that there must necessarily be a proportionately smaller sum left for the maintenance of the workpeople. The quantity of raw material imported for the cotton factories in 1849 was 634,000,000 lbs.; in 1839 it was 387,000,000 lbs.; and in 1815, only 100,000,000 lbs. The quantity of foreign wool used in the woollen manufacture in 1847 was 82,000,000 lbs., and in 1840 only 49,000,000 lbs. The quantity of raw silk imported for the manufactures of this country in 1847 was 5,000,000 lbs.; in 1841, only 4,000,000 lbs. This enormous increase in the quantity of materials used in but three of our manufactures, may enable us to form some idea as to the portion of Capital annually now devoted to the Material-Fund, for the entire manufactures of this country: while the 700,000,000*l.* of money before specified as sunk within a comparatively recent period in the machines, factories, and facilities for transit, will likewise afford us the means of making a guess as to the portion of the gross Capital annually invested in the increase of the instruments of labour as well as the appliances for the distribution of the products of that labour. Now, putting these items together, it surely does not require a superabundance of brains to be able to perceive how, after supplying both

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are now in a position to see the falsity of the Wage-Law as enunciated by Political Economists. This law, according to Mr. Stewart Mill, the latest authority on the subject, is as follows: "Wages depend upon the demand and supply of labour, *or*, as it is often expressed, on the proportion between population and capital"—limiting the term population to the labouring class, and capital to that which is expended in the direct purchase of labour.

In the first place this proposition confounds things essentially distinct, under the impression that they are one and the same. The demand for labour is here—with an eminent want of discrimination—jumbled up with the capital or stock set aside for the remuneration of the labourer: this is manifest from the use of the particle "*or*," showing as it does that the terms population and capital are considered to be merely different modes of expression for what are believed to be the same conditions—the demand and supply of labour. "Wages depend," says the writer (book ii., chap. 11), "on the demand and supply of labour, OR, *as it is often expressed*, on the proportion between population and capital." Now that the *demand* for labour is a condition essentially distinct from the *capital* expended in the direct purchase of that labour, has been already shown. The one represents the *work*, and the other *pay*. The demand for labour is regulated by the quantity of work to be done; that is to say, by the aggregate amount of materials to be operated upon: whereas the *capital* to be expended in the direct purchase of the labour represents the aggregate amount of *remuneration* to be paid for such operations; and that these are not only diverse, but positively OPPOSITE elements of the Wage-Law, was demonstrated in No. 18 of this periodical. The Material-Fund and the Subsistence-Fund, which Political Economists believe to be identical, were then proved to be so essentially distinct, that precisely in the same proportion as the former increased the latter is diminished—causing more work and less pay. That wages cannot be said to depend solely on the demand and supply of labour is self-evident, because wages are simply remuneration for labour; and the proposition thus stated includes no mention of the fund out of which the labourers are remunerated, and the gross amount of which must necessarily be one of the conditions determining the individual amount of wages. Nor can wages, on the other hand, be said to depend solely on the number of labourers and the amount of the capital expended in the direct purchase of their labour, for this form of the economical proposition takes no notice of the quantity of labour to be done, or amount of materials to be operated upon for a given amount of capital.

Hence we see the prodigious short-comings and jumblings of Political Economy, the dogmas of which are enunciated with the same confidence as if they were matters of Revelation, constituting as it were the Bible of Selfishness—the Gospel preached by Mammon, giving unto us the last new commandment, "*Do* your neighbour as your neighbour would *do* you,"—in contradistinction to that higher code of kindness and charity which Edinburgh Reviewers and Manchester Men do not hesitate now to rank as morbid sentimentalism.

For the last two weeks public attention has been here drawn to the circumstances regulating the amount of the Wage-Fund. It has been shown that the Wage-Fund is a necessary element of the Productive-Fund, or gross amount of Capital set aside for the purpose of future production; it has been shown moreover that the circumstances which, from the very constitution of things, are requisite for production are three, viz. (1) Labour; (2) Instruments, as tools, machines, or workshops; and (3) Materials; and it has been further shown that these three circumstances require the gross Productive-Fund of the country to be divided into three other funds; that is to say, into—

I. THE MATERIAL-FUND, or that portion of capital devoted to obtaining the substances upon which the labour is to be exerted. II. THE SINKING-FUND, or that portion of capital devoted to the construction of tools, machines, and factories or workshops. III. THE WAGE-FUND, or that portion of capital devoted to the Subsistence of the Labourers.	These three funds being altogether exactly equal to the entire PRODUCTIVE-FUND, or gross amount of Capital set aside, out of the past produce, for the purpose of future production.

Hence it follows (as a mere matter of arithmetic) that the increase of Wages depends upon either the increase of the total Productive-Fund, or the decrease of those particular portions of it which constitute the Material or Sinking Funds; and *vice versâ*, the decrease of Wages depends upon either the decrease of the whole or the increase of the other parts. We have likewise seen that the increase of the Sinking-Fund, or investment of a large amount of Capital in machines or factories, naturally reduces (from the very necessity of keeping such machines, &c., in continual employment and so preventing the Capital sunk in them from lying idle) the increase of the Material-Fund; that is to say, a greater portion of the gross Productive-Fund must be expended upon materials, and consequently there must be a smaller portion left for the subsistence of the Labourers. Nor is this all: the very necessity of keeping the increased quantity of machinery in continual action, and so operating upon a larger amount of materials, gives rise, at almost regular intervals, to an over production of commodities; for the Subsistence-Fund of the Labourers being decreased, of course the Purchasing-Fund of the community is correspondingly diminished, and hence periodically arise those commercial crises or social anomalies in which a superabundance of wealth co-exists with a superabundance of poverty—when the manufactures of the country are brought to a stand-still because, from the increase of the Material-Fund, and decrease of the Wage-Fund, we have made up more commodities than the great mass of the people have the means of purchasing, and thus produced, at one and the same time, more and more clothing, and more and more nakedness—too many shoes, and too many bare feet—too many shirts and too many shirtless.

But these are only a portion of the evils resulting from an undue increase of the Sinking and Material-Funds. The expenditure of a larger amount of Capital upon machinery not only necessitates an increase of expenditure upon Materials, and consequently the production of a greater quantity of commodities, but this greater quantity of commodities necessitates, in its turn, an equally-extended means of distribution: more warehouses must be built—the facilities of transit must be increased, while a greater number of persons must be employed in selling, and the "premises" of the sellers must be "enlarged." We have seen that the increase or decrease of the Wage-Fund, depends indirectly upon the augmentation or diminution of the Productive-Fund; but what regulates the Productive-Fund? what circumstances determine the amount of the gross Capital set aside, or saved out of the past produce, for the purpose of future production? The Productive-Fund, say Political Economists, is limited by two things:—

(1.) The amount from which the saving is effected.

(2.) The strength of the dispositions which prompt such saving.

The amount from which the saving can be made is, according to Economists, the *surplus* of the aggregate produce which remains after supplying the necessaries of life to all concerned in production—including such as are engaged in replacing materials as well as keeping the sunk capital in repair. This surplus constitutes, we are told, the gross Profit-Fund of the country, or that portion of the national income which is left after paying the total cost of production. But according to this reasoning the entire income of the country must be made up solely of the Productive and Profit-Funds; whereas it is clear that the Distributive-Fund, or that portion of wealth annually expended upon the conveyance and exchange of commodities belongs neither to Production nor to Profit, and that the Capital set aside for the purpose of distributing the wealth when produced is a totally distinct kind of Capital from that devoted to the production of it. A railway does not add one single commodity to the riches of the country—it merely increases the facility of exchanging the produce of one district for that of another. Nevertheless, railways and railway-engines, ships and docks, warehouses and shops, must surely be considered as Capital. According to Political Economy, however, they cannot be *Capital*, because, though part of the national savings, they are not saved with a view to future *production*; nor can they be Profit because they form no part of the Surplus which remains after replacing materials, repairing the instruments, and maintaining the labourers employed in producing the wealth of the community.

But the expenses of distribution must be paid out of the Profit-Fund; hence we see that the Distributive-Fund not only does not add, in any way, to the gross produce of the community, but serves rather to decrease

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the national profits, and so to diminish the stock out of which the Productive-Fund alone can be increased. The Distributive-Fund, therefore, limits both the Productive and the Profit Fund; that is to say, the entire national income is composed of three elements—the Productive-Fund, the Distributive-Fund, and the Profit-Fund; these three parts being exactly equal to the whole, and the increase of any one of them necessitating a corresponding decrease in either or both of the others. The national income is said to be 300,000,000*l.*; assuming, therefore, that the three funds are respectively equal, it follows that 100,000,000*l.* will be devoted to Production, and 100,000,000*l.* to the Distribution of the Produce, thus making the National Capital amount to 200,000,000*l.*, while the remaining 100,000,000*l.* will constitute the Profits on that Capital. If, however, the cost of Distribution be increased from 100,000,000*l.* to 150,000,000*l.*, then it follows either that the Productive and Profit-Funds must be both reduced to 75,000,000*l.* each, or that the Productive-Fund must be reduced to 50,000,000*l.*, while the Profit-Fund and the gross amount of Capital remain the same. The latter is by far the more probable result of the two; for since the strength of the desire to save depends in a great measure on the amount of Profit or reward for such saving, it follows that to decrease the Profit-Fund would be to diminish the disposition to set aside a portion of the present produce with a view to future production and future gains, and consequently to reduce in a like ratio the gross savings or Capital of the community. Supposing, therefore, that the savings remain the same, viz. 200,000,000*l.*, it is manifest that, if a larger proportion of those savings be devoted to the distribution of commodities, there must necessarily be a correspondingly smaller amount expended upon their production. But since the gross Profit continues unaltered, and this Profit depends upon the quantity of commodities produced over and above those spent in production, it is demonstrable that the Material-Fund can be in no way reduced. It follows, therefore, that the Wage-Fund alone must bear the burden of the diminution, and that *by just so much as the cost of distribution is increased must the remuneration of the producers be decreased.* Hence we see that not only does the augmentation of the Material-Fund give rise at once to a reduction of the Wage-Fund, as well as to an increase of the cost of Distribution; but *vice versâ*, an increase of the cost of Distribution necessitates not only an augmentation of the Material-Fund, but a reduction of the Wage-Fund. Anything therefore which tends to increase the amount of Capital expended upon Distribution tends, in a like ratio, to decrease the amount of remuneration coming to the producers; while, for precisely the same reason as Capital sunk in the instruments of production requires a greater amount of materials to be made up (in order that the Capital so sunk may never be idle), so does the Capital sunk in the appliances of distribution (as ships and docks, railways and railway engines, canals and boats, turnpike-roads and carriages, warehouses and shops,) demand the transport and sale of an increased quantity of commodities. Consequently a greater number of such commodities must be produced, and, therefore, not only a larger amount of materials must be made up, but, being made up, must necessarily be attended with the same result—namely, *a decrease in the amount of remuneration coming to the labourer.* If in the tailoring trade, for instance, a double proportion of the Capital is expended upon cloth, of course there must be twice the number of clothes to be made up, and half the amount of wages to receive for so doing; again, in the textile manufactures, if double the proportion of the capital be expended upon machines, twice the quantity of raw materials must be operated upon in order to keep those machines continually employed.

But it may be said that the production of an increased quantity of materials requires an increased quantity of labour; and that therefore to increase the Material-Fund or amount of Capital expended upon the substances to be operated upon, is to increase the Wage-Fund, or amount of Capital expended on the operatives. Let us see, however, whether such be the fact. To expend a larger proportion of the Capital belonging to the tailoring or shoemaking trades upon cloth or leather, is clearly to reduce the Wage-Funds of those trades in precisely the same proportion, and so to make more work and less pay. Thus it is manifest the tailors and shoemakers cannot but be doubly injured by such an arrangement; but it will be asked are not the woollen manufacturers and tanners proportionately benefited? No! they are not; and for precisely the same reason: to produce a greater quantity of cloth and leather, a greater proportion of the Capital of those trades must be expended upon wool and hides, and a less proportion consequently be left for the subsistence of the workmen. Nor can the producers of wool and hides be benefited; and likewise for the same reason. The production of a greater quantity of commodities requires the consumption of a greater quantity of materials, while a greater quantity of materials necessitates a less quantum of subsistence accruing to the labourers. The Capital of every trade is regulated by the amount of wealth saved out of the *past* produce, and it is impossible to increase the gross Capital till the *future* produce is obtained. The *present* Capital must be limited by the *past* savings; and though it be impossible to increase the whole, still the holders of the supplies can augment any one part and diminish another at pleasure by the process of exchange.

To render this portion of the subject more clear, let us suppose that one-half of the entire corn produced be set aside for the production of the next year's crop; then the corn so set aside will represent the grain-capital of the growers, and this grain-capital, of course, will constitute the fund out of which, not only the seed, but the food of the labourers employed in sowing, rearing, and gathering the future crop, must be supplied. If, therefore, half of the corn so set aside were to be used as seed, there would be still half left for the labourers to live upon. But the holders of the accumulated stock of grain can do with it as they please; they may put any portion of it they think fit into the ground for the purpose of fructification, while the labourers must live as they can upon the remainder; for no more than what is left over and above the portion used as seed can they possibly get to subsist upon. Let us suppose, therefore, that two-thirds of the corn set aside for future production are used as seed, then it follows that the labourers will have only one-third, instead of one-half, left for their subsistence. But the quantity of seed regulates the quantity of work, while the quantity of food determines the amount of the labourer's remuneration; hence, it is manifest, that in the latter case the labourers will have more work to do and less to receive for it; and since the Capitalists' profits depend on the difference between the quantity of corn set aside for future production, and the quantity reproduced, it follows that the more grain there is used as seed, the greater must be the produce, and, therefore, the greater the Capitalists' gains. Now, if for seed in agriculture we substitute materials in manufacture, and if we convert the term Produce into Commodities, we shall readily and clearly perceive that if a greater proportion of the Capital of the country be devoted to materials, there necessarily must be a less proportion to be paid as remuneration to the work-people—in a word more work and less pay—greater profits and smaller wages, will be the inevitable result.

But if, in the tailoring and shoemaking trade, a double proportion of Capital is expended upon cloth and leather, and twice the number of garments and shoes produced (at half the wages), it follows that there must be a considerable increase in the appliances for distributing the extra quantity of goods; there must not only be a greater number of shops, but increased means of conveyance—a greater number of porters, carriages, or ships, must be employed; for if the amount of Capital expended upon materials is so great that more commodities are produced than are required in the immediate neighbourhood of their production, it follows that the market for such commodities must be extended; while, in order to do this, there must be greater facilities for transporting the increased produce to distant parts. Now that this augmentation of the cost of production, both in the appliances of transit and in the means of sale, has been going on most rapidly of late years, no one, with his eyes open, can doubt. Within our own time shops have been changed into palaces; we have seen "extensive alterations" go on everywhere, and "premises" continually "enlarged," until retail "establishments" have swallowed up house after house, and eventually overrun entire streets. We have seen the number of assistants behind the counters of such establishments increase from units to hundreds—we have seen the main thoroughfares of our cities become daily more and more impervious, from the dense throng of wagons, and vans, and carts, and stages, and trucks, laden with goods—we have seen docks after docks, with their giant storehouses, built round our coast—St. Katherine's, Birkenhead, Great Grimsby—for the better transport and housing of our increasing materials and productions—we have seen our mercantile marine swell and swell, as our produce has grown greater, until we can almost bridge the Atlantic over with our ships—we have seen, moreover, the country scored in every direction with iron railroads, along which monster trains of goods are daily whirled from one end of the kingdom to the other. These changes have all been wrought in our own time, while the majority of our canals and our turnpike roads date scarcely beyond our fathers' time. The

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"It becomes interesting," says Mr. Babbage in the fourth edition of his "Economy of Machinery and Manufactures" (p. 163), "to trace the various proportions in which *the material* and *the labour* unite to constitute the value of many of the productions of the arts."

But if the arguments advanced by Mr. Mayhew, in these pages within the last few weeks, be correct, it becomes something more than "*interesting*" to do this, —it is absolutely *essential to the welfare* of the workman that the relation between the *labour* and *material* be known; for if wages are *inversely* proportional to the sum expended on the substances upon which the labour is exerted, *the relative values of the materials and the work will tell us immediately the arts in which the operative is comparatively well or ill paid.*

But important as the knowledge of this subject is, not only to the workman, but to society in general, scarcely any attempts have been made to collect facts bearing upon the point, and the following table, as to the comparative price of labour and of raw materials entering into certain French manufactures, which has been ascertained with great care by M. de Villefosse, in his "Statistical Researches upon the Metals of France," is extracted from Mr. Babbage's book, in the hope of inducing working-men to do the same thing for English products—each dealing with his own particular handicraft—so that we may really have some accurate data concerning this most *vital* question; for every working-man will be able to perceive, immediately he devotes his mind to the subject, that the relation between the materials and the labour expresses precisely the difference between the amount of capital expended *out of* his trade, and the amount coming to himself and his fellow-operatives.

M. de Villefosse, in the subjoined table, however, does not give the sum paid to the workman, but merely the selling price of the manufactured commodity; nor does he tell us whether that selling price be the wholesale or the retail charge. This is unfortunate, because, according as it is one or the other, so will the cost of distribution and the gross profit be increased or diminished; but as it is we are left to *infer* from the selling price the sum paid to the labourer. Still, deficient as the table is, it is better than none, and is here inserted as a nest egg, in the hope of obtaining, by means of the imperfect article, others more full of life and intelligence from working-men themselves. Those operatives who may favour Mr. Mayhew with any such information, need not trouble themselves to reduce the respective amounts paid for labour and materials, into the proportions below given. They should, however, be most particular in describing the *quality* of the materials and giving only their wholesale price; they should also add the wholesale price of the manufactured article, as expressing the more uniform value, and affix to the retail price the character of the shop (whether 1st class, 2nd, or 3rd,) whereat it is so charged. It will be better in all instances to give, if possible, the sum paid for materials by the employer, as well as the sum received by him for the manufactured article, adding at the same time a note so as to show whether the employer engages society or non-society hands; and if the latter, whether he may be fairly ranked as belonging to the second or third class of employers (always considering those who pay "society" wages as of the first class). It is to be hoped that, in order to prevent the possibility of cavil, workmen sending such information will in all cases of doubt give the benefit of it to the employer; for it is much better that the case should be under rather than over stated. All that it will be necessary for working-men to detail will be (1) the sum paid to them for the making of a particular article, (2) the wholesale cost of the materials entering into that article, and (3) the wholesale (and, if possible, retail) price of such article when finished. If several workmen be employed upon the different parts of any one article, then the wages paid for each and every of such parts should be stated, together with the price of the materials for the whole. And if the workmen are paid by the day rather than the piece, then the wholesale price of the materials that one can operate upon in the course of a given time, the wages he would earn in that time, and the wholesale value of those materials, after being so operated upon by him, should be one and all accurately set down. If the working-men will but continue to assist Mr. Mayhew in his undertaking, he hopes before long to collect such an overwhelming mass of facts as *must* cause justice to be done to them.

In France the quantity of raw material which can be purchased for 1*l.*, when manufactured into

	£	s.	d.
Silk goods ....is worth	2	7	4¼
Broad cloth and woollens	2	3	0
Hemp and cables	3	12	9¼
Linen comprising thread laces	5	0	0
Cotton goods	2	8	9½
Sheets or pipes of moderate dimensions ..	1	5	0
White lead	2	12	0
Ordinary printing characters	4	18	0
The smallest type.........................	28	6	0
Copper sheeting	1	5	2¼
Household utensils	4	15	4¾
Common brass pins tinned	2	6	9½
Rolled into plates covered with 1-20th silver	3	11	2¼
Woven into metallic cloth, each square inch of which contains 10,000 meshes ..	52	4	7
Leaves for silvering glass .... became	1	14	7
Household utensils	1	17	0
Vermilion of average quality	1	16	2¾
White oxide of arsenic	1	16	7
Sulphuret (orpiment)	4	5	2¼
Household utensils	2	0	0
Machinery	4	0	0
Ornamental, as buckles, &c.	45	0	0
Bracelets, figures, buttons, &c.	147	0	0
Agricultural instruments	3	11	4¾
Barrels, musket..........................	9	2	0
Barrels of double-barrel guns, twisted and damasked...............................	238	1	7
Blades of penknives	657	2	9½
—— razor, cast steel	53	11	4¾
—— sabre, for cavalry, infantry, artillery, &c.	16	1	4¾
—— of table knives.....................	35	14	0
Buckles of polished steel, used as jewellery	896	13	2¼
Clothiers' pins	8	0	7
Door-latches and bolts	8	10	0
Files, common	2	11	0
—— flat, cast steel	20	8	9½
Horse-shoes..............................	2	11	0
Iron, small slit, for nails	1	2	0
Metallic cloth, iron wire, No. 80..........	96	14	2¼
Needles of various sizes	70	17	0
Reeds for weaving 3-4ths calico	21	17	4¾
Saws (frame) of steel	5	2	4¾
—— for wood............................	14	5	7
Scissars, finest kind......................	446	18	9½
Steel, cast	4	5	7
—— cast, in sheets	6	5	0
—— cemented	2	8	2¼
—— natural	1	8	4¾
Sword-handles, polished steel	972	16	4¾
Tinned iron	2	0	0
Wire, iron	10	14	2¼

The present price (1832) of lead in England (adds Mr. Babbage) is 13*l.* per ton, and the worth of 1*l.* of it manufactured into

Milled sheet lead ....becomes £1 1 7

The present price of cake copper is 84*l.* per ton, and the worth of 1*l.* of it manufactured into

Sheet copper ....becomes £1 2 2¼

The above table enables us to see at a glance the relative sums expended upon materials and labour in different handicrafts. In the case of "polished steel sword handles," for instance, we perceive that for every 1*l.* laid out in steel, not less than 971*l.* 16*s.* 4¾*d.* goes to the workman; whereas in the case of milled sheet-lead the workman gets only 1*s.* 7*d.* for operating upon the same amount of materials. In the first instance, therefore, the labourer receives very nearly 999*l.* out of every thousand composing the Capital of the trade; whereas in the latter instance he gets only 1*l.* in every 12*l.*, or but little more than 80*l* out of 1000*l.*

The following table expresses the only facts that Mr. Mayhew has been able as yet to obtain respecting the relative quantity of materials made up, and the prices paid to the operative for so doing, in a given trade in England. It will be seen from the subjected exposition, that whereas the materials in the cotton trade increased upwards of sixfold between the years 1815 and 1844—the quantities imported in those years being respectively 100,000,000 lbs. and 640,000,000 lbs.—the prices paid for weaving decreased very nearly threefold, or from 5s. [illegible] 1*s.* 1½*d.* Hence it is evident one of four things must have ensued, either (1) a greater proportion of the Capital employed in the trade must have been expended on materials, and a correspondingly less proportion have accrued to the workmen; or (2) the gross sum paid for

materials remaining the same (the price of cotton having fallen sixfold) the operatives, if not increased in number, must have had more than six times more work to do for nearly three times less wages; or (3) the operatives must have increased threefold (while the gross amount of the Wage-Fund remained the same), and so have had each twice as much work to do for three times less pay; or else (4) the Wage-Fund must have been doubled, while the operatives increased six times in number, and so got *each* three times less pay for the same amount of work.

The facts of the subject appear to be that the hands increased 120 per cent., while the price of cotton fell upwards of 600 per cent. The total number of hands employed in manufacturing in 1801 was 1,877,107; while in 1841 it had risen to 2,251,927: and the price of cotton in 1814 was 2*s.* 6*d.*, whereas in 1844 it had fallen to 4¾*d.*

Years.	Weight of Cotton Wool Imported.	Prices paid for Weaving a piece of 72⅛ Calico.		Years.	Weight of Cotton Wool Imported.	Prices paid for Weaving a piece of 72⅛ Calico.	
	lbs.	*s.*	*d.*		lbs.	*s.*	*d.*
1790	22,640,000			1829	222,767,411	1	4
1800	30,640,000			1830	263,661,452	1	4
1815	100,709,146	3	0	1831	288,674,853	1	4
1816	95,280,965	2	6	1832	286,832,525	1	4
1817	126,303,689	2	6	1833	303,656,837	1	4
1818	178,745,577	2	6	1834	326,875,425	1	4
1819	151,153,154	2	0	1835	363,702,963	1	4
1820	151,672,655	2	0	1836	406,959,057	1	4
1821	132,536,620	1	8	1837	407,286,783	1	4
1822	142,837,628	1	8	1838	507,850,577	1	3
1823	191,402,503	1	8	1839	389,396,559	1	3
1824	149,380,122	1	8	1840	592,488,010	1	3
1825	228,005,291	1	8	1841	487,992,355	1	2¼
1826	177,607,401	1	6	1842	531,750,086	1	1½
1827	272,448,909	1	6	1843	673,193,116	1	1¼
1828	227,760,642	1	4	1844	646,111,304	1	1½

Tempus Fugit writes from Bristol as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—I should feel obliged by your informing me whether you intend making any distinction between each Volume of your Work ("London Labour and the London Poor"), or whether parties can have them bound as they please."—Subscribers can have them bound as they please.

Mr. Mayhew prints the following entire, because it shows how erroneous a view some persons may take as to the object of his labours.

"Sir,—I cannot deduce from your "London Labour" what is the ultimate object intended by you—the good of the street-seller or his injury.

"The exposé of the tricks of their trade in the several numbers already issued will surely injure far more than enhance the profits derived by the poor individuals seeking an existence by the sale of various articles in the streets of the metropolis.

"Since the appearance of the number of your work referring to the sale of oranges, I have heard parties exclaim, when the orange-seller has offered his or her fruit for sale, 'Oh no! they've been biled;' and with various other articles doubtless the same thing occurs.

"The real cause of persons purchasing articles in the thoroughfares or environs of London is the hope of obtaining them much cheaper than by patronising the tradesmen, who certainly has his rent, together with many other expenses, to cover before making a profit; but if your publication benefits *him* (as I fear it may do), is it not to the injury of a very industrious hardworking class, who probably would be in the workhouse if not in the streets earning their 'half profits?'

"The deep distress and misery which many have to undergo, and which has been faithfully described by you, may have done some good, as they have been relieved by contributions from the charitable and well-disposed; but this I fear would be found to be the exception, not the rule.

"Excuse me, therefore, when I say, that in my humble opinion your work tends to the injury rather than the welfare of the Street-Poor.

"Your obedient Servant,

"G. N."

Mr. Mayhew's aim in the investigations that he is now making into the condition and earnings of the several classes of society is simply to *come at the truth* respecting them. It is impossible to benefit any class or any individual by falsity. If there are customs and practices among the street-sellers that are unjust, the mere fact of making them known will put the public on their guard against them, and so bring them to an end. It is the dishonest portion of the street-folk who injure the more honest members of that body. "How is it possible for us," said a costermonger, "to be just and fair in all our dealings, when, by using slangs, any of our people can sell twice as cheap as those who carry fair weights and measures, and get all their custom away from them." There are many of the street-sellers who mean well enough, but who are compelled to *compete* with the tricks of the unprincipled. Then again, the lurkers and sham street-sellers lead the public to look upon the street trade generally as a cloak for beggary, and an encouragement to idleness. The exposure of the lurkers' tricks will be sure to render them abortive, **and** *then*, and then only, they will be abandoned.

Moreover, Mr. Mayhew has no desire to depict the street-sellers other than as they really are. Were he to canonize the whole race of costermongers, and to paint the patterers as angels, what good could possibly come of such sickly sentimentalism? It is high time that the truth concerning all classes should be known, so that what is right among us may be cherished, and what is wrong put an end to as soon as possible. This was and is the sole object of beginning and continuing the inquiries concerning "Labour and the Poor."

Omicron is thanked—a list of the Errata will be published at the conclusion of each volume. Any blunders that may be detected—and such things are inevitable where so much is to be done in so short a time—should be made known, so that they may be corrected in due time.

E. C. R. makes the following offer:—

"Sir,—I have felt much interested in some of the cases mentioned in your valuable work, 'London Labour and London Poor,' and beg to ask you whether you could undertake to distribute to such persons as you consider worthy of help, a few small articles which they might dispose of in their usual way. If so, I propose to send you a small lot of Cheap Fancy Articles, which I would leave to your discretion to divide into such portions as you think would be best likely to suit the persons for whose relief they are intended: so that they might, by the disposal of the gift, be put in possession of stock-money. Some articles I could send might be rather superior to those generally sold, but that would be no objection, I conceive, but probably an advantage, in selling them. An early answer will oblige. I enclose my card, but do not wish my name made public."

To *give* goods is the same as *giving* money, and Mr. Mayhew objects, he repeats, to gifts of all kinds. The best way of serving any man is to teach him to trust to himself—and certainly not to others—for a living: the more one does to inspire a person with faith in his own powers, the greater the benefit that we confer upon him. Mr. Mayhew desires that every man in the kingdom should be able to live in comfort on the fruits of his labour—and most certainly not on the labour of other people. These who cannot labour, we, who can, are bound in charity, and indeed justice, to assist; but those who *can* labour we injure rather than benefit by helping them to live without labouring. All, it seems, that we should do to the able-bodied who are in want is to put them in the way of working for what they want. To do other than this is to destroy a man's self-reliance; and this is perhaps the greatest injury that can be inflicted on the poor, being often the main cause of their poverty. If the goods are to be advanced as loans of stock to needy street-sellers who have been forced to live upon their stock-money, no objection can be raised; for the same plan has been found to succeed among the Jews most admirably.

The subjoined is from the landlord of the Low Lodging Houses spoken of in a former Number. It is printed here entire, so that if wrong has been done, reparation may be made:—

"Sir,—As the Landlord of the Houses referred to in page 317, I would beg to call your attention to the remarks of your Correspondent. I am there described as being 'a member of a strict Baptist Church, living in great splendour,' &c. Now, I am not a member of that community, never have been, nor in fact, am I a member of any Dissenting Body; as to my living in great splendour, &c., I can assure you, from statements which I have enclosed, that my average profits do not exceed 2*l.* 10*s.* a week. I am also reported as paying my Deputies 1½*d.* a day: now this is correct, in one instance; but as the House does not average more than 3*s.* a week, I think it sufficient; if the returns increase, his pay increases; to another I pay 9*s.* 4*d.* a week, and find him all the requisites; the whole of the others are rented at so much a week, allowing the party who rents them a comfortable income. The Deputies are reported as

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

dealing in Stolen Goods, and taking in couples for short periods, to increase their incomes. Now, this must be made in ignorance; and all I can say is, that if they do so, it is quite unknown to me; and I judge that I am correct in this remark from my knowledge of their character and general conduct. They are charged with harbouring the worst class of characters, and such as I have repeatedly told them I would not allow; I have no need thus to caution them, from there being such persons in the Houses, but as the poor are of such a migrating nature, continually changing their Lodgings, and almost next to an impossibility to know all their characters and occupations, I endeavour as much as possible to enforce this on them, as well as the admission of Stolen Goods into the Houses, which would be followed with instant dismissal, but which I have never had occasion to carry out.

"But let me ask, who is to provide for these unfortunate persons? Are they to be left to the Streets, because we have no Model Lodging Houses that will meet their case? Have you not, in your valuable work, shown that there are thousands who are wanderers and unprovided for, who know not in the morning that they will earn enough to pay for their Lodging; let them apply to the Model Lodging Houses now in existence: their abject condition and the price (a week in advance), would soon settle the question: we do not want Model Lodging Houses for the mechanic and the artisan; we want Model Lodging Houses for the ragged, shoeless, shirtless, unwashed, hungry, and destitute of our streets. We want a Model Lodging House that shall provide for the separation and classification of the sexes; where can a poor man and his wife find a refuge, but in the Common Lodging House? There now appears to be a movement in the right way; but these Models must be, as your correspondent wisely remarks, conducted on a different footing: the poor must find and feel that they have liberty in these Model Lodging House; till the difficulty has been met and grappled with, and other accommodation supplied, Common Lodging Houses as necessary evils will exist; when that period comes, I shall be happy to relinquish mine for a more honourable occupation.

"I cannot conclude without observing, that, from my knowledge of many of the characters described in your work, your statements are unfortunately too correct. If I can afford you any further information on the subject of Lodging Houses, I shall be most happy. Trusting you will do me the favour of correcting the mistakes referred to by inserting a part or the whole of this in your answer to correspondents,

"I remain, sir,
"Yours very respectfully,
"L. H. R."

Mr. Mayhew regrets exceedingly, that any of his correspondents should have led him into error, as they appear to have done in this instance; for he has no reason to doubt the truth of the counter-statements contained in the preceding communication. Touching the advantages of the Model Lodging Houses referred to at the close of the above epistle, Mr. Mayhew, speaking before investigation, and merely drawing his conclusions from facts communicated to him concerning the conduct of those establishments, must confess he has not much hope of any direct good accruing from them. He believes, however, that they will ultimately give rise to some better devised and more liberal plan for the improvement of the low lodging-houses of the metropolis. To put the poor in the leading-strings of lords and ladies, appears to Mr. Mayhew to be almost as ill-advised as to leave them in the hands of mere mercenaries. There is after all but one way to help the Poor, that is to tèach the Poor to help themselves; and so long as committees of noblemen have the conduct of their household affairs, so long as my Lord This or That is left to say at what time they shall go to bed and when they shall get up, there can be no main improvement in their condition. The Curfew Bell, even though instituted by the most zealous benevolence, is still as irksome as that enjoined by the most arrogant despotism. As was before said, the Poor *are* poor generally from a want of self-reliance; any system therefore (however well intentioned) which deprives them of all voice in the management of their own affairs, can but tend to increase their helplessness and poverty, and to keep them the same perpetual slaves of circumstances.

It is but right that the following should be given entire. It will be seen that it goes to contradict the account recently printed as to the condition of the Model Lodging House in Drury Lane. It will be observed, however, that in the letter above given from the landlord of the Lodging House in Thrawl Street, the writer asserts that from his own experience he can corroborate the greater part of the statements made in "London Labour" concerning the Low Lodging houses of London. Nevertheless partial errors may doubtlessly have been committed, and perhaps the description of the Charles Street Lodging House may be included among the mis-statements—at least such would appear to be the fact, from the subjoined document. The correspondent alluded to gave his impression of the condition of that establishment, but the majority of the inmates seem to entertain very different opinions from himself on the subject:—

"Model Lodging House,
"2, Charles Street, Drury Lane.

"Sir,

"We, the undersigned inmates of the above Model Lodging House, collectively beg to be allowed to disburden ourselves of the undue odium heaped upon us so mercilessly in the invidious aspersions of your correspondent last week. If the mis-statement of your informant is not refuted, the public will naturally infer that the common habits of the Lodgers present a scene of savage life, and that the interior displays the constant aspect of a perfect Babel; being, as erroneously asserted, 'the scene of dirt and disorder, with noise, confusion, and intemperance abounding from morning till night.'

"Though there is no separate Reading Room, yet we have a small library, composed of books (presented by members of the Society, by whom the house was established) which, though not engaging the taste of all, is at times resorted to.

"The books most in request being Chambers' Information and Tracts. Besides this, however, we have a list of Periodicals subscribed for by the *Lodgers*—these are eagerly and attentively read as they appear. The character of these works will, we think, sufficiently speak in our defence, for whilst occupied in their perusal, which happens at all spare intervals of leisure, the time so spent must prove the untruth of the alleged disorder, &c.

"The following is a list of Weekly Publications taken in, viz:—

"London Labour—from the first.
"Household Words.
"Tomlins's Help to Self-Educators.
"The Builder.
"Mechanics' Magazine.
"Knight's Cycopædia of the Industry of All Nations.
"Expositor.
"Chambers's Journal.
"The People's and Howitt's Journal.
"Family Herald.
"London Journal.
"Weekly Dispatch.

"With these few remarks we leave this statement in your hands for candid inquiry, which if resorted to will assuredly reverse the unfavourable impression your strictures are calculated to produce on the public mind.

"We remain,
"Your constant Readers,

"J. Johnson. Thos. Passmore.
"W. R. Robinson. J. E. Aubrey.
"Lodgers resident between three and four years.
"A. Kates. Wm. Smith.
"John Smith. H. Powell.
"Fredk. Harcourt. Jas. Taylor.
"Lodgers resident between two and three years.
"Joseph Yates. E. Wolstenholme.
"George Hunt. W. Hind.
"Lodgers resident between one and two years.
"F. Smith. Thomas Trotman.
"J. Green. J. Lush.
"Lodgers resident between six and twelve months.

"The above list of names might have been considerably extended had it been requisite."

Since the above was forwarded, a letter bearing the signatures of the first two persons named in the above list, has been received, stating that there is "not a single scintilla of truth" in the information furnished me respecting the Model Lodging House in Charles Street, Drury Lane, and adding that the doors of that particular Model "are never even nominally closed till midnight, and never rigorously at that hour."

The following sums have been received for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters:—M. M., 2*l.*; E. S. M. A., 5*s.* in postage stamps.

W. M. B. (Edingburgh),—5*s.*

S. E. K. (Pevensey), Post-office order for 1*l.* 10*s.*, for Cripple, and 10*s.* for Reduced Tradesman.

THE POET's acknowledgment will be inserted in the next number.

E. F. R. P.—"Yes." This answer was omitted last week.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the relation between Wages and Profits there are a few points which require further elucidation, in order to impress them firmly on the mind.

We are told in Political Economy that the remuneration of labourers is regulated by the demand and supply of labour, *or* by the proportion between the circulating capital and the number of labourers. These two determining circumstances, which are thought to be one and the same, are essentially distinct; for the demand for labour, or quantity of work to be done, is very different from the amount of circulating capital, or gross sum set aside for the remuneration of the labour: and by themselves they are incomplete, each omitting an essential condition; for the law of demand and supply, *per se*, takes no notice of the amount of remuneration coming to each labourer, but merely expresses the relation between the quantity of work to be done and the number of hands to do it, while the law of population and capital (as it is called) leaves out all mention of the quantity of work to be done for a given amount of pay, expressing solely the relation between the labourers and the gross sum devoted to their remuneration.

But the Wage-Law of the Economists is not only untrue theoretically but practically. In the London Cabinet Trade, for instance, the demand for labour increased considerably from 1831 up to the present time (200 miles of houses having been built in the Metropolis within that period), while the supply of labourers decreased during the same time no less than 33 per cent., and yet the wages were in 1831 as much as 400 per cent. better than at present. The Cotton Trade, again, may be cited as an instance of the insufficiency of the above law. The materials used in that trade we have seen increased between 1814 and 1844 from 100,000,000 lbs. to 646,000,000 lbs., that is to say, the demand for labour increased very nearly 650 per cent.; while on the other hand the number of labourers engaged in manufacture in 1801 was 1,877,107, whereas in 1841 it was 4,129,034, or, in other words, the supply of labour had increased only 120 per cent. within that time; and yet Wages in 1814 were nearly 300 per cent. better than in 1844—the prices paid for Weaving being 3*s*. at the former period, and 1*s*. 1½*d*. at the latter. If the law of supply and demand were true, and wages rose in proportion as the quantity of work to be done increased, and the number of hands to do it decreased, *the weavers should have received in* 1844 *not less than* 5s. *for the same quantity of labour as they got* 1s. *for in* 1814; *whereas the fact is, they were paid in* 1844 *only* 1s. 1½d. *for that for which in* 1814 *they had* 3s.

But the Wage-Law as evolved by the Economists is not only untrue as regards the demand and supply of labour being the sole circumstances regulating the amount of remuneration for a given amount of work, but it is equally false when looked at in another aspect; for it is just as incorrect to say that the reward of labour depends upon the proportion between the number of labourers and the amount of circulating capital. The facts of the Cabinet Trade are sufficient to assure us that the decrease of wages was in no way due to a corresponding decrease in the amount of circulating capital employed in that trade; nor could it be ascribed to an increase in the number of operatives among whom the capital was to be shared, for, as we have seen, the hands decreased during the fall of wages no less than 33 per cent., so that the decline could not be owing to an increase of labourers. Nor was it owing to a decrease in the amount of circulating capital, because, as the work increased considerably during the period, it is evident that a larger proportion of such circulating capital must have been expended on the materials used in the trade, so that while the Wage-Fund was considerably diminished, the Material-Fund on the other hand must have been considerably augmented, and hence the gross amount of circulating capital must have remained very nearly the same. The alteration of the relation between these two Funds, however, would naturally induce a greater quantity of cabinet work, and a less sum to receive for it, so that while the number of pounds sterling spent on materials was largely increased, it is clear that the amount received for making up every one pound's worth of such materials must have proportionately decreased, and consequently that *wages would have fallen even while the amount of circulating capital remained the same, and the number of labourers was lessened.*

But let us, for the sake of greater clearness, put the question arithmetically. Let us say that at a given period the number of operative Cabinet Makers was 10,000—that the amount of the entire circulating capital employed in the business was 2,000,000*l*., and that of this the sum of 1,000,000*l*. was expended in the purchase of wood and other materials for the trade, while the remaining 1,000,000*l*. was devoted to the payment of the operatives engaged in fashioning the wood, &c., into furniture. In this case it is plain that the operatives would have received 1*l*. for every 1*l*. worth of materials made up by them. But now let us suppose, while the circulating Capital of the Trade and the price of materials remained the same, that the portion of the capital expended on materials was increased to 1,600,000*l*.; then, of course, there could have been but 400,000*l*. left for the workmen, and they consequently would have received only 5*s*. (instead of 1*l*.) for every 1*l*. worth of materials made up by them. Hence it is a matter of demonstration, that though the gross amount of the circulating capital remained precisely the same, the wages paid for a given amount of labour must have fallen 75 per cent., or, in other words, the remuneration of the labourer must have been 400 per cent. better at the former than at the latter period. Nor could the number of labourers have influenced the result further than as regulating the average quantity of work, and the gross annual income accruing to each. In the first instance it is clear that, assuming the work to have been equally distributed, and the number of workmen to have been 10,000, while the sum spent on materials amounted to 1,000,000*l*., each of those workmen must have had in the course of the year 100*l*. worth of materials to make up, and have received the same sum for his labour. In the second instance, however, the number of hands in the trade having decreased 33 per cent.—that is to say, having fallen from 10,000 to 6666, while the amount devoted to the purchase of materials increased 60 per cent., or from 1,000,000*l*. to 1,600,000*l*., it is evident that every one of the workmen must then have had very nearly 250*l*. worth of materials to make up, and have received only about 60*l*. for so doing; that is to say, each would have been required to do more than twice as much work for little more than half the pay. And such appears to have been the real fact of the case.

The Wage-Law has two distinct forms: 1st, the *particular* amount of remuneration for a particular amount of work is *inversely* proportional to the quantity of circulating capital expended in the purchase of materials. 2nd, the *aggregate* amount of remuneration or annual income of each labourer is inversely proportional; (a) to the number of labourers, the hours of labour, or the rate of labouring; and (b) to the relative amount of the Material-Fund.

The following table expresses the various operations of the Wage-Law, resulting from the increment of any one or all of the three elements—the Material-Fund, the Wage-Fund, or the number of Labourers, either with or without the increase of the circulating Capital. The National Income is reckoned by McCulloch and others at 300,000,000*l*., of which 100,000,000*l*. is said to represent the amount of profits, 100,000,000*l*. the amount expended on materials, and 100,000,000*l*. the amount paid to the labourers; hence the circulating Capital of the country would appear to be about 200,000,000*l*. The total number of the working classes would seem to be, according to the returns of the last census, about 4,000,000. The first column below represents the gross Wage-Fund of the country expressed in millions of pounds sterling; the second column the gross Material-Fund; the third the number of working-men; the fourth the average income of each of the operatives; the fifth the average number of pounds' worth of materials made up by each of such operatives; and the sixth the amount of wages paid for making up every one pound's worth of materials.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I. THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL REMAINS THE SAME.

	1. The amount of the Wage-Fund in Millions.	2. The amount of the Material-Fund in Millions.	3. The number of Labourers in Millions.	4. The average amount of Income obtained by each Labourer.	5. The average quantity of work done by each Labourer expressed in pounds sterling.	6. The Pay given for making up £1 worth of Materials.
1	A £100	£100	4	£25 0 0	£25 0 0	£1
		Increase of Labourers ½.				
	B £100	£100	6	£16 13 4	£16 13 4	£1
		Increase of Materials ½.				
2	A £50	£150	4	£12 10 0	£37 10 0	6*s.* 8*d.*
		Increase of Materials and Labourers ½ each.				
	B £50	£150	6	£8 6 8	£25 0 0	6*s.* 8*d.*
		Increase of Wages ½.				
3	A £150	£50	4	£37 10 0	£12 10 0	£3
		Increase of Wages and Labourers ½ each.				
	B £150	£50	6	£25 0 0	£8 6 8	£3

II. THE CIRCULATING CAPITAL IS INCREASED ¼.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
		Increase of Materials ½.*				
1	a £100	£150	4	£25 0 0	£37 10 0	13*s.* 4*d.*
		Increase of Materials and Labourers ½ each.				
	b £100	£150	6	£16 13 4	£25 0 0	13*s.* 4*d.*
		Increase of Wages ½.				
2	a £150	£100	4	£37 10 0	£25 0 0	£1 10*s.*
		Increase of Wages and Labourers ½ each.				
	b £150	£100	6	£25 0 0	£16 13 4	£1 10*s.*
		Increase of Materials and Wages ¼ each.				
3	a £125	£125	4	£31 5 0	£31 5 0	£1
		Increase of Materials, Wages, and Labourers ¼ each.				
	b £125	£125	5	£25 0 0	£25 0 0	£1

* N.B.—A decrease in the price of Materials is the same as an increase in the amount of the Material-Fund.

Now, referring to the above table, we perceive two different operations of the same law: the first of which has relation solely to the *pay* given for making up a certain amount of materials; and the second to the average amount of *income* obtained by each labourer; and directly contrary to the law of supply and demand, or that of population and capital, it may be now seen that *the number of labourers in no way influences the* PAY *of the labourers*, but solely the average *income* of each; that is to say, it affects nothing but the share of the Wage-Fund accruing to the labourers respectively. The reader is requested to pay particular attention to this point, for if the law, as here expressed for the first time, be correct, it follows that our legislation is conducted on entirely false principles, and that all the popular theories and remedies respecting low wages are based on groundless assumptions, as an increase in the number of labourers cannot reduce wages—such a result being producible only by an increase of the sum spent on Materials.

Concerning the amount of *Pay* coming to the Labourer for a definite amount of work, we have the following canons:—

Capital remaining the same.

If the Material-Fund be increased one-half, the Pay will be decreased two-thirds. (See A 2, in above Table.)

If the Wage-Fund be increased one-half, the Pay will be increased threefold. (See A 3.)

If the number of Labourers be increased one-half, the Pay will remain the same. (See B 1.)

Capital increased one-fourth.

If the Material-Fund be increased, one-half the Pay will be decreased one-third. (See a 1.)

If the Wage-Fund be increased one-half, the Pay will be increased one-half also. (See a 2.)

If the Material-Fund and the Wage-Fund be both increased one-fourth, the Pay will remain the same. (See a 3.)

If the Material and the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be severally increased one-fourth, the Pay will still remain the same. (See b 3.)

Concerning the average amount of Income obtained by each labourer, the results are materially different.

Capital remaining the same.

If solely the number of labourers be increased one-half, the income of each will be decreased one-third, while there will be one-third less work for each to do. (See B 1.)

If the Material-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased one-half, the income of each will be decreased two-thirds, while there will be the same quantity of work for each to do. (See B 2.)

If the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased, one-half the income of each will be the same, while there will be two-thirds less work for each to do. (See B 3.)

Capital being increased one-fourth.

If the Material-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased, one-half the income of each will be decreased one-third, while there will be the same amount of work for each to do. (See b 1.)

If the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased one-half, the income of each will be the same, while there will be one-third less work for each to do. (See b 2.)

If the Material and the Wage-Fund and the number of Labourers be respectively increased one-fourth, both the income and the amount of work accruing to each will remain the same. (See b 3.)

Or, to reduce the above laws to a formula, we may say let C represent the Circulating Capital; M, the Material-Fund; W, the Wage-Fund; L, the number of Labourers; I, the average Income obtained by each labourer; Q, the average quantity of work performed by each; and P, the Pay for making up a certain amount of materials: then we have the following results:—

$$(1)\ C - M = W.$$

$$(2)\ C - W = M.$$

$$(3)\ \frac{C - W}{L} = Q.$$

$$(4)\ \frac{C - M}{L} = I.$$

$$(5)\ \frac{C - M}{L} \div \frac{C - W}{L} = P.$$

It will be now seen that the Wage-Law of Supply and Demand takes notice only of that peculiar form of it expressed in No. 3, while the law of Population and Capital recognises only the phase set forth in No. 4; but these, it is evident, relate solely to the average income and the average quantity of work done by each labourer—they do not in any way refer to the amount of pay accruing for a definite amount of work, nor can this possibly be arrived at by either of them alone. That which concerns the pay, however, is, after all, the principal Wage-Law, expressing, as it does, the relation between the remuneration and the work, that is to say, the quantity of money received in exchange for a definite quantity of labour, which is all that is meant by the term Wages.

To tell us what will be the amount of the average income of each labourer, without telling us how much work he will be required to do for such income—and this is all that the Economical law of Population and Capital can be said to achieve—is to give us no knowledge on

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the subject of Wages; while to inform us, on the other hand, that the quantity of work to be done, and the Number of Labourers to do it, regulates the Wages accruing to each, is to *beg the whole question*, seeing that it makes no reference to the Wage-Fund out of which the labourers are to be paid: as the former dogma ignored the *work*, so does the latter the *pay*. And yet these are the laws by which, according to the *dicta* of such men as the Editor of the "Economist" and the Manchester School, as well as those most shallow and most ignorant pretenders—the Free-trade gentry—tell us that the welfare of the working classes must for ever be regulated.

To reduce the subject, however, down to the level of the intellects of these people, let us put the following case:—Let us assume that the gross grain produce of this country is 100,000,000 quarters, and that one-half of this quantity is consumed, while the other half is set aside for future production; and that of this again, one-half is used as seed for the next years crop, and the other half as food for the labourers engaged in sowing, rearing, and reaping it; let us assume, moreover, that there is an unlimited supply of land, and that the increase on the seed is always twenty-fold, while the quantity devoted to feeding the labourers is never augmented—then we have the following expression:—

	Gross amount of the Produce of the previous year in Millions of Quarters.	Quantity consumed in Millions of Quarters.	Gross quantity set aside for future production.	Quantity devoted to the feeding of the Labourers.	Quantity used as seed for Future Crop.	Gross Quantity produced.
1st year	100	50	50	25	25	500
2nd ,, ...	500	250	250	25	225	4,500
3rd ,, ...	4,500	2,250	2,250	25	2,225	44,500
4th ,, ...	44,500	22,250	22,250	25	22,225	444,500
5th ,, ...	444,500	222,250	222,250	25	222,225	4,444,500

By this table it is evident, that the profits of those who hold the capital may increase at a most enormous rate, even while the amount devoted to the labourers remains precisely the same, and while their work increases in almost an equal ratio with the profits of their employers. According to the above exposition we perceive, that in five years the net income of the profit-mongers would have increased nearly five thousand-fold, or from 50 million quarters to 222,250 million quarters; while the work (which of course would be regulated by the quantity set aside as materials for the future produce) rose nearly ten thousand-fold, or from 25 to 222,225. The sole objection to such a state of things being possible, lies in the productive power of the labourers. In ordinary circumstances, of course, the same number of workmen could not be made to do such immensely different quantities of work; but it is evident that any increase in their productive powers must necessarily be attended by a corresponding increase in the profits of the capitalists, for since profits are but the surplus which remains after replacing materials and paying for the keep of the labourers, it follows that the greater the quantity of materials that can be operated upon by a given amount of labour, the greater will be the produce, and consequently the greater the profits. Hence it is plain, that what is called the economy of labour, or the production of an equal amount of wealth with a smaller number of labourers, or a larger amount of wealth with the same hands, is *the greatest possible good to the employer, and the greatest possible evil to the employed;* for the products are *directly* proportional to the materials, while the wages are *inversely* proportional to them. Any process therefore which tends to economize labour, tends at the same time to increase the proportion of capital expended on materials, and thus to decrease the sum accruing to the labourer; so that, unless the market can be widened to the same extent as the labour has been economized, the labourers must necessarily be injured precisely as much as the profit-mongers must be benefited by the change.

Hence it becomes highly important in an inquiry like the present to ascertain the several means by which labour can be so economized—or, in other words, how a greater quantity of commodities can be obtained for the same quantity of labour.

There are, strictly speaking, but two modes of arriving at such a result: the first is by making the men work longer time, and the second by causing them to get through more work in the same space of time. Under each of these modes of economizing labour are included several distinct means of obtaining the same end.

I. We may economize labour by making the men work longer time, either by

1. *Increasing the hours of labour.*
2. *Increasing the days of labour*, and so making the men work on Sundays.
3. *Increasing the seasons of labour*, and so making the men work at times when the business would naturally be slack.

II. We may economize labour by making the men get through more work in the same space of time, either by

1. *Causing the men to work quicker*, which may be effected in several ways, as (a) by increasing their interest in their work, as by piece-work; (b) by reducing their wages, and so making them strive to do more work in order to get the same amount of money; (c) by attaching some premium to the greatest quantity of work done by a number of men, or some penalty to the least, as in what is called "the Strapping system," where men are set to race against each other, the slowest being dismissed; and "the Bonus System," where those who do the greatest quantity of work in a given time are encouraged with some reward for their extra exertions; (d) by requiring a certain quantity of work to be executed within a certain time, as in task work; (e) by dividing the work into a number of distinct parts, and so increasing the facility of the workmen, as in the division of labour.
2. *By omitting certain details from the work*, as in "scamped work," in which either less care is devoted to the finishing, fitting, or joining of the various parts of the work, or else some of these parts are entirely omitted. The Messrs. Nicolls' head workman told Mr. Mayhew that his employers having reduced his wages one-third, he put two stitches into his work instead of three.
3. *By increasing the facilities for receiving and returning the work*, as by arrangements for shortening the distance to be travelled in large factories, and by the intervention of middlemen in the "domestic system" of manufacture.
4. *By the invention of tools and machinery* for expediting the several industrial processes, as a plough which will enable a man to turn up ten times the quantity of land in the same space of time as he could dig over with a spade; or a lathe which will turn a banister rail in ten minutes, and a thousand-fold truer and better than could be done by a file and chisel in a day; or by a "mule jenny," by which one person spins as much yarn as 300 individuals could by hand.
5. *By abridging or improving some of the processes of labour*, as the hot blast for the smelting of iron, and the chemical methods of tanning, &c., &c.

The above appear to exhaust the several means of economizing labour, or, in other words, of enabling the same number of hands to operate upon a greater quantity of materials. And we are now in a position to see how the Wage-Fund is regulated by the Profit-Fund; this will be set forth in the next Number.

J. S. (Huddersfield).—Post-office order for 1*l.*, to be applied towards increasing the Loan Fund.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—3*s.* in postage stamps, for Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

10*s.* 6*d.*, collected at St. John's Gate, by W. C., for Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

C. J. R. (Kilburn), A Correspondent (Macclesfield), W. D. A. (Bond Street), E. D. (Westminster), C. M. (National Philanthrophic Association), Mr. A——n, Olive Leaf, H. H., and W. C., will be severally answered in the next number.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

OLIVE LEAF suggests that a portrait of the Editor of "London Labour" should form the frontispiece of Vol. I. This is impossible at present.

Another letter from the same gentleman says:—

"I am indebted to you for the address of the Poor Poet. I have by this evening's post forwarded a donation of 1*l.* 10*s.*, expressing a wish that it might be employed as stock money in purchasing some saleable articles which his son could dispose of, and which, under the Divine blessing, might enable him to get a better living.

"Could you oblige me by stating in your next what time you are likely to treat of the subject of Apprentices and Journeymen?"

Mr. MAYHEW purposes giving the results of his inquiries into the state of the working classes immediately the excitement of the Great Exhibition has lulled a little.

G. R. L. makes the following benevolent suggestion:—

"You mentioned in one of the late Nos. of 'London Labour and the Poor' the injury inflicted on the eyes of the tailors who make soldiers' coats, by the bright scarlet colour of the cloth. There can be no doubt this is the case, as any one may convince himself who will look for a short time at a scarlet shawl or other article in a good light. But would it not be an alleviation of this injury if these tailors, when at work, would wear spectacles of *flat* glass, and of such a *colour* as, combining with the scarlet, would produce a dark or neutral tint? The colours on the enclosed card will serve to illustrate my meaning. Such spectacles, needing no grinding, might be made very cheap; and though I well know how difficult it would be to most of these poor men to raise a single shilling, yet whatever sacrifices they might make for that object would soon be repaid by the increased quantity of work they would do, setting aside the saving of their eyes. I make the suggestion, and shall be very happy if it prove of any value.

"The colours on the enclosed card are very smeary, because laid on too thick and very unskilfully, but they will show my meaning."

The best tint for the glasses would be green, as being the "complimentary" colour to red. The suggestion, though excellent, as offering a simple remedy for the evil, is rendered valueless by the fact that *a workman wearing spectacles in a workshop is instantly dismissed.*

H. H. writes:—

"The 'Times' says, 'The only political chloroform under which British industry is suffering just now is full employment, with abundance of bread, and meat, and drink, and other necessaries of life.'

"Might I ask, in three words, whether this is true of *slopworkers* and *needlewomen* generally, taking those classes as the types of labour-suffering?"

The *Times* and other free-trade journals of course have an interest in making the working people appear as well to do as possible. As a sample of the peculiar "arguments" by which the welfare of the operative class has been attempted to be demonstrated, we may cite that which endeavours to prove, by the increase of the excise returns, that workmen must be better off because they can afford to spend more money on spirituous liquors. Now it has been long known to statisticians that such a circumstance is due to a precisely opposite cause. "It is a fact worth notice," said a statistical journal, entitled "Facts and Figures," published in 1841, "as illustrative of the *tendency of the times of pressure to increase spirit drinking*, that whilst under the privations of last year (1840) the poorer classes paid 2,628,286*l.* tax for spirits, in 1836, a year of the greatest prosperity, the tax on British spirits amounted only to 2,390,188*l.* *So true is it that to impoverish is to demoralize.*"

A Friend sends the subjoined derivation:—

"As you say you have been unable to find the etymology of HABERDASHER, I inclose you the following from an old dictionary, published 1698.

"HABERDASHER (q. Habcidas?) Ge., *Have you that?* or, Avoir d'acheter, F., *having to buy;* or, Kooperdaseer, D., *a merchant of toys or small wares.*"

The latter is doubtlessly the true root of the English word.

The subjoined requires no comment, seeing that it speaks well enough for itself and others too.

"National Philanthropic Association,
"40, Leicester Square, April 29th, 1851.

"Dear Sir,—Allow me to suggest, in aid of your most laudable endeavours in favour of the Poor, that much good may be done to the STREET-SELLERS, whose condition you are so well describing, and whose interests you are so ably advocating, if you will give a hint in the *proper quarter*, that such persons (under due restriction, and under the observance of the Police) may be safely—nay, advantageously—permitted to vend their little wares within the inclosure of Hyde Park during the approaching Exhibition. Their exclusion is *without reason* and *without justice;* and they now congregate in the approaches, so as to have already become a positive nuisance to the Inhabitants. What must they be before the end of May?

"A paved Court leading from near the principal (I think it is called the *Victoria*) entrance to Knightsbridge, is so crowded by stalls, &c., as to be absolutely impassable. Why not let them wander over the Park, to enliven it by their invitations to buy, by their varied cries, and by the exhibition of their Engravings, Coloured Prints, Trinkets, Ginger-Pop, Lemonade, Oranges and other Fruits? Such permission would add to the picturesqueness of the scene, and assimilate it to the celebrated Fairs and Festivals of the Continent; the *coup d'œil* would rival the attractions of Kensington Fair (which I am glad to see announced for the entertainment of the Public at large), nay, it would be the best of all foils for the Crystal Palace itself.

"As I have stated, there is neither reason nor justice in the exclusion of these Bees from the Hive of Industry. Let the Police, therefore, admit all Vendors of Articles proper to be sold, who are clean in their persons, and somewhat decent in their attire, excluding gamblers and mendicants of every sort; honest and legitimate employment will thus be afforded to about three or four thousand persons, who, with their families, must otherwise remain in a state of semi-starvation, or become burthensome to their respective Parishes.

"I am,
"Dear Sir,
"With the warmest esteem and respect,
"Yours very truly,
"C. MACKENZIE, Sec."

"H. Mayhew, Esq.,
"16, Upper Wellington Street."

If the case were properly stated to the Prince, there is little doubt that the necessary permission (under certain restrictions) might be obtained. Mr. Mayhew would be happy to co-operate with any persons towards such an object.

One of the Master Tailors alluded to in No. 19, as refusing the Blind Needle-Sellers admission to their workshops, states his reasons for so doing. He says:—

"In reading one of your able Pamphlets, entitled 'London Labour,' I was surprised and grieved to see my name mentioned in a way anything but creditable; and knowing your wish to do justice to everybody, I take this opportunity of addressing these few lines to say that I feel satisfied, if you had made yourself acquainted with my side of the story, you would not have mentioned my name in the way you have. My workmen are as much opposed to people coming in and hindering them from working as I am; and if you were to see the dirty filthy scamps that endeavour to come into my workshops, you would wonder how I *could* admit them. Most of them come from the Dials, and have been observed by my workmen covered with Vermin, begging of the workmen under the pretence of selling needles, &c., and they afterwards get drunk with the money. They have also sent their wives and daughters, when they know very well that they have liberties taken with them. One of my workmen was telling me, that a women named ——— used to come round, and he has seen the men carry her round the workshop with her clothes over her head. I considered that I was encouraging such things by allowing these people to come in. You will perhaps say—but why not allow only one or two? I answer, if you permit one you cannot stop any, for when once it is known they are permitted, they are always in and out on some pretence or another. It is a well-known thing, that the men generally send for Beer when these people come in, which encourages drunkenness, profligate habits, &c., instead of their keeping their money to take home for their wives and families, which they do now. Am I to consider one or two poor needle-sellers, or fifty or sixty workmen, to say nothing of my own property, which I was continually losing till I adopted this plan? and last, though not least, the nuisance of these people bringing Vermin into the rooms where my Customers' Clothes are being made. If any deserving man wishes to sell needles or anything else, they can always see my men at the Beershop or House of

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'ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Call. And in conclusion, I have but to remark, that everything ought to be done by a principle; mine is to conduct my business with comfort to all around me, and I flatter myself that my workmen (some of whom have been in our employ upwards of 30 years) are as respectable as any in their trade, and the pride of their employers. Hoping you will reconsider this, and do me justice in your next number,

"I remain, Sir,
"Your very humble servant,
"WALTER DANL. ALLEN,
"For ALLEN and Co."

The reasons above given must be considered to be sufficiently cogent if true. Perhaps the facts may have been observed in one or two instances, and have been inferred to be so in all. If every blind needle-seller, or indeed the majority were covered with vermin, then how culpable must be those master tailors who admit such people into their establishments. The blind man whom I saw was scrupulously clean.

The POOR POET thus rhythmically acknowledges the receipt of the money sent for him:—

To H. MAYHEW, ESQ.

To the Labouring Classes
I know you are Kind,
And a Friend and Defender
In you They did find,—
For you 've sought the Cot
Of the Wretched and Poor,
Where Merit sits shrouded
In silence obscure,
Oh would But the wealthy
Tread Those steps of thine,
What vice Might Be crushed—
And what Virtue Might Shine.
The Sixteen Shillings you sent
Our Wants did decrease,
To pray for your Welfare
I shall never cease,
Your kind Benefaction
I did not abuse,
From Your Bedridden Servant,
The Brazier,
JOHN HUGHES.
My Thanks are Sincere,
They are honest and true,
May Heaven Shower Blessings;
On Squire
MAYHEW.

C. O. U. P. (Macclesfield), sends post-office order for 7s. 6d.: and J. H., 10s., in postage stamps, for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg Graters. A. B. C., 10s. for Blind Tailor. T. L., 8s. for Blind Seller of Tapes and Cotton.

A BELGRAVIAN.—5s. in postage stamps, for Crippled Seller of Nutmeg Graters.

W. C., a Brighton Correspondent, writes thus:—"I have been an attentive peruser of your valuable work, 'London Labour,' &c., and it has occurred to me that if you could publish the whole of your correspondence (*except* private), in the form of an appendix, at the end of each set, it would be an improvement, as otherwise it (the correspondence) would be all lost."

The evil, Mr. Mayhew fears, is a necessary one at present. In the next volume, perhaps, some alteration may be thought of. How the defect can be remedied, it is difficult to say. The Observations on Wages Mr. Mayhew purposes republishing in a book form when complete.

C. O. P. (of Macclesfield) says:—"*Pedlars.*—The following description of this class occurs in the 90th Canon of the Irish Church, A.D. 1634: 'Also they (the churchwardens) shall see that none of those *light wanderers in markets, and pelting sellers, which carry about and sell pins, points, and other small trifles, whom they call Pedlars,* set out their wares to sale, either in the Church yard, or near the Church, all that time;' *i. e.* of Divine Service."

"*Qu.—Unde derivatur Pedlar?*"

"Thank you for your political œconomy. I have now lived nearly ten years in this large manufacturing town, and what you state respecting material, produce, and wages, exactly corresponds with my experience. I should say that there are ten times the amount of raw material and machinery here that there were twelve years ago,—yet the wages of the workpeople have been *steadily going down.* I am nothing of a Political Œconomist, but I can judge of facts. If you want any Statistics, I think I can get them easily, as our operatives are a most intelligent race here."

Touching the Statistics, Mr. Mayhew would be especially grateful for them. They are the only guides we have in politico-economic reasoning. Will Mr. P. see No. 21, and collect a few facts after the manner there mentioned?

The derivation of Pedlar is said by lexicographers to be *peddling sellers*—others refer it to the Latin *pede*, from their travelling on foot; the passage above cited, however, would seem to connect the term "pedlar" with "pelting sellers." But then what is a "pelting" seller?

A LADY observes, with reference to the subject of harmless amusement for the Poor, that in a "*Country* parish, a Magic Lantern on a large scale, with dissolving views, and all kinds of changeable and amusing slides, has been found to answer, and prove an inexhaustible fund of amusement. The poor people," she adds, "delight in *pictures*, and the various transformations always meet with the same applause; the more so as, from the great variety, all are not shown on the same night. It occupies their minds too to puzzle out what the transformations or views mean, and then there is the laugh, &c. It may be unfit for Mr. Mayhew's purpose, but she thinks the fact worth mentioning."

The following requires no comment:—

"Sir,

"Seeing in your periodical an account of street Ballad-singing, I have ventured to pen a few remarks relative thereto. I have often stood to listen to the rude music of those ditties, and it struck me they were not disagreeable, and, being a student of music, I committed to memory the tunes and wrote them on paper; if your correspondents, therefore, should feel desirous of obtaining the music (of any street ballad) they can by communicating with me. I am, Sir,

"Yours truly,
"W. J. Barrett.

"No. 2, Scot-street, North-street, Whitechapel-road."

The annexed epistle is printed not only as *a literary curiosity*, but also as an illustration of the character and language of a most peculiar class.

"Dear Friend,

"Excuse the liberty, since i saw you last i have not earned a (thickun) we have had such a (Dowry of Parny) that it completely (stumpted) or (Coopered) Drory the (Bossmans Patter) therefore i am (broke up) and not having another friend but you i wish to know if you would lend me the price of 2 Gross of (Tops, Dies, or Croaks) which is 7 shillings of the above mentioned worthy and Sarah Chesham the (Essex Burick) for the Poisining job. they are both to be (Topped) at Springfield (Sturabon) on Tuesday next. i hope you will oblige me if you can for it will be the means of putting a (Quid or a James) in my (Clye) I will call at your (Carser) on Sunday evening next for an answer. for i want to (Speel on the Drum) as soon as possible. hoping you and the family are quite (All Square)

"I Remain Your Obedient Servant

EXPLANATION TO THE ABOVE CANT.

Thickun .... means	a Crown piece.
Dowry of Parny	a Lot of rain also water
Stumpted or Coopered	Spoiled or no use
Bossman	a Farmer
Patter	a Trial
Broke Up	No Stock or the means to get it
Tops, Dies, or Croaks	An Execution
Burick	A Woman
Sturaban	A Prison
Quid or James	A Sovereign
Clye	A Pocket
Carser	A Gentleman's house
Speel on the Drum............	going in the country
All Square...................	All right, all well.

"You can put this in your work if you think proper.
"Yours Truly, &c. &c.
"———."

The Manchester Bolt Makers send the following.

"Sir,

"I have been requested by a number of my fellow-tradesmen (bolt makers) to write to you, and get if possible your opinion upon the following question:—Is it possible to form a Loan Society in connection with the present Bolt-makers' Trade Society?

"We feel our present weak and powerless state, partly through a want of union among our members, and not being able to compete against our employers' capital.

"As a means of strengthening our position we thought of a Loan Society (our tradesmen do borrow of others), but will it be secure? Can we lend to a shareholder, and recover the money? We could put our money into the Bank, but for the sake of the interest given, it is no use

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33

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ϕ forwards 5s. worth of stamps, to be distributed as Mr. Mayhew may think proper.

SOME SERVANTS IN EATON SQUARE send 1*s*. 8*d*. in stamps, for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg Graters.

F.—2*l*., to be distributed as Mr. MAYHEW may please.

W. L. H.—5*s*. in postage stamps, for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Cases for binding Vol. I. of "London Labour" are now ready, and may be had of all persons supplying the periodical.

The Loan Fund account will be printed among the Notices to Correspondents in the next Number.

The under-mentioned sums have been received since the last acknowledgment.

Emily C., 3*s.* in postage-stamps for the Blind Seller of Small Wares:—

E. L., 3*s.* in postage-stamps for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

M. H., 5*s.* in postage-stamps "for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters, or any other poor helpless and industrious person whose condition may not have excited so much commiseration, nor evoked so many contributions."

The following is printed in the hopes of convincing the sceptical.

"My dear Madam,

"I have seen the poor Poet whose story Mr. Mayhew has told, in his great work on the lives of the poor. It was a grief to me to find, from the opinion of one of the first surgeons in London, who, to oblige me, visited him, that he is *incurable.* I had hoped that care and science might help him, but find that opiates are the only source of relief he can look for upon this earth. These my friend has supplied him with, for he found no respite to his agony in the paltry remedy upon which for five weary months he has depended to preserve him from 'going mad,' as he said. I have not felt myself at liberty to reveal the fact that I am acquainted with him, and that he is the original of that simple, touching, *truthful,* artistic picture found in No. 14 of 'London Labour.' What I read there, I saw in his room, and how much more, that a bungler would have caught at to work up into something that the world would pronounce exaggerated. As it is, there are people who presume to say this of some of Mr. Mayhew's tales, such classes as the ignorant, and even the good, who are ready to believe what they *hope,* namely, that they are overdrawn. To these, *if I had permission,* I would gladly speak, in justice towards a great power and a truthful accuracy which *I* never doubted, and of which it is almost a presumption in me to speak. I need only add the last words the poor Poet spoke to me, "If Heaven had sent you to me a little sooner, I might have been saved." Perhaps not, but he shall not be utterly neglected, even though his case is hopeless.

"I am,
"My dear Madam,
"Yours, very truly,
"F. C."

The poor harp-player has sent the subjoined:—

"B. Forster returnes his most sincere thankes to the gentlemen that have been so kind to assist him with a harp, and begs to inform them that he goes out to evening parties for 5*s.*

"No. 46, Eagle-street, Red Lion-square."

"W. E. C. presents her compliments to Mr. Mayhew, and would be pleased (if it occasion no breach of confidence between Mr. Mayhew and his informants) to know whether the blind man whose portrait is engraved in the 'London Labour,' and with whose person W. E. C. is familiar, is the same man as he who gives so interesting an account of the loss of his dogs, in the same number of that publication." — Yes.

The funds entrusted to Mr. Mayhew being all lent out, the following letter is printed in the hopes of inducing some gentleman or lady to make the required advance:—

"Sir,—I am exceedingly sorry to trespass upon your valuable time, but knowing the great interest you take in the poor, I make no further apology. My name may probably be familiar to you as the author of a small work recently published, entitled 'Our Labouring Classes,' &c., &c., for which you kindly subscribed; and though this work may contain nothing new, yet it will at least be an evidence that I am also actuated by a desire to do good to those around me. I am not, sir, a street-seller at present, but how soon I may be obliged to adopt that mode of life I cannot tell, as I have a wife and four young children to keep, and not upon an average above 9*s.* per week to keep them with. I however manage to keep clear of debt, and am therefore thankful. But to the purpose of this letter—I have, sir, a brother-in-law, who has been for years idly wandering about the country and living in low lodging-houses, I fear no better than a vagrant. He is now, however, desirous of honourably earning his living, and as he has been living with us for a few weeks past, I sent him out last Saturday night with a barrow of old books (I am a bookseller), promising him a small commission on what was sold. The beginning was encouraging, as out of bad and small stock 6*s.* 1*d.* was taken. From this the rent of the barrow (6*d.*) had to be deducted. I believe therefore that a living might be obtained for him, and myself also find considerable advantage if I had a barrow of my own and a little stock to send him out every day. If, therefore, sir, you could by any means lend me, or obtain for me the loan of 2*l.*, *i. e.*, 1*l.* 10*s.* for barrow and 10*s.* for stock, for a short time, I will faithfully return the same at about 1*s.* per week, with moderate interest. I can give you satisfactory references for myself, and no doubt obtain security. I will take the responsibility on myself, so there will be no risk from my brother-in-law, and it will save him from at least the workhouse. I have resided more than two years at my present address.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, S. C."

The annexed is from the Crippled Nutmeg-Grater Seller. It requires no comment:—

"24, Bond-street,
"June 2, 1851.

"Mr. Mayhew.

"Sir,—I cannot express my gratitude to you

in this letter, for while writing I am so different in my feelings to what I was before I saw you, that I am inwardly quite another being. Had I been like others, I should have had no difficulty in expressing perhaps what to them would have been but ordinary gratitude, but to you and those who, through you, have so altered my condition, I can but give you my blessings and my thanks; and at the same time let you know what I have done with the money sent for my benefit. I have bought a good suit of new clothes, furniture for my home, a donkey and cart, and am getting in a stock of goods, to leave off going about the streets as I did before you saw me.

"I am having some bills printed, and shall go round London in the General Line. I have written to the Superintendent of the L division for leave to have a stand of goods in Lambeth-walk on each Saturday night, having obtained the permission of two shopkeepers (Mr. Hall and Mr. Page) to do so. Returning my most sincere thanks to you and those who have so kindly assisted me, and also to Mrs. Mayhew for her very great kindness to me,

"I am,

"Your very obedient humble

"& afflicted Servant,

"CHARLES ALLOWAY."

"Sir,

"In looking over the number of your journal, as I cannot personally thank those who have assisted me, I beg most humbly to acknowledge the following subscriptions from

	£.	s.	d.
D.	0	4	0
M. P.	0	10	0
B. W.	0	3	0
E. H.	0	1	0
A Comforter	0	1	0
A Purchaser from the first	0	2	6
E. J. S.	0	5	0
A Sympathizer	0	5	0
Two Ladies, Lymington	0	5	0
3 Sympathizers	0	4	0
R—, Liverpool	0	5	0
P. P.	1	0	0
Miss L. C. F.	0	10	0
C. E.	0	5	0
F. W.	0	2	0
E. F. R. P.	0	5	0
S. E. K., Pevensey	1	10	0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	0	3	0
St. John's Gate	0	10	6
Some Servants in Eaton-square	0	1	8
C. O. U. P., Macclesfield	0	7	6
J. H.	0	10	0
A Belgravian	0	10	0
W. L. H.	0	5	0
A Lady left at 69, Fleet-street	0	5	0
By Mr. How (collected)	2	1	0
A Gentleman	0	7	0

This last subscription was given to me yesterday, for which I am truly grateful, and wish you to know that I have received it."

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is one of many similar inquiries:—

"DEAR SIR,—Might I trespass so far upon your valuable time as to ask you to oblige me with the address of some poor sempstresses or milliners who are known to you through the medium of your laborious and most praiseworthy investigations on behalf of the poor? Mrs. B. is anxious, as far as lies in her power, to employ some and induce her friends to do so, instead of proceeding to the shops. With many apologies for troubling you,

"Believe me, dear sir, yours very sincerely,

"C. J. B."

Mr. Mayhew objects, on principle, to comply with any such request as the above. The best way of serving the members of such trades as are underpaid is to encourage those shopkeepers only who are known to pay good prices for their work. The names of these it is Mr. Mayhew's intention to publish in his future inquiries, under the sanction of the several trade societies, so that those gentlemen or ladies who really wish to benefit the workpeople may have it in their power so to do. Were the public aware of the evils of the small master system, (or the chamber-master, or garret-master, or jobbing-master systems, as they are sometimes called,) that is to say, of converting workpeople into petty-traders seeking and obtaining employment on their own account, such applications as the present would seldom or never be made. The small master can only compete with the large by employing cheap labour or labouring himself underprice. The advantages that the large master derives from the extent of his capital, the small master can only seek to counterbalance by the use of inferior materials and workmanship. As society is at present constituted, the capitalist and the labourer are two distinct individuals. And the union of the two functions in separate persons is generally a great evil. The only mode in which the combination of the functions of capital and labour can be carried out so as to be able to compete with the large employers is by association; that is to say, by the aggregation of a number of small capitals possessed by working-men into one large "joint stock," so as to produce a sufficiently extensive capital to compete with the large masters. By these means, and perhaps by these means only, can operatives obtain *direct* employment for their labour without injury to their trades. That middlemen, whether in the form of employers or distributors, are great evils, there cannot be the least question; but assuredly it is a much greater evil to revert to the primitive economic principles, and employ the labourer directly, for the loss of time in seeking a market for that labour, and the precariousness of employment necessarily connected with such a mode of work, must entail a larger proportion of misery, as indeed may be seen in those trades where the system of small masters—that is to say, of the direct employment of journeymen—has been introduced. Until some system of association or co-operation can be successfully carried out among operatives, it is better that people who wish well to the working-classes should give their work to those employers who are known to mean and do well to their journeymen. The names of such parties Mr. Mayhew will, so far as his knowledge goes, always be happy to supply. The names of journeymen, on the other hand, he must beg to withhold, especially as he has reason to believe that they are often requested with a view of getting work done at a cheaper rate than the ordinary prices of the trade.

E. T. forwards 1*l.* towards the General Loan Fund; 5*s.* for the Blind-Seller of Small Wares, in Leather-lane; 2*s.* for her companion, which, says E. T., "it is hoped may be considered as gifts, since these poor women are unable by any exertions of their own to improve their condition."

W. H. of Manchester says:—

"Sir,

"I am sorry to find that you take the Feargus O'Connor view of the machinery question, and seem to think we should be better off were it all destroyed; now suppose you had the power to 'smash' all the machinery in England to-night, I should like to know what the factory hands in this district would do for their wages *next* Saturday.

"I cannot see by your 'explanations' you have altered the fact, that 'wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand:' when there are two masters to one man, wages will be high, when there are two men to one master, they will be low.

"——."

The gentleman is under a mistake. Mr. Mayhew does not object to machinery in the abstract. To be able to produce a greater quantity of commodities with an equal quantity of labour, *should be* the greatest possible benefit to the producers; machinery, therefore, which enables us to attain such an end, *ought to be* the greatest blessing. As it is, however, it enables society to do its work with fewer hands, and so transforms those labourers who would willingly work for their living into either paupers or criminals. People who take the opposite view, that is to say, that machinery increases the demand for labour, have to prove how it is that, since machinery has been invented, crime and pauperism have increased at so fearful a pace. The machinery advocates have also to account for the fact that, since the establishment of the London Saw Mills, no less than 2000 workmen have been thrown out of employ. Admitting that the number of operatives in the cotton districts themselves have been increased, it still remains to be shown whether there are more hands employed in the spinning of cotton in Great Britain now than formerly. One hundred years ago the wife of almost every labourer throughout the kingdom followed this occupation, and at present there is not one so engaged. More cotton may be spun by steam, but are there more spinners? But, even though there *were* more spinners, and machinery, in this particular instance, had increased the employment—because the mar-

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ket for cotton is infinitely extensible—there can be no question that, in the case of sawing by steam, it has pauperized a large proportion of the sawyers, and that simply because the market for sawn wood cannot be extended.

That wages are *not* regulated by supply and demand, the reduced payment for work in the London Cabinet Trade, where the hands have declined and the work increased, is *indisputable evidence*. Those who say wages *are* determined by the above law must show how the facts of this trade can be so explained. From 1831 to 1841 the number of journeymen Cabinet-makers in London declined 33 per cent. Work during the same period increased considerably, 200 miles of streets having been built, and, nevertheless, in 1831 wages were 400 per cent. better than in 1841. *Verbum sap.*: a word to the *wise*.

The following is from Guernsey :—

"Sir,

"In perusing your charming book on the 'London Poor,' for which allow me, as a clergyman of the Church of England, to thank you most sincerely, I perceived you somewhat hesitated to give a derivation for 'haberdasher.' Would you allow me to derive it from 'Girbzn' (haben), 'to have,' and 'Yüssur' (Tücher), 'clothes.'

"'Ich habe Tücher,' 'I have clothes'—*i.e.*, 'Haberdasher.'

"By the by, 'Patter' is twice used by Sir Walter Scott, in 'Ivanhoe,' and 'Bride of Lammermoor.'

"Ever, sir, yours,

"Nemo."

"P.S.—Possibly 'Haberdashers' may have been the first retail sellers of 'Saxony cloths,' whence the German derivation."

The above etymology is ingenious, but, it is feared, incorrect—at least, proof is wanted. There are but two modes of derivation—the *historic* and the *dialectic*. Historic derivation traces the origin of words *within* the language itself. In this form of etymology the signification of the word is altered, but the mode of writing remains the same. In dialectic derivation, however, the origin of the word is traced outside the language, and the *mode of writing the word is changed* (according to certain canons) *while the signification remains the same*. The rules for the changes of consonants in dialectic derivation, have been laid down by Grimm, those for the changes of vowels by Bopp; and etymology is mere childish guess-work, unless made to conform to these laws.

The derivation of "Duffer" as well as "Haberdasher" are as yet unproven. The word "Pedlar" is derived from the German *Bettler*, and the Dutch *Bedelaar*, signifying a beggar. This is proved not only by the changes of letters (for the Saxon P equals the German B), but by the German Bettel-Merck (literally beggar's merchandise), signifying Pedlar's wares, trifles, &c.

G. P. writes as follows :—

"Sir,

"Being a subscriber to your valuable "London Labour," I have taken the liberty of addressing these few lines to you, in order that I may obtain your advice on going to Australia. I have relations there that strongly recommend me to come out. I have not the means of procuring the sum required by the Emigration Commissioners. I am a cabinet-maker by trade, and can turn my hand to the carpentering, or make myself useful in anything connected with the wood line. I can be well recommended for ability from some of the best shops where I have worked, also for sobriety and honesty—if that be any good to a man. I am willing to work my passage over, or sign articles to any master for a term, as long as I can get to Australia. I am a married man and have got two children. I have sent two letters to Lord Ashley, but he has never taken any notice of them. Since then a gentleman has told me Lord Ashley never did any good, but where it was made *public*. I offered my services to him to go as assistant to a schoolmaster, as I heard he was sending out children from the ragged schools. Nothing, sir, would give me greater delight than to be placed in any position where my little abilities would be of service to my fellow creatures. Do you think if I was to advertise in the *Times* newspaper it would be any good, offering myself to an employer to go with him? I am out of work at present, therefore I am unable to do anything where money is wanted to procure my passage. You see, sir, I wish to get out of my misery as soon as possible. It is an old saying, "stare poverty in the face and it will turn its back on you;" but I've found it at times stick closer to me than a brother, though I am not so bad off as many I read of. My home is comfortable, but I often think when I read your book what a tale of poverty I could tell on my first coming to London; there are so many cases like my own—but perseverance has put me on a little better footing.

"Sir, whatever you should suggest would be my best plan to act on I will do it."

The best way of assisting the writer of the above is to print his letter. Some readers may perhaps have it in their power to obtain a passage for the poor fellow. That it is but prudent for a journeyman cabinet-maker to wish to quit a country where the remuneration for his labour is annually becoming worse, surely none can doubt; and were gentlefolks as intimately acquainted with the miseries and privations suffered by the cabinet-makers of London as the writer of these words, they would consider it but their duty to help to free the men from their present wretchedness. Mr. Mayhew will, of course, satisfy himself that the writer of the above letter is worthy of assistance, before extending him any aid that those who may have it in their power to help him may feel inclined to grant.

*** The Loan Fund account is deferred till next week for want of space. The document is as interesting as it is curious, proving beyond doubt the honesty of the poor.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A Subscriber at Gateshead makes the following inquiry :—

"Sir,

"Will you oblige by informing me what will be the probable duration of the issue of 'London Labour and the London Poor,' as the time it will be in finishing is of some importance, and I have a particular reason for asking, and one which will materially, in all probability, contribute to the sale of your exceedingly useful work. You will much oblige by giving an answer in the last number of your ensuing part, although I know it is perhaps not usual, but I have no doubt you will be kind enough to do so in this instance.

"I am, with best good wishes,

"Yours, &c.,

"BEAUCLERC."

It is impossible to return a definite answer; but it is believed some years—probably five or six.

F. C., Waltham Cross, sends 2*s.* for the Orphan Girl.

F. C. forwards a post-office order for 10*s.*, "which," says F. C., "I wish to lend to the poor bookseller, who signs himself 'S. C.' in No. 1, Vol. II.; perhaps (adds the correspondent) other persons may advance the rest."

The following requires no comment, as no conclusions were drawn from the fact :—

"Sir,

"Having myself been a journeyman, and now being an employer, I feel great interest in the wage question now being discussed on the covers of your excellent work on 'London Labour and the London Poor.' In the Number for March 22, the establishment of M. Leclaire is referred to as an example of the 'Equitable Wage Principle.' As soon as I read this, it occurred to me, that I had seen it stated that M. Leclaire had either become bankrupt, or that his establishment was broken up, but I could not at first recollect where I had seen the statement; but upon reflection and reference, I found it so stated in the 'Art-Union Journal' for July, 1848, p. 213, near the bottom of the middle column, to which I beg respectfully to refer you. There is also another article on the Wage Question at p. 182 of the same volume.

"Yours respectfully,

"R. H."

The following account of the moneys entrusted to MR. MAYHEW, to dispense for the benefit of the poor, as well of the manner in which the trust has been fulfilled, is presented to the readers of this periodical with considerable satisfaction; since it demonstrates what MR. MAYHEW has so often endeavoured to enforce—that the industrious poor of this country are as essentially honest as they are truthful, and especially to those whom they believe to sympathise with and to be anxious to relieve their sufferings. Of all people they have the keenest sense of and most lasting gratitude for benefits received—though this is but natural, seeing that the feelings and sentiments with them exist in all their native simplicity; and they are not sufficiently educated to indulge in the artifices and simulations of polite society. "When the terrible infliction of insanity," says Dr. Conolly, in his work "On the Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylumns, p. 118, "falls upon the rich, it finds them more prepared to exhibit all its most varied and agitated aspects, and *perhaps less open to consolation from sympathy or kind attentions than the poor; their intellectual faculties are more developed than those of the class living by manual labour, and their affections are less open to simple impressions.*" Two years' close association with what are called the "lowest classes" has proved the justice of these remarks; for it has been invariably found by MR. MAYHEW that "those who have seen better days" constitute the worst class of the poor. The experience of the *Morning Chronicle*, where £800 was dispensed, went to show that the least faith of all was to be placed in the "broken-down gentlefolks;" though they were the class that generally obtained the most sympathy. The comparative unworthiness of this class might, however, have been inferred *à priori*, seeing that, though originally possessed of friends who could assist them, they had, by their continued want of energy, or prudence, or principle, exhausted the patience and benevolence of their own kindred. The present account shows that £27 10*s.* have been received, £4 10*s.* of which have been dispensed as gifts, and £24 10*s.* advanced as loans to 19 people, to be repaid in small instalments, with interest, at the rate of £5 per cent. per annum. Of the 19 borrowers, it will be seen that only 4 are defaulters; a proportion so small, that when the precariousness of the pursuits of the people are taken into consideration, as well as the slight legal hold there can be upon persons whose lodgings are almost necessarily changed every few weeks, the honesty of the poor street-folk—beset with temptations as they are—must appear to strangers almost marvellous.

The books and vouchers of the above accounts lie at the office, for the inspection of any persons who may be interested in the matter. MR. MAYHEW would take it as a favour if some gentleman would audit them.

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ACCOUNT OF LOAN FUND.

Dr.

1851.	To Cash Received of	£	s.	d.
Feb. 8	L. C. F.	0	10	0
	G. P.	1	0	0
15	G. W. M.	0	5	0
22	E. B.	0	5	0
March 1	C. B.	0	3	0
8	W. F. P.	0	2	6
15	Kilvarlock	0	5	0
22	G. B.	0	2	6
29	F. P.	1	0	0
	Rev. J. S.	0	15	0
	Stranger	0	2	6
	An Old Harpist	0	5	0
April 5	Cantab	0	0	6
	C. A.	0	5	0
	C. B.	0	11	0
	E. F. R. P.	0	5	0
	P. P.	1	0	0
	Comforter	0	5	0
	Parkins	0	10	0
	A Purchaser	0	2	6
8	B. W.	0	3	0
	E. H.	0	1	0
	D.	0	4	0
	E. J. S.	0	5	0
	Sympathiser	0	5	0
	O. E. W.	0	5	0
	F. W.	0	2	6
15	L. C. F., 2nd subscription	0	10	0
	E. F. R. P., 2nd subscription	0	15	0
	B. F. B.	1	10	0
16	Rev. Mr. B.	1	0	0
19	A. B. C.	0	5	0
	M. C.	0	1	0
	Two Ladies (Leamington)	0	5	0
	Three Sympathisers	0	4	0
	R. J.	0	5	0
	J.	0	2	0
	"No More, &c."	0	1	0
22	E. S. M. A.	0	5	0
	M. M.	2	0	0
23	A. B. C., 2nd subscription	0	10	0
24	S. E. K.	1	0	0
	W. M. B.	0	5	0
29	Mrs. D. (Doncaster)	1	0	0
30	Newcastle-on-Tyne	0	3	0
May 1	W. C.	0	10	6
2	C. O. M.	0	7	6
6	J. S.	1	0	0
	T. L.	0	8	0
7	J. H.	0	10	0
10	A Belgravian	0	5	0
13	Some Servants in Euston-square	0	1	6
	C.	0	5	0
	Rev. J. E.	1	10	0
	H.	0	10	0
	A Wellwisher	0	3	6
	Rev. J. R.	0	2	6
	W. L. M.	0	5	0
	E. L.	0	2	6
	Emily C.	0	3	0
	F.	2	0	0
	M. H.	0	5	0
		27	10	0
	To repayments as above	2	3	0
		29	13	0

Cr. / *Dr.*

1851.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	Repayments on Account of Loans: £	s.	d.
	By Gifts to									
	Poor Harpist, a harp	2	10	0						
	Agnes M. and J. W., two poor needlewomen	0	5	0						
	Poor Blind Tailor	0	7	0						
	Poor Poet	0	16	0						
	Blind Tape Seller	0	8	0						
	Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters	0	4	0						
					4	10	0			
	By Loans to									
	[a] Reduced Tradesman	1	5	0				0	8	0
	[b] Costermonger	1	0	0				0	2	0
	[c] Burglar	0	7	6						
	[d] Toy Seller	0	5	0				0	2	6
	[e] Tailor	0	10	0				0	10	6
	[f] Showman	1	15	0				0	6	0
	[g] "Flower-Girl"	0	10	0				0	0	6
	[h] Reduced Gentlewoman	1	0	0						
	[i] Nutmeg-Grater Seller	9	17	0						
	[j] Blind Tailor	1	2	6				0	3	0
	[k] Street Stationer	0	10	0				0	2	0
	[l] Chair Mender	0	5	0				0	1	0
	[m] Street Pen-seller	0	15	0				0	3	0
	[n] Charwoman	0	10	0				0	3	0
	[o] Street Rhubarb-seller	1	10	0						
	[p] Servant for clothes to obtain a place	0	10	0				0	1	6
	[q] Dealer in Sausage Skins	2	0	0						
	[r] Profile Cutter	0	5	0						
	[s] Street Milliner	0	10	0						
					24	7	0			
	To expenses:							2	3	0
	Books for Accounts				0	10	0			
					29	7	0			
	Balance				0	6	0			
					29	13	0			

[a] At present three weeks in arrears on account of ill-health.
[b] Nine weeks in arrears.
[c] Mr. Mayhew has known this person for some time, and the loan was granted to enable the man to obtain an honest livelihood by selling pictures; he is now in the country trading with the above capital and it is believed leading a new life.
[d] Keeps up her repayments with regularity.
[e] Repaid the whole as promised—the loan was of great service.
[f] Pays punctually and is doing well.
[g] Has only made one repayment, now six weeks in arrear.
[h] To be repaid in quarterly payments, none due yet.
[i] Promised to repay 1s. per week; there are eight weeks due and no repayment made.
[j] Pays regularly.
[k] Ditto ditto.
[l] Three weeks in arrear.
[m] Pays regularly and is much benefited by the loan.
[n] Pays regularly.
[o] To be repaid in monthly instalments, the first not due yet.
[p] Pays regularly.
[q] Nothing due yet.
[r] Ditto ditto.
[s] Ditto ditto.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. H., of Manchester, sends the following reply to the remarks on machinery printed among the Notices to Correspondents in No. 28.

"Sir,—Though I am not convinced, I am much obliged for 'a word to the wise,' in the last number of your excellent work, and as I presume we both wish to arrive at the truth, I will take the liberty of making a remark or two on your notice of my letter.

"You state that when machinery is introduced into a business it at once throws a greater or smaller number of hands out of work, who immediately become either paupers or criminals, which I deny; for I find that in the year 1811, the proportion per head on the total population expended for the relief of the poor was 13*s.* 1*d.*, whilst in the year 1841 it was only 6*s.* 2*d.* per head." [This is no argument, for, owing to the alteration effected by the New Poor Law, in 1834, the expenditure was in two years reduced from 6,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* In 1840, however, the ratio of the paupers, under the amended administration, to the gross population was 7·7 per cent.; in 1848 it was 10·8, and the increase was regular.] "I have not the criminal statistics for the same period at hand," continues W. H., "but I have no doubt they exhibit a similar falling off." [In 1811 the number of criminals in England and Wales was 1 in every 1883 of the population; in 1848 it was 1 in 570, an increase amounting to no less than 468 per cent.]

"As for the displacement of labour by machinery, I will give you an extract from a little work in my possession: 'If the case of the hand-loom weavers be adduced as an example of the permanent displacement of labour by machinery, and if it be contended that it is the natural result of machinery to diminish employment in other trades, we must necessarily infer that where-ever machinery has been largely introduced into any trade, the number of persons supported by it must have been diminished. We should infer that the agricultural population of this country must have been rapidly increasing, while the population engaged in those branches of manufacture in which steam power is used, must have been falling off or increasing less rapidly.

"'The correctness of such an inference may be estimated by the following facts. Between 1801 and 1841, Manchester increased in population from 90,399 to 296,183, or 227·5 per cent.; Liverpool, 231·5 per cent.; Leeds, 185·6 per cent.; Bradford, 440·5 per cent.; Bolton, 185·7 per cent., and so on.'" [But these statistics tell us only the numbers of those who have taken to spinning, &c., in the manufacturing districts; they do not show us the per contra side, viz.: *how many wives and daughters ceased spinning at home in the agricultural and other districts.*] "'Let us now compare these places with those agricultural countries in which machinery has exercised the least influence, and let us see if the absence of machinery has been equally favourable to the support of a growing population.' In the same period, 1801 to 1841, Devon increased 55·3 per cent.; Somerset, 59 per cent.; Norfolk, 50·9 per cent.; Lincoln, 73·5 per cent.; Essex, 52 per cent.; and Suffolk, 49·5 per cent. The average increase of these six agricultural counties did not exceed 50 per cent. in 40 years; while, setting aside the extraordinary increase exhibited in the towns already enumerated, the population of six manufacturing countries, viz. Lancaster, Middlesex, York (West Riding), Stafford, Chester, and Durham, *including all the agriculturists*, increased 112·5 per cent.'

"I hope, sir, these facts will set at rest your fears that England is going to pauperism and ruin in consequence of her immense productive power; and, for my part, I do not see how you can like machinery 'in the abstract' and not in any other shape. You appear to believe that machinery has been a curse to us instead of a blessing, and think it had been better had the steam-engine and the power-loom never been invented.

"I should like to know why 'the market for cotton is infinitely extensible,' and 'the market for sawn wood cannot be extended?' I can assure you that here, at least, the market for sawn-wood *has* extended considerably within the last ten years." [See below.]

"You will find that the general market rate of wages depends upon the ratio which the capital applied to the employment of labour bears to the number of labourers. If that ratio be great, the competition of capitalists must raise wages; if small, the competition of labourers amongst each other for employment must reduce them." [Did W. H. ever hear of the "relief in aid of wages" which was so general under the old Poor Law? If so, will he show how the reduction of wages which was the necessary result of such a system is explicable by the canon of supply and demand for labour. Given the same quantity of work to be done and the same number of hands to do it, and yet—supply and demand remaining the same—*wages fall.*]

"I must apologize for the length of my letter, but I venture to hope that you will be able to find room for it in an early number of your work.

"Believe me,

"Yours respectfully,

"W. H."

The above letter is printed entire, so that the arguments advanced may have their full sway. To estimate the validity of these proofs attention must be drawn once more to the distinction so often pointed out in this periodical between those productions for which the market is *infinitely* (*or largely*) *extensible* and those for which the market is *necessarily limited*, and then we shall be in a position to understand how machinery can be applied beneficially (to the workmen) *only in the former case.* It is because W. H. is unable to apprehend this difference that he finds so much difficulty in discriminating between the use and abuse of machinery. But seeing that the most acute of the economists are in the same muddle,

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we can hardly wonder that W. H., who talks of supply and demand with true economical glibness, should be as confused on the subject as the gentlemen from whom he derives his ideas. That the supply of those commodities which serve to gratify *universal* wants and desires (such as articles of food, clothing, &c.) admits of almost indefinite increase, there cannot be the least question. Anything, therefore, which tends to decrease the cost of their production can but serve to extend the market for them, and so to give additional employment to the operatives engaged in their manufacture. If the diminution of the cost of production be brought about by a diminution of the labour, that is to say, by causing the workman (by means of machinery or some new tool) to produce a greater quantity of the commodities with the same amount of exertion, then the cheapening of the cost of production in connection with such commodities is a benefit both to producer and consumer, giving to the operative increased employment without decrease of pay, as well as the power of purchasing a greater quantity of necessaries at a less price. But if the cost of production be cheapened by making the workman do a greater quantity of work (without any mechanical aid whatever), and so causing him to give a greater amount of exertion for the same pay, or an equal amount for less pay, then the operatives are injured by the cheapness as much as the public and the moneymongers are benefited by it, *at their expense*. It is idle in such cases to say that diminution of the cost of production causes increased employment—since the pretended advantage merely amounts to the very questionable benefit, that *the working men have a greater quantity of work to do for the same wages.*

Such are the two opposite results of cheapness in connection with those commodities for which the market is *infinitely or largely extensible*. The one, cheapness, is as beneficial as the other is injurious to the working classes; and the cause of the difference should be continually borne in mind, viz., that *in the first case the workman is enabled to produce a greater quantity of goods with the same amount of labour; whereas, in the second, he is forced to produce a greater quantity by working both harder and longer.*

But if the introduction of mechanical aid is a benefit to the labourer in connection with those articles of which the supply admits of being *indefinitely increased*, it is far different with *those other articles for which the market is necessarily limited.* That there *are* such articles, and large classes of such articles too, it is highly important that we should bear in mind. De Quincey, in his "Logic of Political Economy," p. 231, has put this point so clearly and unmistakably, that it will be better to quote his words than run the risk of obscuring what he has rendered so distinct. "There are many articles," says he, "for which the market is *absolutely limited by a pre-existing system to which those articles are attached as subordinate parts or members.* How could we force the dials and faces of time-pieces, by artificial cheapness, to sell more plentifully than the minor works or movements of such time-pieces? Could the sale of wine-vaults be increased without increasing the sale of wine? Or the tools of shipwrights find an enlarged market, whilst shipbuilding was stationary? * * * Offer to a town of 3000 inhabitants a stock of hearses, no cheapness will tempt that town into buying more than one." It is the same with all class productions. Publish "Fearn on Contingent Remainders" in penny numbers, and how many extra copies would be sold? Is it possible, by cheapening the cost of production, to get rid of more barristers' wigs than there are barristers, or to sell of dolls' eyes more than double the number of dolls? To use the words of De Quincey, "the articles are past counting which are so interorganized with other articles" that *no diminution in their price can possibly give rise to an extension of their sale.*

Now the market for such articles being *necessarily limited*, and the quantity required consequently *definite*, it follows that, in such cases, the application of machinery causing that quantity to be produced with a less amount of labour—or, what is the same thing, a smaller number of labourers—must necessarily have the effect of throwing out of employment a number of workmen, *precisely proportional to the amount of labour saved.*

W. H. will now be in a position to comprehend how the sawing of wood by machinery has been as great an injury to the sawyers as the spinning of cotton by steam has been a benefit to the cotton-spinners. The market for cotton goods is infinitely extensible; hence to cheapen the cost of production by enabling the workmen to produce a greater quantity with less labour, is to cause a greater supply to be required. Sawn wood, however, is one of those articles of which the supply does not admit of indefinite increase; the quantity annually required being necessarily limited by the quantity of houses and carriages, ships, furniture, &c., to be constructed in the course of the year. To saw more wood annually than is needed for the new buildings, vehicles, and vessels every year, would be precisely the same as to produce more than twice as many dolls' eyes as there are dolls. Hence the application of machinery to the sawyers' trade can but have the effect of enabling a smaller number of hands to execute the *requisite* and *fixed* amount of work; while the superseded hands must either seek employment at other trades or become paupers or criminals. If they do not or cannot work for themselves, they must, of course, live on the labour of others in one or other of the above capacities. Can any one with a thimbleful of brains in his skull believe that the threshing of corn by steam can *increase the employment* of the threshers? Surely the quantity of corn to be threshed is *limited* by the quantity of corn produced; and if by steam-threshing one man can do the work of a dozen, then, of course, eleven out of every twelve of the threshers must be thrown out of work by it.

W. H. should give over reading *little* works in his possession, and study Ricardo for a month or two. That W. H. *wishes* to go right, is evident.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is from one of the best known of the Street-Poets, of whose services Mr. Mayhew purposes availing himself when treating of the ballad-singers:—

"Trusting you will pardon the liberty I have taken in thus intruding on your valuable time and attention, I beg to say that some time since a person connected with your establishment called on me, and at the same time stated that probably I should hear from you, and I should have esteemed it a great pleasure to have had that favour granted me. Respecting your work of the 'London Labour,' &c., I have, sir, been connected with the street-labour 35 years, and, since 1818, written most publications, doggrels, &c., beginning with the last years of George the Third, the life of Thistlewood, Thurtell, Probert, Fauntleroy, &c., &c.; the Ascension of George the Fourth, the Life and Death of Queen Caroline, and continually up to this moment for London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Exeter, Plymouth, and for travellers in different parts of the country, so that I am acquainted, having been a street-labourer 35 years, with the greatest part of the street and country fraternity. Most of those who deal in writing-paper, trinkets, &c., have risen from ballad singing. The old ditties published for 30 years past are still in my memory, and might have proved useful to the work before the public; and if not too late, will now answer the same purpose. I have read and admire your work, as I consider it most useful information. If I can be of any service to you in giving any necessary intelligence required for the work before the public I shall be most happy, and consider it a great pleasure to render all the assistance in my power for the completion of your valuable work. During the past winter I had some poetry to get ready for Mr. ——, and Mr. ——, Fetter-lane, and gave them every satisfaction. Some years since I wrote the history of the river Thames from Sheerness to Hampton-court in verse, for a party; and I believe there is no one that has had any conversations with you respecting the street-sellers better able to give a fair, full, and satisfactory account of the same than myself. Should you, kind sir, feel disposed to grant me an interview, I will be ready at any moment it may be convenient to you to meet you. And as I am on the eve of removing from my present abode on account of the property being sold—the sooner the *better*, however—I would be thankful if you will be pleased to drop me a line in answer to this, let the consequence be what it may. Many of the verses of Queen Caroline, and up to the present day of most others, I can rectify. The lives of Corder, Greenacre, Good, &c., &c., were my simple production. Not wishing to intrude any longer on your notice, and fearing my long letter may tire you, the writing and legibility being not of the best description, I will for the present conclude,

"And remain,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"——".

The following etymological speculations or guesses are printed with a view to excite attention to the subject.

Gray's Inn, 23rd June, 1851.

"Sir,—As the word 'Haberdasher' seems still to puzzle the heads of the learned, I beg leave to add my mite of authority and speculation with reference to it. I propose first to begin on classic ground, from which so many popular expressions have sprung, for the origin of the word, and, failing here, to search for it in the best sources at my command.

"First, then, the Greek word '*ἁβρὸς*' (observe the flatus), luxurious or magnificent in apparel, seems to be allied with the word in question, hence '*ἁβρότας*,' magnificence or sumptuousness, from which might arise the verb '*ἁβροτάσσω*,' to arrange or put in order gay apparel, with a 'dash' of the Saxon Shibboleth, you have the word, and perhaps pretty nearly the meaning originally. It is true that haberdashering has fallen somewhat from the magnificent, but the same may be said of 'toggery,' the classical original of which cannot be doubted.

"Ash states the derivation of the word Haberdasher to be uncertain, and describes him as a dealer in small wares. Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker describe him, in addition, as a pedlar.

"In Shakspere's 'Taming of the Shrew,' Katherine, in speaking of the cap which the Haberdasher brings" [in one old dictionary I find Haberdasher defined as "a seller of caps"], "says '*Gentlewomen* wear such caps as these;' this was before the Sumptuary Laws, and speaks highly of the Haberdasher's wares. It is true that in Shakspere's 'Henry VIII.,' the porter's man says that among the crowd trying to get into the palace yard, 'there was a Haberdasher's wife of small wit that railed upon me till her pink'd parringer fell off her head from kindling such a combustion in the state;' but he adds, 'forty truncheoneers' (equal, it is presumed, to as many policemen) 'drew to her succour,' thereby showing that she was a person of some consequence, and probably employed upon some of the court pageantry." [But *query* as to the consequence and the court pageantry.]

"But, to descend a step in dignity, I find in the German and English Dictionary of Baily, Fahrenkrüger, the following derivation, which, if founded upon any authority, settles the question: 'Haberdasher (von *berdash* ein chemaligen Halstuchart),' Anglice, 'derived from *berdash*, a kind of neckerchief formerly worn;' so that, according to these lexicographers, Haberdasher meant a seller of berdashers. When we consider the aspirated 'a,' so natural to the Cockney, and call to mind the fact that Piccadilly got its name from something similar, the derivation is not to be despised.

"N. Baily, *φιλόλογος*, as he calls himself, gives this definition: 'Haberdasher (Minshew derives it from *habt tisher das*, Teut., will you have this? as shopkeepers commonly say), a seller of small wares, hats, &c.' I cannot agree with Mr.

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Minshew. Dr. Srusler, following Baily, it is presumed, derives it from the modern German, *habt ihr das*.

"Admitting the accuracy of your position as affecting an entire language, that certain uniform changes take place, such, for example, as is the case in French, where, in words derived from the Latin, the Latin *p* is changed into *v*, while in Spanish it is changed into *b*; and as is the case in English, where, in borrowing from the Greek, the *upsilon* is uniformly changed into *y*, and the diphthongs *ai* and *oi* into *æ* and *œ*; nevertheless, the rule is open to many exceptions, especially in popular language, where the sound of the word is often retained accurately enough, while the orthography has become incapable of recognition." [The "position" is not that of Mr. Mayhew, but the discovery of Grimm, and is now adopted by all philologists.]

"The word 'Sabretache,' or 'Saberdash,' as it is always pronounced by those who wear it, and is often so spelt, seems to afford some clue to Haberdasher. The word means a pocket appurtenant to a sword or a sabre. The 'sabre' is French, and the '*tache*,' or '*tasche*,' is German. Whoever has read the writings of Frederick the Great can readily understand how French and German can be mixed as easily as milk and water.

"The word 'Holborn,' for example, does not convey any idea of its meaning. It is, however, pronounced *now*, as it always was, '*Haut-bourne*,' meaning the upper boundary, or city limits. '*Haut*' was formerly written 'Hault,' retaining the 'l' of its root *altus*, in common with numberless other French words which now drop the 'l.'" [The change of *l* into *n* in French is perfectly regular, *e.g. Salvere*=*Sauver*, and *Saltare*=*Sauter*, &c., &c.] "If, then, 'Saberdash' means 'sabre-pocket,' why should not Haberdasher mean '*avoir-tasche*,' a person having a pocket, *i.e.* for small wares. We have the verb used substantively in the words '*savoir-faire*' and '*savoir-vivre*,' so that a dealer carrying wares, such as threads, tapes, and what not in a *pocket*, would be called a 'pocket-woman,' in the same manner as one carrying her goods in a *basket* would be called a 'basket-woman.' Again, taking the word as *entirely* Saxon it would be '*Haber-der-Taschen*,' or short, '*Habertaschen*,' a haver, or possessor, of pockets; the same as '*Liebhaber*' is a lover, or possessor of love. Again, '*Habe*,' in German, signifies goods; '*Mein Hab und Gut*' means all my personal property or goods; '*Habe-tasche*' would thus mean 'a goods-bag,' as '*Sattel-tasche*' means 'a saddle-bag.' The Spanish '*Haberías*' also signifies 'goods,' and has no doubt a common origin with the German '*Habe*,' viz. *Habeo*, to have. Again, '*Tauschen*,' in German, signifies to barter or swop; hence '*Habe-Tauscher*' would be a barterer or swopper, no improbable vocation for a Haberdasher in the olden time.

"Treating the word, however, as entirely *French*, a new field for speculation is opened, into which I will not advance further than the suggestion of '*avoir-tâche*,' to have a task or employment, *i.e.* being employed to execute commissions, which was common with pedlars; or '*habit-detâcheur*,' a clothes-scourer or cleaner: these are somewhat far-fetched, but are perhaps as good as some of the old lexicographers.

"If I have not thrown sufficient light upon the word to be able to say with the renowned Diedrich Knickerbocker:

> "'Die waarheid die in duister lag,
> Die komt met klaarheid aan den dag,'"

I am afraid that I have mystified it more than ever.

"The word '*Bummaree*,' the derivation of which you state to be unknown, has excited my curiosity, and I subjoin what I can glean repecting it:—

"In the French Dictionary of 'Napoléon Landais,' I find the word '*Beaumaris* (prononcez Bô-ma-rie), gros poisson, espèce de squale;' and the definition of 'squale' is '(du Latin *squalus*, fait dans le même sens de *squalere*, être sale, crasseux, raboteux) genre de poissons cartilagineux. C'est dans ce genre, auquel appartiennent *les requins*, ou *chiens de mer*, que se trouvent les plus gros poissons connus.' Most probably the 'scyllium' or dog-fish of the British coast, which is of the shark tribe; hence the term 'Bummaree' may have been a term of reproach, equivalent to a 'shark,' or greedy man—the middlemen generally have been obnoxious to such epithets.

"Again, the word '*marée*,' in French, signifies sea-fish generally; hence the name in question may come from the cry '*Beau-marée*,' 'prime sea-fish!' As the fisheries were formerly almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, this derivation seems not improbable. The term sea-fish, as distinguished from fresh-water fish, was more common formerly than now, inland places seldom seeing sea-fish; the cry, therefore, might have marked this distinction. Lucullus, who was a great gourmand, had lakes of salt-water for his sea-fish at his villa in Tusculum.

"I do not know whether Beaumaris, in the island of Anglesea, is pronounced Bô-ma-rie, if so, it might have something to do with the name 'Bummaree.'

"I must apologize for the length of this communication; but you will readily understand that one accustomed to follow facts as a matter of business, is apt to be led into a similar train when pursuing anything by way of amusement.

"Yours faithfully,

"WORTENKRÄMER."

The suggestions above given are exceedingly ingenious, but unfortunately *unproven* in all cases. As was before stated, if the word be derived from *without* the language, then the foreign root must bear precisely the same signification as the English word, but be spelt differently. Unless this can be adduced, or *proof* be given for the corruption of the original meaning, etymology is about as rational as the derivation of *Gherkin* from *King Jeremiah*. Cognate languages are to etymology what comparative anatomy is to natural history.

The first derivation of *Bummaree* is very clever and almost satisfactory. What is a *berdash*?

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. J. sends 10s. for the Orphan Girl.

F. C. & S. C. will be written to privately.

A Friend at Lymington forwards 1l. 10s. "for loans."

The subjoined is printed entire, because it is thought right to append a few words in answer to it:—

"Sir,—I consider that the perusal of your interesting papers on the London Poor will have an injurious effect on the minds of your readers if they do not endeavour to relieve the mass of wretchedness which they so vividly delineate. Many who object to giving money to casual beggars have no other channel through which to relieve distress. As this is my own case, may I trouble you to receive the inclosed 1l. for the use of any deserving person, or to be added to the Loan Fund. I believe this to be far the best way of giving money to the poor, and I am not at all surprised at the honesty with which such borrowed sums are repaid. I believe this to be the uniform experience of all who have tried this method of helping the poor. Few individuals have either the time or the ability for doing it themselves. But I have often wished that such loan societies, either local or parochial, could be formed. The capital, I think, should be subscribed and lent out without interest.

"Yours,

"S. D."

Mr. Mayhew differs, he regrets to say, with S. D. on the subject of interest. To allow the poor the use of money at less than the fair market value is to bestow alms upon them to precisely the extent of the deficient interest. The loans are advanced with the view of putting an end to the enormous usury that the humbler classes are obliged to pay by those who are too ready to trade on their necessities, and *certainly not with the view of teaching the poor that interest for money is wrong.* Mr. Mayhew is aware that this doctrine is held by many, but the arguments adduced in favour of it have always seemed to him to be inconclusive. Interest is literally rent paid for the use of money, that is to say, it is a share of the proceeds given for the use of the capital which, it should be remembered, contributes as much to the product as even the labourer himself. Let us not, in our wish to have justice done to the workman, forget what is due to the capitalist, who supplies the materials, tools, and subsistence, without which the cleverest operative would not only have no work to do, but no strength to do it even if he had the work. If by means of a loan of 100l., either in money or materials, I am enabled to produce, or obtain, something which I can exchange for 200l., surely the person helping me to such a result should receive a *portion* of the proceeds. Both justice and gratitude would prompt to such an act. Interest has been well defined to be the reward for saving or abstinence; if there were no reward there would be no saving, and consequently no capital; while, without capital, there could be no work. Mr. Mayhew wishes the poor to have the power of obtaining money at the same (but not a lower) rate than the rich. *At present it is precisely the reverse, for, though it is illegal to take more than 5 per cent. of a landlord, a pawnbroker is entitled, by Act of Parliament, to demand at the least 20 per cent. of the poor.* "I made a calculation," says Mr. Chadwick, in his report on the poor of London and Berkshire, "as to the interest paid for their trifling loans at the pawn-shops, and found it to be as follows:—

	Per cent.		Per cent.
A loan of 3d., if redeemed the same day, pays interest at the rate of .	5200	if in a week,	866
" 4d. " "	3900	" "	650
" 6d. " "	2600	" "	433
" 9d. " "	1733	" "	288
" 1s. " "	1300	" "	216

These are the iniquities that cry aloud for some remedy; and it is with a view to their abatement that the Loan Fund has been instituted.

W. H. retorts in the following strain concerning the remarks on his second letter printed in last week's Number:—

"Sir,—I am much obliged to you for the insertion of my last letter, and as I do not think you have adduced anything new in your answer to it, I must leave those to judge between us who take any interest in the matter.

"The *little* work from which I extracted is the 'Standard Library Cyclopædia,' in four volumes, and contains hundreds of extracts from Ricardo, Mill, and other eminent writers on political economy." [This disjointed and inconsecutive reading is the great vice of the age; producing in the world as much chattering, on matters of which the talkers have no comprehension, as there is in the parrot-room at the Zoological Gardens.] "I would recommend the work to your notice; possibly the study of it might remove some of your very gloomy ideas on the machinery question. I will observe, in conclusion, that I am sorry you should have thought it necessary to be severe in your remarks on my letter, for questions of this nature stand a much better chance of being properly discussed when treated of in a temperate manner."

Mr. Mayhew, intended nothing personal nor offensive to W. H. in the remarks appended to his letter of last week. If he have wounded the feelings of a gentleman whom he is satisfied *wishes* to go the right way, Mr. Mayhew regrets that he was not more guarded in his expressions. He is too happy at all times to attend to ideas in opposition to his own. All Mr. Mayhew requests is, that gentlemen with a taste for desultory reading will not occupy his time by repeating to him, for the thousandth time, the old opinions touching "supply and demand," and "machinery increasing employment," and such like dogmata. Any new fact or opinion he will be always ready to give every consideration to, but the continual disgorging of the *assumptions* of political economy, which Mr. Mayhew has

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45

found to be in no way borne out by facts, requires the patience of a quaker to tolerate. That these assumptions should be true is beyond the bounds of probability, for it is well known that Adam Smith, the founder of the *pseudo* science, when about to develop the laws of capital and labour, retired to an obscure Scotch village, and there sat thinking about them in his arm chair for fifteen years. As well might we suppose a person capable of excogitating in a back parlour the laws of Chemistry, or Natural History, or any other of those systematic aggregation of facts which we term sciences. That the canon of supply and demand for labour does not regulate wages has been, it was thought, proved over and over again in this periodical; but, as some may still have faith in the dogma, it is requested that those believing will endeavour to explain by means of it the following facts.

1st. How came the relief in aid of wages under the old poor-law to reduce the remuneration of labour?

2nd. How was it that the number of London cabinet-makers, having declined 33 per cent. from 1831 to 1841, and work having increased considerably during that period, wages, notwithstanding, were 400 per cent. better at the former period?

3rd. The gross weight of the cotton imported into England in 1800 was 30,650,000 lbs., and in 1840, it was 592,500,000 lbs., or in 40 years it had increased nearly twenty-fold. In 1800 the number of hands engaged in manufacture was 1,877,000, and in 1840 the number was upwards of 2,250,000; so that while the quantity of labour, to be done, or what is the same thing, the quantity of materials to be manufactured had increased nearly 2000 per cent., the number of labourers, or operative manufacturers, had increased only 20 per cent. Hence it is evident that, according to the law of supply and demand, there being twenty times as much work to be done, and only one-fifth more labourers to do it, wages should have been one hundred times better in 1800 than they were in 1840; and yet the price paid for weaving a piece of calico (which may be cited as a type of the value of labour) in the cotton districts was in 1800 between 3*s.* and 4*s.*, and in 1840 only 1*s.* 3*d.*; so that while the demand for labour had increased twenty times, and the supply of it only one-fifth, wages, instead of being one hundred times higher, were three times lower.—Or, taking W. H.'s increase of the total population of Manchester from 1800 to 1840 (viz. 200 and odd per cent.) as the increase of the cotton spinners and weavers, the facts would stand thus:—while the demand for labour increased 2000 per cent., and the supply of labourers only 200 per cent., wages, instead of rising ten times higher, fell more than half as low again.—Will the Editor of the *Economist* oblige Mr. MAYHEW by cracking these three economical nuts for him?

The following, from a medical gentleman, requires no comment:—

"Sir,—Allow me respectfully to add my own testimony to the correctness of your statements. In the course of professional duties I have paid much attention to the physiological characteristics of the lower classes, and am happy, most happy, that they have at length found a chronicler so truthful as yourself. There are good parts even in the worst pictures—there are pleasant sunbeams close beside dark shadows; and the generous fortitude, the unflinching integrity, which is frequently met with in the dismal alleys of London, stand out strongly in contrast to prevalent notions and bigoted opinions. The lean and gaunt inhabitants of rooms, where dirt usurps the place of light, may be vicious or uncouth, but they are so from *habit*, and their transgressions are often half redeemed by traces of a more exalted nature. Better it is that we should know all the misdeeds of a life, than that one, perhaps the only one, good action be passed over in silence.

"Your aim is great; your task of no ordinary difficulty; but it will form, when completed, a monument of individual research, rarely equalled, never surpassed! where the statesman may ponder ere he legislates, and the metaphysical mind may glean a solution to some of the problematical causes of human error. To me your efforts are of exceeding interest; not only from their intrinsic merit, but from the immense fund of statistics you adduce. And this is a point upon which no correspondent has yet done you justice. It is pleasurable likewise to observe that the higher classes are making themselves acquainted with the condition of their degraded brethren; and that your eloquent advocacy is leading to a better understanding between the patrician and plebeian.

"Permit me to express a hope that no sense of delicacy may prevent the publication of this letter. It is the humble tribute of one who is a personal stranger."

W. W. says:—

"Have you considered the Law of Marriage in connection with prostitution? I think it lies at the bottom of it; and in case it should not have occurred to you, I have taken the liberty of suggesting it for your consideration.

"I do not think that much can be added to what Milton wrote upon the subject, but as your papers will be so popular, and treat the subject so practically, it will be a good opportunity for making the public acquainted with the reasons which may be urged for a Law of Divorce more liberal than the present one, if we may be said to have one at all. I hope you will excuse my troubling you with this, but as I have not been able to think the subject out, I shall be very glad to see it done."

The subject will be attended to in its proper place and time.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Emily C., Edinburgh, sends 2*s.* 6*d.* in postage-stamps for the Crippled Seller of Birds.

Mrs. G. N. (left at the office).—1*l.* for loans.

A Lady forwards 5*s.* for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

Will "VERAX" send his address, *in confidence?* MR. MAYHEW cannot make use of any information on the subject on which Verax writes without receiving some guarantee of his informant's respectability and truthfulness.

The subjoined is philological, and evidently from a gentleman conversant with the historic mode of derivation.

"Although your work is hardly the place to admit of a philological discussion, even on its covers, yet to correct error is always essential. Your ingenious correspondent 'Wortenkrämer' has fallen into a mistake, which is not unfrequent with those who take sounds as the basis of etymological enquiry. His derivation of *Holborn* is of this character: the real meaning of the word is shown in old *maps*, deeds, &c., where it is written '*Old Bourne*,' i.e., Old Brook, Bourne being an old Saxon term of that meaning (see Cole's Dictionary), and in the termination of many of our ancient towns, of which *Sherbourn* will answer for an example. Perhaps the signification of the word as a boundary might arise from streams being so often so used. The 'Old Bourne' was a stream which ran into the Fleet River.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours respectfully,

"J. G. W."

Correspondent Wortenkrämer had but little philological knowledge; that is to say, of the *science* of language. His letter was printed for its suggestivity rather than its etymological correctness.

The following is from a Veterinary Surgeon, and is printed here as an act of justice. The information on the subject in question was derived from the Parliamentary Report on the subject. Mr. Mayhew can vouch for the integrity of the writer of the subjoined :—

16, Spring Street, July 16, 1851.

"You have unintentionally been drawn into doing injustice to an honourable gentleman. I mean Mr. Bishop, the gun-maker of New Bond-street, in your observation on THE FORMER STREET-SELLERS, 'FINDERS,' STEALERS, AND RESTORERS OF DOGS.

"I will not repeat the remarks you make on Mr. Bishop's character, but will content myself with the assertion, that from beginning to end they are erroneous. The dog has not throughout the metropolis a firmer friend than Mr. Bishop, who alone got the DOG BILL introduced into Parliament, and himself paid every farthing of carrying that measure.

"That Mr. Bishop may know some men with whom he, nor I, would like to be seen abroad with, is very probable, he being the disinterested medium of getting back one-half or more of the pets lost in London. This office he performs from pure love of the brute; and how he is mixed up with the people with whom he is obliged to treat, his BILL will amply testify.

"Trusting to your sense of justice for the insertion of this letter,

"I remain, yours, &c.

E. M."

The Crippled Street-Seller of Nutmeg-Graters writes as follows :—

"24, Bond-street, Boro'-road.

"Sir,—Notwithstanding all my exertions to forward myself in the general line of dealing, I have been unfortunate. I purchased a donkey with the view of hawking hardware through the country, but had scarcely provided the necessaries, when my donkey took ill, and broke out all over sores, and is now useless either for work or sale: this circumstance, together with keeping a boy and doing no business within the last month, has entirely deprived me of money and considerably lessened my stock. A friend of mine having a little pony intended for sale, would be glad to give me the preference, and take my donkey in barter, could I but pay the difference; he thinks he can cure the donkey and make him answer his business. Unless I dispose of him in this manner, I have no chance of selling him, unless at an enormous sacrifice. To complete my trouble I gave an order for a little cart, for which I paid 30*s.* in advance; the man moved away, and I have no clue to finding him or recovering my money. I have sufficient stock to go on with, but too heavy for a boy to wheel about with me as well. Sir, I have told you something respecting my father-in-law; he is since dead, and willed all his property to his granddaughters. I expected he would repent in his last moments, and in pity leave me something, but such was not the case, and those who now hold the property are equally heartless. I would wish that these lines may meet their eyes; they may do from shame what they ought to do from generosity. Sir, what money I have received through the medium of your work I have laid out to what I believed the best advantage; but misfortune will sometimes happen to those more capable of conducting a business than me.

"Sir, my best respects to you and Mrs. Mayhew, and my hope for your welfare,

"C. ALLOWAY."

The Nutmeg-Grater Seller has already received upwards of 9*l.*, and it would be unjust to others to solicit any further aid on his behalf. The letter is printed in the hopes of shaming his relations into doing their duty to one whom Providence, for some inscrutable purpose, has almost deprived of the means of assisting himself.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. will feel obliged by Mr. Mayhew stating how he estimates the number of hands engaged in the cotton manufacture in the years 1800-1840, as stated in his numbers of the "London Poor," No. 32 and July 19. Are the numbers given those only employed in spinning and weaving, or what others are included, and from what source is the information collected?

The facts were taken (if Mr. Mayhew remembers correctly) from Messrs. Banfield and Weld's very useful "Statistical Companion"—the one for last year (a work of which W. H. and R. H., and R. B. B., and all others who speak without a knowledge of facts would do well to possess themselves). Not having the book at hand, however, Mr. Mayhew is unable to speak definitely on the subject. The weight of cotton imported was derived from Mr. Salt's "Facts and Figures," or "Statistics and Calculations," where a table is given for a series of years. The wages paid at the different periods were copied from the "Statistical Companion." Should E. not be able to find the facts, as indicated, Mr. Mayhew will be happy to refer specially to the returns for him.

R. H. (the right initials surely should be J. W.) commits a rash attempt, at the imminent risk of his "molars," to crack "the three economical nuts" presented to the Manchester Schoolboys in No. 32 of this periodical; but makes the same wry faces over them as the French toy nutcrackers assume when engaged in a similar act. They are evidently too hard for him. And yet it is very plain the gentleman has cut his *wise* teeth, from the fact of his dropping the nuts immediately he found that they were more than he could get through. He accordingly, with exquisite cunning, tries to open an entirely new subject for discussion, as witness his hand.

"London, 21 July, 1851.

"Sir,—In your answers to correspondents, I notice that you are very much addicted to the habit of throwing out insinuations, both against the policy of Free Trade, and the motives of those who advocate it. Now, sir, may I ask you to state, in an early number, How Free Trade interferes with the Rate of Wages, or the Law of Supply and Demand, as you assert it does?

"Is the Free-Trade policy any other than that of declaring that the revenue of a country should be solely raised from property?

"Surely, the only just system of taxation is that founded on a Property and Equitable Income Tax combined, and, as you must be quite certain, that is the only object aimed at by those whom you sneeringly call "Manchester School," &c., &c., &c. How can you reconcile you inuendos against us with the assertion that you are labouring for the good of the poor? Certain I am, nothing will benefit the poor as a body so much as the adoption of a just system of taxation; and that those who, like yourself, sneer at the efforts of Free Traders or Economists are only apparently the benefactors, but truly the oppressors of the working classes.

"To pass to another subject, allow me to call to your notice some curious statements made by you in your answers to correspondents. *Ex. Gr.*—'In the case of the receiver of stolen goods, the *main iniquity* consists in not paying a fair price for the labour of the article purchased.'

"Now, sir, *the main*, nay, *the only* iniquity, consists in purchasing an article not honestly procured, and is as great whether the receiver gives ¼*d.* for an article worth 100*l.*, or 100*l.* for an article worth ¼*d.*

"'A railway *does not add* one single commodity to the riches of a country, it merely increases the facility of exchanging the produce of one district for that of another.' Indeed, suppose a town so distant from another, that fish caught rots on the sea-shore for want of a market, if a railway finds a ready sale for it some 300 or 400 miles off, is not that *pro tanto* an increase in production, not a mere extension of the facility of exchanging commodities. You must be aware that 20 years past, milk, fish, and fruit, were daily spoiled for want of a speedy conveyance to a market.

"Will you give something more than mere assertions that crime has increased in a larger ratio to population since Free Trade has been partially introduced. Give us a correct comparison of crime in two or three periods, say 1600, 1700, 1750, 1800, 1850, showing how much of the apparent increase beyond the ratio of increase of population is owing to a *greater efficiency* in detection (amounting, I should say at a mere guess, to more than 50 per cent. of our whole crime)? How much to the number of new offences created by our various police and railway acts, and these points alone, truly estimated, would, I believe, make all candid persons say that your assertion was not founded on correct data.

"In conclusion, allow me, in the face of your three nuts to crack, to ask you, Do not the poor of this country consume more food per head, and have more comforts than they did 50 years past? I answer, Yes.—Your obedient Servant, R. H., a constant reader and subscriber from the first."

The above letter really bristles with so many points, that one is as undecided as a dog with a hedgehog where first to lay hold of it. However, the good old proverb tells us—

"If you gently touch a nettle,
Lo! it stings you for your pains,
But grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains."

Applying, therefore, the same rule to R. H.'s effusion, it may be said that Mr. Mayhew never as yet asserted that Free Trade interfered with the Rate of Wages or the Law of Supply and Demand; but as R. H. requests to be informed how Free Trade does interfere with the remuneration for labour, Mr. Mayhew (though, by the bye, he is far from ambitious of becoming teacher to the Manchester School) will just, as a lesson to the Cotton Academy, append the following facts collected by him during his inquiry into the condition of the labourers at the Timber Docks at the time of his engagement on the *Morning Chronicle*, the parts printed in italics being all studiously withheld from the public by the Editor of that *Free-Trade* Journal!

"*I don't know what is the cause of the reduction of the wages*," said a "rafter," "*but the men thinks it is generally owing to the cheapness of provisions. They say, what's the use of provisions being cheap if they lowers our wages.*

"The men are dissatisfied," observed a deal porter. "*They say they would sooner have it as it was, because they say, if provisions comes up again, they won't get no higher price for their labour.* The wages of the casual dock labourer have been reduced a great deal more than those of the constant men. Three months ago they had 18*s.* a week, and now the highest wages paid to the casual labourers is 15*s.* a week. *This again the men say is all owing to the cheapness of provisions.*

"We now have," said another of the labourers, "4*s.* 4*d.* a day of from eight till four (o'clock), and 5*s.* 6*d.* a day from six to six: it used to be, till four months back I think, 4*s.* 10*d.* and 6*s.* 4*d.* *I haven't heard any particular reason for this lowering. Bread's cheap people says; but if bread fell 3d. a loaf below what it is, our wages would fall 3½d. to keep up with it.*" The above are extracts from the copy supplied by Mr. Mayhew to the *Morning Chronicle* on the subject of the labourers at the Timber Docks (Letter LVIII.). The parts printed in italics, and all others of a similar character, referring the reduction in wages to the cheapness of provisions (even down to a single line), were excised by the Free-Trade Editor.

Now surely R. H. must allow that in this instance at least Free Trade *has* interfered with the rate of wages; and, if he would but take the trouble to inquire, he might find that a similar "interference" has taken place in many other trades—as for example the Market Gardeners. Mr. Mayhew mentions only these two instances, because he is acquainted with the facts above stated from his own investigations. Indeed, as has been before asserted in this periodical, if the price of coals be reduced, competition will of course cause steam-engines to work cheaper; and surely, by a parity of reasoning, if the price of bread be decreased, the same cause will have the same effect on the human engine. In the trades where the wages of the workmen are, from their superior skill, at "monopoly" price of course, the price of food will have little or no effect upon them; but wherever labour is at its minimum value, the market price will be regulated by the *cost of production*, that is to say by the cost of the food, which gives the labourer the power to labour. (R. H. should have a quiet day's study of Stuart Mill's chapter on "Value.")

"Is the Free-Trade Policy," asks R. H., "any other than that of declaring that the Revenue of a country should be solely raised from Property?" Free Trade, Mr. Mayhew replies, is assuredly *the liberty to search the world for the cheapest possible labour.* Its effect on the revenue is a secondary consideration. The imposts on foreign commodities were neither instituted nor maintained as a source of income to the government, but simply as a means of protection to the home producer. This R. H. knows as well as Mr. Mayhew; and most assuredly Free Trade was neither advocated nor carried as an improved mode of collecting the revenue, but as a means of extending the markets for our manufactures. Mr. Mayhew must confess that, viewed as a working man's question, the weight of the arguments appears to him to

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

lean towards the side of Protection; and that, viewed as a capitalist's or trader's question, the facts are in favour of Free Trade. To the monied classes, of course, it is the greatest good to get two commodities for the same amount of money as they got one for formerly. To the working man, however, Free Trade, that is to say *unlimited licence* to the trader, is far from being a blessing. Of course if wages are regulated by a natural law like Demand and Supply, it would be as insane to attempt to interfere with the rate of remuneration for labour by any pretended "*protective*" edicts, as it would be to regulate the rising and setting of the sun by Act of Parliament. Mr. Mayhew is most ready to allow that under such circumstances the only two modes of benefiting the working classes would be either by increasing the "Wage Fund," or decreasing the number among whom it is to be shared. But if the rate of wages is—as Mr. Mayhew believes all the facts of the labour question go to prove—in a great measure arbitrary and dependent mainly on the will of the Capitalist—then it would appear that some kind of restrictive laws is required for the protection of the working man against the greed of the trader. If the price of labour be regulated by supply and demand, why do free traders object so lustily to all trade societies, that is to say to all combinations of working men, designed to uphold the rate of wages. Surely if the remuneration for labour be governed by a natural law, then it is utterly beyond the power of a body of operatives to interfere with them; if, however, the real rate of wages consists of as little as the master can force the men to accept, or as much as the men can force the master to give—according to whichever is the stronger—then it would seem better that some steps should be taken to stay this continual war of class against class, and to prevent the one wronging the other.

"The only just system of Taxation," says R. H., "is that founded on a Property and Equitable Income Tax." As a source of revenue this is most readily admitted; but it should be remembered that until all taxes on commodities are abolished, those which consist of certain imposts, instituted with the view of preventing the untaxed foreigner from underselling the heavily-taxed native in the labour market of this country, are among the last of such taxes that should have been repealed. It is useless to say that food and provisions generally are cheapened by these means, because facts have proved that as fast as food is cheapened so will the lowest grades of labour be; and so long as there are excise duties, of which the working classes contribute the greater portion, there should likewise be custom duties, so as to make the foreign labourer, who is brought into competition with the English, pay his quota to the burdens of the country.

Let us put a case: there are three kinds of taxes on commodities, viz., taxes on articles produced within the country, taxes on articles imported into it, and taxes on articles conveyed from place to place, or sold in certain privileged parts of it. The first are excise duties, the second custom duties, and the third tolls and market dues. Now let us suppose that a certain gentleman—a free-trade enthusiast—who objected to every kind of impost on commodities, was to go to the Duke of Bedford and persuade him that all market-tolls were very pernicious things, falling as they did entirely on the consumer—that cheap fruit was the greatest possible blessing—and that instead of his forcing all who imported their commodities into Covent Garden to pay a toll before they were allowed to sell, it would be far more enlightened, and highly beneficial to the fruit consumers, if his Grace were to abolish every one of the tolls, and allow all fruit brought into the market to be sold without paying any market due whatever. Well, suppose the Duke became a convert to the new commercial principles, and proceeded to abolish the market dues on fruit brought into Covent Garden, *but still to continue the high rents and taxes on those who lived in the market itself.* Of course the dwellers in the market, heavily rented and rated and taxed as they were, would soon begin to find out that those who paid no toll whatever could undersell them, and that the whole of their business was rapidly passing into the hands of their more favoured competitors. In such a predicament, doubtlessly, those who were suffering from the heavy imposts on their industry would go to the Duke, tell him that it was impossible for them to compete with their untaxed neighbours, and beg that their burdens should be removed; whereupon the Duke would of course reply that his revenue must be collected and the expense of the market paid somehow—that cheap fruit was a great blessing—and that they could not possibly be badly off when fruit and vegetables were so much lower in price. Surely all the world but those who were interested in the matter would be able to see the injustice of such a line of policy! And yet enlarge Covent Garden Market into the Labour Market of this Kingdom, and it is precisely what we have done to those who live in the market itself, and have heavy rent, rates, and taxes to pay in support of it. According to the most moderate calculation the working classes pay nearly one-half of the revenue of the country; they pay nearly the whole of the Malt Duty, which is in round numbers 5,000,000*l.*; the same with the Spirit Duty, which is 4,350,000*l.*; the Tobacco Duty, amounting to 4,250,000*l.*; the Sugar Duty, 4,500,000*l.*; and the Duty on Tea, which is 5,330,000*l.*; making altogether 23,430,000*l.*, out of about 50,000,000*l.*

The other points touched upon by R. H. hardly require any special notice. Concerning the *ethical* point, R. H. is unable to perceive *the iniquity* of not giving a just price for the making of an article. To give an *unjust* price is not *equity*, and therefore in-equity, or *in-iquity*, if there be any meaning in words. But, says R. H., the *main* and *only* iniquity in receiving stolen goods consists in *purchasing* what is not *honestly* obtained. The law declares the purchaser in such cases is as bad as the thief—*particeps criminis.* R. H., the Free-Trader, however, says not. But why is what the "receiver" purchases *dishonestly* obtained? Simply because it has never been produced by the party selling, nor a due consideration given by him for it. In the matter of the railway R. H. confounds *exchange* with *production;* while, concerning the criminal tables demanded by him, he seems to be utterly unaware that the science of statistics is of comparatively modern origin, and that there are no data for making the collation he desires. But, even if there were such facts extant, could not R. H. make the comparison as well as Mr. Mayhew; though, to be sure, economists, from Adam Smith down to R. H., have shown the same aversion to collect facts as mad dogs have to touch water. It is so much easier to ensconce themselves in some snug corner and there remain all day, like big-bottomed spiders, spinning cobweb theories amid heaps of *rubbish.* If R. H. turns to "Porter's Progress of the Nation," p. 642, he will find that the number of persons committed as criminal offenders were, in 1805, only 4605; whereas, in 1848, there were 30,349, an increase of 482 per cent., or even deducting 50 per cent. (*as R. H. desires*) for greater efficiency in detection, of 432 per cent. in 43 years! whilst the population during the same period increased only 79 per cent. (see p. 654, same work). It is but right, Mr. Mayhew should add, that *previous* to his inquiries he believed in Supply and Demand, and Free-Trade, as religiously as R. H. himself does. Let R. H. go through the same course of education, and, as a honest man, he will assuredly arrive at the same result.

B. L. writes as follows:—

"Sir,

"I shall be happy if the enclosed 10*s.* may be applied to enable the Orphan Flower-Seller, mentioned in the July Part 7, of your 'London Poor,' to establish herself in some better line of business; or if you have already sufficient funds from other sources for this girl, then let it be applied to the use of the poor gentlewoman who can no longer follow her profession of music teacher, or as you think most proper."

The money shall be applied as requested.

G. H. says—

"You have promised an account of the Drapers, which has not yet appeared; I should feel obliged by your informing me when it is likely you will touch on them."

The Drapers, according to the Division laid down in the prospectus of this work, belong to the class of Distributors—including first sailors, bargemen, coachmen, carriers, porters, and all who are engaged in the conveyance of goods; and secondly, clerks, warehousemen, shopmen, and all who are engaged in the sale of them.

The subject of the Drapers' Assistants is a large one, and one which Mr. Mayhew is most anxious to investigate; for the trade is peculiar, being one in which competition and "puffing" and "pushing" are carried perhaps to the greatest extent, and consequently one from which a vast deal may be learnt. It is, moreover, one in which the health and mental improvement of the assistants are sacrificed greatly to the greed of the employers—owing to the tendency of the "cutting-shops" to keep open half through the night, so that no possible chance of custom may be lost.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

PARVUS encloses 2s. in postage stamps to be applied to the Loan Fund, adding, that he thinks if other young men situated as he is were to follow his example by contributing something, however small, towards so laudable a subscription, a vast deal of trouble might be averted from those poor creatures mentioned in "London Labour and the London Poor."

Due notice will be given of the republication of the required numbers, which are now being reprinted.

The following sums of money have been received :—
A. B. C. (for deserving objects), 10s.; J. S. (for ditto), 5s.; Annie (for Nutmeg-Grater Seller, 1s. 1d., and Tinker Poet), 2s. 6d.; collected by a Little Boy, 10s.

J. R. R., Clericus sine Beneficio, forwards 2s. in postage stamps, to be applied as Mr. Mayhew may deem most expedient.

The following is inserted here with the view of directing attention to the subject :—

"Sir,

"As I read in your Notices to Correspondents, in answer to my inquiry, that it is your intention to submit the Laws of Marriage and Divorce to an investigation, I will suggest for your consideration a few thoughts which occur to me on the subject. If you insert these in your correspondence I hope to send more.

"Marriage is a civil and religious institution; persons who marry enter into a contract with another, and also with the Deity, by which they are bound to the observance of certain duties; the contract made with another person the civil power can enforce, but not so the religious one; it is therefore advisable that legislatures should treat marriage wholly as a civil contract.

"By eliminating the religious element from marriage, as far as the civil power is concerned, and allowing each person's conscience to determine the nature of the duty it imposes on them, the civil power is enabled without obstruction to resume its ordinary duty of protecting the person and property of individuals without infringing on their rights.

"A contract is a thing so well understood that had it not been for the successful attempt of the Roman Catholic church to make marriage a sacrament over the whole of Europe for some centuries, which most Protestant countries have not generally considered it to be, we should now in England be in the enjoyment of a domestic liberty the absence of which is the cause of more crime, misery, and destitution than can be conceived.

"Yours obediently, W. W."

Mr. Mayhew abstains for the present from making any comments on the above opinions.

A. B. sends another *conjecture* as to the term Haberdasher:—

"Sir,

"You have referred to Baily, Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker on this word, will you allow me to present what a more modern lexicographer says about it. I give you the entire passage. The author's first quotation is from Chaucer's 'Prologue.'

"Yours, A. B."

"Haberdasher—Minshew, from Ger. *Habt; Haberdashery, ihr das*, i. e., Have you that? or from the Fr. *Avoir d'acheter*, i. e. to have to buy. Skinner, whom Lye transcribes, runs far away. Gerenius—from the Ger. *Habe*, goods or wares—and *tauschen*, to exchange, as if a haberdasher were an exchanger of wares. Mr. Thomson constructs a German compound, *haabertauscher*, of *haab*, goods, wares—and *tauscher, ver-taus chier*, a dealer, an exchanger. The French *Avoir de pois* we formerly wrote *Haber de pois;* a similar corruption may have occurred in *Avoir d'acheter, haber d'achet, haberdash.*"—Richardson's *New English Dictionary.*

Mr. Mayhew has but an indifferent opinion of Mr. Richardson as an etymologist. His Dictionary, however, is invaluable, for giving, in the copious examples cited as to the uses of the words by the earliest authors down to the present period, the chronology, as it were, of the changes that the several terms have gradually undergone in the language. Mr. Richardson also appears to have had some clear notions as to the historic mode of derivation, but as to the dialectic etymology through the medium of cognate languages, he evidently had not the vaguest knowledge: indeed, the discoveries of Grimm and Bopp were not made known till Mr. Richardson had nearly completed his labours. Moreover, he was too intense an admirer of Horne Tooke to be able to add much to philological truth; for of all plausible creations of human ingenuity the "Diversions of Purley" looks perhaps the most like truth, and yet is the farthest from it. Horne Tooke was essentially a theorist; every fact was made to accord with his preconceived opinions, rather than his opinions made to accord with the facts. To give but one instance. It is well known that he conceived an idea that all prepositions and conjunctions were simply the imperative moods of verbs. As for example:—If (which is in Anglo-Saxon *gif*), he said, was the imperative mood of the Saxon verb *gifan*, to give, grant, and, consequently, that the meaning of the sentence, "If the law of Supply and Demand be true, then Protection for Labour is an absurdity," is, when literally translated, "*Give* or *grant* that the law of Supply and Demand be true, then Protection," &c. Following up the same ingenious course he pronounced "else" (which is in Anglo-Saxon *ales* and *alse*, the imperative mood of the Saxon verb *alesan*, to let loose, to dismiss; so that when we say "We will do what is right, and nothing *else*," the literal meaning of words is, according to him, "We will do what is right, and dismiss that — nothing."

Now, that this is *not* the literal meaning of the words, but a mere exercise of verbal ingenuity, the most superficial attention to dialetic derivation is sufficient to assure us; for, on turning to the Latin language, we find that the cognate term in that tongue for the Saxon *ales* was *alias* (otherwise), and this we immediately know to be derived not from *alesan*, to dismiss, but from *alius*, another; so that the sentence really and truly means, "We will do what is right, *otherwise* nothing." Indeed, had Horne Tooke taken the trouble to trace the Saxon prototype *gif* of the English *if* up to the particle in the parent Gothic tongue, according to the *historic* mode of derivation, he would have perceived that even the term upon whose apparent identity with the imperative of the verb *gifan*, to give, he founded his whole philological scheme—even this term, I say—had a very different origin from what he hastily assumed; and that really it was connected dialectically with the Latin *give*, and ultimately with a Hebrew verb meaning to choose, its fundamental signification being "*whether*" (like the cognate Hebrew particle), and which is evidently the sense of it in the sentence, "I know not *if* it be right or *if* it be wrong;" that is to say, "I know not *whether* it be right or *whether* it be wrong."

The term Haberdasher is still a mystery.

R. H. (the nutcracker) has gone surly. He has evidently, poor fellow, while trying to crack the nuts, *bitten his fingers.*

"In one portion of the lengthy—very lengthy—reply you have been pleased to make to my short letter, you say that I bristle at a great many points, but I am still as soft as silk; you rightly interpret my intention. I constantly notice that our opponents, Mr. Mayhew foremost amongst them, are accustomed to apply to us various appellations not used by ourselves, as 'Cotton academy,' 'Manchester school,' &c., &c., and which is applied by them in an invidious sense, as Socinian is applied to a Unitarian. Now I never allow these to be used without showing resentment; but I always do so in an inoffensive manner; whatever I say never rankles, and that is one great difference betwixt you and me. Your remarks on political opponents, persons as ardent in pursuit of truth as yourself, seem to me to have something in them destructive of character; *e. g.*, 'exquisite cunning' is a term applied by you to me. I should say that a person of exquisite cunning was an exquisite rogue. I could pick out many more of the same sort.

"You say, 'R. H., surely the initials should be J. W.' I suppose by this remark you insinuate that I am J. W. writing under a different signature. There you are utterly mistaken; that practice I leave to authors who, writing for their bread, have no objection to take any side of a question, provided they are well paid for it.

"I see in the Quarterly Report of the Registrar-General just published a large increase of marriages and births; this fact is generally considered an indication of prosperity, but I suppose if I advance it as such you will say, 'It is a cobweb theory spun amidst heaps of rubbish,' therefore I shall only repeat the question I asked before, 'Do not the poor of this country consume more food and have more comforts than they did 50 years past?

"Your obedient servant, R. H."

There are at the Zoological Gardens some small animals who are particularly spiteful whenever any one attempts to have a bit of fun with them while they are cracking their nuts, and we strongly suspect, from the

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

viciousness of the above letter, that R. H. is one of the breed. Surely he must be the one "who had seen the world." However he is a very silly fellow; for assuredly we never meant, as the saying goes, to get the "monkey up" with him. But he *would* have a try to crack the hard things; and if he did find the nuts disagree with him (for they are very indigestible things, at best), why, he need not, because his bile has been stirred by them, so far forget himself as a gentleman as to utter things which, even if they were true, he would, in his lucid intervals, blush to repeat.

But R. H. has clearly passed the greater part of his life, dormouse-like, in cotton, so that he can hardly be supposed to be wide awake yet to the requirements of polite society. When he understands the meaning of cunning, and finds out that it signifies literally kenning, or knowing, his good sense will, we are sure, lead him to perceive that there was no intention to insinuate the least "roguishness" or dishonesty to him. No! no! we are thoroughly satisfied R. H. is no knave; quite the reverse, we should say. He *will*, as Milton has it,

"Rush in where angels fear to tread;"

and at anything rational, poor man, *he* is utterly out of his element. If *he* had only to write for his bread, he would have to seek parish relief before the week was out. It is quite *plain* that he gets *his* living in some other way than by the exercise of *his* intellect—very probably by the labour of some other person's hands. However, all we *do* hope is that he will not allow anything we have let drop to disturb his *peace* (we had almost written *piece*) of mind, and that on no account whatever will he visitate us with a reply. We have already afflicted our readers with two epistles of his lively pen, and we can assure him we have no disposition, whatever his sins may be, to make him do penance in these sheets.

"Confess your faults" is a good round-hand copy, and we proceed to put the precept in practice.

"Sir,

"I have purchased from the beginning your valuable and interesting work, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' which I humbly consider to be one of the most important works ever published.

"Having just read your 34th number, I take the liberty of pointing out a mistake at p. 137, which, if left uncorrected, may afford ground for an attack upon you by some enemy or other. You allude to a *Neapolitan*, 'known some years ago as The Fish, who could remain *three hours under water* without rising to the surface to take breath.' The story applies *not* to a *Neapolitan*, but to a *Sicilian* swimmer and diver, *Nicolò Pesce*, in the time of Frederic, king of Sicily, according to the Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, who *professed* to have taken the wonderful account of Nicholas the Fish from the archives of the kings of Sicily. Kircher not only mentioned the webbing of the fingers and toes of Nicholas, but that 'his chest became so very capacious that he could take in at one inspiration as much breath as would serve him for *a whole day*.'

"The story of this diver is beautifully rendered by Schiller, the German poet.

"It is utterly impossible for any *human* being to remain under water for *three hours* without taking breath. The nature of man's respiratory organs renders this impossible. Three *minutes*, instead of three *hours*, would be much nearer the time that a man could remain under water without being suffocated. A minute or two is generally enough to cause insensibility, although animation may be restored after several (but not *many*) minutes of immersion. As to the webbed feet and hands of Nicolò il Pesce, I doubt the fact, in spite of Father Kircher.

"Be not offended at my freedom, for I can assure you that my intention is most friendly. The more free that your excellent work is from error, the greater will be its authority now and hereafter."

Mr. Mayhew is much obliged to his esteemed correspondent, but he is in no way disposed to admit the impossibility of any human being remaining under water for three hours. At the London Polytechnic Institution, some few years back, an experiment was performed by a gentleman, in the presence of all the *savans* of the metropolis, *demonstrating* that it *was* possible for human beings to remain under the water for almost any length of time; for the individual in question made a descent into the tank of that institution, and there remained visibly at the bottom for upwards of an hour, it is believed, though the precise time is in no way essential to the argument. On coming up he declared that he could prolong his stay under water to an indefinite period. All he took down with him was a small box, about the size of the larger musical ones. On referring to the passage alluded to respecting "The Fish," it will be seen that the facts were not given with implicit credence. The sentence runs thus:—"The Fish could remain (*at least so say those whom there is no reason to doubt*) three hours under the water without rising to take breath." Surely the parenthesis indicates that Mr. Mayhew did doubt, even though the testimony appeared to be unquestionable; for such contradictions to experience require, he well knows, the strongest possible evidence. Mr. Mayhew, however, is far from wishing to set up experience as a surer guide to truth than testimony; all he desires to assert is, that in cases which are apparently opposed to known laws, the testimony should be of the highest possible character, and this is precisely what he meant *parenthetically* to imply.

An esteemed lady correspondent says—

"I fear the poor Nestie Man was ill-informed about the Kingfisher's nest. I, who have seen, nay assisted (with many a pang) at the taking of one, should say it is not a thing that could be taken in the hand and shown about, any more than a rat-hole. It was perhaps some other nest, therefore, that his informant pronounced a Kingfisher's. This bird cannot be said (I believe) to build a nest. In the sides of old gravel pits, near water, this bird will find, or perhaps even make, holes that run for several feet parallel with the surface and about a foot and more below it. To take the nest in such a case you must dig down to it, guessing the probable ending of the excavation, and you will come upon seven or more very pale pink eggs, lying in a bed of small dry fish bones, of which you may take up a handful. At least this is what we found, after watching a Kingfisher in and out of the hole many times.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Pages at the back of the Statistical Tables inserted in the present Number are left blank for the purposes of binding.

The following extracts from a speech recently delivered at a public meeting are here inserted, because Mr. Mayhew believes that they express very clearly and simply one of the great evils of the time—an over large machinery for the distribution of our products, and the puffing, pushing, and cheating necessarily arising therefrom. If the country be over populated, assuredly it is so with traders, rather than workers; and yet we never hear of schemes for shipping off some hundreds of them. That the distributor is a very useful element in the economy of every State there cannot be the least doubt, serving both consumer and producer; but an excess of such people is, perhaps, one of the greatest evils that can befall a nation. That there are most honourable men connected with trade Mr. Mayhew most readily admits, having in the course of his investigations met with many such, but that the majority are compelled—by the very excess of the class, and the consequent struggle to live—to resort to frauds, cheats, and chicanery that they in their consciences must despise, all experience goes to prove.

"Mr. Woodin said:—I shall endeavour to show the true position which the class to which I belong holds under competitive arrangements. As shopkeepers it is our province to distribute the productions of others—*we give no new intrinsic value to the articles that pass through our hands. We buy a stated quantity of goods for a given sum, and we sell a lesser quantity for the same sum—the difference is our profit, on which we live; the interests of the distributor and the consumer are therefore opposed to each other, because it is the interest of the consumer to get as much as possible for his money, and of the distributor to give as little as possible. Tradesmen are all well aware that their interests are opposed to that of their customers—they know very well that their only object in going into business is to get as much as they can for themselves, to give as little as possible to the producer for what they buy, and to take as much as they can from the consumer for what they sell, and the more they can take in this way, the nearer they are to their ultimatum—the realization of a fortune, and their retirement from business.* This is the real and only object of the whole class; but in order to obtain this object in the most speedy and certain manner, and at the same time to conceal it as much as possible from the public, they assume to be actuated by principles of the purest philanthropy—they enter into business for the sole purpose of benefiting the community; '*Pro bono publico*' is their motto—their own interest is only a matter of secondary consideration. Thus the tradesman pretends to one thing, and means to do and does do something very different. To ensure success it is necessary to be a good 'story-teller.' *It is an acknowledged fact, that the men making the greatest professions and the most noise are the most dishonest, and the greatest cheats in trade, but the most unfortunate feature in the case is, that the public generally give credence to those who make the boldest assertions.* As an illustration of this fact I would mention, that the parties who were lately fined by government for adulteration were, without exception, *making the greatest professions of the purity and cheapness of their articles, and of the fairness of their mode of doing business*, and I may add that they were doing the largest retail trades, and receiving more patronage from the public than others who were less noisy but more honest; and the same view is borne out by the recent exposures in the *Lancet*—all the parties exposed are doing the largest trades, and they all make the greatest professions of the purity of their goods and the uprightness of their dealings. *The object of these unscrupulous tradesmen is always to appear to be cheap; to maintain this appearance every article is adulterated that can be without being easily detected, and they are marked at such prices that their more honest rivals cannot compete with them.* They put ground rice with their white pepper; a composition called P. D., costing about one penny per lb., with their black pepper; chicory with their coffee; and potato flour with their sugar; tea comes to their hand ready adulterated with starch, gum, dirt, and paint. *Another trick resorted to, to gain an appearance of cheapness, is to sell some article which the public know the value of, at or below the cost price, and the public take it for granted that the person doing so is cheap in everything else.* Goods sold in this way are called 'leading articles.' Calico is a 'leading article' with the draper; he sells this at a halfpenny a yard less than the cost; and this enables him to charge many shillings and often pounds more than the proper price for shawls and other articles that have no fixed standard of value. *The grocer makes sugar his principal leading article, because the public can pretty nearly tell its value; he therefore sells it a halfpenny a pound less than it cost him.* He thereby endeavours to lead purchasers to the conclusion that he is equally cheap in everything else—if he sells cheap sugar they think he must also sell cheap tea. This is called in the trade keeping a sugar trap to catch tea customers; but tea is a thing the public cannot so easily tell the value of, and in the sale of this article the grocer amply compensates himself for his losses in sugar. *By these and similar nefarious practices he attains his object; he gets a name for cheapness, gets plenty of patronage, and speedily makes a fortune.*" * * * * *It must not be lost sight of that the distributor adds nothing to the wealth of the community, but subtracts from it; consequently there ought to be no more employed in that way than are sufficient to perform the duty efficiently. After due consideration, I am of opinion that one-tenth of the present persons so employed are sufficient for that purpose; the other nine-tenths are misapplying their labour, or at least their time, and the sooner that labour is directed to productive employment, the better it will be for themselves and for society.*"

Mr. Vansittart Neale said:—"It had been cal-

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culated from the Post Office Directory for London and its suburbs in 1850, that the total number of retail tradesmen supplying certain goods was 4000, and estimating that each of them upon an average employed three persons besides himself, it would give a total of 16,000 engaged in the distribution of articles of grocery, or about one person to every eighty of the two millions and a half of all ages, which may be taken as the population of the district in question. This was a very much larger number than was needed for the purpose of distribution, and necessitated a keen competition among those engaged in it. When a tradesman with capital came into a new neighbourhood, and fitted up a shop with splendid plate glass front, ticketing all his articles at an apparently low price, and advertising them as the best and finest articles that could be sold, the consequences of such competition were perhaps to shut up twenty small shops; but in the course of the struggle fraudulent adulteration was carried on by all parties to a large extent."

18 Aug., 1851.

"Sir,

"I was employing a part of my leisure hours in collecting and arranging accounts of the earnings of persons engaged in the various branches of the manufacture of hats, both silk and stuff, but as you have requested me not to trouble you any more, in obedience to your wish I have ceased my labour; to show you, however, that I bear no malice, I enclose all I have ready.

"Your Obedient Servant,

"R. H.

"Cunning may *literally* mean kenning, but is *never* used *now* in a good sense, it would be a poor excuse to make, after calling a person *inquisitive*, to say you meant *enquiring;* or, after using the term *impertinent*, to declare that you meant not keeping to the question: cunning is in the same class with the above two and many other words, which are never used by persons of education in their literal sense."

R. H.'s temper is better than his philology. One of the most elegant forms of literary art is the use of words in their literality; this was Sidney Smith's great charm. The philological rule, unfortunately for R. H., is the very reverse of that which he enunciates. Words are never used in their literal, and always in their conventional acceptation by persons of *deficient education* —for the simple reason that it is impossible for the uneducated to know their radical signification. Those who have such knowledge feel an exquisite delight in discriminating between the correct and perverted sense.

No literary man knowing how to handle his tools would ever dream of using any one of the words cited by R. H. in any other than their literal acceptation — the context would show whether the conduct to which they were applied was an offence against good morals or not. Surely R. H. has heard the phrase, "wrought with exquisite cunning," used even in common parlance. Does he fancy that this means wrought with a roguery quite *recherché* (to use the French equivalent to exquisite), or with unusual skill—a work of the most expert *craft* or handicraft—not craft roguery, but craft in its true Old English sense of creation, production, from the Saxon verb creawian? It was precisely in this sense that Mr. Mayhew applied the words "exquisite cunning" to R. H. The terms themselves prove whence the phrase was borrowed, and exquisitely "knowing" was all that was intended to be implied—that is to say, R. H. endeavoured to meet the argument like one *skilled* in the *art* of ratiocination, by *slily* proposing another.

Mr. Mayhew would not have condescended to have wasted so much valuable ink in explaining a matter that must have been patent to every scholar from the very beginning; but R. H. is clearly, from the tone of his last letter, too good a fellow to make an enemy of unintentionally. The Wage Table he sends is the best mode of argument after all.

*** Replies to several letters are postponed till the next Number.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The subjoined is worthy of attention:—

"Sir,

"I venture to make a suggestion in reference to your work 'London Labour and the London Poor,' which I trust will not be taken amiss by you, for it proceeds from one who appreciates the purity of your motives, and admires your untiring zeal and laborious efforts in behalf of so large a portion of the neglected and suffering population of London.

"My suggestion refers to that portion of the work on the 'Prostitution of the Metropolis,' shortly to appear in future numbers. Do you not think that it is likely to do *less harm* and *more good* if brought out in an entire volume, than in weekly numbers? Such a work is undoubtedly demanded. Nothing can be done to remedy an evil till the evil be fairly brought to light; but is there not danger lest the process of uncovering the evil, adopted by you, may *aggravate* instead of *diminish* its intensity? Will not the *cheapness* of a work, bearing a title unhappily so attractive to the young, the idle, the prurient, promote indeed its sale, increase the number of its readers, make it popular with the masses, but not thereby tend to the end desired by the author, *the reformation* of the present extensive system of evil?

"Such a work as you design, Sir, if brought out *in one volume*, would find a ready sale with such as are and ought to be really interested in the subject. The name and character of the author would at once attract the philanthropist, the statesman, the minister of religion, and all others whose callings and pursuits make such details necessary to be known. You need never fear *a loss* from the publication of the work in such a form. It would, indeed, present but little temptation to others, who might receive harm from its perusal, and its price would put it out of the reach of those to whom it might do most mischief. So far, the number of readers would be less, and its sale less extensive; but moderate gains, with the satisfaction of feeling that they were obtained without promoting evil, would (*you* of all men need not be reminded of this) be far more satisfactory than the richest revenue, clogged with but the faintest misgiving that it was gotten (partly) by increasing sin.

"Hoping you will excuse my freedom in thus addressing you, and believing you will take the hint in the same friendly spirit in which it is given,

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Your sincere Well-wisher,

"M. (a Curate of London)."

Mr. Mayhew regrets that he is unable to act upon the advice of his esteemed correspondent. To publish the account of the London Prostitutes complete in a volume would be, in Mr. Mayhew's opinion, to destroy a great part of the utility of such a work. Moreover, the price would render it available to those *only* who could afford to part with some 5*s.* or 6*s.* at once; whereas the great advantage of the "fascicular" mode of publication is, that it enables the poor to obtain expensive treatises by small instalments. But the London Curate sees great danger from the poor being *allowed* to read such books. Mr. Mayhew, however, takes a very different view; he believes that many young girls now go wrong *thoughtlessly*—that is to say, they are ignorant of the *necessary consequences* of unchastity. Many parents, too, are either imprudently lax, or imprudently strict in the guardianship of their children, because they are unaware of the result of undue indulgence or undue rigour.

Mr. Mayhew hopes to be able to teach both parties the *ordained sequences of events* in these matters. The London Curate, of course, would not object to instructing the very humblest as to the laws of combustion or the causes of the seasons; and yet surely the natural order of the phenomena of vice is equally if not more important for the poor to know. No man thrusts his hand into the fire because he is *certain* it will burn him; render the sequences of moral events as apparently invariable, and there will be the same aversion to brave them, for the Great Lawgiver has most *benevolently* made them all ultimately terrible. The erring err sometimes from a want of faith, and sometimes from a want of knowledge respecting physical and moral causation. Give them this faith or this knowledge—let the future result be continually present to them—let the escapes from evil be demonstrated to be the accidents, and the sufferance from it the natural consequences of a deviation from virtue, and depend upon it the poor will be as prudent and guarded in their conduct as even the most respectable of us. This is the education that is *needed* more than all by the uninformed and the unthinking, and towards it Mr. Mayhew hopes to lend some little assistance. When "London Labour" is productive of misery the sooner the author converts his pen into "roast beef," as children say, by burning it, the better.

The following is printed here as one out of many instances of the wrongs of the London Clerks, who are a most important body of London Labourers, numbering some thousands. Mr. Mayhew is most anxious to begin investigating their condition at the earliest possible period.

"An admirer of 'London Labour,' and a subscriber to most of the numbers, is desirous of knowing whether the *mass* of poor *half-starved* legal and commercial clerks which are in this metropolis are to be set forth to the public eye—the writer thinks they ought; he is a clerk to a GENTLEMAN, who employs him about six hours per day in writing and as a messenger, at the *liberal salary* of 9*s.* per week. I am generally *fully employed.* I *know* there are very many in this city not paid much more than my pittance. I am a young man of good education and connections, but having been out of employment some time I eagerly snapped at the pittance I receive. My master is reputed to be *very rich*, and, I am sorry to add, very mean. You will scarcely believe that a security of 20*l.* was required before I entered my present service, but no one would be security for me, knowing the trifling pay I was to receive; he therefore waived that. In more prosperous times I have received good pay, from 1*l.* to 1*l.* 5*s.* per week. Both my parents are sick, my mother is *dying*, I believe, and out of my small salary I am compelled to aid them, for although their friends are able they are not willing, my father having been a very reckless man and a drunkard. They pay the rent and that is all, for they dislike him so much that they will not give to my mother for fear he should get a share. It is somewhat unchristian I must own, but his recklessness has been so great that I scarcely wonder at it. I should be glad to have employment in book-keeping by single entry, &c., &c., after 4 P.M., if I could get it, for a trifle. I hope you will excuse this scrawl, but it is written in business hours in a great hurry. I perceive from your work that the most *ignorant* and *mindless* of the *lower classes* realize more than many who have received a good education and *possess ability*. Hoping you will forgive my intrusion and bad writing—

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"W. D. M."

The writer of the above speaks but the truth in saying that the most ignorant and *mindless* of the humbler class earn more than he does. *A dustman, he will perceive, makes nearly double*, and many of the street-traders (the coal-sellers for instance) about four times as much as W. D. M. If W. D. M. wishes to become rich he must give over working for himself and *get to trade on the labour of others*. This is the great evil of our social system. By industry a man can scarcely keep himself from starving, whereas, by scheming and trading, he may ride in his carriage and become one of the "*respectable* classes."

The following is from a journeyman tailor—a gentleman long known and respected by Mr. Mayhew:—

"Dear Sir,

"Notwithstanding the many attempts to explain the meaning of the term 'haberdasher,' I observe that you say in your last number of 'Labour and the Poor,' that it is still a mystery. I don't know whether the following will throw any more light on the matter, but it struck me at the time as a still more curious application of the term than any that I have seen, so I transcribed it for you. It is from the 'Great Bible,' date April, 1540, in the British Museum, on vellum, presentation copy to Henry VIII., as is shown by the following inscription on the reverse of the fly leaf—'This Booke is presented unto your most excellent highnesse by youre loving, faithfull, and obedient subject and *daylye oratour*, Anthonye Marler of London, *haberdassher*.'

"In this case was the office, for such I presume it to be, of 'daylye Oratour' lay or clerical? if the former, what trade was Anthonye Marler? if the latter, how was it connected with the term 'haberdasher?'

"In an old dictionary, date 1701, I find three supposed derivations for it:—Habeidas, Greek, have you that? Aveir d'acheter, French, having to buy; or Kooperdaseer, Dutch, a dealer in small wares or toys, also a dealer in hats. In Boyer's French and English Dictionary, date 1747, it is used in the same manner, with

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

the addition of 'mercer' being included under the term as at present.

"I remain, my dear Sir,
"Yours truly,
"———."

Will any clerical antiquary "enlighten our darkness" on this curious point? The "daylye Orateur" of course was a layman, but what was the haberdasher in these days? Mr. Mayhew has before stated that he considers the Dutch *Kooper-daseer* the most probable origin of the English haberdasher, for the consonantal changes are all in conformity with known laws,—$K = H$, and $p = b$, and $s = sh$; moreover, the signification, "a dealer in small wares," is precisely that of the term haberdasher in the present day. Hence all the requirements for *dialectic* derivation are fulfilled; but what is *daseer?* Mr. Mayhew can find this part of the Dutch compound in no Dutch dictionary. Kooper is a dealer, and the equivalent of our *chap*-man.

An Oxfordshire correspondent writes as follows:—

"SIR,

"As a constant reader of your publication 'London Labour,' I venture to address a few words to you. I am extremely interested in your work, and feel that the whole country is greatly indebted to you for your truth and honesty, and your manful advocacy of the labourer's welfare. It is, therefore, with no unfriendly spirit that I venture to criticise anything you put forth. I am not aware that any one can justly find fault with the body of the work, but I think it is occasionally otherwise with the fly sheets; to me, indeed, they are very interesting, and I should be very sorry if they were discontinued; but certainly they are your vulnerable part,—*e.g.*, in your number of Aug. 2nd you say that taxes were in the first instance simply protection, and not to furnish the exchequer. I think you will find it quite the reverse as a general statement, or at least as regards the history of this country: the two objects were always contemplated as joined together in early times.

"But it is not as regards such questions that I find fault with your fly sheets. Early in the work you intimated that you might see cause to modify your views and perhaps change them considerably. Now, I ask in all friendship whether, then, it is right to put forth views (I do not say statements) calculated to be drawn in with avidity by classes who have great reason for discontent, and who, be sure, will not abandon a theory which attempts to explain the source of their wrongs, in the same philosophical spirit in which you and I might modify our views upon further investigation.

"Is it morally right to offer yourself as a leader of the blind, when you confess you may find out after a time that you yourself did not see quite clearly?

"If I have not altogether mistaken your character you will, I am sure, pardon this freedom of speech.

"Having said my say, allow me now to furnish you with a little fact of the working of free trade in Oxfordshire.

"Turnip hoeing is reduced this year from *four* to *three* shillings an acre in consequence, it is avowed by the farmers, of the cheapness of provisions."

Mr. Mayhew does consider it *morally* right to say *honestly* what he *thinks* upon all matters upon which his *opinion* is solicited. In so doing his usual practice is to cite a reason or determining cause for his judgment, so that others can receive his ideas for just what they are worth. Mr. Mayhew aspires to no leadership, nor even dictatorship, in social and political matters. He is a person who presumes to inquire and think for himself on such subjects, and he wishes others to do the same. In the early numbers he stated that he should appropriate the fly leaves of "London Labour" for the publication of certain *speculations* on economical and other subjects, candidly warning the readers that the opinions there expressed were nothing but speculations, and reserving to himself the right of changing such opinions as often as he found *reason* to do so. Surely this is the very reverse of leadership or dictatorship, and it is in precisely the same spirit that Mr. Mayhew continues the publication of his sentiments from time to time. The passage referred to concerning the taxes is as follows:—"The imposts on foreign commodities were neither instituted nor maintained as a source of income to the government, but simply as a means of protection to the home producer." Surely our Oxford friend will admit the truth of this statement as regards what were specially called "protective duties," and that it referred to nothing else is self-evident.

The following, from a clerical correspondent, requires no comment. It is printed here as a record of the fact:—

"SIR,

"It may perhaps afford some trifling illustration of the subject of 'Hot Cross Buns,' in your valuable work, to state that I well remember, when a boy about twelve years old (now *sixty* years ago), the distich you quote was set to music, and sung as a catch or glee; the several voices being so humorous and modulated as to produce a *comic* effect. Another of the same character began, 'The last dying speech and confession;' another, 'Ah, how Sophia,' but these words, being rapidly and humorously sung, caught the ear as 'A house o' fire, a house o' fire!' Such music was then much in fashion.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours most respectfully.
"R. W. N."

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following finds fault, under a mistaken idea, with the criminal statistics as given in No. 37 of this work :—

"Sir,

"Having completed, a fortnight ago, a work embracing the statistics of crime in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, in reference to the social state of the population, and seeing your advertisement, I sent for No. 37 of your publication, with which I was very much pleased—but in reference to the maps, if given at all with a view of being of service, they certainly ought to be correct.

"Let us examine Map 1, on the density of the population.

"You have computed the number of persons to each statute acre whether it is capable of being cultivated or not; consequently it is no criterion to the means of employment afforded to a given population—you could not, for instance, compare Lincolnshire with North Wales or Cumberland—indeed, out of the 32,342,400 acres on which your table is computed in England, 3,256,400 acres of land are *incapable* of improvement, and ought to be deduced; and in Wales, out of the 4,752,000 acres, 1,105,000 acres are *incapable* of improvement, and the residue ought to be the foundation of the table in order truly to arrive at the density of the population to a given quantity of land—for if you gave five men an acre of land in Norfolk, they might obtain their subsistence, but certainly not on the top of Snowden or Shap-Fells.

"Again, as to Map 2, in reference to crime.

"*Flintshire* is placed in the *black* book. It is a great pity you did not keep to the text '*each county* in England and *Wales*'—for Wales is lumped together. The average also is taken from England and Wales, while in truth all the *black part* is in England, therefore an average ought to have been taken for *England only*, or England and Wales *separately*. In that case Kent, Surrey, Suffolk, and Sussex, would have been above the average. You cannot truly deal with England and Wales as *one*, without doing injustice to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; to illustrate this take the year 1849, and we have those committed for trial, &c. :—

"In Ireland 1 in 194¾ of the population.

"In Scotland 1 in 601¼ ditto.

"In England and Wales 1 in 571¾ ditto.

"Thus, placing England as 1 in 571¾ instead of 1 in 556⅛, and placing Wales as 1 in 571¾ instead of 1 in 1070 of the population, the true gradation of crime would be thus :—

"In Ireland 1 in 194¾ of the population.

"In England 1 in 556⅛ ditto.

"In Scotland 1 in 601¼ ditto.

"In Wales 1 in 1070 ditto.

"My sole object in writing is to call your attention to these matters.

"I am, yours,

"W. B. Prichard, C.E., F.S.A."

The above objections are of two kinds—those which refer to the mode of estimating the density of the population, and those which refer to the mode of estimating the comparative criminality of the several counties.

As to the density of the population, Mr. Prichard urges that this should be calculated *not* according to the entire area of the county, but according to merely that portion of it which is capable of cultivation. Now, with all deference to Mr. Prichard, the relative number of the population to a given quantity of arable land, or meadow land, has no connection whatever with the purposes for which the table was given, these being to arrive at definite notions as to the crowding of the people into a given space with the view of ascertaining whether the law be *generally* true that the greater the number of people congregated in a particular locality, the greater the crime. Of course the quantity of land capable of affording subsistence to the people must be less in the metropolis than in any other part of the kingdom—less even perhaps than "on the top of Snowdon or Shap-Fells," and yet surely Mr. Prichard would not cite the deficiency of cultivatable land in London as the cause why there are 24 criminals in every 10,000 of the metropolitan population and only 7 criminals in the same number of people in Cumberland. Some say the excess of criminality in the capital is due to the greater crowding of people; others that it is due to the greater temptation arising from the large amount of property existing there; others again that it is due to the greater poverty of the "lower orders" in that quarter. The object of the maps and tables is to put each of the criminal theories to the test of statistics. If it be true that the greater crime of London is due to the greater mass of people there congregated, then should those localities where the population is most dense have the greatest number of criminals. The tables and maps speak for themselves on this point.

As regards Map No. 2, Mr. Prichard errs in saying that Flintshire is placed in the black book; surely Flintshire is part of North Wales, and this he will see is left virgin white as indicative of its relative purity. Then, with all a Welshman's pardonable love of country, Mr. Prichard urges that the criminal average should have been taken for England alone, saying that the whole of the black part is in England. This might have been gratifying to Mr.

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Prichard's nationality, but it is quite unusual and in no way necessary. Surely the honourable virtue of the Welsh is sufficiently evident. The Welsh counties would have been calculated separately, but the returns of the Registrar-General did not admit of this being done. Mr. Mayhew will be happy to give every attention to Mr. Prichard's book when published.

Mr. Prichard, it will be seen, estimates the relative criminality of each county according to the *whole* of the population. This, with all deference, is a less simple method than the proportion to *a fixed quantity*. By Mr. Prichard's method the ratio is contrary to the numbers; that is to say, the intensity of the crime in North and South Wales is in the inverse proportion of 1370 to 1186, so that the district bearing the highest number has the fewest criminals, whereas, by finding the ratio to a constant quantity (say 1000 or 10,000 of the population in each county) we arrive at an immediate or less "roundabout" method of comparison: thus the relative criminality of North and South Wales is *directly* as 7 to 8 (of every 10,000 of the Welsh people). Mr. Prichard, moreover, appears to draw his conclusions from one year's returns only (1849). No averages can be depended upon under ten or five years at least. If from an urn filled with different coloured balls, I draw only one ball, I can from that obtain no knowledge of the proportionate number of different coloured balls contained in the urn; but after a *series* of drawings, I shall be enabled to conclude (with more or less certainty, according to the extent of the series) the relative quantity of balls of each colour within the vessel.—*See Quetelet on Probabilities.*

The Rev. E. H. forwards 5*s.* in postage stamps for the "Loan Fund."

Irving, One of the King's Own, sends 2*s.* 6*d.* for the Crippled Seller of Nutmeg-Graters.

26th August, 1851.

"Sir,

"Seeing by last week's number of your most valuable work 'London Labour and the Poor,' that it was your intention of treating of a fourth class, viz., 'Those who need not work,' I should be much obliged by your informing me at what period of the work you intend entering on it; and also if it is your intention of giving portraits to illustrate the present subject of 'Those that will not work.' Hoping to have an answer, when convenient, in 'London Labour,'

"Your most obedient Servant,
"R. S.
("A reader from the first.")

Portraits of all the classes treated of will be given. It is impossible to say when those who *need not* work will be treated of, seeing that the Operatives and the Distributors have not been as yet entered upon. Mr. Mayhew hopes to pay his attention to all in good time, though really the subject he has undertaken is so vast that it becomes almost fearful to contemplate.

The following is etymological, and worthy of attention:—

"Liverpool, 26th August, 1851.

"Sir,

"Reading the part of your work of July 5th, including Bird-sellers, &c., I found, at page 70, your opinion that the word 'Duffer' appears to be connected with the German 'Durffen,' to want, to be needy. I am a German myself, and as I know you are always willing to take a correction, where you find it founded on reasons, I take the liberty to give you my opinion concerning the origin of 'Duffer.'

"There is a word in German spelled 'Duff, Duffen,' to make something blind (windows), to make it looking better as it looked before; and, figurative, to cheat somebody, and to change the appearance of something in any way.

"Is it not more likely that word Duffer is connected with this word Duff? Besides, the word 'Durffen' is spelled in German 'dürffen.'

"Sir, yours,
"A German.
("Constant reader of your work.")

The German *Duffen* is connected with the Anglo-Saxon *Dufian*, to dive. Mr. Mayhew prefers the derivation Durfen as being connected with that of Pedlar, but still the matter is far from being proved. For dialectic derivation we require to find the word itself (not the root of it) differently spelt, but having the same signification. The conditions are fulfilled by neither of the derivations of Duffer.

The following speaks for itself. It shows how the accursed cheap system is maintained, and how the wives of working-men are invariably used to degrade the value of labour for the production of slop goods of all kinds. Mr. Sidney Herbert told us some eighteen months ago that the only remedy for the lowness of women's wages was to ship off our female-workers to the colonies. 20,000*l.* were subscribed for this purpose; some half-dozen shiploads have been sent out—and yet it would appear from the subjoined that the remuneration for female-labour is not a farthing-piece the better: when *will* these Political Economists see their mistakes?

"Sir,

"I have read many of your details, and have felt shocked at the statement given of the condition of many of the labouring population. You have done good service to humanity in exposing the tyranny and oppression of such employers as Moses, Hyams, &c., and I trust you will give the publicity of your pages to every case of extortion and defrauding of the poor. The following statement will show that in the 'lowest depth' of low wages there is 'a lower deep.' A Jew, or converted Jew Printer, trading not a hundred miles from the Farringdon-street end of Ludgate-hill, is now paying 1*d.* a thousand for cutting labels by scissars—formerly he paid 3*d.*, then reduced it to 2*d.*, and it is now at the sum I have named. He gives the work to the wives of the men in his employ, who dare not

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57

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The subjoined table of wages, which, if correct, is highly valuable, has been kindly furnished by R. H. Mr. Mayhew prints it here to preserve it, but he in no way pledges himself as to its accuracy. It is the production of a gentleman who is utterly unknown to him, and who gives no voucher for his respectability. The author is further a gentleman with a strong "economical" bias, and this alone Mr. Mayhew (without wishing to impute the least wilful perversion of the facts) is well aware will always give the mind a warp towards the interest of the employer, for Political Economy as it stands is super-eminently the science of trading.

The rate of remuneration for the working man, we are told, is to be tested simply by what may be termed a scramble—the law of supply and demand—without any regard to the subsistence of the labourers or the share they contribute towards the increased value of the materials on which they operate, though the rate of profits among traders, we are told, is to be determined by the cost of living. For instance, "in a small seaport town," says Adam Smith, "a little grocer will make 40 or 50 per cent. upon a stock of a single hundred pounds, while a considerable wholesale merchant in the same place will scarce make 8 or 10 per cent. upon a stock of ten thousand. The trade of the grocer may be necessary for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and the narrowness of the market may not admit the employment of a larger capital in the business. *The man, however, must not only live by his trade, but live by it suitably to the qualifications it requires.*" A new Political Economy, one that will take *some little notice* of the claims of labour, doing justice as well to the workman as to the employer, stands foremost among the *desiderata*, or things wanted, in the present age. As the science now exists, Ikey Solomons, the Jew Fence, is the perfection of its principles. He buys in the cheapest market and sells in the dearest, and he is regulated in all his dealings *solely* by the principle of supply and demand. Were there more thieves and less receivers, of course he would give even less for the stolen goods than he does; and were there more receivers and fewer thieves, of course each receiver, by the principle of competition, would give more. Nor can the fence's exorbitant profits be quarrelled with "economically." They are, thus viewed, merely greater remuneration for greater risk, and *perfectly justifiable.* Has any economist, however, the courage to justify them, and say that the market should be thrown open, and free trade, *without any restrictions whatever,* allowed to the receivers of stolen goods? W. B. B., the economist, has told us, in these pages, that "justice" and "right" and "conscience" are mere conceits, having no foundation in nature—moral bogies, as it were, invented by old women to frighten the naughty, and surely after this Ikey, the economist, will be one of the forms of his hero-worship, at least if there be any worship in the gentleman at all. All this, however, but little concerns the Wage List of R. H., which, as was before said, is given here with a view to its preservation.

WEEKLY WAGES OF STUFF HAT FINISHERS.

	1841.			1842.			1843.			1844.			1845.		
	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
J. P.........n	7 3	60 0	31 6	10 10	59 7	41 6	14 0	57 4	33 4	3 0	60 3	33 2	..	..	..
J. H.........n	17 4	88 0	38 10												
J. W..........s	2 4	72 2	34 4												
— S......h	15 6	62 1	33 10												
— G..........g	1 2	56 0	37 4												
— W..........s	..	..	..	6 4	56 7	32 2	..	..	..	7 4	60 5	32 9	9 3	44 11	27 5
J. W. P.........r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
W. H..........n	..	..	..	..	..	..	13 8	35 0	28 0	2 4	52 8	28 11	..	..	..
J. C..........n	16 4	56 11	33 0	7 0	64 6	38 0	14 0	53 4	31 4	2 4	62 9	31 5	13 6	76 3	36 6
— C........h	..	..	..	17 4	39 9	25 2									
W. O......n	..	..	..	15 4	34 7	22 10									
— H.........m	..	..	..	17 4	40 0	23 0									
G. T........r	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9 0	31 8	17 5
C. J..........n	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
W. H..........d	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Average			34 9			30 5			30 10			31 6			27 1

	1846.			1847.			1848.			1849.			1850.		
	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average	Lowest	Highest	Average
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
J. P.........n	9 8	57 4	33 4												
J. H.........n															
J. W..........s															
— S......h															
— G..........g															
— W..........s	7 0	56 0	27 4												
J. W. P.........r	..	..	..	10 4	59 7	33 8	15 7	56 0	28 9	13 8	47 0	30 4	5 8	63 2	38 8
W. H..........n	11 11	65 11	32 1	12 2	65 4	37 5	6 7	56 0	28 6	13 4	48 0	30 1	13 0	65 4	38 3
J. C..........n															
— C........h															
W. O......n															
— H.........m															
G. T........r															
C. J..........n	..	..	..	14 2	32 7	21 10									
W. H..........d	..	..	..	6 4	42 5	24 1									
Average			30 11			29 3			28 7			30 2			38 6

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The above statement of wages is, however, objectionable on other points besides those before raised, and as employers often deceive themselves, and the public too, respecting the earnings of their workmen, Mr. Mayhew will here append a short account as to how wage statements should be made out *in fairness both* to *employer* and *employed*. Of course it is to the interest of employers to make it appear that their workmen earn as much as possible, and of working men to make out that their wages are as little as possible. There is a natural tendency to exceed the truth on both sides, and this tendency, even without wilful dishonesty, will necessarily incline to exaggeration. For instance, an employer asserts that the wages of a working tailor are 36*s.* a week, and instantly the public conclude that the operatives in that trade have little to complain of. But in receiving this statement, we have first to inquire whether the operative earning this amount of money belongs to the better or worse paid class of workmen, and if to the former, what are the wages of the latter, and what proproportion do the worse paid men bear to the better paid. But even suppose this done, it would still give us no accurate knowledge on the subject.

Wages are strictly remuneration for work done. Hence it is useless to tell us merely what the remuneration has been (for this is but the employer's side of the question); for a full and fair account, we should know how much labour has been given or exacted for the stated amount of pay (this is the working man's part of the subject). If the men are paid by the day they may, by extra supervision, be made to do double the amount of work usual in the trade (when their wages will be virtually reduced one-half). Such is the case in the strapping shops of the carpenters' trade. Or the men may be worked over hours, as by the "scurf employers" in the scavengers' trade. If, on the other hand, the men are paid by the piece, the price should be given as well as the ordinary rate of working, that is to say, the time that each piece occupies an *average* hand in making. A "quick hand" may work twice as fast as a slow one, and it would be unfair to cite this as the average earnings of the several hands in the trade (though this was done to Mr. Mayhew by an army clothier respecting the "loopers"). It should also be stated whether the work is done at home or on the employer's premises. If on the employer's premises the ordinary hours of labour should be set forth, and if at home, or any work be taken home to finish in after hours, not only the same statement should be given, but mention should be made whether the workman employs any one else to assist him. An employer, in contradiction to a statement made by Mr. Mayhew, that those who "loop" the soldiers' coats earn on an average 3*s.* 6*d.* a week, asserted that he was paying some of his hands as much as 15*s.* a week for the same work, and account books were proferred in proof of the correctness of the assertion. On inquiry it turned out that the 15*s.* had been received only by the quickest hands, who often took two coats home with them after their day's work, and employed "seconders" to finish the work for them, while the average wages of *all* the hands were proved by this employer's ledger to be less than Mr. Mayhew had declared.

But even after all this sifting, we shall have arrived only at the *nominal* wages of the workman, and these *nominal* wages are often merely a blind to the public and the trade, being widely different from the *virtual* wages, or sum really received by the operatives. The fashionable mode of proceeding among employers at present is not to reduce wages directly, but indirectly, by laying some extra charge upon the men—that is to say, to increase their burdens by a kind of *indirect* taxation as it were. Hence it behoves us to set forth most particularly in every trade what are the *deductions to the wages* said to be received.

Now these deductions Mr. Mayhew finds to be of several kinds. (1.) Fines or stoppages for positive or assumed misconduct. (2.) Rent charged for use of tools or implements of trade, as in the system of pence among the sawyers, and the frame rents among the stockingers. (3.) Cost of such appurtenances as the workman is made to find, as trimmings, in the cheap tailors' trade. (4.) Rent for gas. (5.) Rent for shop, occasionally introduced among piece workers as a fine for absence from work, on the plea that "the rent is going on all the same." (6.) Bonus paid to foreman in order to obtain work. (7.) Sum paid to middleman from whom the work is obtained. (8.) Stoppages for benefit or provident fund, to which the workman loses all claim in case of being discharged. This is not at all an unusual trick among employers. If, moreover, the work be done at home we must deduct all the necessary expenses in connection with it, which are thus forced on the workman. These are: (1.) Candles and firing, used expressly for the work. (2.) Rent where the work is carried on in a distinct place. But these and the foregoing are only the more direct modes of reducing wages indirectly. The more indirect modes of lowering the remuneration for labour are: (1.) Reducing the quality of the provisions among those who board and lodge with their employers, as milliners, &c. (2.) Forcing or expecting the men, to deal with the employer for their provisions, and charging them an undue price for the same. (3.) Forcing or expecting the men either to take lodgings of their employers which they do not use, or for which they are charged an undue price, or to rent houses of their employers on the same terms. (4.) Forcing or expecting the men to have their drink of their employer, and favouring those who expend the most of their earnings in this manner. (5.) Forcing the workpeople to find security for the work they take out, and thus to pay an undue price for their food or drink to those bakers, butchers, or publicans, who make a trade of "standing security" for the poorer workpeople. But the *aids to wages* are quite as necessary to be ascertained as even the *drawbacks.* These aids are of two kinds, according as they consist of either direct or indirect additions made

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following curious document has come to hand. Mr. Mayhew will inquire into the facts, and report accordingly.

"September 6th, 1851.

"Sir,

"In page 418 of your first volume, you speak of a meeting consisting of *thieves*.

"It has been agitated, time out of mind—Reform! Reform! Reform! has been posted in every hole and corner, for some political or great social purpose, and conceiving the idea that yours was a reform of the above class of outcasts, which has made me trouble you with these few lines; and also in bringing under your notice a case, which is worthy of your consideration, as well as every lover of his species, and of which I am afraid is not a solitary one.

"The case I am about to show is thus:—a young couple which are married, and both of which has led a dishonest life for many years, and both of which have refrained from those practices these twelve or fourteen months past; the husband has held a situation as a conductor of an omnibus. The proprietor, whose name is Bennett, and to whom he gave every satisfaction while in his employ, having to renew his licence, it was refused him, although there was not a stain on his character, nor a complaint laid against him during the time he was a conductor; but it was refused him on account of his former life, and having been convicted, he has been out of a situation this last four or five months. His master is willing to take him on again as soon as he regains his licence.

"Sir, could you tell me how a government can keep a man from getting an honest livelihood, or a nation can be justified in so allowing it, as it is done in their name, by those who represent them (or ought to). We are not all demigods, nor heroes in honesty, nor do I believe we all would go through the fiery ordeal of dying by starvation sooner than doing worse. If this young man of whom I speak can attain his end, he will become an honest man and a good member of society; such is my hopes, at any rate. All that is left now is a little of your valuable advice. 'Do good to all men' was the spring that moved me to this act, humble as it is, but still hoping to do more,

"I remain, yours, &c.,

"T—— A——, *a constant reader.*"

Mr. Mayhew has to acknowledge with thanks returns from the authorities of the undermentioned places, in answer to the following queries:—

Number of prostitutes well-dressed living in brothels?

Number of prostitutes well-dressed walking the streets?

Number of prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods?

Number of brothels where prostitutes are kept?

Average number of prostitutes kept in each house of ill fame where prostitutes resort?

Average number of prostitutes resorting to each?

Number of houses where prostitutes lodge?

Average number of prostitutes lodging in each?

The localities from which answers have been received are as follows:—

Metropolitan Police.
Dudley.
Dewsbury.
Reading.
Northampton.
Chesterfield.
Hertford.
Brecon.
Forebridge (near Stafford).
Newcastle (under Lyne).
Margate.
Bolton.
Dublin.
Canterbury.
Merthyr Tydvil.
Leicester.
Carlisle.
Belfast.
Wakefield.
Dorchester.
Huntingdon.
South Shields.
North Shields.
Warwick.
Halifax.
Manchester.
Borough of Lancaster.
Bath.
Leeds.
Glasgow.
Edinburgh.
Bristol.
Nottingham.
Liverpool.
Birmingham.
Plymouth.
Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Mr. Mayhew has also to acknowledge the receipt of Reports from the following Societies:—

Guardian Society for reclaiming females who have deviated from the paths of virtue.

British Ladies' Society for promotion of reformation of female prisoners.

British Penitent Female Refuge.

London Female Penitentiary.

Refuge for the Destitute.

Answers have likewise been received from several of the Metropolitan workhouses.

Returns have also been forwarded from some of the London hospitals.

The returns from the governments abroad, have not yet come to hand.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is sent to correct an error :—

" Sir,

" In your Answers to Correspondents in the 36th No. of 'London Labour,' &c., which has just reached me in Part 9, there is an error of the press, which renders the two first lines of my communication unintelligible. They should stand thus :—

" Haberdasher } *Minshew*, from Ger.
" Haberdashery } *Habt ihr das*, i.e., Have you that, &c.

" In your estimate of the value of Richardson's Dictionary on account of the copious examples it contains from the earliest to the latest authors, and also of his notions as to the historic mode of Etymology, you concur in, I believe, the general opinion. I am aware the work has been censured as wholly deficient in what you term 'dialectic Etymology, through the medium of cognate languages.' But it is only fair to keep in mind that the author considered Researches into the Affinities of the Indo-Germanic tongues (the cognate languages, to which, I presume, you allude) to be the peculiar province of Comparative Philology, and quite out of place in an English dictionary. Thus, he observes of the display of Oriental reading made by Dr. Webster in his Preliminary Essays, 'that as introductory to a dictionary of the English language, it seems as appropriate and useful as a reference to the code of Gentoo laws to settle a question of English inheritance.' Whether right or wrong in this opinion, I do not discuss.

" I am sufficiently national, notwithstanding my pride and joy in the Crystal Palace Exhibition, to wish the names of Sir Wm. Jones and John Horne Tooke not to be overlaid by those of Geisner and Bopp, great as they undoubtedly are.

" With respect to Horne Tooke, allow me to say, that I heartily subscribe to the following words of Lord Brougham, 'As everything that was done before' (the 'Diversions of Purley') 'was superseded by it, so nothing has been effected since, unless in pursuing its views and building upon its solid foundations.'—*Statesmen in the Time of George III., Second Series.*

" I remain, yours, &c.
" A. B."

" What is meant," adds the same correspondent, " by 'the Latin *give*' in the seventh line from the bottom of your second paragraph, col. 2?"

The word should have been *sive*; give was an error of the press. Surely Lord Brougham, great man as he is, is not the best possible authority to quote upon a matter of Saxon philology; but A. B., if he pushes his etymological researches a little farther than Horne Tooke and Anglo-Saxon, will see that comparative philology is to the true understanding of languages, what comparative anatomy is to natural history. Without this all is vain conjecture, and the derivation of Gherkin from King Jeremiah, represents very truly the fanciful part of the science. Upon Horne Tooke's plan any derivation may be given, as witness his explanation of the origin of poltroon.

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10

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

QUERY asks, If wages are not regulated by the law of Supply and Demand, on what *do* they depend? Wages depend, or *should* depend, upon the share of the produce justly accruing to the working man. Production is generally a joint affair; one party contributing the materials, tools, shelter, food, and superintendence necessary for the due performance of the work, and the other contributing the work itself. These are the two elements which make up the real value of every article produced, and common equity demands that each of the contributors should share in the result according to the proportion in which his contribution serves to increase the ultimate worth of the produce. The inquiry, therefore, into what regulates wages, resolves itself into a second inquiry, what regulates the share of the produce *justly* accruing to the working man. At present this is determined by a continual struggle between the two contributors as to how much the one can extort from the other, and how little the other can be starved into accepting. This is called the law of Supply and Demand, or the relation between population and capital; and is about as just a means of deciding what is essentially a point of simple equity, as a standing army is of settling the *rights* of nations. Neither numbers nor power have any connection whatever with a matter of abstract justice.

The many discontents prevailing among the labouring classes of this country arise mainly from the present mode of regulating wages. Socialism, chartism, communism, are all necessary consequences of the infraction of the fundamental law of the true economy of national wealth, viz., that production is a partnership, and that the labourer is *therefore* entitled to a fair share of the produce. Give him this share, recognise his claim to *participate* in the wealth that he creates, and you not only stop all cause for grumbling, but you put an end to all new-fangled principles of society (for this is the foundation-stone of every "model city")—you make the interest of employer and employed one and the same; whereas now they are diametrically opposed, and so you destroy all that bitter enmity between classes which is ready at any moment at present to burst forth into physical fury. It wants but this fusion of interests to wed the two great clans of this country—the savers and the workers—into one united family.

But what regulates the share of the produce accruing to the workman? This, as was before stated, is determined by the additional value that the labour of the workman confers upon the materials supplied by the capitalist; the conferring of such additional value being the sole reason why the employer pays any wages at all to the labourer. It is no matter to the capitalist whether there be 10,000 or 100,000 labourers in the trade; he is determined in the price he pays for so much work by the price he will receive for it. Economists, however, deny that prices can in any way regulate wages.

Formerly the workmen of this country were all villeins—either "villeins in gross," performing the lowest household duties, or "villeins regardant," attached to the soil, and being specially engaged in agriculture. The services rendered by them were either arbitrary, that is to say, dependent on the mere will of their lord, which constituted a state of "pure villeinage"—or certain and defined, which constituted privileged villeinage, or "villein-socage;" but in either case the person and the property of the villein belonged entirely to the lord, for the labourers were *incapable of acquiring anything for themselves.*

We have put an end to the villeinage system of labour, thank God! but we have transferred the labourer from the tyranny of the noble to the greed of the trader, who, aware of the absence of all *legal* right on the part of the workmen to obtain any *share* (saving the barest subsistence) out of the wealth they produce, takes care to perpetuate the wrong that the labourers shall have no power to acquire anything for themselves.

After the villeinage system of labour came the hireling system, by which the compulsory villein of old was changed into the voluntary bondsman—the serf into the servant; the sole distinction being that for the sake of a small pittance over and above his subsistence (and often not that), the workman was made to part with all right to participate in the wealth he created, *for so long as he continued the servant of his master.* And this is the system which remains in force to the present day. The workmen of this country are all hirelings, selling their services for a little present subsistence, rather than being the just participators in the riches they produce. There are but two objections possible to the above line of argument: the one is that by the present arrangement under the law of Supply and Demand, the labourer *does* obtain his fair share of the produce; and the other, that the labourer has *no right* to any such share. The latter objection is, of course, a justification for pure villeinage, the wrong of which consisted mainly in depriving the labourer of the property he inherently possessed in his labour. The former objection is, however, of a different kind. It admits the right of the labourer to share in the wealth he creates, and asserts that by the law of Supply and Demand he obtains this share in as equitable a manner as possible.

The reply to this objection is first by the fact so often quoted here in illustration of the injustice done to the operative, viz., that the padlock which sells for a shilling the workman receives but a halfpenny for making, and this surely even the most unconscionable would not attempt to justify as a *fair* division of the proceeds between the capitalists, the distributors, and the producers.

A second answer to the same point is that the law of Supply and Demand cannot possibly be a *fair* method of testing the amount of the share of the produce accruing to the labourer;

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seeing that it pays no regard to the value of such produce, but merely to the sum set aside by the employers for the remuneration of their workpeople during the performance of the work. By the law of Supply and Demand the workman's wages are made to depend solely upon the WAGE FUND, whereas they should, *in justice*, be regulated by the PRODUCE FUND, which are two very different things. The share of the Wage Fund accruing to each of the operatives depends simply on the number of workpeople among whom that Fund is to be divided, and pays no regard to the produce or value of the work; whereas it is here maintained that the operative should be remunerated in proportion to the amount of wealth which his labour contributes to the Produce Fund. This is the law of justice, the other the law of necessity. The workman *creates* so much wealth; he, by the exercise of his skill, gives to one pound's worth of materials the value of two or three pounds; and, doing so, a certain proportion of the extra value belongs to him by the most cogent of all rights to individual possession—*the right of creation.* Deny this right, and you deny the very foundation of the rights of property. You may, by the communistic theory of society, dispute his title to participate in the wealth he creates; but, under the present system of things, it is *impossible* that you can do otherwise than admit it. "The property," says Adam Smith, "which every man has in his labour, as it is the *original foundation* of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands."

Wages, then, depend upon the increased value that a workman, by the exercise of his skill, gives to the materials on which he operates. The rate of remuneration for labour *should be* determined by the amount that the materials will sell for after being operated upon by the workman over and above their original cost and the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed; and they certainly *should not* be regulated by what the employer can induce or compel the workman, through his necessities, to accept. The relation of the employer to the workman is that of a pawnbroker making an advance upon so much property deposited with him; and the employer, like the pawnbroker, is bound in justice to hand over to the workman the amount that the goods realize, when sold, over and above what he originally advanced upon them, and minus the ordinary rate of profit on the capital employed. And as the pawnbroker has no right to force the starving man to accept what he chooses (or the funds of his trade will allow him) to advance in full of all demands on the property when sold, so the employer should not have the power, because he advances the subsistence of the workman, to appropriate to himself the whole of the after proceeds of the labour. Who would say that the law of Supply and Demand would be a just means of regulating the amounts to be given by pawnbrokers to the poor, in exchange for their goods (*without regard to the ulterior proceeds of their sale*)? Does not the pawnbroker know that the poor hungry wretch is at his mercy, and will take whatever he can get? and what are the slop employers of the present day but labour pawnbrokers of the very worst kind, advancing what they please on the work, and over whom the poor workpeople have no control whatever?

The only true and equitable system of wages is the tribute system; or that which makes the remuneration of the workman depend on the value of the produce of his labour, and which is opposed both to the hireling system, which pays no regard to the produce or just property of the labourer, and the villeinage system, which regards neither his property nor his liberty. As a villein, the workman is the *slave* of the capitalist; as a hireling, he is the *servant* of him; while as a tributer, he is his *partner*, having a common interest with him, and consequently being as anxious to promote his employer's welfare as he is his own. As yet we have only reached the hireling system of wages; when the tribute system will be universally adopted throughout the land, of course, it is impossible to predicate; but until this is done the same poverty, the same discontent, the same class enmity, and the same danger to the community, must continue to exist as now prevails among us.

Mr. MAYHEW has to acknowledge the receipt of E. B.'s communication. The valuable table of wages and expenditure which he forwards will be given in as early a number as possible. Will E. B., however, oblige Mr. Mayhew by stating whether he is a quick hand or not, and the usual hours of labour with him, both of which conditions he will perceive are necessary qualifications for an individual statement? Are there also any deductions to be made from the wages given? and have the prices paid for his labour remained the same through the series of years indicated?—if not, please name the difference.

R. H's communication has been received with thanks. It shall appear in an early number.

D. W., of the Aberdeen Working Man's Library, will be written to privately.

B. H. G. D. (Liverpool) is thanked for the proferred information. Will he let Mr. Mayhew know the nature of his promised communication? The numbers have appeared.

J. M. G. (Northampton).—The subject has already appeared.

X. Y. Z.'s communication has been received with many thanks. It shall appear in an early number.

W. L. Y. (Woolwich) shall be written to if he will forward his address. The parts are now reprinted, and may be had by ordering them.

J. T. (Liverpool).—The statements are always taken down word for word from the narrator, when possible.

G. W. is thanked. Mr. Mayhew will attend to his communication at an early date.

A. B. C.'s letter shall be printed, and doubtlessly many street-sellers will be glad to avail themselves of the offer therein made.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the last number of "Those that will not work," a letter was printed from T. A., who wrote on behalf of two thieves who were inclined to lead an honest life, and one of whom had been refused his licence as an omnibus conductor, on account of his previous career. Mr. Mayhew promised to institute inquiries as to the facts of the case, and to report thereon. He has accordingly placed himself in communication with the Commissioners of Police, from whom the following reply has been received:—

"Metropolitan Police Office,
"4, Whitehall Place,
"24th Sept., 1851.

"Sir,

"I am directed by Mr. Mayne to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant, and to acquaint you in reply, that after repeated careful considerations of the circumstances of the case of the party mentioned, he felt it his duty not to grant him a licence as conductor of an omnibus, and that Mr. Mayne regretted he was obliged to come to that conclusion; but he cannot enter into any statement of the grounds upon which he acts in executing a very responsible, discretionary power.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most obedient Servant,
"C. Yardley,
"Chief Clerk."

By the above it will be seen that the Commissioners assert themselves, in as delicate a manner as possible, to have had sufficient cause for the refusal of the licence; let us, therefore, look calmly at the case. It may, doubtlessly, be a great evil that those who have adopted criminal courses as a means of subsistence should, when they may be disposed to reform, be denied by the government authorities the means of earning an honest livelihood. But suppose for a moment that the police were to grant licences to men whom they knew, and whom it is indeed acknowledged, to be thieves, to act as omnibus conductors; that is to say, to fill situations not only of great trust to the omnibus proprietors, but of no little temptation to the conductors themselves, as well as involving a continued intercourse with the public, and consequently requiring persons of at least civil, sober, and honest habits! What would the public say if the police were to take this privilege upon themselves, and, believing in the tales of repentance urged by old offenders, they were to elect persons of known dishonesty to fill situations of considerable temptation, and requiring no little command over the temper and habits? T. A. forgets, in his zeal for his friends, and his desire to see an opportunity for reformation afforded to all those who have led a dishonest life, the peculiar nature of the duty confided to the Police Commissioners. The police have a very onerous and ungrateful office to perform, and to those who have not had occasion to see them other than in their public capacity, it may appear that they sometimes carry out the authority entrusted to them with undue harshness, but to others who, like Mr. Mayhew, have had repeated occasions to seek from them information on subjects connected with the poor and the criminal classes, they are most certainly a body of persons actuated by every desire to benefit and improve the condition of the people generally. Mr. Mayhew *knows* this from his own experience, and indeed he is most glad to be called upon to make this public expression of his opinion on the matter. For many months now he has been in frequent communication with the heads of the police force, receiving important information from them, and, as a man wishing to do justice to all parties, he must confess that they are a body "more sinned against than sinning." That there may occur among members of the force repeated instances of a tyrannical use of the power entrusted to them, Mr. Mayhew does not attempt to deny, but assuredly these are the exceptions; and, so far from their being in any way countenanced by the Commissioners, he *knows* that no persons regret or censure them so deeply as they do. People are apt to forget the benefits they owe to the vigilance of the police—the protectors by night and day of our persons, property, and liberties, from undue aggression; we should remember, when we lay our heads down on our pillows, to whom we owe the security of our slumbers.

Mr. Mayhew is well aware that the police appear to working men to be a force instituted by the rich against the poor, and created to maintain the laws, in their oppression of the humbler classes. That the duty of the police is to maintain the laws, there cannot be the least doubt. If we are to have any laws at all, there must be some force to see them executed; a lawless community is neither desirable, nor, thank Heaven! possible for any length of time. The error of the poor people generally lies in considering the harshness of some of our laws to be the harshness of those who execute them. The street-sellers are an instance of this mistake; they visit the errors of the street acts on the heads of the force which carries them out, and so get to regard the police as the great enemies of the people and themselves. And so T. A., thinking only of the injury done to the conductor who has been deprived of his licence on account of the dishonesty of his past career, and forgetting the duty the police owe to society in general, upbraids them with a tyrannical exercise of power. The Commissioners dare not make any such hazardous experiments as to delegate situations of trust to those who are known to them to be untrustworthy.

Suppose T. A.'s friends, after receiving their licence, were to lapse into their former malpractices; and let us say, for the sake of the argument, that they were to avail themselves of the situation of conductor to pass counterfeit money, and it then came out that the police, from bene-

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volent motives, gave licences to known thieves—what would parliament and the press have to say on the subject? Or suppose the temptation of continually receiving large sums of money for the proprietor of the omnibus was to prove too strong for those who had once subsisted by thieving, what would their employer say to the police for licensing, and so tacitly vouching for the fitness of known bad characters to fill posts of trust?

But though the police, as government officers, cannot grant to persons of notoriously dishonest propensities the opportunity of leading a new life when they are so inclined, Mr. Mayhew, who stands in a different position with the public, will be happy to interest himself on behalf of the two persons mentioned in the letter of T. A., and if they can assure him of the sincerity of their desire to reform, he will do all he can to put them in the way of carrying out their resolves. Will T. A. communicate again with Mr. Mayhew on the subject?

The following is very valuable, as correcting a derivation given in this work. A. B., who objects to the use of anything but Saxon in the etymology of the English language, will here see how important it is that all languages (as proceeding from one parent stock) should be consulted for the complete understanding of our own:—

"Sir,

"I have been a reader of your work upon 'London Labour and the London Poor,' from its commencement, and therefore take the liberty of correcting what appears to me a mistake in your number of this week, viz., your derivation of the word 'shoful.' It is, as you are perhaps aware, constantly in use among the Jews of the present day, and is, I should say, evidently derived from the Hebrew subs. שֵׁפֶל (shēphel), a *low* or debased estate, see Psalm cxxxvi. 23, 'in our *low estate*;' Ecc. x. 6, "the rich sit in a *low place*." Hence the Hebrew adjective שָׁפָל 'base' (as in 2 Sam. vi. 22, '*base* in mine own sight;' Ezek., xxix. 15, '*basest* of the kingdoms,' &c., &c,.); and the Chaldee שְׁפַל (shăphăl), as in Dan. iv. 17, 'and settest up over it the *basest* of men.' Qy.—May not our English word shuffle come from this?" [Mr. Mayhew thinks not.] "I hope you will excuse me troubling you with this suggestion, but some of your derivations have been so ingenious, that I thought an additional 'notion' might not be altogether unacceptable.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"E. L."

The above is conclusive, and proves to us that nothing short of direct dialectic derivation is sufficient to satisfy the mind. All indirect and conjectural etymology (as derivation from supposed roots) is mere waste of learning. *Indirectly*, almost any etymology may be given, but *directly*, that is to say, by finding the exoteric term itself in some foreign language, differently spelt, but meaning the same thing, there can be no error. The subject of the slang or cant language of a country is most peculiar; and all countries seem to have a distinct criminal or mendicant phraseology; even the Hottentots have their "cuze-cat." The "*argot*" of the French, the "*roth-spræc*" of the Germans, &c., all seem to be formed on the same basis—partly metaphorical and partly by the introduction of such corrupted foreign terms as are likely to be unknown to the society amid which the slang-speakers exist. There are several Hebrew terms in our "cant language," obtained, it would appear, from the intercourse of the thieves with the Jew fences; many of the cant terms, again, are Sanscrit, got from the gypsies; many Latin, got by the beggars from the Catholic prayers before the Reformation; and many, again, Italian, got from the wandering musicians and others: indeed the showmen, of whom we shall have to treat shortly, have but lately introduced a number of Italian phrases into their cant language. The slang of this country, of which there are several varieties (Mr. Mayhew once was in company with a crossing sweeper, who could speak three distinct kinds of cant, and who was evidently not a little proud of his learning), is a most interesting subject, and one which will occupy us largely when we come to treat of the thieves and their ways. Some of the slang phrases are merely old English terms, which have become obsolete through the caprices of fashion. For example, the slang phrase, "that is not the *cheese*," expressive of something not approved of, and which was supposed to have some fanciful reference to the caseous comestible, being occasionally Frenchified by the witlings of the day into "*c'est ne pas le fromage*," and occasionally paraphrased by them into "it is not the precise Stilton," was, or rather the *cheese* was, nothing more nor less than an old English term, meaning *choice*. Chaucer says,—

"To chese (choose) whether she wold him marry or no."

And the Anglo-Saxon *cyst* (from *ceosan*, to choose) means not only *choice*, election, but what is or would be *chosen* for its excellence; hence, "it is not the *cheese*," signified, simply, it is not what I should *choose*. So again, "that's not the ticket," meant merely, that's not etiquette. Those who know the derivation of the word etiquette itself (having the same origin) will not hesitate to adopt this rendering, strained as it may appear to others. But the whole subject of "cant" is, to the philologist, replete with interest of the most profound character.

Mr. Mayhew has to acknowledge, with thanks, returns from the authorities of the undermentioned places, in answer to the following queries:—

Number of prostitutes, well-dressed, living in brothels?

Number of prostitutes, well-dressed, walking the streets?

Number of prostitutes, low, infesting low neighbourhoods?

Number of brothels where prostitutes are kept?

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A working man sends the following extraordinary illustration of the boasted principle that machinery increases employment, and so, by extending the demand for labour, raises the wages of the workman:—

"Sheffield, September 22, 1851.

"Sir,

"I beg to be excused in the freedom I take with your patience in the perusal of these few humble lines, but having been a constant and an attentive reader of your valuable work, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' I should like to hear the opinion of R. H. or J. H., of the Manchester school, on this question. I ask what is the cause of reduction in the price of railway-spring making? We well know that railways keep continually increasing, consequently the demand for those articles must be greater; and, on the other hand, it is perfectly well known that there are no more manufactories of them than there were a few years ago; but the supply is on the increase, and is now wanted to be made cheaper. Three or four years since there was no machinery; and since its introdaction it has completely put away with the practice of forging the work. The price of forging railway-springs was 1*s.* 10*d.* per cwt., at which rate two good workmen would earn about 12*s.* per day; but now the same work that they used to get 12*s.* for is done by machinery at the cost of not more than 3*s.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* It seems most singularly strange to us where the profit goes to if the proprietors do not get it. So much for the forging. A strike has recently taken place to maintain the price of fitting railway-springs; and appeals to the public have been circulated through the town of Sheffield, of which I inclose one for your inspection, merely to show you and the public that the produce of the Cyclops Works (specimens of whose manufactures occupy so large a space in the Great Exhibition) is procured from the working men with a great deal of tyranny by the rich capitalist. I beg a thousand pardons for intruding on your patience, and remain

"Yours,

"A Working Man."

The inclosed bill is as follows:—

"The Appeal of the Railway Spring Makers to the Inhabitants of Sheffield and the Public generally.

"Fellow Townsmen,

"Our present condition and circumstances impel us to submit for your inspection the following facts, in the hope that they will excite that sympathy and good feeling which we think we are deserving of, and which have often been displayed in cases similar to ours.

"We, of course, are a class of artizans who are placed in the unenviable plight of having to resist most unjustifiable aggressions on the part of certain capitalists, in the price of our labour. We are precisely in that condition when self-defence not only becomes a duty, but even a moral obligation. The facts we are about to state in support of the above assertion are simply these:—About four years ago the price of railway springs fitting and vicing were 5*s.* per hundred weight, this was the current price: but the following year a reduction was attempted at by one of our greatest employers, which eventually succeeded. The consequence of this was, the price of our labour was reduced from 5*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per hundred weight. We submitted tamely to this reduction, as we wished, if possible, to preserve harmonious relations with our employers, and especially with two principal ones, with whom the present contention has arisen. But mark! the reduction which we assented to was not doomed to rest there, for it gave a stimulus to the rapacity of the two manufacturers aforesaid, for they shortly afterwards made a further attempt, which, if quietly submitted to, will take at least from 30 to 40 per cent. from the price we have previously been receiving; but this is not all: from the disposition which is manifested towards us, we have no guarantee when this cheapening process is to terminate. Since the time that we suffered our work to be lowered to 3*s.* 6*d.* per hundred weight, the grinders receive at the rate of 3*d.* per hundred weight out of it, and the benefit that we derive from their services in this respect does not exceed 6*d.* per man per week; and it is an important fact to state, that there are men belonging to us, who have worked for the two employers aforesaid, for scanty wages, and the same men, in consequence of having to perform their work with very bad materials, have been subjected to all the insults and tyranny that the cruelty and selfishness of man towards his fellow man can possibly devise. But perhaps it may be said, 'there is a numerous class of artizans in other trades who are working for very low wages, and therefore they are equally deserving of public sympathy.' If such remarks should be made, we shall here beg to state the following appalling facts relative to our trade. It is indisputably one of the most laborious description, and we almost venture to challenge the ingenuity of man to produce one of a more pernicious tendency, or one that has a more destructive influence on the human constitution than ours. We not only work in one of the hottest atmospheres, but we have to breathe a sulphurous and poisonous blast, arising from the material that we work with. Men of the most robust constitution scarcely attain the age of 50, and in no one instance can we find a man who has attained the age of 60. We can further state, as a positive fact, that scarcely any man can follow our trade for the space of a dozen or fourteen years, without being completely emaciated, and consequently unfit for labour.

"Fellow Townsmen, we will not trespass too much upon your patience by presenting to you a large number of harrowing details, affecting our welfare. You will perceive by the above description, that we, as a class of artizans, are fairly entitled to some consideration; you will also perceive, that in consequence of our lives being so

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much embittered, and shortened, that we can put in a strong claim for living wages, as some compensation for the miseries we undergo, resulting from our employment A little timely aid on your part will put a check to the insidious designs of two rapacious employers, who care nothing about moral obligations, justice, or humanity; who look upon the human machine as a means only of procuring for themselves the lion's share of the good things of this life, and who, in short, feel not half the tenderness towards human beings as they would towards inanimate machinery. The present struggle we have with them is a most important one; it is almost a case of life and death. When it is considered that our calling has contributed largely to the triumph of mechanical science, whereby stupendous machinery outstrips the celerity of the wind, or almost equals the rapidity of lightning, and whose beneficial influence is felt by all classes of the community; surely a combination of circumstances like these, entitles us to no small share of commiseration. Every dodge, no matter how mean and artful, has been tried by the two employers alluded to, to effect our downfall. They have tried to engage men from London and elsewhere to take our places, and as an inducement have offered them the same price as we are struggling to maintain, but they have signally failed in their object. They have also tried to effect their selfish designs by the means of articled apprentices, &c., but this, we have no doubt, will prove a decided failure. We have the proud satisfaction of stating that all our other employers are quite willing to give the prices which we consider it our duty to uphold, and we have still the greater satisfaction of knowing that our men are firm.

"Once more fellow Townsmen, we say a little timely aid on your part will very quickly terminate a struggle which is at war with humanity and justice, and be assured that you will have the pleasing satisfaction of rescuing one of the most useful class of artizans that the community can boast of from inevitable ruin.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"THE COMMITTEE OF RAILWAY
"SPRING MAKERS.

"The Committee will sit at the house of Mrs. Johnson, Railway Hotel, Wicker, at half-past Seven o'clock every Saturday evening, and close at Ten, they will also sit every Monday evening at half-past Seven, and close at Ten, when the subscriptions in aid of our cause will be thankfully received and gratefully acknowledged."

"Sept. 18, 1851."

Mr. Mayhew has been informed upon unquestionable authority that, owing to the cheapness of provisions, a general reduction of wages is contemplated by the manufacturers throughout the country. Should this be the case, it will, at least, open the eyes of the people generally to the Manchester motives for carrying free trade. The benefit derived from the alteration of the corn-laws will then stand thus:—20,000,000 quarters of corn reduced from 50*s*. to 40*s*. per quarter = 10,000,000*l*. sterling gained by some class or other. By whom, is the question? Certainly *not* by the landlords, or farmers, or agricultural labourers; and if the wages of working men be generally decreased, in consequence of the cheapness of food, which was said would be such a benefit to them, it certainly cannot be alleged that the operatives will have ultimately gained one penny by the measure; and since neither artizans nor agriculturists will have benefited by the change, who must have pocketed the 10,000,000*l*. saved by it, but the very manufacturers and traders who advocated the alteration, and used the poor merely as a stalking-horse to cover their own dishonest ends. Of course, to capitalists cheapness is the greatest possible blessing—to cause a sovereign to exchange for twice the previous quantity of commodities is to double the income of each capitalist through the country; but since this very cheapness is now brought about by the cheapening of the labour upon which alone the working man has to live, that which is said by economists to be the greatest possible benefit to the *community*, is a gain only to the small portion of it termed the moneyed classes. Assuredly were it not for the trade societies, the country would have been destroyed by the greed of the capitalists long ago.

Will W. P. (who sends Post Office order for 2*l*.) forward his address, so that Mr. Mayhew may communicate privately with him?

T. L. L., A. C., W. T. S., G. W. S., will be answered at the earliest opportunity.

T. A., who writes in answer to the reply of the Police Commissioners, will be communicated with privately.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following is an offer of assistance for which Mr. Mayhew is much obliged, and of which he will avail himself when required.

"Wednesday Morning.

"My dear Sir,

"Whilst returning last night from Hackney, I happened to fall into conversation with the driver of the 'bus by which I travelled. Amongst other things, I asked him if the fraternity to which he belonged had as yet been honoured with a visit of inquiry from you. He told me *no*, but that he had heard of your benevolent labours, and that he should be most happy to give you any information that he could in reference to his calling; and that, if you wished it, he would gather together, to meet you at any place you might appoint, a number of drivers whom he evidently regarded as the cream of his profession,—to use his own words, "a set of gentlemanly, educated, intelligent men." He said, moreover, that he was very pleased to find that your researches would embrace his class, because the result of your investigation into its condition would enable the public to distinguish between the persons to whom he had referred, and those who by their misconduct, brought reproach on the whole guild. I, accordingly, asked him for his name, and said that I would forward it to you. It is ——— : he drives one of the *Clapton* omnibuses. You will find him a civil, pleasant fellow, with some good-humoured, old-fashioned prejudices against trains and their congeners, steam-boats. He says that he has never been on a railway, and does not intend to go on one, unless forced to do so by business; and he edified me with an account of a trip to Gravesend which he took some time ago, driving down thither in a pony-cart in two hours from Cornhill, and then quietly seating himself at the window of his inn to enjoy simultaneously his shrimps and porter and the chagrin—as they came up from the pier—of some friends who had started from London Bridge by boat, at the same time that he left Cornhill, and who were both astonished and mortified to discover that he had got first to the common goal. I trust you will pardon my intrusion: my only motive for obtruding this scrawl upon your notice was the hope that I might be able to save you a little trouble; a service which I think all your readers are bound to render you, when in their power, in return for the weekly treat with which you furnish us, and for which we look forward as longingly as the city clerk for his Sunday pipe.

"X. Y. Z."

Mr. Mayhew in the *Morning Chronicle* treated of omnibus drivers and conductors, but very briefly and imperfectly. Before long he purposes dealing with the Transit question again, and then will be thankful for such information as the friend X. Y. Z. can give him.

The following extract is from a pamphlet forwarded to the office of this work, and entitled "A Lecture by William Tweedie, on the subject of Total Abstinence from Intoxicating Beverages, a practical and efficient Remedy for Scarcity of Employment and Low Wages, lessening fierce competition, and relieving commercial depression:"—

"How far," inquires the lecturer, "will temperance principles add to the remuneration of the labourer, or increase the profitable labour to be performed? This can only be shown by an appeal to facts.

"First, I invite your attention to the following table, which shows the amount of labour employed in the production of several articles of manufacture, in daily consumption by the people. And here I would explain, that to enter fully into an examination of all the elements of production would be a tedious and unnecessary task; inasmuch as both the preparation of raw material and retailer's profit involve much the same amount of labour in the several articles enumerated. I have, therefore, fixed upon some raw material. I have taken the article when it comes into the hand of the manufacturer, as raw material; and, when it is manufactured, I have done with it. For instance, I take wool (when the manufacturer buys it) as raw material; I have done with it when it is cloth; consequently, I exclude the grower and the retail seller. It is the same with ale or beer. I consider the malt, hops, yeast, and fuel, all as raw material; I have done with them when the liquor leaves the brewery, and is sold to the retailer.

"TABLE I.

"Amount of labour given in the production of—

	Value of the labour employed.			Value of goods.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Books, A	0	16	0	1	0	0
Silk, B	0	10	0	1	0	0
Blankets, C	0	10	0	1	0	0
Copper household pans, D	0	15	0	1	0	0
Tin " " D	0	9	0	1	0	0
Broad cloth and Woollen, D	0	11	0	1	0	0
	£3	11	0	£6	0	0

A Babbage's Economy of the Arts and Manufactures, pp. 205, 317.

B Howard and Co., silk manufacturers, Macclesfield.

C From an extensive firm in Witney.

D Babbage, 166. The average taken from present prices.

TABLE II.

"Amount of labour given in the production of—

	Value of labour.			Value of goods.		
	£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ale or beer *	0	10	6	6	0	0

* From an experiment on a small scale.

	£	s.	d.
10½ bushels of malt, at 8s.	£4	4	0
Hops	0	19	0
Fuel	0	2	0
Yeast	0	0	6
Brewery expenses	0	4	0
Labour	0	10	6
	£6	0	0

If carried out on a large scale the labour would be less. The articles in the first table are all taken from large manufactories.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"From this table it appears that a man who spends 6*l.* a year upon books, blankets, broad cloths, silks, and saucepans, gives employment for 20 days, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per day; while, by spending the same upon ale, beer, or stout, he can only give employment for three days at the same rate of wages. Take the facts in another way, and they show that 21 persons now in the habit of spending 2*s.* 4*d.* per week upon intoxicating drinks—that is a QUART of porter daily—could, by transferring that sum to the articles I have enumerated (and the like returns may be also procured for shoes, hats, and furniture), give employment for a whole year to a man at a guinea per week. Thus something can be done at once. There are few who take these drinks at all who do not spend on them 2*s.* 4*d.* a week; and they thus prevent, during the year, 17 days' remunerative labour being performed, at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* per day, or 21*s.* a week; and this labour would not only add to the happiness of the labourer, but it would add to the real wealth of the community, for it would give the people more clothes, more shoes, more furniture; and few will be found ready to deny that such things are needed. When, indeed, everybody has plenty of such articles, we shall no longer think that want of employment is the greatest curse of the community. Until that happy period arrives, each and all of us must do what we can to lessen this evil. We can do much with present and permanent advantage to ourselves. But the money spent upon intoxicating drinks not only robs the artizan of his field of labour—*the poor man's capital*—but it does more, it robs him of his food. These drinks are not made of sea-sand, of sea-water, or any such article, the absorption of which we should not much miss; but they are made of the best grain which England produces. The effect of this is twofold: it first impoverishes the people who buy the drink, and it impoverishes those who have thus to pay an extra price for the food they require."

Mr. Tweedie's arguments appear to be sound enough; indeed, the drinking customs are among the most pernicious habits of the poorer classes. The misfortune is, that many operatives positively look upon beer as necessary for the performance of hard labour; whereas it is a physiological fact, that the stimulus derived from the imbibition of fermented liquors is followed by a corresponding amount of depression, so that just as much as a man gains in energy at one time does he lose at another. The poor man's energy is his sole patrimony; so that to spend money upon stimulating beverages is not only to waste his hard earnings upon a brutalizing propensity, but to deprive himself of the power of getting more. This want of energy is a marked feature in every drunkard's character; the unshorn beard, the untidy home, the deferred work, are all proofs that the main evil of drink to working men lies in the destruction of those energies from which they derive their subsistence; and it is curious to note how many of the men who have fallen from a state of comparative competence to positive indigence, owe their degradation to the moral and physical apathy induced by the continued indulgence in stimulants. The teetotallers have done the State great service in making known the injurious effects of what they call "intoxicants;" and Mr. Mayhew, though not himself convinced of the necessity of *total* abstinence, will always be happy to aid the teetotallers in their endeavours to instruct the people on this point. Mr. Mayhew's inquiries among the coal-porters convinced him that it was possible for operatives to perform the severest labour on water. One pound of meat is, *staminally*, worth a hogshead of the best beer ever brewed; and, what is better than all, the *stimulus* derived from it is *continuous.*

Mr. Tweedie, who derives the argument above cited from what has been stated in this work concerning the apportionment of the circulating capital of the country into two funds, viz., that devoted to the purchase of materials, and that devoted to the payment of wages to the workpeople—the one rising as the other falls, and *vice versâ*—appears to have discovered another very cogent reason why the working classes should desist from beer drinking; for if it be really true that the labourer gets only 1*s.* 8*d.* out of every 20*s.* spent in the manufacture of beer, the remaining 18*s.* 4*d.* going for the purchase of materials; whereas, in the case of books and copper pans, he gets at least 15*s.* out of every 20*s.*, and in silks, blankets, and broad cloth, not less than 10*s.* out of the same sum,—then it is clear, that working men should do all that lies in their power to discourage the consumption of an article which yields so little to the labourer and so much to the capitalist.

Police returns, as to the number of Prostitutes, have been received, with thanks, from Cambridge and Douglas (Isle of Man).

The Superintendent of the Cambridge Police will be written to privately.

W. G., Jun., (Glasgow,) is thanked. The information he forwards is peculiar, and will be used at a future period—of course without names. Mr. Mayhew hopes to be able to propose some plan for the mitigation of the evil of which he is at present treating, but so few facts have been collected on the subject in this country, that in the present crude state of our knowledge it would be rash indeed to theorise.

H. B. T. T.'s (Birmingham) communication has been received, and will be attended to as early as possible, but it is one of the most difficult matters upon which to advise.

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67

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. H. sends the following qualification of his statement of wages concerning the stuff hat finishers.

"Remarks intended to have accompanied the table of wages of stuff hat finishers.

"The workpeople are all paid by the piece; the exceptions to this rule are rare, and are generally learners, who receive a stipulated but varying portion of their wages.

"The prices paid are as under:—

"Finishing stuff hats, 11*d.*, 1*s.*, 1*s.* 2*d.* each, according to quality.

"Finishing plates (a coarse hat), 6*d.*, 7*d.*, 8*d.* 10*d.* each, according to quality.

"Finishing wool bonnets, 8*d.* each.

"Finishing stuff bonnets, 1*s.* each.

"Finishing Naples hats, 5*d.*, 6*d.*, 10*d.* each, according to quality.

"Altering old bonnets, 6½*d.* each.

"Altering old hats, 8*d.*, 10*d.*, 1*s.* each, according to quality.

"These are London prices.

"It is seldom the case now that a workman is confined to the stuff hat finishing alone, the majority of finishers being both silk and stuff. The persons whose wages have been given you have been employed solely on beaver hats, and as that is a rarity, I thought it would be acceptable to you when you came to treat on the condition of the persons engaged in the manufacture of hats.

"When silk hats were first introduced the stuff men would not allow the masters to finish them in the same shop with beaver hats; but as the stuff trade declined they were glad enough not only to relax this rule but even to learn the trade themselves. There seems every probability (unless fashion, omnipotent in everything, intervenes) that beaver hats will cease to exist as a manufacture; they are certainly more comfortable to the head, but the impossibility of imparting a good or permanent colour to them is a sad drawback to their use; besides which, the beavers have so much decreased in America that it is doubtful if a sufficient quantity could be imported to supply the demand that would arise if they should ever again supersede the use of silk hats.

"In the finishing of stuff hats, a girl or woman is employed to pick out those coarse hairs that the clearing machine has failed to remove from the beaver. She is paid 1*d.*, 1½*d.*, 2*d.* per hat, according to quality, and this must be added to the prices given above, making 1*s.*, 1*s.* 1½*d.* or 1*s.* 4*d.* per hat.

"In most cases the workpeople employ their own wives or daughters to pick for them, each finisher employing a different person, sometimes one picker working for two or more men. Under these circumstances there is not anything like full employment for them. Since 1846 the picker for the men in the table sent you has been paid by the employer. During 1846 her wages were as follows:—highest week, 16*s.* 11*d.*; lowest week, 2*s.* 11*d.*; average throughout the year, 9*s.* 9*d.* per week, with about half employment. At present, the girl who picks in our shop fills up her time with trimming hats, and averages 10*s.* or 11*s.* per week.

"The wages given you are net wages; if you will multiply the average by 52, you will have the yearly wages.

"There are no deductions beyond these. The men employ a boy to run errands for them, and look to the fire; the practice is, for each man, in turn, to light and keep it up; this they find troublesome, and therefore get a lad to do it for them, but if they like to take their turn, and fetch their beer or dinner themselves, then they do not pay him*. All tools are found by the employer; no rent is charged for standing room, or gas, or anything whatever; there are no fees to foremen; and the employer finds soap and towels for the men to wash with.

"In our place a fire is found for the men to cook their meals on.

"With the above wages an average workman, *fully* employed, could earn 50*s.* per week, say from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M."

The above is given without comment. R. H. sends also the earnings of silk hat finishers, and promises other statements of the earnings of men—all of which will be most acceptable; but he persists in withholding his name or address, saying, of course Mr. Mayhew will make inquiries into the truth of his statements, and that is all that is needed. Since the above was in type R. H. has forwarded several valuable averages of wages. They are of the greatest service, and Mr. Mayhew is much obliged for them.

The following letter has been received from the Director of the Anti-Truck Society at Derby. It treats of the stoppage of workmen's wages; so often touched upon here, that it requires no comment. Those who think well of the object, and feel inclined to forward it by their subscriptions, can send them to the address of the writer, 28, Iron Gate, Derby.

"THE LABOUR QUESTION.

"DEAR SIR,

"I regularly read your replies to the questions put to you by the political economists, and am satisfied therewith. QUERY asks, 'If wages are not regulated by the law of supply and demand, on what *do* they depend?' now I myself say, they *should* depend on supply and demand, but *do* they? I say they do not, and I will tell you why. The *fraud* practised by the *manufacturer* on the LABOUR of the *working man* by *stopping* a part of his LABOUR is the awful cause of all the *working* man's present misery. LABOUR is an *element* of itself, to be paid for by itself *unconnected* with the

* Each man pays the lad about 1*s.* per week; sometimes there are more than one—at present, in our shop, there are four lads at 8 or 9 years, all children of the workmen, and they earn perhaps 2*s.* a week.

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property and machinery of the EMPLOYER—the STOPPAGE *system* is the *fraud;* how can *wages* depend on supply and demand, if by a *fraud* of the EMPLOYER he stops any part of the WAGES? and what are *wages* but the *earnings* of LABOUR? Therefore what a man earns for *labour* is his wages; keep the word *labour* distinct, and distinctly understand that *wages* are the earnings of *labour*, and then let the employers answer you, how *labour* can depend upon supply and demand unless the *entire* amount of the *labour* is not paid for without any *stoppages.* There are two ways in which the employers defraud *labour;* one is the STOPPAGE *system*, and the other is the TRUCK system.

"If a PRINTER *employs* a man to print for him *in his press*, he pays him for his *labour;* if a HOSIER *employs* a man to make stockings for him, *in his frame*, he STOPS the *labour* for the *rent* of the frame. This *fraud* of the *hosier* is a mixing up of the relation of *landlord* and *tenant* with the *employment* of a workman to a master; now one negatives the other; for if a master *employs* a man to work for him, *in his frame*, how can the workman have the frame *to his own use*, which he must do, if he is to pay a *rent* for it?—if not, there can be no *rent* at all.

Wages are the *earnings* of LABOUR; keeping that in view, and never losing sight of it, nothing short of the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW can save the working man from the *fraud* of the *employer*, or secure him the full reward of his LABOUR.

This, and this only will remedy the destroying of man's *labour;* no one has so wisely gone into the question as you have: you see the right of the *labourer* to share in the production, and you will now see that it is a *fraud* only that prevents him doing so; it is the *fraud* of the master mixing up his own *machinery* with the man's *labour*, and STOPPING from the *labour* a rent of the machinery, instead of keeping the *labour* distinct and paying for it, the *labour*, without any *stoppage:* can QUERY reply to this, or does he admit that the Universal Anti-Truck Law ought to be passed next session?

"It is absolutely necessary, then, I say, to pass the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, for the sake of the 'Existence of Life' to the working man; unless every workman is paid the ACTUAL EARNINGS of his labour, he can have nothing to live on; what is to become of the children and wife of a working man, if he is not to be paid what he *actually earns?* The employers only pay them *by the piece*, that is, the quantity they actually do; surely, then, that *actual* earning ought not to be STOPPED by reason of *fines* or *frame rent*, or *charges;* the working man simply asks to be paid for the *actual earnings* of his *labour;* such a request is just, holy, and right, and no one can stand in the way of it, without offending against the law of God and the interest of his country. Labour is an *element* of *itself*, to be paid for *by itself*, unconnected with the *property* or *machinery* of the employer; what law can be so just, as that which secures to the working man his *actual earnings* without any deduction?

"On the other side, I give you the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, the *first* clause of which is the principle thereof, viz:—

> "*That the* ENTIRE amount *of all* WAGES, *the earnings of* LABOUR, *shall be actually and positively* PAID *in the current coin of the realm*, without any deduction or stoppage *of any kind* whatever.

"The *second* clause is the security that no employer shall offend against it; if he does he shall be punished in the County Court.

"The *third* clause declares that no employer shall mix up anything with *labour*, but shall simply pay for the *labour* when done and earned.

"The *fourth* clause is against set-off. The *fifth* against any trickery to avoid the law; and the *last* clause to show workmen that they shall not neglect their work; existing laws are very strong against neglecting work. I humbly and earnestl pray you will assist to pass this law; it will do more good for England than all the laws besides; what is so natural and simple as the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, and why do employers want to evade it? The *system* of *stoppages* is deplorable, because of employers *stopping* their men's *actual* earnings. Wicked employers make a profit out of their men's wages that they may undersell their neighbours; this works the most frightful of *evils*—this is that baneful and pernicious evil, called *unlawful and unholy* COMPETITION.

"*Honest* EMPLOYERS are content with making a *profit* on their goods *after the labour is paid for;* but *unprincipled and wicked* EMPLOYERS try all they can to undersell their neighbours by getting *a profit out of their workman's wages*, by paying them in goods, so as to get *a double* profit; or, by stopping their wages for fines, or frame rent, and charges, so as to get their work done for little or nothing; no consideration whatever being had as to how the *workman* is to subsist, or what the state of starvation and misery the wife and children must be in. Nothing can cure this frightful evil, but the UNIVERSAL ANTI-TRUCK LAW, that the actual earnings of *labour* shall be paid for, without any *stoppage* whatever.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient Servant,
"J. BRIGGS.

The following comes from the Correspondent who furnished the facts printed in No. 39 concerning a certain Jew printer of Farringdon-street. Certain parts are omitted touching the printer's past career, with which Mr. Mayhew has no desire to meddle.

"I have not yet done with the Jew printer of Ludgate-hill; I have waited patiently to see if he would offer any reply to the statement made in your Number of September 6th. I have taken care that your Journal should reach his hands. This person on the most trivial reasons discharges men on the instant, and when asked for the required usual notice, sneeringly replies, 'you may summons me;' his motto is (and he openly avows it), '*wages are too high and must be reduced*,' and for this end he employs a host of boys at 4*s.* and 5*s.*

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7/

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"R—— street, Glasgow.

"Sir,

"During a recent visit, about two months ago, to London, some things came under my observation, which I have thought I might send to you, as they may be of use in the course of your exposure of London prostitution. I give you real names and addresses, as a guarantee for the strict truthfulness of what I write.

"One Saturday evening I alighted at the Quadrant, Regent-street, from a Bayswater omnibus, about nine o'clock. I was immediately struck by the number of well-dressed young females loitering on the pavement of the Haymarket; two especially attracted my attention: both young, good-looking, and apparently intelligent; one—I can't say both—*rouged*. I watched them for a little, saw them laughingly address one or two gentlemen, and then I walked slowly close by to give them an opportunity of speaking to me: this they were not long in doing. I at once found they were French girls, speaking English imperfectly. They said to me, "we come from Paris, have been here about three months, and are going back soon." I urged them to give me their address, but they would not, pressing me to go with them to where they lived, which they said, "was quite at hand, and you will be gratified—have the pleasure immediately." Without heeding my refusal, they turned their faces towards the Quadrant and walked on at a pretty smart pace. I followed them a little behind; at last they stopped at No. —, U—— J—— street; one of them opened the door with a latch-key, and both entered, leaving it partially opened. I had gained my object, and without delay I walked off. Immediately after I saw them again on the pavement.

"The next day I dropped a parcel of tracts into the letter box of the house I saw them enter, and a day or two after I sent another package through the post.

"On the Monday afternoon I was walking on the north side of the Quadrant: on the balcony at the windows above M——, Milliner, No. —, I observed three ladies standing; one of them, noticing that I had seen them, *beckoned to me with her finger*. The day after I sent *them*, too, a parcel of tracts.

"In Regent-street and Piccadilly I strolled about till after dusk. I think I counted '*apartments to let*' or '*furnished apartments*' put in windows and on doors, by dozens, which I had not observed by daylight. In windows of coffee rooms, &c., I found 'private apartments for ladies.' This appeared to my mind an ambiguous intimation, and admitting a perfectly honourable interpretation. I came, however, at length, to the window of the —— *Coffee House*, Piccadilly, across the whole length of which, at the bottom, there was a gauze screen, through which the light from the gas shone faintly; I observed something *painted* on it, and, on looking more closely, I read, 'private apartments for ladies,' and on a line below, in letters not quite so large as those above, '*and, for private apartments, ladies.*'

"My mind was now fully interested in the investigation, and I resolved to go to the Casino in Great Windmill-street, thinking that I should gain a little more insight into the horrid system: nor was I mistaken; the first thing that met me was, as I went in; the charge of admission is nominally 1*s*., but some *ladies* who passed in immediately before me laid down only 6*d*. Having entered, I found a large hall, brilliantly lighted, with a band on an elevated platform at the further end. I expected that there would be a stage and *professional dancers*; in this I was wrong—the dancers were the visitors, who each, according to his fancy, joined in the dance, the young women with their bonnets and shawls on, the young men with their hats on, and top-coats and sticks, if they chanced to have them with them. The attitudes were anything but decent. While I was there—about 30 minutes—the place was not very crowded, though the visitors were evidently coming in greater numbers; and I understand that as the evening advances, the attendance becomes very great.

The young women had, for the most part, gentlemen along with them; there was, however, a considerable number without any *friend*. I was standing near to one of these, a young girl, *rouged*, when a young man came up and said to her, 'may I have the pleasure of paying my addresses to you?' She, however, was at the moment joined by a gentleman whom she had evidently been expecting.

"I had for a short time previous been watching a girl whose whole appearance much interested me:—she was apparently under 20, not painted, tastefully and decorously dressed; she might be called beautiful, and there was an innocence about her looks which made me feel it strange indeed that she should be in such a place. She had stood alone for about a quarter of an hour; no one had spoken to her, she to no one. There was a liveliness in her eye, but a pensiveness at times crept over it. Poor thing, thought I, can I do anything to save you, *if you are fallen?* for had I met her anywhere else I should never have thought her fallen. I went to her and said, 'Have *you* no friend here?' She said 'No.' 'Do you expect any?' She replied, 'No, certainly, or he would have come along with me.' 'Will you go with me, then?' 'Where?' she asked. 'To my lodgings.' 'No,' she said, 'I cannot go to your lodgings.' I pressed her; she refused. 'Oh,' she said, 'we can find numbers of places in the neighbourhood; if you do not choose to pay for such accommodation, I cannot go with you.' I now requested that she would at least go out with me; she consented, and we left the Casino; I led her to my lodgings, which were at hand, but she would not go in; she said, 'No, I'm not so hardened; I cannot go into respectable people's houses; You will get plenty of girls in the Argyll rooms, who will go anywhere with you, but *I* am not so bad yet.' I tried to persuade her, saying I would take all the responsibility; but she was firm, and at last said, 'Let me go back to the rooms, *my time is precious*; I cannot go with you.' I then asked her to walk with me a little, to which she

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agreed; we crossed to a quiet street and walked slowly down it. Now I told her why I had spoken to her and taken her away from the rooms; that it was for no improper purpose, but to see if I could not do her some little good. The conversation that followed I cannot detail; her history was this: she was the daughter of an officer, who after her mother's death had kept a mistress, under whose care she lived till the decease of her father. Immediately upon this event she was driven from the house; she went to an acquaintance's, a young woman, whom she accompanied the same evening to the theatre, the first time she had entered one: she was then under fifteen; she is now eighteen. They were spoken to by some officers who pressed them to have some wine in the refreshment rooms: she remembers going back to the theatre, *but no more.* Next morning she found herself in the barracks, in bed with one of the officers. She was now ruined, without a friend to whom she could go. She was kept by the officer while the regiment remained there. When it left she became the mistress of other officers in succession. At length she was induced to go to London, where for some time she lived in a *gay* house; till, going one evening about twelve months ago to the Casino, she met a young man, by whom she has been kept in lodgings since; she, however, with his knowledge, sees occasionally other gentlemen, as her *friend* cannot afford quite so much as will keep her. The house in which she lodges is kept by a woman, whose daughter is also *in keeping.*

"I have said I cannot detail my conversation with her—some of her expressions only can I give: 'Oh do not talk to me about serious things; I'm miserable enough already; my heart is often like to break when a smile is on my face; when sitting in my room alone, I am often like to go mad. I have had no Bible these four years—I could not read *it* and turn into that bed with a man in the evening. *I would do anything but starve, to get out of this life; but what can I do?"* [Mr. Mayhew has put these words in italics, to point attention to them.] "If I ask for work, I can give no character. Who will trust me? Oh, don't speak to me of what I may become, I know it all; but I hope something will turn up to enable me to better my condition. I was once a very good girl, never one Sabbath absent from the Wesleyan chapel." [Query? while she was living under the same roof with her father's mistress!] "I cannot swear and drink as others do; I am not yet so far gone.'

"I made an appointment to see her next day, having made up my mind to make an effort, before leaving London, to get her into an asylum, if she were willing to go. But instead of meeting me she left a note for me, from which I learnt that her *friend,* having heard of our interview, had persuaded her to go and stay with him at his own lodgings for a little, and that if I had anything to say to her she would call for any note I might leave; I did write, and left it along with some tracts. Since my return I have addressed a letter to her at her old lodgings, but have received no reply; if she had not returned to them it is not likely that such a landlady would make any efforts to have it sent to her. Her name was A—— M—— G——; her lodgings, No. —, J—— street, ————, Waterloo-road. Her *friend* whom she called James, was the son of a solicitor, in whose counting-house he is occupied; more about him she would not tell me.

"The evening of the day on which I hoped to have done something for her rescue, I left for home, thoroughly sickened by what I had seen of London life, on its dark and gloomy side.

"I make no comment on these facts. It is a naked recital of what I saw, and I leave it to you to make any use or no use of them, as seems to you advisable.

"Before you close, will you be able, think you, to do or suggest anything that will give good promise of abating, if not of extirpating, the frightful evil? I *almost* despair.

"This is written very hastily; you will, however, I think, be able to make it out.

"Yours respectfully,

"W. G., Jr."

The above account of the London adventures of a well-intentioned gentleman from the country are both interesting and instructive, and Mr. Mayhew is much obliged to the writer. They are instructive, as teaching us how ready the well-intentioned are at all times to magnify evils. Those who have paid attention to mental phenomena, know that it is the peculiar character of the feelings to distort, exaggerate, or highly colour, all objects upon which they are centred. W. G., jun., evidently came up to London from Glasgow, *prepared* to find the prostitution of the metropolis much greater than it really is, and hence his mistake as to the general character of the houses in Regent-street. To his inflamed imagination the whole of this locality seems to have appeared a colony of brothels and places of "accommodation." That there are in this street some few houses of an infamous character carrying on the worst possible trades, under the cloak of respectable businesses, Mr. Mayhew is fully aware, and purposes, when he comes to this part of the subject, to let the public see how the "*market*" for prostitutes is regularly supplied from such quarters. But that it is the practice of the inhabitants of Regent-street *generally*—or even anything but exceptionally—to put out at night cards of "APARTMENTS TO LET," with the view of announcing that their houses may be used for base purposes, is a stretch of morbid fancy that is in no way warranted by the truth. The fact is, W. G., jun., on passing up Regent-street in the daytime had been diverted by other matters, and consequently failed to notice many of the announcements which at night attracted his attention, awakened as it then was to the subject. The gentleman is equally wrong concerning the coffee-house he mentions, and construes a harmless announcement into an immoral sign. Mr. Mayhew is also afraid that the distribution of tracts among the profligate is a pure waste of good

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. S. finds fault, and "suspects motives," &c. The gentleman can of course think as he pleases.

"Sir,

"In No. 42, page 230, of 'London Labour,' you give a table of a week's expenditure in the respective years 1845 and 1851, and I am surprised and sorry to see the unfairness of the comparison. In 1845 you charged for five loaves, but in 1851 only for four; you make a difference of one penny for tea, with which free-trade has nothing to do. You make a difference of twopence per pound on three pounds of meat, whereas your own two witnesses prove the difference to be only one penny; and in 1845 you set down a pot of beer, and in 1851 only a pint. Now, correcting these errors or misstatements, the saving is only fivepence instead of 1s. 5d., as you state the difference. You pretend to be impartial, but I fear it is not so, and I suspect your motives, which I regret, as I have been your subscriber and admirer from the beginning.

"Yours,

"W. S."

1st October, 1851.

The gentleman is in error. On revision, he will perceive, that the contrasted accounts went to show that the man had lost almost as much by free-trade as he had gained. If food had been cheapened since 1846, employment had become scarcer; so that he could afford to have five loaves per week before free-trade, and only four loaves per week since. Hence though the man had gained by the repeal of the corn laws one penny in every seven pence he laid out in bread, he had, nevertheless, been able to earn one loaf less per week since 1846 than he could before then, that is to say, he had gained 4*d.*, and lost 7*d.* by the measure. In meat, however, he had gained 6*d.* a week; but then in rent he had lost 4*d.*; in potatoes, 1*d.*; in tea, 1*d.*; and in beer 2*d.* per week; that is to say, he had since 1845 been able to afford less of the three last-mentioned articles. Thus, the gains would appear to be—bread, 4*d.*, and meat, 6*d.* per week, or 10*d.* altogether; whereas the losses are—rent, 4*d.*; potatoes, 1*d.*; tea, 1*d.*; beer 2*d.*; and bread, 7*d.*; or 15*d.* altogether; so that there would seem to be a net loss of 5*d.* per week to this man since free-trade. This should have been more fully explained in the article, though the whole bearing of it inclines to the same result. Mr. Mayhew was inquiring of a man who made soldiers' trousers what he had gained by free-trade. He was one of the very poor who were to be so much benefited by the measure. Meat he *never* tasted, and his weekly consumption of bread was two loaves per week, the saving in which was 2*d.* His wages had not been decreased, nor was his work less, so that he was a clear gainer of 2*d.* in about 7*s.* a week, or 1*d.* in every 3*s.* 6*d.* of his earnings!! It would appear that those who earn about 15*s.* a week, and whose wages have not yet been reduced, save perhaps 1*s.* by the change (see the article on Street-Orderlies); and those whose wages have been reduced are, of course, considerable losers by the alteration. To the tradesman and capitalist, however, whose profits depend not, like wages, upon the price of food, the change of course is a clear gain: each pound being worth at least a guinea, since free trade.

G. W. says, Do you mean to notice "Medical Assistants" in your *exposé* of the working classes? Our twin sisters, too, the Governesses, claim a share of attention. I may be able to supply you with some information concerning the two TRADERS.

Mr. Mayhew will be happy to hear from the gentleman on both subjects.

Some reader, perhaps, will answer the following:

"Sir,

"Will you, or any of your readers, tell me to whom I can dispose of any quantity of rags (*all sorts*), brass, copper, lead, iron (cast and wrought), horse-hair, whalebone, bones, skins (*hares'* and *rabbits'*), paper (waste of all *sorts* and *sizes*). I should think some person—a buyer, for instance —would tell me. My reason for asking is this— I purpose buying such articles from hawkers and others; but before I do, I wish to be advised as to the amount I can realize for them, *and from whom I can get it.*

"I should much prefer being answered *per post*, and would gladly pay the postage or remunerate the individual for his trouble, and inclose my name for that purpose. If, however, the medium of your pages be preferred, or more practicable, let it be done so, to "News Agent."

Any letter addressed to the writer of the above, under cover to Mr. Mayhew, shall be forwarded to his address.

J. M., of Southampton, says:—

"Sir,

"Having read in your number of 'London Labour,' &c., for August 30, No. 38, a statement of the number of vehicles passing and repassing London Bridge every hour to be 13,000, thinking there must be some mistake, I would feel obliged by your giving the information."

The information was given on the authority of M. D'Arcey's Report to the French Government on the roads of London as compared with those of Paris. It will be seen, by the table printed in the present number of this work, that the amount referred to twelve hours instead of one.

The two following letters proffer information on a most important subject. The distributing of commodities is almost as important as the production of them, and any information on the subject will be most acceptable. Mr. Mayhew is much obliged to his correspondents for their promises of assistance.

"Sir,

"If you should find any difficulty in procuring information respecting the social, moral, and intellectual condition of the Drapers' Assistants, I

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should be most happy to give you any aid in my power, having been connected with the trade the greater portion of my life. The domestic comforts in some establishments, the bad living, shameful extortions, and tyranny in others, have so long been suffered to exist, that their magnitude has become diminished, and we rest contented under the worst form of oppression."

Letter No. 2 runs:—

"Sir,

"Having read your very excellent work, the 'London Labour and Poor,' ever since its first publication, I remember having seen in some of the back numbers an intimation to one of your correspondents that it was your intention in course of time to treat of that class of the London labour, the *Drapers*. I am myself a Draper's Assistant, and having some little practical knowledge of the business, I should feel a great pleasure in giving you any information on the subject, as far as my knowledge of the peculiarities of the trade goes, if you have not already completed your inquiries; and if what little assistance I can render you in your arduous undertaking is worthy of your acceptance, I should feel the greatest pleasure in contributing my mite to the immense funds of information that you have collected. A letter addressed to me, or an answer in the next number of your 'London Labour and Poor,' stating the nature of the information you require on the subject, shall meet with my earnest attention.

"P.S. I have enclosed one of my employer's cards, to whose house, should you write, you will please address for me."

The information required upon this and, indeed, every other trade is, (1) the division of labour in the trade, citing the nature of the work performed by the different classes of workmen; (2) the hours of labour; (3) the labour market, or the mode of obtaining employment; (4) the tools employed and who finds them; (5) the rate and mode of pay to each different class of workmen, dividing the wages or salaries into two classes, the "fair" and the "unfair;" (6) the deductions from the pay in the form of fines, "rents," or stoppages of any kind; (7) the additions to wages in the shape of perquisites, premiums, allowances, &c.; (8) a history of the wages of the trade, with the dates of increase or decrease in the pay, and the causes thereof; (9) the brisk and slack season of the trade, with statement of the causes on which they depend, as well as the number of extra hands required in the brisk season as compared with the slack; (10) the rate of pay to those who are "taken on" only during the brisk season; (11) the amount of surplus labour in the trade and the cause of it, whether from (*a*) overwork, (*b*) undue increase of the people in the trade, (*c*) change from yearly to weekly hirings, (*d*) excessive economy of labour, as "large system" of business, (*e*) introduction of women; (12) the badly-paid trade—(*a*) the history and causes of it, (*b*) what is the cheap labour employed, or how do the cheap workers differ from those who are better paid: are they less skilful, less trustworthy, or can they *afford* to take less, deriving their subsistence from other sources? (*c*) is the badly-paid trade maintained chiefly by the labour of apprentices, women, &c., &c.? (*d*) is it upheld by middlemen, "sweaters," or the like? (*e*) are the men injured by *driving* (that is, by being made to do more work for the same money) or by *grinding* (that is, by being made to do the same or more work for less money), or are they injured from a combination of both systems? (*f*) who are the employers paying the worse wages?—are they "cutting men," that is to say, men who are reducing the mens' wages as a means of selling cheap; or are they "grasping men," who do it merely to increase their profits; or small capitalists, who do it in order to live? Proofs should be given of all stated. Accounts of earnings and expenditure are of the greatest importance; also descriptions of modes of life and habits, politics, religion, literature, and amusements of the trade; estimates of the number in trade with the proportion belonging to the better and the worse paid class, and the quantity of surplus hands. If any trade and benefit society, an account of it would be desirable; if not, what do men, in case of sickness?

An eminent antiquarian has kindly forwarded the following in explanation of the term "rere-dosses." He says:—

"Dear Sir,

"Thinking you might be anxious for an answer to your 'rere-doss' query, I have had copied from Parker's 'Glossary of Architecture' such portion of his explanation as I thought would answer your purpose.

"Yours truly,

"———."

The extract is here appended:—

"Reredos, dossel (retable, Fr.; postergule, Ital.), the wall or screen at the back of an altar, seat, &c.; it was usually ornamented with panelling, &c., especially behind an altar, and sometimes was enriched with a profusion of niches, buttresses, pinnacles, statues, and other decorations, which were often painted with brilliant colours.

"The open fire-hearth, frequently used in ancient domestic halls, was likewise called a reredos.

"In the description of Britain prefixed to Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' we are told that formerly, before chimneys were common in mean houses, 'each man made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.'"

This is all very satisfactory. The original word would appear to have been *dosel* or *rere-dosel;* for Kelham, in his 'Norman Dictionary,' explains the word *doser* or *dosel* to signify a hanging or canopy of silk, silver, or gold work, under which kings or great personages sit; also the back of a chair of state (the word being probably a derivative of the Latin *dorsum*, the back. *Dos*, in slang, means a *bed*, a "dossing crib" being a sleeping-place, and has clearly the same origin). A *rere-dos* or *rere-dosel* would thus appear to have been a *screen* placed *behind* anything; and,

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Mayhew has to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a letter from the Registrar-General. The corrections suggested by him shall be made, and the results printed, as soon as the necessary information can be obtained.

Mr. Mayhew has to acknowledge with thanks returns from the police authorities of the under-mentioned towns as to the number of prostitutes and brothels in those localities.

Coventry.
Blackburn.
Wolverhampton.
Oldham.
Warrington.
Durham.
Saddleworth.
Eccleshall.
Bilston.
Chester.
Macclesfield.
Stockport.
Dundee.
Huddersfield.

The subjoined are the speculations of a gentleman as to some of the antecedents of prostitution:—

"*London*, 6 *Nov.*, 1851.

"Sir,

"Having read your letter from W. G., Jun., of Glasgow, printed in No. 47 of your work on London Prostitutes, I consider that it might not be amiss to give you the result of my experience of London during the last eleven years.

"I consider that girls, the daughters of small tradesmen and better class of mechanics, get seduced oftener from their great love of dress, and the erroneous desire to be thought *ladies*. Casinos, singing-rooms, and theatres, more especially those on the Surrey side, are frequented nightly by scores of these girls, accompanied by their sweethearts, who are generally clerks in counting-houses, shopmen, and others who are of no occupation, but only dress well. At those places a desire of gaiety is nourished in their breasts, and the glitter of the finery around them creates a longing for show of a like nature. Refreshments, of course, they must have; and these generally consist of either wine, gin-and-water, or other spirituous drinks, to which at home they are not accustomed; and, consequently, through false persuasions, promises of clothes, and to be taken again and again to these places of amusement, the minds of these girls, inflamed through the drink which they have been partaking, become an easy prey to the designer.

"Now, who is to blame most, in cases of this kind? I think decidedly the parents, for allowing daughters too much liberty of intercourse with the male sex. The parent says, My daughter is now old enough to have a beau; and one is picked, or allowed to be chosen, amongst a class rather superior in condition to themselves. The girl has every opportunity afforded of meeting her 'young man;' and the consequence is that, before many months, the girl is either seduced, or finds herself so unhappy at home that she throws herself into the arms of the first gentleman who will encourage her love of finery and pleasure. There are hundreds of girls in London, who can blush and look as modest as a maid, who are nothing but sly whores, for the love of gaiety and dress.

"How this can be cured, unless through the intervention of parents, I know not; but perhaps you, from having so many instruments as you must require in the compilation of a work like 'London Labour,' may obtain knowledge and experience enough to point out a preventive to this growing evil.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient Servant,
"J. B."

"P.S. I may, on another occasion, renew my letter."

This is neither the fitting place nor time for expressing how a particular condition tending to produce a particular result can be prevented or alleviated. All that can be attempted at present is, a short criticism on the contents of the above letter.

J. B., it will be seen, falls into the same fallacy as the Glasgow correspondent, assuming that girls are seduced through frequenting Casinos; surely the true rendering is, that they frequent such places either *because* they have been already seduced and have become shameless, or *because* they are of a *seducible* disposition. Is it compatible with the character of a modest girl, to visit a place which she knows is resorted to by women of loose character, and whither she is aware gentlemen go only to become acquainted with such people? and, even supposing her innocence led her to such a place (of which strong proof would be required), would she not, if really modest, and if she had not been previously depraved, object to dance with men whose acquaintance she had formed thus promiscuously? It would seem that we might as well believe that a girl who accompanied a man to a brothel was *seduced* by him. That there are many cases of heartless deception, no one can have the least doubt; but that modest-minded women visit Casinos, and that it requires much persuasion to induce a young lady who is in the habit of frequenting them to abandon herself to vicious practices, surely no man of common sense can believe. As was before said, girls who go to such places are seducible, and *therefore* seduced. Nor can Mr. Mayhew believe that it is *directly* a love of dress and gaiety that leads to prostitution. Prostitution is really and truly woman's crime; and the same propensity as induces men to live by thieving, cheating, or begging, rather than labouring, disposes the generality of loose women to adopt prostitution as a mode of livelihood. The Constabulary Commissioners, who are the only gentlemen that have scientifically investigated the causes of crime, have laid it down, from the testimony and experience of the most

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

QUERY begs to know what is the true wage law, since it is asserted in 'London Labour and the London Poor,' that the law of supply and demand is untrue. To tell us, he says, that the tribute system of payment for labour *should* be the mode of remunerating the operative is not tell us what *is* the mode, and of this he requests to be informed.

The rate of wages, Mr. Mayhew replies, is simply the ratio of the remuneration of the labourer to the quantity of work performed by him; or, in other words, the wage law is simply and self-evidently that the rate of wages is directly proportional to the quantity of work considered in connection with the quantity of pay. The gross quantity of work to be done, divided by the number of hands to do it, gives us the average quantity of *work* accruing to each workman; and the gross sum devoted to the payment for such work, divided again by the number of hands, gives us the average *remuneration* of each workman. The *ratio* of the quantity of work done to the amount of money received in remuneration for it, is the *rate* of wages or given amount of pay for a given amount of labour. This is very different from the law of supply and demand, which says that the rate of wages is determined by the quantity of work to be done and the number of hands to do it; whereas, the relation of the hands to the work can but regulate one of the necessary conditions, viz., the average amount of *work* accruing to each labourer. The above law is, moreover, very different from the other form of the wage law of the economists, which declares that the rate of wages is determined by the proportion between the labouring population and the amount of capital devoted to the remuneration of them; for this can but regulate the average amount of *income* accruing to each labourer. Hence it is manifest, that neither of these two different forms of the "economical" wage law is alone sufficient to account for the rate of wages; for, since the *ratio* of the labourer's remuneration depends on the *proportion* that the quantity of work done by him bears to the amount of income received by him in return for it, it follows that the true wage law must be sufficient to account for *both* conditions, viz., the average quantity of work and the average quantity of pay. To illustrate this position, let us say that the gross sum annually devoted to the purchase of cloth in the metropolitan tailoring trade is two millions and a half sterling, and that there are in London twenty-five thousand operative tailors engaged in making up these materials. Thus each operative would have, on the average, 100*l.* worth of cloth to fashion into garments in the course of the year. This is all the law of *supply and demand* could teach us. What remuneration each would receive for this amount of work it could not tell us, because the *fund* out of which the labourers are paid constitutes no part of that particular form of the canon. Let us, however, assume that the gross sum paid in wages to the London tailors amounts to one million and a quarter sterling, then the tailors, being twenty-five thousand in number, each would receive, on the average, 50*l.* in the course of the year. This would be in conformity with that phase of the economical law which says, that the payment of the labourers is equal to the proportion between the sum set aside for their remuneration and the number of the labouring population. Still it is evident that this, like the canon of supply and demand, cannot possibly determine the *rate* of wages. To arrive at the ratio of the remuneration to the work we must say, as 100*l.*, the value of the cloth that each operative has to make up in the course of the year, is to 50*l.*, the sum he receives for so doing, so is 10*s.* to 1*l.*; which is the rate at which he is paid for making up every sovereign's worth of materials.

The rate of wages, or, strictly speaking, the ratio of the remuneration to labour, is then equal to the proportion that the sum devoted to the purchase of materials bears to the sum devoted to the payment of the labourers. It is, indeed, a mere example of the "rule of three." If the circulating capital of a trade or a country equal 1,000,000*l.*, and 500,000*l.* be spent upon materials, and 500,000*l.* upon labour, then as 500,000*l.* : 500,000*l.* :: 1*l.* : 1*l.*; or, in other words, the rate of wages will be 20*s.* for every 20*s.* worth of materials operated upon. If, on the other hand, 750,000*l.* be devoted to the purchase of materials, and only 250,000*l.* consequently be left for the payment of the labourers, then as 750,000*l.* : 250,000*l.* :: 3*l.* : 1*l.*; that is to say, the rate of wages in that case will be two-thirds less, or 6*s.* 8*d.* for every 20*s.* worth of materials made up. There is no gainsaying this fact, and yet, though it be almost as plain as the alphabet in a child's primer, the economists have been blundering all these years in the dark, vowing and protesting that the rate of wages depends on the proportion that the sum set aside for the payment of labour bears to the number of the labourers; whereas the veriest clodhopper could have told them that the rate of wages means simply *the sum received for so much work*; or, in other words, the ratio of the remuneration to the *labour*, and certainly not to the *number of people*. A schoolboy would be whipped for such gross ignorance of the "rule of proportion." The Economists' ratio is as follows:—As the sum devoted to the payment of labour is to the number of the labourers, so is the remuneration to—*the work*; but the work cannot *possibly* be determined in any such manner, since that term is in no way related to the term, number of the labourers, and there is consequently no proportion at all in the matter. The ratio of the labourers to the Wage Fund can tell us only the share of that fund accruing to each of such labourers (and this it can tell us solely on the assumption that the fund is equally distributed, *which it is not*); and most assuredly it can afford us no information as to the quantity of *work* which is given by each

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of the labourers in exchange for the wages he receives, and which, indeed, is the whole and sole meaning of the *rate* of wages, viz., the *ratio* between the amount of the remuneration and the amount of the labour. It is positively marvellous how a man like Stewart Mill could lend himself to the propagation of such childishness as the Population and Capital rule of wages, when one minute's thought must utterly have demolished the dogma—at least if there be any truth in Cocker. It is solely by the light of this new Wage Law that we are enabled to comprehend the difficulties of the time. The ratio of remuneration to labour depending on the proportion that the sum devoted to the payment of the labourers bears to the sum devoted to the purchase of materials, it follows that anything which tends to render labour more productive, or, in other words, enables workmen to make up more materials in a given time, must necessarily tend to the decrease of wages, by causing a larger portion of the circulating capital of the country to be spent on materials, and consequently a correspondingly less sum to be spent on the labourers. If by the invention of a machine, or the division of labour, we enable the men in a trade to do double the work in the same time as formerly, then it is clear there must be twice the sum spent upon materials, and consequently four times less coming to the workmen. Here lies the great evil of the time: we are making up every year a greater quantity of materials, and thus have less and less to pay our workpeople, so that our factories are periodically glutted with products, while the producers are in rags. How is it possible in any other way to explain this startling inconsistency? The economy of labour necessarily involves extra expenditure on materials, and it is impossible to spend a greater sum upon materials without having a correspondingly less sum left to pay to the labourers, so that the wealthy become more and more enriched at the expense of the poor. The money of the well-to-do exchanges for a greater quantity of commodities, while the workpeople get a less quantity of money to exchange. Twist and turn the matter over as you please, it must come to this:—the *circulating* capital of the country is divisible into two funds, one devoted to the purchase of materials, and the other to the payment of the labourers engaged in making up those materials. Increase the one and you must correspondingly decrease the other; for as sure as 2 and 2 equal 4, so do 3 and 1; hence to spend half as much again of the circulating capital on materials, is to change the ratio of 2 and 2 into 3 and 1, and thus, giving the labourers one-third more to do, leave them two-thirds less to receive for it; for as 2 : 2 : : 1 : 1, even as 3 : 1 :; 1 : ⅓. In the same manner every decrease of wages can only induce more work by causing a greater sum to be spent on materials; and an increase in the number of labourers can only tend to reduce wages by enabling the employers to have a greater quantity of materials made up, for *without this it would of course be impossible to give employment to a greater number of labourers.*

But it may be said, granting the truth of the above exposition, how does this form of the Wage Law differ *essentially* from the economical dogma? The answer is—it differs most essentially, in not being a *natural* and *necessary* law consequent upon the ordained succession of events, and in being comparatively an *arbitrary* result dependent upon the mere will, the greed, ambition, or what you please, of the trader, who, being able to alter, in a great measure, as he thinks fit, the proportion between the sum devoted to the purchase of materials and the sum devoted to the payment of the labourers, has it thus in his power to vary the rate of wages almost at pleasure.

But the most essential difference between the Wage Law as here enunciated, and the Wage Law as propounded by the economists, lies in the remedies for low wages necessarily proceeding from the two.

According to the Wage Law of the economists there can be but two means of improving the wages of a trade—(1) by increasing the Wage Fund; (2) by decreasing the number of labourers. The increase of the Wage Fund is to be brought about either by increased accumulation of wealth, or a decrease of the number of non-productive consumers. The decrease of the number of labourers is to be effected mainly by emigration.

But if the Wage Law above propounded be true, and the capitalist has really an *arbitrary* power over the rate of remuneration for labour, then are *other* remedies required.

The questions which Mr. Mayhew has proposed as being inexplicable by the economical Wage Law are, it will be seen, easy of solution by the law here enunciated. The influence of trade societies on wages; the phenomena of the cabinet-makers and the cotton trade, as to the increase in the quantity of work (without a commensurate increase in the number of hands), being attended by a decline rather than an increase of the rate of remuneration; the depreciating effect of the relief in aid under the old Poor Law; and the extra sum paid to married labourers, as compared with single men, in the agricultural districts, are all easy of solution on the assumption of an arbitrary Wage Law; whereas, according to the economical *natural* law of Supply and Demand, they are riddles, mysteries, and contradictions, confounding every unprejudiced mind.

Mr. Mayhew would be glad to receive the opinions of any gentleman who may think differently from himself on this subject, though he must request persons advancing arguments in favour of the economical law, and against the one here propounded, to refrain from citing the hackneyed reasons and illustrations of the economists with which Mr. Mayhew is already surfeited. Any new points he will be thankful for having his attention directed to.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The following communication from a literary gentleman requires no comment:—

"Dear Sir,

"I perceive (in your 48th number) a statement from an eminent antiquarian, that 'the open fire-hearth, frequently used in ancient domestic halls, was likewise called a reredos.' Such was the case (as I have seen in a local topographical history) with a 'reredos' now to be seen in the extensive and beautiful ruins of the Abbey of St. Agatha, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The ivy now hangs over and partially conceals this reredos; but its form is tolerably perfect, and the stones are still coloured by the action of the fire, which was extinguished, I need hardly say, by the cold water thrown on such places by Henry VIII.

"I am, dear Sir,
"A Reader from the Beginning."

E. F., of Islington, says:—

"The first volume of 'London Labour and the London Poor' I have had bound up, and lettered simply, '*London Labour—Vol. 1.*'

"Will you be good enough to inform me how I had better number the second volume of that subject, and the first of that on Prostitution, as it appears that I should have classed the volume that is finished as the first of that particular division of the work."

The lettering on the back of the volume should have been, LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR—STREET-FOLK.—VOL. 1. The next volume in connection with the same class will of course be similar, with the substitution of Vol. 2 for Vol. 1; while the volume upon the Prostitutes should be labelled, LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.—THOSE THAT WILL NOT WORK—CLASS 1—PROSTITUTES.

J. A. W. (Poland-street) will be answered in an early number.

W. D. M. The manager's answer shall be given in the next number.

E. Le B. will be written to privately.

J. B. (Woolbeding Rectory, Midhurst) forwards a post-office order for 2*l*., "to be applied as Mr. Mayhew may think most beneficial to the objects of his researches."

A pamphlet "On the Position and Prospects of the School-Assistant, by Thomas N. Hammer," has been received. It contains curious disclosures as to the treatment of a class who are of essential service to the community, and whose remuneration is of the most inadequate character. The pamphlet will well repay perusal, especially with those who feel an interest in the class.

Mr. Mayhew has to thank Dr. T—— for "the Twelfth Annual Report of the Liverpool Benevolent Society for Reclaiming Unfortunate Females." Any further information on the subject will be of service.

The curious letter from "a Clerk in the City" will be inserted at the earliest opportunity. Mr. Mayhew has no wish to pry into matters of privacy, but the communication would be more valuable if some reference could be given as to the credibility of the writer. Mr. Mayhew does not seek to know the name of his correspondent in a case of so delicate a nature, but merely asks for some guarantee that the whole story is not pure fiction.

W. J., of Kendall, shall have a copy of the questions forwarded to him. Mr. Mayhew is much indebted to him for his courtesy. His letter touching Divorce shall be inserted in an early number.

Returns as to the number of prostitutes have been received, and are acknowledged with thanks, from the police authorities of the following towns:—

Aberdeen.
Exeter.
King's Lynn.

A CONSTANT READER puts a curious question. He says:—

"Can you, or any of the numerous readers of 'London Labour,' explain why a police magistrate is called a *beak*?"

There are two explanations that may be given as to the meaning of the slang term "beak," but both requiring proof. The one is, that in accordance with the *metaphorical* origin of many of the words in the slang language, the term may have been formed from the beak being the organ of seizing or apprehension with birds, and so have been whimsically applied to the functionary connected with the apprehension of criminals.

The other derivation is referrible to the principle laid down by Dr. Latham, that the "lower orders" are the conservators of the Saxon part of the English language—a point which all those who have looked even superficially into the construction of their native tongue will readily admit. Assuming then the word *beak* to be of Saxon origin, we find the Anglo-Saxon term *beag* to signify, among other things, a necklace or ornament to hang about the neck, a collar of state; and when we remember that in Saxon times the aldermen were the sole magistrates (*ealdordom* means authority, magistracy), and that part of the aldermen's insignia of office consists of a chain or collar similar to this *beag*, the transition becomes easy from the emblem of the office to the office or officer himself; even as the "gold-stick-in-waiting" is the title given to the functionary occupying that post; and the policeman is called a "blue-bottle," from his blue uniform; and a soldier a "lobster," from his red coat. Hence a beak would mean simply an alderman or magistrate decorated with a *beag* or gilt collar, as indicative of the magisterial office. As was before stated, however, proof is required; and perhaps some "constant reader" may be able to cite something tending either to confirm or set aside the above suggestion.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Waltham Cross,
"Nov. 10, 1851.

"Sir,

"Observing in your London Labour of the 8th, an enquiry as to the derivation of the word 'mot,' I take the liberty of mentioning that it is an old French word which I can only translate by '*vulva*.' You will find it so used in the '*Moyen de parvenir*,' said to be written by Berould de Verville, in 1558, or thereabouts. It is there spelt '*motte*,' and the expression is still used by the French as argot, or slang, for a prostitute, as well as in the other sense.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient very humble Servant,
"E. C."

The above derivation fulfils all the requirements of the dialetic process. The Italian cognate term is "*il mozzo*," which has the same double meaning as the French "*motte*." An eminent philologist suggested that the English term "*mot*" might be connected with the Norfolk word *Mawther*, a wench; but, on hearing the explanation of E. C., admitted that the matter might be considered as settled at present.

Our friend Wortenkrämer attempts to give a different origin to the term, dealing rather with the term "*mort*" which he appears to consider as the same word as "*mot*;" but this seems rather doubtful at present.

"The word, respecting the derivation of which you require the assistance of your etymological friends, appears to be '*mort*,' although commonly pronounced '*mot*.' N. Bailey has the word, but he does not give its etymology, and he thus states it: 'a mort, a doxy, or whore. Cant.' Just above he has the same word, 'a mort [*amort*, F.], a great abundance. Lincolnshire;' and, below, the phrase 'to blow a mort [hunting term] is to sound a particular air called a *mort*, to give notice that the deer that was hunted is taken and is killed or killing.' Shakspere has the word in the latter sense, in the Winter's Tale, 'and then to sigh as 't were the *mort* o' the deer.' The English dictionaries, in general, only notice the word in the latter meaning, and its derivation from '*mors*' is sufficiently plain. In Bailey-Fahrenkrüger's German and English dictionary, the word is found with the German definition thus 'mort (von *mors*) *der Stosz ins Hifthorn nach Erlegung eines Hirsches: die Menge, der Haufe* (Isl. *margr*); *ein dreijähriger Lachs; volkspr. Weibsbild, Dirne, Mädchen*.' Anglice, 'derived from *mors*, the blast in a hunter's horn after the death of a stag; abundance (Icelandic, *margr*), a three-year-old salmon; popularly, a woman, a wench, a girl.' This is all I can make out from the dictionaries at my command, and it does not amount to much, but the same word with a different meaning, derived from the French '*amort*,' as above mentioned, according to N. Bailey, affords, I think, some clue to the word in question.

"It appears very probable that 'mort' is a contraction of a diminutive of *amor* or *amour*; we have the diminutive in French, in '*amourette*,' and in Italian is '*amorazzo*,' the letter '*t*' being involved in both of them" [not so, they are two different affixes]; "the addition of *t* to *r* is also etymologically regular, as Μορτὸς from Μόρος, death, and the cutting off of the '*a*' at the beginning is a common case, as in Greek μαυρόω for 'αμαυρόω, or English mend for amend" [*a* is a prefix]; "we here also retain the meaning of the word. '*Amourette*' is thus defined in Laudais's French dictionary 'diminutif d'amour. *Attachement passager et sans grande passion: il a toujours quelque amourette*.' The French courtezans call themselves '*filles d'amour*' and I think we must look in this direction for the derivation of *mort* rather than to *mors* or any of its inflections, for there seems no such necessary connexion between death and harlotry, as there does between love and the sexes." [The two words, however, have evidently different origins.]

"I, at first, thought that the name '*mort*' might be a proper name, and have some such origin as the appellation '*Cyprians*' commonly given to the nymphs of the '*pavé*' because Venus was the Cyprian goddess, whose first temple was in the island of Cyprus. *Morta* was the name given by some to one of the *Parcæ*. The Greeks called the Parcæ Μοῖραι, Fates; hence, *morta*; and when we bear in mind that the Parcæ were the daughters of *Nox* and *Erebus* (night and darkness), there does seem a ground for conjecturing that the name might have so arisen; I, however, incline to the other etymology.

"By-the-by you have fallen into a little error, p. 183, vol. ii.; '*jardin*' is not the root of our 'garden,' but '*garten*,' Germ., is the root of both. Pudding is derived from '*Boudin*,' not '*Poudin*.'

"Yours obediently,
"WORTENKRÄMER.

"Gray's Inn."

The French *jardin* was given rather as the cognate of the English *garden* than its root, which is from the Saxon *geard*, a yard, enclosure; whence *ort-geard* and *wyrt-geard*, and our *orchard*, *wyrt* signifying a root or herb, and *wyrt-geard*, a garden or yard for fruit (Lat. *hort-us*). The term *poudin* was cited as the modern form of the old term *boudin*. The term *mort* appears to be still of doubtful origin. The derivations above given are ingenious, but far from satisfactory.

The subjoined, from G. H., is etymological:—

"With regard to the derivation of the phrase 'that's the ticket' (No. 48), I venture to remark that I have always understood the complete phrase to be 'that's the ticket *for soup*.' If my reading be the original one, this slang, perhaps, has not so refined an origin as you suggest; probably some one can tell us the date of its introduction. By the way, about preserving the wrappers of your wonderful work: the Notices to Correspondents are far—very far—too good to be lost, and to bind up your title-page and the advertisements will give the book, when complete, a very awkward appearance. Can not you do something to obviate this latter feature?"

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Wortenkramer writes:—

"As I can, I think, answer two questions at once in a satisfactory manner, viz., the origin of the word 'Haberdasher' and the meaning of the 'Daylie Oratour,' I again offer my mite to the valuable information contained in your interesting publication. In a foot note to my former letter on the word 'haberdasher,' you inquire 'What is a berdash?' As I could give no further elucidation of it than my letter contained on the authority of the German Dictionary of Bailey, and Fahrenkrüger, viz., a neckerchief, formerly worn (*eine ehemalige Halstucharet*), I did not further trouble you, the more especially, as I certainly had not followed dialectic or any other scientific mode of derivation, conceiving that those means had been previously tried unsuccessfully, and that the derivation must be looked for in some such corruptions of sound as 'hocus pocus,' from *hoc est corpus*. In turning over, however, the pages of N. Bailey's Dictionary, I stumbled upon the word 'Tatch, a sort of fastening, a loop or button, &c.,' and it occurred to me that the answer to your question, what is a 'berdash?' was here solved, and that the true meaning of berdash is a beard-tatch; that is, a beard-tie, something tied under the beard, or, in other words, a neckerchief. This agrees with the definition in Bailey and Fahrenkrüger's Dictionary, the English-German part of which is so excellent that I cannot for a moment suppose the derivation to be fanciful. The change from beard-tatch into 'berdash' does not violate any rule of etymology, and if I have at last set the origin of the word 'haberdasher' at rest, it is somewhat curious that the ladies' girdle and the gentlemen's neckcloth should have given names to the Haberdasher's and Girdler's Companies of the city of London.

"As regards the 'Daylie Oratour,' it is merely a form of petition, as one of your correspondents suggests; it is nearly disused; but I have within the last year seen a bill in the Irish Court of Chancery, beginning in the old form 'Your suppliant and daily orator sheweth unto your Lordship.' In England to this day, the bills begin, 'Your orator sheweth.'

"Your obedient Servant,

"WORTENKRAMER.

"Gray's-Inn."

The above derivation of berdash is unfortunately neither dialectic nor historic, but purely conjectural. In this manner, with the exercise of the least ingenuity, almost any origin may be ascribed to words. When Wortenkramer finds the word "berdash" in a foreign tongue, differently spelt, but with the letters changed according to the Phonetic Canons laid down by Grimm and Bopp, and meaning literally a neckerchief, then will he have troubled himself to some purpose; as it is, he is quite at sea. Berdash and beard-tash, or beard-tie, for neckcloth, is very much in the "king Jeremiah" style of philology. The *historic* evidence concerning the meaning of the phrase "daylie oratour" is of a different nature, being at once explanatory and sound.

The subjoined is from a working tailor, who sends an account of his wages and expenditure for several years—statistics which are of the utmost possible importance, especially when the writer accompanies them with vouchers for his credibility. It were indeed to be wished that all trades would do the same; for it is only in this way that any *proof* as to wages can be arrived at. A workman's *actual* weekly wages are often so different from his *nominal* weekly wages, and his casual receipts per week frequently considerably less than his constant income, while the gains of a particular individual cannot possibly form a criterion of the general earnings of the whole trade; so that it is solely by the collection of a large number of facts any accurate and comprehensive result can be obtained. There are no less than six different kinds of wages in every trade, and it is absolutely essential that each be distinguished from the other. The two first kinds refer to a man's weekly wages. To ascertain a man's actual weekly wage, we deduct all fines and stoppages from his nominal weekly wage, or else we add to it all perquisites, allowances, and the like; the nominal wage being what he is said to receive per week for his labour, and the actual what he really does receive from his employer. To arrive at a man's constant (or average casual) wage, we must multiply his actual weekly wage by the number of weeks he has been employed, and divide by 52 (the total number of weeks throughout the year). A man whose actual weekly wages amount to 1*l.*, and who is casually employed for six months in the year, will have had only 10*s.* for a constant (or average casual) wage throughout the year. The general wage of a trade is to be arrived at solely by dividing the gross amount paid for labour in the course of the year—first, by the entire number of labourers; and, secondly, by the total number of weeks in the year. The better paid journeymen tailors may earn, on an average, 1*l.* a week the year through; fully employed and casual men as well; and the slop-tailors, 10*s.* a week; and thus the general wages, as contradistinguished from the individual, will be 15*s.* per week. It is highly necessary for a right understanding of the wage question that each form of wage be distinguished, for one kind of wage is no guide to the other.

"DEAR SIR,

"Reading in your work, 'London Labour,' No. 40, an account of wages by R. H. (though I do not quite like the way he averages it, but which supplies some information as far as it goes), I beg leave to send you an account of mine, as journeyman tailor, for the last ten years, the time I have been married (my wedding-day

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was Dec. 25, 1840). We have now four children, and we have buried one. My wife does nothing towards a living except look after the family, which I consider is quite plenty. I came to London on Nov. 8, 1837, and went to work at my present employer's, Feb. 13, 1838, where I have worked ever since (except five months at the end of 1839, when I was in Paris). I have always made it a rule from the time I commenced as journeyman to keep an account of my earnings, and the principal items of expenditure, so you may rely on their accuracy; if you require proof you can call on me any Sunday evening, and I shall feel great pleasure in showing you the way I keep my accounts. With respect to beer, &c., in the other sheet, I keep no account of my expenditure that way, but I think 4½*d.* a day is as near the truth as I can come without regular accounts.

"My employer's name is J—— H——, and a good master he is. I wish all were like him; but if you should make any use of any part of this paper be sure you do not mention his name. My native county is Cambridgeshire. I left home March 21, 1837, and 'tramped' to most of the princpal towns in the north of England during the summer and autumn of that year, when I came to London to see the Queen go to Guildhall, on Nov. 9, 1837, and here I have been ever since, and here I suppose I am likely to remain; but I am perfectly satisfied. If I have work as I have had heretofore I shall be a lucky man.

"I beg to remain
"Your obedient Servant,
"E—— B——.

INCOME.							EXPENDITURE.			
Date.		Weekly Average.	Weeks.	Highest Week.	Weeks.	Lowest Weeks.	Rent.	Firing and Candles.	Bread and Flour.	Meat and Fish.
	£ s. d.	s. d.		s. d.			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1841	54 13 3	21 0¼		33 0	4	Nil.	10 8 3	2 18 3	5 12 4¼	9 10 4
1842	59 1 3	22 8½	7 at	36 0	6	Nil.	10 15 0	3 4 2½	5 17 4½	9 16 6
1843	62 13 4½	24 1¼	7 „	36 0	3	Nil.	11 8 3	3 10 4	5 11 10¼	10 14 0
1844	69 7 1½	26 8	1 „	36 0	1	Nil.	10 8 0	4 0 4½	7 3 0½	11 9 6
1845	66 18 3	25 8¾	6 „	36 0	3	Nil.	10 14 3	3 12 0½	7 16 10	10 12 0
1846	73 8 9	28 3	6 „	36 0	1	Nil.	11 1 0	3 9 0	8 5 10	12 3 4
1847	73 2 9	28 1½		35 6	2	Nil.	11 1 0	3 13 11	8 18 9	10 12 8
1848	64 5 10½	24 8½	6 „	36 0	2	Nil.	11 1 0	4 0 10½	8 11 10½	11 18 4½
1849	66 13 7½	25 7¾	11 „	36 0	4	Nil.	11 6 3	3 1 2	8 5 3½	10 18 4
1850	67 0 6	25 11¼	8 „	36 0		1*s.*	11 4 3	3 15 4½	8 7 5½	10 6 7
	657 4 9	25 3¼	52		26		109 7 3	35 5 6½	74 10 8	108 1 7½

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE TEN YEARS.

	£	s.	d.
Rent	109	7	3
Firing and candles	35	5	6½
Bread & flour	74	10	8
Meat, fish, &c.	108	1	7½
Soap, soda, &c.	7	6	9½
Clothing for family (six persons)....	62	5	1½
Doctors' bills for family (six persons)	13	12	9
Trade and benefit society and fire insurance	45	1	2½
Household furniture	38	16	9¼
Beer, &c., I only suppose at 4½*d.* per day, or 7*l.* per annum	70	0	0
	564	7	9

	£	s.	d.
Income	657	4	9
Expenses	564	7	9

	£	s.	d.
It leaves for groceries, fruit, and vegetables ..	92	17	0

Or about 9*l.* yearly.

AVERAGE PER WEEK.

	£	s.	d.
Rent	0	4	2¼
Firing, &c.	0	1	4½
Bread..........	0	2	10¼
Meat	0	4	1¾
Soap, soda, &c.	0	0	3¼
Clothing	0	2	10½
Doctors' bills ..	0	0	6½
Trade society, &c.	0	1	8¾
Furniture	0	1	5¾
Beer, &c.	0	2	0½
Grocery, &c....	0	1	7¾
	1	3	10

"The above is a correct account of my income as a journeyman tailor, *in full work, at a full-priced shop, on the best work,* on the employer's premises; the average number of men about ten.

"I have not included in the above an account of a trifle I make by a little "crib" at the shop, or a few shillings by doing a job of my own, which I lay out in books; the account as I have given is for purely domestic purposes. Books by some are considered a luxury, or things that can be done without, so I did not include them; but I can vouch for the accuracy of the accounts.
"E—— B——."

The following explains and qualifies some of the above statements:—

"I beg leave to supply you with the other items that you require to my statement. I will take them as they stand on the cover of No. 42. 1. Am I a quick hand? I can safely say that I am quicker than the average by a good deal, when there is plenty of work. I earn more money than the rest in the shop, except one; but when it is slack time we share the work amongst ourselves as fair as we can." [E. B. should have said how much quicker he was in his work than an average hand; that is to say, how much more

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. Mayhew acknowledges with thanks the receipt of returns from the police authorities as to the number of prostitutes in the subjoined towns: –

Brighton.
Stoke-upon-Trent.
Sunderland.
Gateshead.
Wigan.

The following communications on the etymology of the slang term Mot, are all curious, and some very useful :—

"Albany-street,
"Dec. 2nd, 1851.

"Sir,

"It has often happened in the course of your most useful and interesting publication, 'London Labour and the London Poor,' that I have seen words used for which I could have given an explanation, but have deferred doing so till I have seen some one else come forward—then it would be needless. In the last number, in reference to the word 'mot,' your correspondent properly states it as coming from the old French word *motte*. This is the true orthography, and has reference, as he translates it, to the *vulva;* but its origin in the slang, or argot, is from *motte*, turf.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours most obediently,
"T. S. B."

[In the country the mark in quoit-playing is termed a "motte," probably from the above signification; but the slang term "mot," a low woman, is clearly another word.—H. M.]

"Sir,

"In a former number of your valuable work, 'London Labour,' &c., you made an inquiry concerning the derivation of the word 'mot,' as popularly applied to prostitutes. I did not doubt that, among the answers this inquiry would elicit from some of your numerous readers, the meaning which I have always heard abroad attributed to that term would have been mentioned; but as I do not find it in the replies of either of your two correspondents, E. C. or Wortenkrämer, I venture to suggest that this word, like so many of the same class, *argot*, or slang, adopted in our *vulgar* tongue, is derived from the Dutch, and was perhaps introduced thence by our sailors; for it is still used by the lower classes in Holland to express the same meaning as that of *mot* in English slang. Thus 'een mot' means a *low* prostitute; 'een mottekast,' a brothel (*literally*, a chest or case infested with moths). The primary and real signification of the word '*mot*,' in Dutch, is the same as *moth* in English. It is, therefore, there applied to this class of women as a vituperative term, designating them as foul agents of corruption and destruction, even as the moth is to woollen cloth.

"Etymologies, I am aware, are generally fanciful, and sometimes even border on the ridiculous. Still, when we find in so many living languages this word applied to express the same reproachful meaning in all of them, the explanation above given may not perhaps appear to you altogether improbable and unworthy of notice. *Possibly* it may be the real one.

"The French derivation given by your correspondent, E. C., seems also to point to the meaning of corruption, because the term *vulva*, or rather what it is *intended* to designate thereby, being common to all the sex, cannot in a vituperative sense be applied to the dissolute part of them exclusively, but must be intended as expressing (in a coarse manner) the meaning of a foul and corrupt *va ca*.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient Servant, and
Constant Reader,
"D.

"Upper Clapton,
"Nov. 29th, 1851."

The above is useful, as giving another dialectic explanation of the term "*mot*." The question consequently becomes, are the Dutch words "*mot*," a moth, and "*mot*," a low woman, etymologically the same words, or do they proceed from different roots? I suspect they have *not* a common origin for the following reasons. The Saxon term *moth*, a moth, is evidently another form of the Saxon *mot*, a mote, *atomus*; and hence an insect, gnat or moth. This, again, is connected with the Anglo-Saxon *mite*, and Heb., מעט, moth, a little thing. The latter is probably from some root to cut, to divide; as *in-sect*, from *seco*.

Now the Dutch term *mottekast*, for a brothel, has evidently, to those who have any knowledge of the cognate languages, a less fanciful origin than that supposed by D. In Anglo-Saxon, the equivalent for the Dutch *mottekast* would be *mot-hus*, that is, a moot-house, or *meeting*-house, a place of assembly; and hence a brothel, a place of assembly for men and women, a meeting or "assignation-house;" and hence *mot* would be a low woman in the habit of frequenting such places, the frequenter of brothels.

The Saxon term *mot*, or *gemot*, is an assembly, a meeting—as in the old Saxon parliament or witenagemot, *i. e.*, the assembly (*gemot*) of the wits or wise men (*witena*). This *mot*, a meeting, was a substantive formed from the verb *metan*, to meet, meet with, find, obtain, get. Hence a "mot" would mean either a woman in the habit of frequenting a *mot-hus*, or house of assembly for men and women, a brothel; or a woman accustomed to make appointments and meet gentlemen.

The low French term *motte*, signifying *vulva*, and the Italian *mozzo*, are more likely to be connected with *moth* and *mote* than with *mot*, a prostitute. The derivation of *mot*, a low woman, from *mot-hus* and *mottekast*, a brothel, appears to be conclusive.

There is another term, *trull*, applied to the lower order of prostitutes. This is the Saxon term *thræl*, and old German *trulle*, a slave, one in

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thral-dom. The old Dutch *drille*, from the same root, is explained—*mulier vaga, levis meretrix.* The Icelandic cognate is *thræll*, servus. Hence the word trull is the Saxon equivalent for the modern term "*slavey*," the appellation given to that class of prostitutes who are, as Duchatelet expresses it, "subject to the mistress of a brothel;" that is to say, those who have to give up the whole or a portion of their gains to the bawd, in return for their board and lodging and clothes, in contradistinction to the "*femmes libres*," or those who trade on their own account. The French term for the former class is "*esclaves*," the English "*slavey*;" and it is curious not only that the same vile mode of traffic should be common to both countries, but that they should be expressed by the same term. The word *trull* has a similar signification to "*slavey*."

Still there is the word *mort* to be explained. Is this the same term as *mot*? I suspect not; but the following letter gives the ingenious speculations of a gentleman who has evidently paid some little attention to the subject of comparative philology.

"Ashby-de-la-Zouch,
"Sir, "*Dec.* 4, 1851.

"I am engaged on an etymological cant or slang vocabulary, and have been hesitating whether to connect the word 'mot' with mate, a companion, &c., or with mother; I find you suggest the latter, and I have almost made up my mind to adopt it. I must confess I should be better satisfied if I could prove it from the Anglo-Saxon *maca*, a *mace*, a husband, wife, mate, or companion, or could I establish that this *a* had the broad sound; this latter circumstance would, I think, decide it, mace, make, **mâte, mort, mot.** [The writer should study Bopp's "Vocalismus."]

"The word mort is used in several of our dialects for a great quantity; the Anglo-Saxon for lump is *mace;* one might almost be tempted here to compare the French argot word *largue*, which means a woman, a doxy. I think, however, that the Anglo-Saxon *mace*, lump, and our *much* are connected.

"Turn now to the Sanscrit, *matar* (mother); Sclavonic, *mater*; Lithuanian, *moter* (a woman, a mother is *motina*), and Lettish, *mate*; now the broad sound being immediately given to the *a* where it occurs, and the accent being on the penultima, the last syllable would be faint and at last disappear, so that we have not much difficulty in arriving at mort, mot; and, probably, it came thus to us through the Gypsies, whether Bohemian or German." [But see the extract here appended from Borrow.] "In 'Witt's Recreation' a collection of epitaphs, epigrams, fancies, &c., a Gypsy sings—

> 'And for the Romi-*morts*,
> I know by their ports,
> And there jolly resorts,
> They are of the sorts
> That love the true sports
> Of King Ptolomæus,
> Or great Coriphæus,
> And Queen Cleopatra,
> The Gypsies' grand *Matra*.'

"You will find in the song of the old and young courtiers, inserted in Percy's "Reliques of Ancient Poetry," the word *madam* used for kept woman—

> "'Like a flourishing young gallant newly come to his land,
> Who keeps a brace of painted madams at his command.'

"Also in 'Witt's Recreation' there are some lines on a patched up "madam;" and, again, the common people in this part of the country frequently call such persons madams.

"I am, sir, yours truly,
"T. L. L."

T. L. L. will have seen that the term *mot* has a wholly different origin from that originally conjectured. The word *maca*, a mate, wife, is connected with the verb *macian*, to make, form, *match*, but *mace*, a lump, is connected with Latin *massa; much*, on the other hand, is related to Latin *magis*, and *more* with *major*, and these all with the Latin *magnus*, and the Saxon *mæg-en*, Anglice, main strength, power; whence the Saxon *mægeste*, greatest, most powerful; *max-imus*, and *mæg-ester*, a master, *magister*. It is difficult to say whether these words are derivatives of *macian*, to make, or the verb derived from them. Be this as it may, however, it is manifest that from *macian*, to make, comes *mæden* (Ger. *magd*), a maiden, made, even as mate gives made in the past tense; and hence, too, the Saxon *mæg*, a relation, son, daughter, a friend, male or female, a woman: the Scotch *Mac* has the same origin. Hence, again, we have *modor*, mother, and *mater*, and the several cognates for the same word, all meaning, simply, *mactor*, a *maker*, even as *father* is from *factor*, a maker, and *author* from *auctor*. The dropping of the *c* in all these words is by no means uncommon; *c* and *g* in former times had, probably, the sound of *y*, or guttural aspirate. Blod*ig*, in Saxon, is the original of our blood*y*, and so, in the French, *éloigne* and *boulogne*. Thus the Latin *factum* becomes, in French, *tait*, and so our verb *make* in the *past* tense gives, *made* for *maked*, the *c*, *k*, or *g*, having a tendency first to pass into *i* or *y*, and then to disappear altogether. The ordinary derivation of *father* is from *feeder*, he who supplies the *food*, because *fedan*, in Saxon, is to feed, and *fæder*, a father; but the Icelandic *fædi, at fæda*, is *generare*, connected with *fio*, *φυω*, and *facio*. Webster strives to connect *mother* with *mud*, the earth, as when we speak of our "mother earth," but such derivations are all fanciful, and words have a far more simple and less metaphorical origin than is ordinarily believed. The word *man*, again, is from the verb to make. In Saxon *man* means—1, a man; 2, one of the human kind, a *woman!* while the plat. Dutch *mäken* means a maid, maiden, so that it would appear that the word *maken* (*i. e.* mak + en) originally signified any created thing, and then one of the human kind, a man or a woman; and, lastly, a man proper; while the term maid, *macod*, came to be restricted to a young woman. The names Meg and Madge have the same origin, and meant, originally, merely a woman, a relation, even as *John* means in Sanscrit, a man, and Jane, Jinny (*γυνη*), a

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. S. (Birmingham) shall have Mr. Mayhew's opinion as to the best mode of publishing the poem.

A Commanding Officer's letter shall be inserted in the next number of "Those that Will Not Work."

A. C. (Hadleigh), and a City Clerk, shall be answered in an early number.

F. C. R. M. (M.D.) will be written to privately.

The late remarks on machinery in connection with the increase of surplus labour have brought a small avalanche of letters down upon us. Some are from those who are known, and whose opinions are esteemed by us; while some of the writers are unknown to us, but their opinions are worthy of respect, as they have evidently been endeavouring to think out the subject for themselves. It will, perhaps, be better to give the letters seriatim, and reply to them collectively. The first refers to the use of machinery in connection with the scavaging of the streets.

"Sir,

"Having read your remarks upon machine and pauper sweeping in No. 44 of your most interesting publication, permit me to ask you one question on the principle you advocate therein.

"You are against employing machines and paupers, because of the number of men thrown out of labour by them: for upon employing them a vast amount of labour which was formerly profitable to the community becomes unprofitable, and therefore is not employed.

"The labour in question is surplus labour, and is over and above what is required for the good of the community.

"Now if individuals are employed in unprofitable labour, so that it only be innocent labour, I do not see that it matters what the nature of it is. If, then, instead of employing individuals to sweep, the machines were used, and the men thus thrown out of work were to be employed in digging holes and filling them up again, in building houses and knocking them down again, or any other work equally unprofitable, and the wages saved by the machines were expended on this, so that there would be exactly the same amount of labour employed, and the same amount of wages expended as if no sweeping-machines were used, then it seems as if it would be exactly the same as if no machines were used.

"My question, then, is this—Whether you are in favour of the community finding unprofitable labour for the surplus labourers, and paying them for the same?

"I am,
"Your obedient Servant,
"Liverpool." "T. A."

The second is from a friend, and relates to the use of machinery in connection with the printing trade. It runs as follows:—

"I have been pondering a good deal at various times about your theory of the 'Wage Fund,' and am inclined to think you are mistaken in supposing that money is taken from it in order to erect machinery. Of course I look to the process in my own case as that of thousands of others. I was a hand-press printer, and made, we will say, 500*l.* per annum. Of this I spent 250*l.*; 250*l.* I invested in 3 per cents., or bank stock, or railway shares. As a hand-press printer *I could not further extend my trade.* I could only do this by producing books at a much cheaper rate. I then, with the accumulated savings of several years, or by other means, purchase machinery; my trade increases, and, instead of discharging men, I employ a great many more. Is not this the case with the cotton and woollen manufacturers? The only difference with them was, that they threw a number of hand-loom weavers out of employ, and instead paid a *greater amount of wages* to women and children than were paid before to the men. Unless you could show that less was paid in wages after the introduction of machinery than before, you cannot prove that the 'Wage Fund' has been abstracted from and thrown into fixed capital. You will recollect that without machinery we should have little or no foreign trade."

Another refers more particularly to the use of machinery in connection with the stocking trade.

"Nov. 25, 1851.

"Sir,

"In your recent discussion on the wage law and your sweeping remarks on machinery, you seem to forget the good that machinery has done. If you look at the present time, and compare it with 50 years since—those 'good old times'—you will at once be struck with the marked improvement that has taken place. I do not deny that machinery has thrown a great many men out of employment; but you must recollect that a few must suffer for the good of the many, and that if a man is ground down by machinery, he has to pay less both for clothing and eatables. That the introduction of machinery in our manufactures has, on the whole, done more good than harm, there can be no doubt.

"You say that the machinery in England is equal in power to 600,000,000 men: in one sense so much the better; it enables the large capitalist to compete with other countries. I could adduce several instances in support of this, but will content myself with the following:—A short time ago Saxony monopolised nearly the whole of the American stocking trade; but since the recent improvements in stocking-machinery at Nottingham, we have been able to successfully compete with that country. Hoping you will excuse my freedom in writing you,

"I remain, Sir,
"Yours respectfully,
"J—— C——."

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Now in the above letters, it will be seen many different arguments are used in favour of machinery.

The first is, that if we can discover the means of doing a given quantity of work with fewer hands, that to employ a greater number is to employ them as fruitlessly and unprofitably as if we were to set them "to dig holes and fill them up again."

The second is, that it admits of the market being extended.

The third is, that in the cotton trade the wages of the hand-loom weavers alone have been decreased, while those of the "power" operatives have been raised.

The fourth, that it increases the foreign trade of the country, or, as one gentleman expresses it, "enables the large capitalist to compete with other countries."

These appear to exhaust the reasons above given why machinery is to be regarded as a benefit, in the present state of our social institutions. The fallacy of the whole appears to consist in ignoring the existence of the labourer, and not paying the same regard to his interests as to those of the capitalist class. This seems to be the fundamental error of all party reasoning. Each person considers the community to be made up of that class with which he is the most concerned; and when he speaks of the community being benefited, we shall find, if we probe him well, that he means merely the increase of the worldly advantages of that particular section with which he may happen to be connected. This is a natural source of prejudice; indeed, all those who have paid attention to the laws of suggestion know the tendency of every feeling to give rise to ideas and opinions in accordance with it. Hence it will be found, that when traders speak of the community being benefited, they mean, generally, that the profits of trade are to be increased; so with the landlords, when they say that the country is to derive some special advantage from a particular condition of things, the meaning is, too often, that rents are likely to be improved; and so, again, with the working men, the good of the nation signifies, in nine cases out of ten, the improvement of their own condition. Now, by the benefit of the community, we are to understand the benefit, if not of every individual member of it, at least of the greatest number. The labouring population and those who are immediately dependent upon them, necessarily make up the majority of this kingdom: the benefit of the community, therefore, involves the improvement of the condition of the labourers more particularly than that of any other section of society; and by consequence, that which tends to impoverish them, however much it may be to the advantage of any other class, must be said to inflict a national injury. A certain mode of production may tend to increase the stock of national wealth to a considerable amount, but the increase of the riches of a country is no benefit to the people *unless those riches be distributed, and the people themselves obtain a due share of them.* The machinery question consequently resolves itself into a matter of fact—do the people, that is to say, the labouring population, become possessed of a greater amount of comforts and commodities by mechanical contrivances for the economy of labour? This must necessarily depend upon the extensibility of the market for the commodities to the production of which the machinery is applied. If there be only a definite quantity of such commodities required—as, for instance, of hearses—that is to say, if the demand for the articles be dependent on some circumstance which no cheapness could possibly influence, then of course the economy of labour in connection with the production of those articles cannot but be attended with the displacement of just as much labour as is economised; and thus, though the capitalist class would be benefited by the cheapening of the commodity, the labouring class would be injured to the extent of the economisation of the labour: for if the condition of the capitalist class depends on the quantity of commodities they can get in exchange for their capital, that of the labouring class depends on the quantity of commodities they can get in exchange for their labour;—hence the economy of labour must in all cases, where the market is circumscribed, be as great an evil to the poor as it is a gain to the rich. In other cases where the market is extensible, it must be admitted that the labourers may be benefited by the economy of labour: for since the value of those commodities the supply of which can be indefinitely extended is generally determined by the cost of production, it follows, that to economise the labour of producing such commodities is to decrease the cost of production, and so to extend the demand for them, by which means a greater quantity of labourers may be employed. There can be no doubt that a greater number of workmen are employed in producing copies of writings by means of moveable types than ever could have been employed had the scribe not been superseded by the compositor. The cause of this is to be found simply in that cheapening of the article (owing to the diminished cost of production), which has naturally induced a large increase of demand. In such a case, machinery, it must be confessed, has been a good to both classes, the producers and the consumers being equally benefited by it; but has this been the case with the cotton-manufacture? It would appear *not* by the statistics of that trade—which must be reserved till the next number—when it shall be demonstrated to all those that are open to reason, that precisely as the capitalists in that trade have been enriched, the working classes have been impoverished by it. Who can explain that the poverty and crime of this country advance at the same rate with our wealth, by any other means than that the capitalist class have learnt by the economy of labour to obtain a greater quantity of riches with a less sum paid to the labourers? Those, however, who are interested in the question, will find this part of the matter more fully discussed in the publication entitled "Low Wages" than it is possible to do here.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

According to promise I return to the consideration of the opinions which have been forwarded to me by several correspondents in favour of machinery as applied to the purposes of manufacture in *general*. These are as follows:—

1. That if we can discover the means of doing a given quantity of work with fewer hands, to employ a greater number is to employ them as fruitlessly and unprofitably as if we were to set them to dig holes and fill them up again.
2. That machinery admits of the market being extended.
3. That in the cotton trade the wages of the hand-loom weavers alone have been decreased, while those of the "power" operatives have been raised.
4. That machinery increases the foreign trade of the country, or "enables the large capitalist to compete with other countries."
5. That the capital required for the purpose of constructing machines is not taken from the Wage Fund.
6. That the capital which is saved in wages in one trade must go to increase employment in another.
7. That labour is a curse, and consequently the saving of it must be a blessing.
8. That machinery, by diminishing the cost of production, admits of the labourer obtaining an increased supply of commodities for less money, so that even if his wages be decreased by it, he cannot be said to be a loser.

This surely is a full and fair statement of the question. The above arguments may be grouped into three classes: the first including those which uphold machinery in the abstract, on the ground that, since labour is an evil, the economy of it must be a good, and that to employ labour which can be done without is to employ it uselessly; the second class are those which uphold machinery not so much for itself as for its results, saying that it admits of the market being extended, of the increase of our foreign trade, and of the labourer obtaining increased comforts for less money; while the third class comprises those which are of a negative character, denying what has been asserted, and declaring that the capital applied to the construction of machinery is not drawn from the funds devoted to the payment of the labourers, and that the wages which are saved by mechanical appliances in one trade, go to increase employment in some other; and lastly, that the wages in the cotton trade, in particular, have not been diminished by it.

Let us first deal with the arguments which refer to machinery in the abstract. There cannot be the least doubt that labour *is* an evil, since it is that which all the world pays to avoid, and which to undergo all people require a reward of some kind as *an inducement*. Were toil, rather than ease, a pleasure, gentlemen would give a certain sum to be allowed to work, instead of parting with a portion of their wealth to servants to save them the trouble of doing the least thing for themselves. But if labour be a curse, at least it is *the means of living*—"in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread;" and the majority of the people—the community, indeed—have no other means of subsistence. In all primitive states this is the sole means of continuing existence; nature supplies the wealth, and man has to collect it; the seeking and the gathering being then the only labour that he is called upon to perform. For this little or no capital or saving is required, provided the spontaneous productions of the earth are sufficient to enable a man in the course of each day to find and collect enough to maintain himself till the morrow. In other conditions of society, however, when or where the earth, in the common course of nature, does not yield sufficient for the support of the people located upon it, other forms of labour are obliged to be adopted, and, instead of *collection*, men then have to resort to *production* (and *extraction*, for the purpose of obtaining the minerals essential for the perfection of the productive process).

Now the difference between these several forms of labour lies in the *time* required for a return to the industry; in collection the return is almost *immediate*, the labour of each day generally yielding sufficient food for the performance of the next day's labour. In production, however, the labourer has to remain some considerable time unrewarded; he must wait until the seasons return before his exertions can meet with the least reward. But during this time he must live; hence in all productive states saving is necessary; for since the return to the labour is *not* immediate, and the necessity for food is continually recurring at short intervals, it is evident that without a stock of provisions sufficient to keep him until the earth yields him the produce of his industry, the labourer will be unable to protract his existence. But immediately society passes from a state of collection or *immediate* returns to industry, to a state of production or *deferred* returns, it necessarily changes from the condition of mere labour to one of labour and capital—for capital is simply saving with a view to production; that is to say, in the latter condition not only labour, but a sufficient stock of provisions, is required to keep the individual while labouring. And since this stock could only have been obtained by the abstinence of some of the labourers, that is to say, by their living on less than they had previously acquired, and since all men are not equally provident, it follows that some would possess such a stock, while others would be without the means of supporting themselves in the intervals of production; hence society in such a state would necessarily divide itself into two distinct classes: that of the capitalists or possessors of the stock necessary for the performance of the labour; and the mere labourers deficient of all provision for the future. The consequence, of course, would be, since the capitalists possessed the sole means of obtaining the future produce, and without which the others could not possibly prosecute their la-

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bour, that the labourers would gladly consent to allow the capitalists to share in the proceeds of their industry, provided the capitalists would allow them to share in the proceeds of their abstinence; and hence we arrive by easy gradations at the state of employer and employed, in which the capitalists possess everything, and the labourers have nothing but their labour to give in exchange for a portion of the savings of the others.

Now, the capitalists being, in such an arrangement of society, the possessors of all the wealth, and requiring the services of the labourers to operate on the *materials* of the future productions —whether seed to convert into crops, or wool into cloth and coats, or hides into leather and shoes, or cotton into calicoes and shirts, or wood into ships and houses and furniture, or iron into tools, weapons, and machines; of course it follows that the *less they part with* to the labourers for so doing, the *greater will be their gain*, that is to say, the *more* commodities they will obtain from their materials at *less* cost. The labourers, however, having nothing to depend upon but what they receive in exchange for their labour, it equally follows, that the less they obtain for their work the worse will be their condition. The smaller the quantity of labour, therefore, that is required, or what is the same thing, the fewer the labourers that are needed to make up the materials of wealth into commodities, the less stock the capitalists will have to part with, and the more commodities they will obtain; for what they save in labour they can, of course, exchange for a greater quantity of materials, and so get a greater number of commodities at a less expense; hence anything which tends to make each of the workmen do the work of one hundred must necessarily tend to increase the gains of the capitalists as much as it does to decrease the income of the labourers in the aggregate, and to give the possessors of the stock or materials one-hundredfold more articles of utility or enjoyment for the same outlay, while there must necessarily be one-hundredfold less employment for the labourers. It should be borne in mind, that the stock possessed by the capitalists is the result of saving out of the *past* produce, and consequently *cannot possibly be increased* till the next year's returns are obtained; hence this is the whole that in the interval of production can be used for the enjoyment of the capitalists, the supply of materials, and the maintenance of the labourers; so that the increase of the funds required for either of these results necessarily involves the decrease of those needed for the others, that is to say, if a larger portion of the stock be devoted to materials for the future produce, there will be less left for the maintenance of the labourers; hence it follows that to enable the workmen to convert more materials into products in the same time, is to cause a greater proportion of the stock of the capitalists to be devoted to materials, and a correspondingly less proportion to be devoted to the maintenance of the labourers.

To put this clearly to those who are unused to such speculations, let us say that the national income of this country amounts to 300,000,000*l*., that is to say, that the whole year's produce of provisions, clothes, furniture, implements, conveyances, ornaments, &c., &c., is altogether worth that amount of money, and let us say that 100,000,000*l*. were paid to 4,000,000 labourers while engaged in producing the wealth; that another 100,000,000*l*. expressed the value of the materials—the seed, the cotton, the wool, the hides, the wood, the iron—used in the production of the various commodities. The whole of the 300,000,000*l*. then would, of course, belong entirely to the capitalists; 200,000,000*l*. going to replace the capital employed in production, and 100,000,000*l*. being the profits on the transaction. The labourers own not one brass farthing of the produce; they have been paid for their labour in obtaining it, and are held to have no further claim upon it. Now let us suppose that by the invention of a certain machine the capitalists are enabled to convert the materials of the next year's produce into commodities with a less amount of labour, and consequently with fewer labourers, say with one-half, what must be the inevitable consequence? The result, of course, will be that only one-half the number of labourers being required, one-half less would be expended in wages, even supposing the same rate of remuneration to be paid to each (though, of course, wages would fall from the competition of those displaced), and thus the capitalists would have only 50,000,000*l*. to pay for the labour of the workpeople, while the workpeople, of course, would have 50,000,000*l*, less to live upon. But what, it may be asked, would be done with the 50,000,000*l*. saved? Why either it would go to increase the profits and enjoyments of the capitalists, or else it would be devoted to the purchase of an extra quantity of materials—of cotton, of wool, of silk, of wood, or what not, with the view of increasing the gross quantity of the future produce. Let us suppose the latter course to be adopted: then it follows that a certain portion of those whose labour had been superseded by the machine might be re-employed, and granting the same relation between the sum devoted to the purchase of materials and that devoted to the payment of labour, to hold good, about 17,000,000*l*. more might be paid for labour, and about 650,000 more labourers set to work, while the remaining 33,000,000*l*. would be required to obtain an extra supply of materials. Then how would the matter stand? Why, as 100,000,000*l*. worth of materials yielded a number of commodities which were equal in value to 300,000,000*l*., increasing threefold, of course 133,000,000*l*. expended in the same manner, would yield such an extra number of commodities as, monetarily expressed, would be equal to 399,000,000*l*.; but the workpeople would have received only 67,000,000*l*. for their labour in producing them, so that the capitalists would have had their commodities and profits *increased* to the extent of 99,000,000*l*., while the workmen would have had their income *decreased* to the extent of 33,000,000*l*., and 1,350,000 of them would have been altogether deprived of their means of living. To employ these 1,350,000 people, a still further supply of materials must be obtained, and this could

be done solely by further drafts upon the stock set aside for the payment of the labourers generally; so that work could be found for the unemployed workpeople solely by decreasing the remuneration of those already employed. But since, by the assumption, 100,000,000*l.* worth of materials are from the economy of labour rendered sufficient to give employment to only 2,000,000 people instead of double the number, it follows that to fully occupy the 4,000,000 labourers, 200,000,000*l.* worth of materials would be required; but this is the whole capital of the country (the other 100,000,000*l.* being profits); so that there would, in such a case, be nothing left wherewith to pay the labourers. The workers, however, must live in order to do their work; hence wages might and would be driven down to the point of *mere subsistence*, but could not possibly go lower. All gained by the reductions to this extent might be devoted to procuring an additional quantity of materials; still the result would be that while those who were in work got merely sufficient for the protraction of their existence from their labour, numbers would remain unemployed, and those, of course, the capitalists would have to keep either as beggars or thieves; for since it would be impossible for the displaced labourers to subsist by their labour, which would be then no longer required, and since you could not exactly do with them as Mr. Carlyle humanely recommends, "shoot them and sweep them into the dustbin," why, it follows, that an armed body of police must be instituted to keep watch day and night over the possessions of the rich, lest those who had no means of sustenance but their labour, and who could find no employment for that, sought to steal the food they could not earn. Then, as a means of decreasing the expense of keeping those who were less daring, and preferred entering the workhouse to braving a prison, a minimized and *terrible* poor law must be established under which the relief given might be just sufficient to "ward off death from starvation." The curse was, formerly, that man should get his bread by labour, but nowadays the curse is, that men can get scarcely a mouthful of bread by labouring; so that what was once considered a curse would now be looked upon as a blessing, were it *possible* for the very poor to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.

Those who maintain that machinery in the present state of our social arrangements is a good to the labourer are urged to reflect well upon what is here stated, for it is believed that this one simple fact must force itself upon all unprejudiced minds—as you save in labour you must either employ a smaller number of labourers or else reduce wages, so as to obtain a greater quantity of materials and give employment to the same number. To reduce the matter to a formula, let C represent the capital of the country, and let this equal M, the gross sum spent on materials, and W the gross sum devoted to the payment of the labourers, then it follows that—

$$\text{because } C = M + W,$$
$$\text{therefore } C - M = W,$$
$$\text{and therefore } C - 2M = W - M;$$

or, to state the matter arithmetically, we may say let C (the gross capital of the country) = 200,000,000*l.*, and M (the gross sum spent on materials) = 50,000,000*l.*, and W (the gross sum spent on labour) = 150,000,000*l.*,

$$\text{then, because } 200{,}000{,}000l. = 50{,}000{,}000 + 150{,}000{,}000l.,$$
$$\text{therefore } 200{,}000{,}000l. - 50{,}000{,}000l. = 150{,}000{,}000l.;$$
$$\text{and therefore } 200{,}000{,}000l. - 50{,}000{,}000l. \times 2 = 150{,}000{,}000l. - 50{,}000{,}000l.$$

Hence *as much as you increase the materials for labour, just so much must you decrease the wages of labour.* So, again, the increase of the rate of working or causing one hand to do the work of many, may be *demonstrated* to necessitate either the expenditure of a greater sum upon materials or the employment of a smaller number of operatives, thus:—since O, the gross number of operatives employed, must be regulated by M, the gross quantity of materials on which to employ them divided, R, the ordinary rate of working or quantity that each hand can manufacture in an hour, multiplied by D, the duration of the work or total number of hours employed, then

$$\text{because } \frac{M}{R \times D} = O,$$
$$\text{therefore } \frac{M}{2R \times D} = \frac{O}{2},$$
$$\text{and therefore } \frac{2M}{2R \times D} = O;$$
$$\text{and because } C - M = W,$$
$$\text{therefore } C - 2M = W - M.$$

or, reduced to figures, we should say let O (the number of operatives) = 1,000,000, R (the rate of working or quantity of materials made up by each operative per week) = 1*l.*, and D (the duration of the labour, or number of weeks' work done in the course of the year) = 50;

$$\text{then because } \frac{50{,}000{,}000l.}{1l. \times 50} = 1{,}000{,}000l.,$$
$$\text{therefore } \frac{50{,}000{,}000l.}{(1l. \times 2) \times 50} = \frac{1{,}000{,}000}{2} = 500{,}000,$$
$$\text{and therefore } \frac{50{,}000{,}000 \times 2}{(1l. \times 2) \times 50} = 1{,}000{,}000,$$
$$\text{and because } 200{,}000{,}000l. - 50{,}000{,}000l. = 150{,}000{,}000l.,$$
$$\text{therefore } 200{,}000{,}000l. - 50{,}000{,}000l. \times 2 = 150{,}000{,}000l. - 50{,}000{,}000l.$$

Hence we see, that as the rate of working is increased so must either workmen be thrown out of employment or more money be spent on materials, and the more money there is spent on materials the less there must be left to pay the labourers.

I shall return to this subject in the next number of this portion of "LONDON LABOUR," for the economy of labour is the main difficulty of the time.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE whole of the back numbers are now reprinted, and may be had of any newsman or bookseller. Some correspondents complain that they occasionally do not obtain their copies of "London Labour" till three weeks after the date. The fault lies with the bookseller or newsman serving them, as the numbers are invariably published on the day of their date.

On the 1st of January, 1852, an extra part was published; so that the subscribers who receive their copies monthly may be supplied up to the current number. This is a necessity of the difference between the lunar and the calendar month; and were any other plan adopted, the price of the parts would be continually varying.

Several inquiries have been made for the index and title-page of Volume II.; but it will be seen, on reference to the paging of the alternate numbers of "London Labour," that two distinct volumes are in the course of publication. Neither of these will be completed for some weeks yet, when the proper titles, indices, and directions to the binder, will be issued. It is proposed to publish, as soon as convenient, an extra part in connection with each subject, so that the respective volumes may be made up with as little delay as possible.

The following letters, requiring no comment, are printed verbatim, with the grateful acknowledgments of the Editor:—

"Sir,

"Although brought up, in early life, in the school of *Irish Orangeism*, and sincerely opposed to many doctrines of the Church of Rome, as I am still more to the nondescript doctrines of the Tractarian party, a sense of justice constrains me to say I think many very unjust charges have been preferred against the English Roman Catholics; and I am pleased to find you do justice, in your work on 'London Labour and the London Poor,' both to their zeal and charity, and the sense of religion and chastity, which, with all their many faults, the poor Irish Roman Catholics for the most part evince in the metropolis.

"At Hammersmith, the nuns of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, twenty in number, take charge of about eighty professed female penitents, and endeavour to train them in habits of virtue, order, and industry. Of course they sometimes, as may be expected, fail, and meet ingratitude and calumny; but this can only cause surprise to such as are utterly ignorant of the depravity of the poor unfortunates whom they seek to reclaim. I believe the Convent of the Good Shepherd originated some 20 or 25 years ago, with two wealthy French ladies.

"Not very long since, Signor Palliano, formerly master of the Sabloniere Hotel, Leicester-square, brought over six nuns from Brittany, and hired a house at Brook-green, Hammersmith, in which they received a few poor old women, whom they supported by soliciting food and clothing from the charitable. The establishment has since been transferred to Great Windmill-street, Golden-square, as larger premises became needful.

"I should feel greatly delighted if, when your present labours terminate, you would take up the cause of the Agricultural Labourers. The publications of the Society for promoting the welfare of the industrious poor (The Labourers' Friend Society) give ample details of the means by which crime and pauperism have been propagated in the rural districts; but we still want some popular serials on the subject.

"The educational establishments and charities of the Moravians, Quakers, and Roman Catholics, and the co-operative industry of the Moravians at Fulneck, Ockbrook, &c., are worthy of notice.

"Trusting you will excuse this liberty,

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"JNO. A. W."

Mr. MAYHEW purposes an inquiry into the condition of the Agricultural Labourers at the earliest opportunity.

"Sir,

"I have lately met with a passage in Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living,' the introduction to the chapter on Chastity, which seems to me so well suited to be a motto to your publication on Prostitution, that I cannot forbear calling your attention to it. As you may not have the book at hand, I will transcribe the sentences I refer to on the other side.

"I am, Sir,

"Your attentive Reader and

"obliged humble Servant,

"———.

"Lincoln's-inn,

"Dec. 26, 1851.

"'Reader, stay, and read not the advices of the following section unless thou hast a chaste spirit, or desirest to be chaste, or at least art apt to consider whether you ought or no. For there are some spirits so atheistical, and some so wholly possessed with a spirit of uncleanness, that they turn the most prudent and chaste discourses into dirt and filthy apprehensions; like choleric stomachs, changing their very cordials and medicines into bitterness, and, in a literal sense, turning the grace of God into wantonness. They study cases of conscience in the matter of carnal sins, not to avoid, but to learn ways how to offend God and pollute their own spirits; and search their houses with a sunbeam, that they may be instructed in all the corners of nastiness. I have used all the care I could in the following periods, that I might neither be wanting to assist those that need it, nor yet minister any occasion of fancy or vainer thoughts to those that need them not. If any man will snatch the pure taper from my hand,

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and hold it to the devil, he will only burn his own fingers, but shall not rob me of the reward of my care and good intention.' — JEREMY TAYLOR."

The following contains much truth, and evidences not only good feeling, but nice observation:—

"Sir,

"Considering it the duty of every well-disposed person to render you every assistance in their power, however trifling that may be, in your endeavour to investigate the habits and mode of life of the prostitute class, with a view to the mitigation of this giant social evil, I take the liberty of mentioning a few facts which have come under my own observation, as a young man living in London, and having for some ten years seen more or less of the class in question.

"We must all agree with your remarks on the letter of W. G., Jun., published in No. 47. He saw and heard nothing more than what every man who walks the streets of this town after dark must see and hear, but I fear much, even from his own narrative of the girl's story, that he was imposed upon. The tale is an old one, and what in the slang of the fast men would be called the 'officer dodge,' and I think had W. G. made the same inquiries of a dozen different women in the Casino, he would have heard the same story repeated, of course with variations, several times; at least I have myself; but it is quite impossible to place reliance on one word these women say, at all events until you have known them for some time, and had the opportunity of judging for yourself what degree of confidence can be placed upon their word. I have found them, without a solitary exception, utterly regardless of the truth in their assertions; but this cannot be wondered at.

"While on the subject of W. G.'s letter, I would call attention to the girl's words, 'I have had no Bible these four years,' merely to remark that I have been surprised at the number of cases in which I have found Bibles, Prayer Books, and other serious works in their rooms, and I may say the almost total absence of indecent prints and books. It is true some of the 'dress lodgers' and 'French women' make use of the allurement of 'pretty pictures,' &c., to induce young men to accompany them home; but I believe, in most cases, they would be disappointed when they got there, as none would be forthcoming. Lying, swearing, and drinking, are the three common vices of the prostitute, and from these or some of them none of the class are altogether free; they begin with their first fall, and lead to every other vice; but obscenity or indecency of language or action I do not think, on the whole, general amongst them, and kindliness of feeling and attention to one another in case of illness exist, I think, to a considerable extent, where not interrupted by jealousy, or the ill-will springing from a sense of rivalry.

"I am led to think that superstitious ideas are more than usually prevalent amongst them, and that they are, in a great measure, the support of the fortune-tellers and so-called astrologers, who haunt the low neighbourhoods in and about London.

"A woman to whom I recently spoke on the subject, told me she had been to most of these fortune-tellers of any 'note,' either alone or with other women, and had seen as many as a dozen 'gay women' waiting to have their fortunes told; that cards were usually used for the purpose, and the fee varied from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* Others have told me much to the same effect, generally adding that they did not believe a word told them, but still—sometimes something came true, and—in short, they went again.

"If I recollect rightly, there is in the then rather celebrated 'Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London,' published many years back, a print of two courtezans having their fortunes told by an old woman.

"If this be so, what reason can be given? Is it that these poor creatures, their hearts not entirely deadened, seeking for some hope in the future, take refuge in the miserable tissue of falsehoods and absurdities uttered by these women?

"I have already trespassed too long on your time, and can only plead as an excuse, the wish to be of the slightest use to you; and if the publication of any part of this letter on the wrapper of your periodical induces other young men to communicate to you the results of their observations, I think it may be of some little service, as it is the experience of those by whom the class is supported, and by the majority of whom, I verily believe, the system is as much detested as it is by, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,
"E. J. B."

The next treats of the causes and remedies of prostitution.

"Sir,

"In whatever light we may view the fearful increase of female criminality, we are equally baffled in our endeavours to find a remedy for so overwhelming an evil. The refined morality of the present day is not calculated to arouse and set in motion the higher and more virtuous feelings of human nature, but rather to produce a lethargic and inactive spirit of false pride and exclusiveness inimical to the best interests of humanity. If we look at the social position of women, the estimation in which they are held by the opposite sex, their treatment and helpless condition from infancy upwards, the limited choice of a profession, and the scandalous remuneration for their services, and last, but not least, the almost worthless education they receive, so ill-adapted to the requirements and bitter realities of every-day life,—how many of us, with natures less susceptible and confiding, placed in their position, would have fallen! To mitigate this crying evil we must raise women socially and physically, we must find a legitimate sphere of action adapted to their moral and physical capacities, and remove every obstacle and unjust oppression, in the way of living honourably and respectably in their several callings or pursuits. For we must bear in mind that few would choose

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a life that must bring ruin and disgrace upon them, and be but of short duration, were they not impelled to it as a last resource to escape aggravated distress and sometimes utter destitution.

"I am, sir, with much esteem,
"Yours respectfully,
"A. C."

The subjoined is from a former correspondent, treating of the same subject :—

"London, Nov. 14, 1851,

"Sir,

"I have been encouraged to accept your kind request to hear again from me (see your remark upon my letter of the 6th inst., published in No. 49 of your excellent work upon 'London Labour,') in the hope that it may induce others, more able than myself, to take up the various branches of the causes of prostitution, and thereby contribute to the suppression of that evil which it is the purpose of your work to expose and put down.

"In my last I attributed 'dress and love of gaiety' as some of the antecedents on seduction, and I quoted the frequenting of casinos and theatres, &c., as giving openings for the seduction of the daughters of small tradesmen and of mechanics of the better sort.

"It is quite true, as you say, that girls frequenting casinos must either have *been seduced* or be of a *seducible disposition:* with regard to the latter, *too many* are to be found amongst the class I then alluded to, and can it be wondered at! Children of small tradesmen and mechanics are generally comparatively uneducated, and their religious duties are very little impressed upon them. Now in my opinion nothing tends more to form a 'seducible disposition' than the want of moral education, and if parents allow their uneducated daughters to walk out with 'sweethearts,' or 'young men,' as they are called, and attend such places, it is, I think, not at all surprising that they fall a prey to the seducer.

"I may instance a case which came within my own knowledge, of two sisters, aged then about 16 and 17 years of age respectively, who were allowed to go out in the way before described. They some years ago went to one of those nuisances called a fair, near Camberwell, entered a dancing booth with their 'young men,' and what between dancing, refreshments, and amorous dalliance, when they left the fair they did not return to their parents' house till after they had been persuaded to sojourn on the way, viz., at a brothel. One of these girls keeps a brothel now, and the other is in 'splendid misery,' living with a gentleman.

"Now, in this case had the parents done their duty (and they could afford to look after their girls), such a misfortune would not, perhaps, have occurred; and if there were not such openings as dancing-rooms, fairs, &c., permitted, many girls in a similar class as the two above alluded to might be in a respectable position in society, and, instead of being the seducers of youth and inexperience, might have been the promoters of virtue and honour.

"I fear that I have intruded too much upon your patience at this time, and shall conclude by wishing you every success in your endeavours to expose and lessen the prostitution in London.

"J. B."

The last communication tells one a tale of deep suffering and misery. Mr. Mayhew will be happy to furnish any subscriber who may desire a tutor for the French, German, or Dutch languages with the name of the writer of the following :—

"Sir,

"A young man, of highly respectable family, takes the liberty to address you a few lines. Perhaps you may consider it bold of me, respected Sir, I am so free to write to you, but the most dreadful distress makes me resolve to use those means. I am a native of Holland, and am born of Jewish parents. I had the privilege to get a most excellent education, and it pleased the Lord to let me come, eight year ago, to the conviction of the truth that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world. I was baptized February 17th, 1850, at Liverpool. I returned March 4th, 1850, to Holland, but was there so dreadfully persecuted by all my relations and the whole mass of the Jews, that I was obliged to fly, so that I went to New York. There I was till December 4th of last year, but I suffered also there the most dreadful privations. I arrived December 26th at Liverpool, and February 28th at London, and should have undoubtedly been admitted into the Hebrew College or Jewish Operative Converts' Institution, but for illness. I am now established as a Professor of Languages, but all my endeavours have till this time shipwrecked in getting a living. I am literally without bread, and exposed to the most dreadful hunger and cold. I am every day on the point of being turned out by my landlord, as I owe this gentleman already 1*l.* 14*s.* I happened to see your work 'London Labour and the London Poor,' and as I saw how much you do for suffering mankind, I made bold enough to address you those lines. Believe me, highly respected Sir, no trouble will be too great for me to get an honest living, and wherever you might think fit to place me in, all will be accepted by me with a thankful heart, and I shall always remember you have saved me from my ruin. In name of humanity, in name of the blessed Lord Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech you to help me in the one or other way, and you will not only have the satisfaction of having saved an unhappy young man of starvation, but also of having rendered him to human society. In the hope you may do something for me in the one or other way, I sign most respectfully,

"Your obedient Servant,
"S. M. B."

"I am ready to furnish very high references, if required."

The letters of the "City Clerk" and the "Commanding Officer" will be printed in the next number of "Those that Will Not Work."

Letters from A. B. (on Garden Allotments) and G. H. (Lincolnshire) have been received, and shall be printed as soon as possible.

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I RETURN to the consideration of the effects of machinery, or economy of labour, upon the condition of the labourers.

In No. 56 it was demonstrated that in the present arrangement of society it was physically impossible that machinery in the abstract could benefit the labourer. To perceive this clearly and unmistakeably, we have but to imagine the mechanical appliances carried out to the utmost, and *all* manual labour superseded, with the exception of such as is needed to keep the machines in repair and construct new ones, for even the tending of them appears to be an imperfection which superior science may ultimately remove, as we have already had self-acting steam-engines which supplied their own boilers and fed their own fires. All that the labourers are at present required to do, is to convert the capitalists' materials into commodities; and if this can be done by mechanical power instead of manual, surely there can be no necessity for workmen; and when human operatives are rendered obsolete, will capitalists consent to feed *them* any more than they feed horses when displaced by the railway? A new element has been introduced into society within the last century—a labourer of brass and iron, one that knows no fatigue, and, consequently, requires no rest; one that cannot possibly "strike," or refuse to do his master's bidding; one that requires only coals and water, instead of bread and beer, to set him working. Six hundred millions of these steam-labourers have been created within the last 75 years; they have been made to compete with creatures of flesh and blood, and the consequence is, that the human labourer is being driven out of the field. *The steam-engine gets his share of the wage-fund*, it should be remembered; the capital that formerly went to find the muscular man and his family in bread, and to reinvigorate his frame, now goes to supply the steam man with fuel, and to pay for wear and tear. Those who are pleased with puzzles can amuse themselves by inventing some form of society in which the steam-engine and other mechanical contrivances for superseding human labour shall confer an equal amount of benefit upon the labourer as upon the capitalists. This is the great problem that requires to be solved. A Liverpool correspondent justly observes, that by the invention of a particular machine a vast amount of labour, which was formerly profitable to the community, becomes unprofitable, and therefore is not employed, and we consequently might just as well employ the labourers in digging holes and filling them up again, or building houses and knocking them down again, or any other useless occupation, so long as the same wages were paid for the unprofitable as for the profitable employment. If we can, by means of a machine, sweep the streets with 100 instead of 400 men, then, argues he, to employ the extra 300 is to waste so much labour. There is no gainsaying this point. But surely this wasting of labour regards only the capitalists, or the possessors of the entire stock of the country; to get this stock converted into commodities with as little labour as possible, and, consequently, at as little cost as possible, is the greatest possible good to them, seeing that the same capital under such circumstances yields them a greater number of products. But how about the labourers? That which is the greatest good to the possessors of the stock is the greatest evil to the labouring class—those who possess nothing, and merely live by working up the materials of the others. The less labour there is required, and the less that is paid for it, the less, of course, they have to live upon. Hence we perceive that the unprofitable employment of workmen who would otherwise be unemployed, though the greatest evil to the capitalist class, is no evil at all to the labouring class, seeing that without it they could obtain no portion of the riches of the country. "Are you," says T. A. of Liverpool, "in favour of the community finding unprofitable employment for the surplus labourers, and paying them for the same?" Here we see that the general term community is used simply for the capitalist portion of it, and, consequently, the unprofitable employment of the surplus labourers must be admitted to be an evil, if regarded solely in that light; but it must also be admitted to be a good if considered with regard to the labourer; seeing that if it does not tend to increase the stock of riches, at least it does to distribute them, and distribution is often as great a good as production. But what moral right have we to deprive a number of labourers of their only means of living? The good of the community, is the "economical" answer. But in the case of railways, and improvements which are regarded as national benefits, we do not allow a private wrong to be done for a public good. Compensation is required to be made to every individual injured by the improvement. In the case of labour, however, we know no "rights of property." A man may have been all his life acquiring a certain kind of skill which a particular mechanical contrivance may render utterly valueless, and what recompense has he? Did he possess a park, a house, or even a business, and this had been in the least damaged by some projected public benefit, the amount of injury done would be valued by a jury of conscientious men, and adequate recompense awarded. The labourer, however, is beggared without a single voice being raised in his favour. His labour has, in the struggle to live, been rendered superfluous, and he may maintain himself as best he can. There is the workhouse open, for as yet economists do not admit the right of the "community" to wring the necks of the superseded labourers; and since the law of the kingdom still declares that every man, if unable to maintain himself by his own industry, is entitled to live upon the wealth of others, it is clear, if you deprive a labourer of the power of living by his labour, you must be prepared to keep him as a pauper. But supposing every inventor of a machine that superseded a particular class of labourers was bound to make the displaced workmen a yearly allowance out of the profits, by way of compensation to them—even if such an arrangement were in any

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way practicable — what kind of compensation could possibly be made to the future children of the labouring class—those who are born with no spoons at all, instead of silver ones, in their mouths, and have nothing to look forward to but their own labour as their means of life? How could they be recompensed—save by the workhouse? If there were no labourers and labourers' children to keep, then machinery and economy of labour might be a national blessing, but so long as society *will* permit labourers to have children—so long as the "painless extinction" of every poor man's child, as soon as born, which Mr. Carlyle advocates "in grim earnest!" is not part and parcel of the law of the land—so long must the invention of machinery and the economy of labour be a national curse instead of a blessing—that is to say, if the capitalists have been in the habit of paying 150,000,000*l.* a year as wages for the conversion of the materials of wealth into commodities, and they are ultimately enabled, by mechanical contrivances or otherwise, to do with two-thirds less labour, and consequently to reduce the sum spent in wages from 150,000,000*l.* to 50,000,000*l.*—surely it must be apparent to all but those who mistake the welfare of this one class for the welfare of the whole country, that the majority, or indeed the people generally, cannot have benefited by the change? And if we can conceive the economy of labour to extend thus far, why not much farther, till the sum spent in wages is reduced to a mere fraction, and the whole of the quondam working classes have become inmates of either our workhouses or our prisons. "By the year 2000," says an American paper, "it is probable that manual labour will have utterly ceased under the sun, and the occupation of the adjective 'hard-fisted' will have gone for ever. They have now, in New Hampshire, a potato-digging machine which, drawn by horses down the rows, digs the potatoes, separates them from the dirt, and loads them up into the cart, while the farmer walks alongside, whistling 'Hail, Columbia,' with his hands in his pockets."

In the next number I shall speak of the special application of machinery in connection with the cotton and other trades.

The following communication makes known a gross wrong:—

"I was last year employed as a canvasser for signatures to a petition to Parliament in respect of the total abolition of the duty on paper. The secretary of the 'Association,' who is also secretary of a Freehold Land Society, not far from Beaufort-buildings, Strand, gave as a return for that labour 2*s.* a day, the enormous sum of 12*s.* a week. Most of the canvassers were married men, and all highly respectable, and of course of good address and good appearance, otherwise they would not have been eligible for the employment. For that paltry sum I had to obtain at least 30 or 40 signatures, genuine ones of course. You are aware how long it would take to obtain that number of respectable business men's signatures. Some conversation, of course, was necessary, and knowledge of the subject; and, therefore, the illiterate and uneducated would have been useless. This, in the absence of all other chance of work, I performed for that sum of 12*s.* weekly. That being finished, this kind, humane individual said he would give me further employment in the office. I, of course, having a family, was forced to accept of it. But as he was now employing me as a clerk, I of course never thought but that I should have 1*l.* a week at the least.

"But no, although employed in writing letters, circulars, &c., from nine till seven, he, at the end of the week, put down half-a-sovereign and 2*s.* 6*d.*, telling me to return the 6*d.* on the Monday. I ask did that man deserve to be treated honestly? I answer, certainly not. I remained there about six weeks, of course. Although *obliged* to have a respectable exterior, I was, with my wife and family, starving and getting into debt. Now, sir, is not such treatment as this calculated to arouse feelings of hatred and contempt for those who will so inhumanly oppress their fellow man?

"But, in conclusion, I must inform you that this gentlemen (*so he* terms himself) was merely paying me and others out of a fund cnotributed for the purpose, receiving a *good* salary himself, and expected by the committee to *properly* and adequately pay those he employed.

"Of course he charged them with about 4*s.* a day, and paid me 2*s.* *O tempora! O mores!* I consider, sir, this man robbed me and mine. Any one would think so. But I had almost forgotten this cruel treatment, had it not been that I called there the other day looking for employment, when this sage, sagacious, and humane 'gentleman,' in answer to my question, replied, 'No; *all* those who were employed last year on the paper duty must go and help the Kaffirs; they want all the money.' There was a kind, considerate reply to a man soliciting employment—to a man, who although now brought low and in poverty, had been brought up in a sphere of life and received an education far superior to his own.

"I should greatly wish to expose this heartless robber of the poor and industrious. Should this be unfit or too long for your publication, perhaps you would be kind enough to intimate to me how I could best publicly hold up this 'gentleman' to shame.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours respectfully,
"J. R."

"P.S. I am at present out of employment, with *good* reference."

The following corroborates Wortenkrammer's derivation of Haberdasher:—

"Sir,

"If I am not too late I gladly forward you the following solution (if it is one) of a controversy about the word 'Haberdasher,' that I read in your excellent papers of 'London Labour and London Poor.' It is extracted from the *People's Advo-*

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ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter here appended is of so curious a character that Mr. Mayhew was induced before printing it to request some voucher for the truth of its statements. The answer is appended. The letter professes to be written with the object of showing that all the public women are not so "bad" as certain correspondents have endeavoured to make them appear—a proposition which none can doubt. The writer seeks to prove the "goodness" of these characters by the sacrifices they make for the man to whom they become attached, and there are certainly many noble actions to be told concerning them in this respect. This, indeed, is but natural; for being shunned by the whole world, and feeling doubtlessly a supreme disgust and contempt for the sensualists who purchase their favours, of course they are easily "taken" with those who exhibit any real sympathy for them. Unfortunately, however, the "fancy men" of such characters are usually of the lowest possible stamp—though this would seem to be a necessity of the circumstances, for none other, of course, could bear to be the companions and dependents of prostitutes. Such men must necessarily be dead to all moral sense and deprived of all social position. It is peculiar, as showing that the love of woman to man is caused mainly by a feeling of her own weakness and consequent need for protection, that the fancy men of the prostitutes always belong to the powerful or reckless class of individuals, such as prize-fighters, thieves, cabmen, soldiers, sailors, and the like; these are by far the most usual characters, and all, it will be seen, are connected with some expression of boldness—either a disregard of danger, the pursuit of some perilous calling, or the possession of a certain amount of physical strength. The proverbial love of servant-maids for policemen is to be explained only in the same manner. The admirable with woman would thus appear to be the powerful rather than the sensuously beautiful; they seem to prefer bravery to symmetry. This, as it was before stated, seems to be a necessity of the weakness and timidity of the feminine nature, and the consequent craving for a protector. Of course, this feeling takes different expressions in different classes. Fashionable ladies admire officers, naval and military, noblemen, foxhunters, and indeed any of those classes who are distinguished either for the *disposition* or *power* to protect them. Women of a lower grade, on the other hand, approve of a lower grade of characters, but all remarkable for the same qualities. In the class of fancy men such attributes are found associated with the most despicable characters; but still they all show that the disposition or the power to protect constitutes the admirable with the female sex, whether high or low, chaste or unchaste. And fallen as are the class of women of whom we are here treating, still the same devotion and the same self-sacrifice is found in their love as marks the affection of the sex generally. Among the public women, however, this one gleam of beauty appears the brighter and the more admirable from the many loathsome qualities with which it is contrasted. The love of woman, indeed, is seen in all its perfection of disinterestedness and devotion among those who appear to be destitute of all such qualities. This will, in a future number, form a most extraordinary chapter in the history of prostitution, perhaps the most extraordinary of all. The men, however, who are the objects of this love are naturally the most degraded and the most brutal of human beings. Why they *must* be so, it is unnecessary to say here; the reasons will suggest themselves spontaneously to every rightly-constituted mind, and common honesty requires that the writer of the following letter should be included in this class.

"London.

"Sir,

"Allow me to offer a few remarks on behalf of the unfortunate women in London and elsewhere. As none of your correspondents have yet been able to find good qualities in them, my experience may, perhaps, show they are not so bad as they seem.

"Some three years back I went to the Casino to have a look about me, and after I had been sitting upstairs for about half an hour, and was about to leave, a nicely-dressed good-looking woman came up and asked me if I would go home with her. I told her I could not. She said she had suddenly felt an insurmountable passion for me, and was determined to take me away with her. I told her flatly I could not go with her, and amongst other things said I had no money, upon which she gave me such a spurning look of contempt, and immediately walked away. I did not take any particular notice of this, and was walking out of the place, when she came up to me and said, 'Never you mention such a thing as money to me again,' and, taking my arm, walked out with me, when immediately a dashing brougham and pair came up, in which we got and drove off to her house in —— place, where there was a good supper laid out. On leaving in the morning she gave me her address, and begged of me to come and see her again as often as I liked, saying that if I wished to be good friends with her I must never allude to money in her presence. After seeing her three or four times, of course I thought I must make some little return, and bought a bracelet to present to her. Judge of my astonishment, after giving it to her, to see her throw it behind the fire, saying that if I thought I must pay for her favours she did not want to see me, or words to that effect.

I left off visiting for about a month, and, happening to go to a ball, met her with her friend. Immediately she saw me she left him and came to me. I declined dancing with her, nor would she by any persuasion of mine leave me. Her friend, seeing this, came up and told her she need not trouble herself any more about him, and left the room. When we reached her house the key would not open the door, and as London is pretty full of accommodation houses we were not long in finding out one. I imagined what might be the consequence the next day, and appointed to meet her about two o'clock, whilst she went to her house. When she got there she found all her dresses packed up, and the servant had orders,

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directly she got there, to call a cab, put her and her things in it, and drive to where she pleased. In the meantime I had taken apartments, where we repaired to, and from that time to this we have lived happily together in a quiet way, and still do so—she improving her mind by reading. I have taught her to write, play the piano, and various little things. I perfectly believe her to be true to me, and can only say we are living as happily together, though not married, as any man could wish to live with his wife. She is not fond of dress or show; is punctual in all her payments, for which I give her money; keeps an account of all she spends, inviting my inspection of it; and is as good a companion to me as a wife could be, nor am I ashamed of being seen anywhere with her.

"Your correspondents should not condemn all by the many, but have the charity to suppose that there are a few good amongst so many bad. With many apologies for thus trespassing on your time, and trusting you will make what use you please of this,

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"A Clerk in the City."

"'A Clerk in the City,' whilst acknowledging the validity of Mr. Mayhew's remarks on his communication, thinks it will be sufficient if he states that his father was a well-known merchant in the City, keeping a good account at Messrs. Glyn's bank, and that two of his brothers are still carrying on the same business. Mr. M. can reject the communication (positively true) if he thinks fit, or only quote extracts from it relative to the fact of a 'woman' living quietly and respectably with one man. The object of the writer was merely to say something good of women whom Mr. M.'s correspondents seem to think so bad of, and to show that, though all are bad, all are not equally so, and that there are a few good, comparatively speaking."

The City Clerk will doubtless be exceedingly wrath at being ranked among the fancy men of the metropolis, but common sense compels it. If he object to the position, he has it in his own power to remedy it; let him make the same sacrifice for the woman he degrades by living with as she has made for him. "She is," he says, "as good a companion to me as a wife could be." Then what a mere lump of selfishness he must be not to make a wife of her. Let him read his own letter calmly over, and then ask himself whether, if he possess the faintest spark of honour, he can do otherwise to one who has sacrificed for his sake all for which she once debased herself. For the character of his own sex it is to be hoped that the next letter from the City Clerk will contain an account of his marriage with the woman he here speaks of.

Here follows a letter that should have been inserted long ago:—

"Sir,

"I purchased Part 12 of 'London Labour' at a railway station, and read it on my journey.

"Do you really give credit to the statement of W. G., jun., of the seduction of a child, the daughter of an officer?

"In the first place, no commanding officer of a regiment, or other officer, would permit an officer to keep a mistress with the regiment.

"An officer might do so, privately and unknown to his brother officers for a short time, but it is impossible he could do so for a month without it coming to the knowledge of some of the officers, and consequently to the ears of the commanding officer, when he would immediately order the officer offending to send away the woman.

"And in so gross and beastly a case, as an officer keeping a mistress with his young daughters, he would have the offer of 'leaving the regiment' or a court-martial.

"It is not two years ago an officer was brought to a court-martial by his commanding officer for even bringing a prostitute into the barracks, and dismissed the service by its sentence.

"And sir, do you suppose, if a brother officer's family were left in a state of destitution, as W. G. states this child to have been, the officers of the regiment would not have provided for her, at least for a time? And only consider the seduction. A brother officer dies, leaving a daughter only fifteen, pretty and well-disposed, in a state of destitution. She is seduced by officers of the regiment (as the father, from his destitute state, must have been with the regiment) immediately after the father's death, in the barracks, and *kept* by the officer as long as the regiment remained there.

"If the officers did not bring this offender to a court-martial, the non-commissioned officers and privates would.

"What, an officer seduce or keep a child of fifteen, the daughter of a brother just dead!

"I am fully persuaded my denial that such a case is possible, that it could have happened in any regiment, will have little weight with you, as you have inserted the statement; but your examination of the persons you are writing of must have made you careful of dissecting their evidence, to sift what is probable and true from the improbable and false. I think, therefore, you ought to have been more cautious of giving credence to W. G., particularly as you see in what part of his statement 'he was over zealous.'

"Although a commanding officer, I have paid great attention to the state of the poor, from being generally quartered in manufacturing towns, and also having a considerable estate; and I read your statements with interest, until I came to this story of seduction, which I knew must be false. Others may see in other statements what they also know to be false.

"Thus discredit will be thrown upon the whole of your writing, which otherwise not only would incite the interest of those able to return it, but who would be ready to do so.

"Yours obediently,

"A Commanding Officer."

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The commanding officer (who forgets to send his name) is under a mistake. No credence was given to the story, as indeed was stated at the time; and the letter of W. G. was inserted merely as an example, not only of the gullibility of a well-intentioned class of gentlemen, but also of the tendency of the women of the town to lay the odium of their position on any person's shoulders rather than their own.

The following is from an esteemed correspondent:—

"Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Jan. 7, 1852.

"Sir,

"Where shall we find *mót-hús* with the meaning of brothel? I have searched and cannot find it; but that the verb *mētan* is the root of *mot* I think very probable, notwithstanding our method of arriving at it may be somewhat different; for since writing my last to you I have made the following notes from various sources.

"Anglo-Saxon, *metan;* Mœso-Goth., *mot-jan;* Belg., *maten, occurrere, concurrere, invenire;* hence past participle *gemet, gemæt, aptus, condueens;* and so our *mate* and *mot*—one exactly answering the wishes of another—one fit for some particular purpose, or to a thing—one matching another. Compare Alemannic, *mate, maes;* Icelandic Suio-Gothic, *mat, maet;* Teutonic, *maed, maet,* and modern German *maat, socius sodalis equalis;* and presuming that the Dutch *motte,* in *mottekast,* has the same Gothic verbal origin, then *mottekast* may equal a mating-house, or a house where mates may be had; and that mate is applied to a female, see Chester plays (the 'Creation'); nor do I consider that it is absolutely necessary to suppose that the word *mot* was always accepted in a bad or low sense, as at present. Compare the words lewd, imp, villain, knave, harlot, quean, this last being connected with *γυνὴ,* and so with Sanscrit *g'ani,* and the verbal root *g'an,* to be born.

You know Horne Tooke's derivation of *trull,* could not the Dutch *drille* have come from the root he has selected? Again, is Mr. Borrow right, when he says the first cant vocabulary appeared in 1680? Harman's 'Caveat' first appeared in 1566; Rowland's 'Martin Mark-All' was published in 1610; and 'Dekker's Bellman,' and also the 'Bellman's Second Night Walk,' appeared before 1618.

"I have, I fear, trespassed too long and been very tedious, but I cannot conclude without thanking you for your several hints in your comments on the different speculations respecting the word *mot.* You have, I think, furnished me with a key to the etymon of *meg des megs;* the French *ayot,* word for *Dieu;* and I may say, in the words of Horace:—

———"'Ergo fungor vice cotis acutum
Reddere qua ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secundi.'
R. 55, 81.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours truly,
"T. L. L."

If T. L. L. will turn to Bosworth's "Anglo-Saxon Dictionary" (p. 47, col. G), he will find the following:—"*Mot,* a moot, an assembly, v. *gemot; mot-bell,* a bell used to call an assembly, L. Edw. Conf., 35; *mot-ern,* a place of meeting, a moot-hall, C. Jn. 18, 28; *mot-hus,* moot-house, a house of assembly, R. 107; *mot-stow,* a meeting-place, R. 55, 81."

Surely this will convince T. L. L. that the verbal element *mot,* as here given, is directly from the verb *metan,* to meet, and only indirectly connected (if at all) with the word *mate,* which is from *maca* and *macian,* to make match (Icel., *maki,* an equal, a wife).

T. L. L. appears to be a little too much inclined to run into fanciful etymologies (he must pardon the remark), and hasty generalizations constitute the absurdities of all science. Horne Tooke, whom T. L. L. quotes, is utterly valueless as an etymologist, for his philological conceits. There are but two modes of derivation, be it observed, for the third time, the *historic* and the *dialectic.* Words that are not composed of any root within the language in which they exist must be looked for in some other tongue, and there found differently spelt (generally, if not invariably), but meaning the same thing. This is the dialectic form of derivation, in which the difference of spelling, that is to say, the changes of letters, must conform to regular laws—those laid down by Grimm for the consonants, and Bopp for the vowels. Words, on the other hand, the elements of which exist within the language, generally differ in meaning from those elements, but are similarly spelt, if we except the addition of certain prefixes and affixes. This is the historic mode of derivation, and is the simplest form of the two. The historic is indeed the intrinsic, and the dialectic the extrinsic method of deriving words, and uncertainty belongs chiefly to the latter form. No one doubts that *thunder-storm* is derived from *thunder* and *storm;* or that *bloody* is from *blood* and *y,* the adjectival termination (the Saxon equivalent of which is *ig,* and the Greek *ικος*); or that *whiten* is from *white,* and the verbal termination *en* (probably from *γιγνάω*); or *badness* from *bad,* and the substantival termination *ness* (the Latin equivalent of which is perhaps *onis*). So again dis-*ease,* deprived of ease, and dis-*may,* deprived of power or might; so, too, *cunning,* from *kenning* or knowing. These are all historic forms of derivation—the elements of the word existing in the language, and expressing, when compounded, either some new idea, or some old idea differently.

As examples of the dialectic form of derivation we may cite *bishop* from *ἐπίσκοπος*; *tooth,* from the Saxon *toth,* which is from the Gothic *tunths,* and the German *zahn,* and the Latin *dente, dentis,* and the Greek *ὀδὸς, ὀδόντος.* So *mouth,* from the Saxon *muth,* which is again connected with the Gothic *munths;* dialectically, again, we have *angelus,* from *ἄγγελος;* and the Saxon *lang* and English *long,* from the Gothic *laggs;* and the English *who* from the Saxon *hwa,* which is connected with the Latin *qui*—for *q, h,* and *w.* Moreover there are the French words *guarantir* and our *warrant, guêpe* and *wasp, gueter* and *watch.*

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